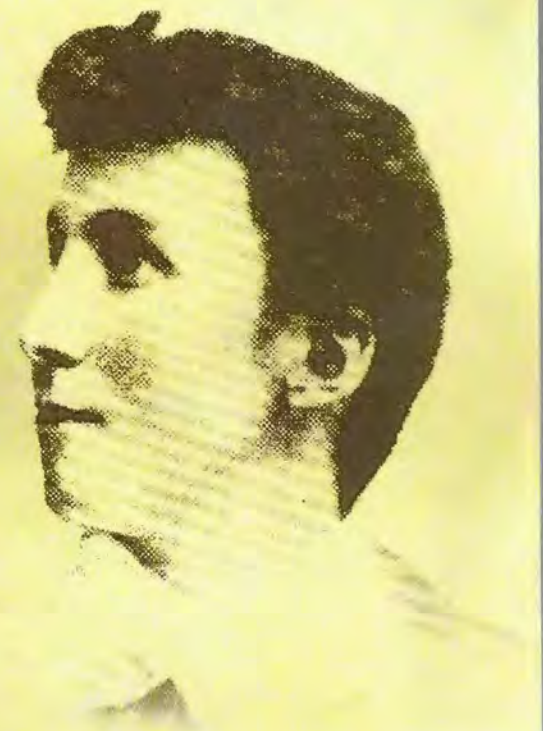


2016 Edition

Carloviana

Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society

Cumann Staire agus Seandálaíochta Cheatharloch



A Carlow Tribute to Walt Disney.
The Emergence of the Clergy in Borris.
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Poachers of the 20th Century.
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FRONT COVER PICTURE

The first and only female name on the Roll of Honour of Carlow Brigade 1916-1924 is Margaret Kehoe, Orchard Leighlinbridge. She nursed in the South Dublin Union, now St James's Hospital. During Easter Week 1916 the premises were occupied by 42 volunteers of the 4th battalion, Dublin Brigade



under the command of Eamon Ceannt and Cathal Brugha as 2nd in command. On Easter Monday intense fighting took place when the British forces attacked the building. During a period of quietness word was passed to Nurse Kehoe that a volunteer lay wounded. Without hesitation she rushed outside. Within minutes guns opened fire again and Nurse Kehoe lost her life. In doing so, she displayed a great devotion to duty and an extraordinary sense of heroism. The wounded volunteer was Dan McCarthy who subsequently became President of the GAA, 1921-1924. A plaque to her memory was unveiled at St Kevin's Hospital, Dublin on Easter Monday, 1965 by the National Graves Association. She was buried within the grounds of the Union but after the surrender the remains were exhumed and reinterred in Ballinabranna graveyard in the Parish of Leighlin.



Michael O'Hanrahan, a New Ross born Wexford man who had come to Carlow when his father transferred his business to Tullow St. in Carlow Town. He had been a very prominent man in the town before moving to Dublin. He founded the Workman's Club in Browne's St, Carlow and was a teacher in the Gaelic League classes. He was the author of *Swordsman of the Brigade* and *When the Normans Came*. He was executed for his role in the Easter Rising 1916.

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BACK COVER

Brown and Crosthwaite Lodge Mill lorry Bagenalstown, c. 1920s. This was the first lorry bought second hand by Brown and Crosthwaite and the first letters on the number plate were IK (issued 1903- 1927) and this denotes that it was first registered in Dublin. Note the four wheels have brushes attached to prevent gravel and stones from flying up and hitting people while lorry was on the move. Tommy Comerford, at side of engine, was the driver and obtained that position because he had previously worked on engine boats on the canal. George Darcy is the tall man who worked with him and both hailed from Bagenalstown. The photo was taken in Regent Street Bagenalstown. Courtesy: Jim Murphy, St Brigid's Crescent, Bagenalstown.



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**Editor:** Jim Shannon**Editorial Committee:**

Martin Nevin
Pat O'Neill
Padraig Dooley
Nial O'Neill

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

Bertie Watchorn
President

Editorial

Once again we are delighted to present another bumper edition of our annual Journal. The editorial team expresses our thanks to our contributors who continue year after year to come forward with varied and interesting articles relating to our area. They are the backbone of this Journal and without them it would simply not exist, never mind attain the degree of recognition and respect that, we are happy to say, it enjoys. We note that two of the regulars among these contributors attained the degree of Ph.D. during the year. Congratulations to Dr. Ann Power of Bagenalstown and to Dr. Shay Kinsella of Milford.

November 2015 sees the 1400th anniversary of the death of St. Columbanus, who tradition tells us, was born in this area, the founder of monasteries at Luxeuil, Bobbio and many other places in Europe. He was described by the late Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich as "Ireland's first European," and certainly his impact on the history of the continent was a very significant one in that he and his companions made a major contribution to the re-Christianisation and re-civilisation of Western Europe in the wake of the collapse of the Roman Empire.

The coming year brings the centenary of the 1916 Rebellion. Like other events during this Decade of Commemoration this, we expect, will inspire renewed interest in researching the events of that period in our local area. Our society, in co-operation with the History Department of St. Patrick's College, Carlow, is endeavouring to foster such interest by sponsoring a prize for original research into the local history of the period, open to all third and fourth year students of History or Humanities in the College. This, it is hoped, will result in new and exciting insights into the events of the time in Carlow. We confidently expect that next year's edition of "Carloviana" will feature some of the fruits of this research.

The centenary of the Rising has already given rise to some obvious attempts by various politically interested groups and individuals to impose upon the public consciousness their own particular agenda and their own particular interpretation of what happened. It is important that we do not let a mythologized and biased version of the events of Easter Week become accepted as truth. Neither would it be desirable to allow "the men with the keen long faces" to convince us that it was all a mistake. It happened, and in the words of Yeats "all changed, changed utterly/ a terrible beauty is born." The events of that week were the catalyst that led to a totally changed political landscape in Ireland and it behoves us to understand that period and how it affected our people at the time and for long after. To that end we welcome any research by our members on this period and we will be glad to publish in future editions any articles of suitable standard. The Society will mark the actual centenary in April 2016 by presenting a lecture on Micheál Ua hAnnracháin, the 1916 leader with closest Carlow connections. This lecture will be given by Dr. Conor Kostik, the author of a biography of Micheál Ua hAnnracháin which is reviewed in this Journal.

This Decade of Commemoration also recalls the experiences and sacrifices of those who took a different road and followed the advice of John Redmond to "go wherever the firing line extends." Ann Power's article on chaplains in World War I is a welcome contribution to remind us all of an almost forgotten group of dedicated men and of the service they gave.

Sílímíd go bhfuil cnuasacht suimúil, eagsúil, bríomhar d'ailt bailithe againn arís i mbliana, agus tá súil againn go mbainfidh ár léitheoirí taitheamh astu. Gabhaimid buíochas le gach éinne a chabhraigh linn i rith na hoibre. Nollaig Shona agus athbhlian fé mhaise dhaoibh go léir.

Message from the President

This year has been an eventful one for our society, breaking new ground on a couple of occasions. We started the year with our three lectures which were very well attended. The society entered into a conservation agreement with the museum to fund some restoration work on museum artifacts. We also co-purchased two items for the museum.

Rathmichael Historical Society paid us a visit from the 24th to 26th April and Martin Nevin gave them a talk on County Carlow.

We had an enjoyable outing to Hillsborough Castle and Lisburn Linen Museum on May 9th.

Our Schools History Prize was presented at a function in the museum on the 20th of May; we had four very good projects from four separate schools.

Shannon Historical and Archaeological

Society paid us a very enjoyable visit 22nd to 24th May when Martin Nevin spoke on Walt Disney and the Carlow connection. During Heritage week we had three excellent mini lectures in Leighlinbridge Parish Centre on the 26th August,

Reflections on Keenan's of Bagenalstown by Michael Keenan

Milletts — Coachbuilders of Borris by Ned Moran

Carlow Blue Limestone by Phil Meaney.

Also during Heritage week on the 22nd August we had one of our biggest projects. The re-enactment was spearheaded by three of our youngest members, Seamus Ó Murchú, Gary Hughes and Deirdre Kearney and took place in the Town Park, Graiguecullen. They did an excellent job and deserve our thanks. Our thanks also to Carlow Co. Council for the use of the park.

Sadly—we are losing Deirdre as she has left for Australia. She was an excellent secretary and spearheaded the development of our website; she will be greatly missed. I would like to thank our editor Jim Shannon and Martin Nevin for their unstinting work on the production of Carloviana. Where they source the material to fill it is amazing. I would also like to thank Pat O'Neill for his help and the huge volume of work he does for the society. Also I would like to thank all the members of the committee for their help and commitment to the Society during the year.

Finally I want to thank all those both members and sponsors who continue to make a vital contribution to our society.

Thank You

Bertie Watchorn

The 70th Winter Lecture Series 2015-2016

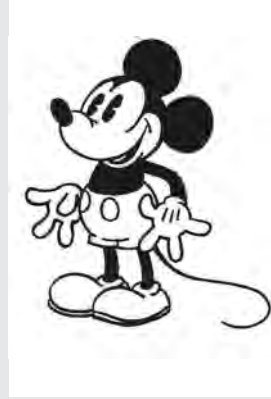
All lectures start at 8pm.

Date	Lecturer	Topic	Venue
21 October, 2015	Charles Doherty U.C.D. School of History	St Columbanus & the earliest churches in the Carlow area	Talbot Hotel, Carlow
8 November, 2015	Felix Larkin Academic Director, Parnell Summer School	"Dublin Opinion" magazine - the safety valve of a nation	Seven Oaks Hotel, Carlow
20 January, 2016	Dr Elaine Byrne Academic, Journalist and Consultant	Carlow and the Famine Girls	Mount Wolseley Hotel, Tullow
17 February, 2016	Christopher Power, Historian	Visitation of Vengeance - the killing of D.I. Percival Lee-Wilson	Seven Oaks Hotel, Carlow
16 March, 2016	Prof. Tagh O'Keeffe, U.C.D. School of Archaeological	Ballymoon Castle	Credit Union House, Bagenalstown
20 April, 2016	Dr Conor Kostic	Micheál UahAnnracáin - Gaelic League, I.R.B. and Novelist	Institute of Technology, Carlow



A CARLOW TRIBUTE TO WALT DISNEY.

'A DREAM, A PENCIL, AND A MOUSE'.



Mary Stratton Ryan

In July 1923, Walt Disney (1901- 1966) boarded a train bound for the movie Mecca of Hollywood. He had forty dollars in the pocket of his threadbare jacket. He was carrying a brown cardboard suitcase, which contained one shirt a change of socks, underwear, a bundle of sketchbooks filled with drawings, a few drawing materials and a reel of film entitled *Alice's Wonderland*.

Two months earlier Disney had written to several New York film distributors; *We have just discovered something new and clever in animated cartoons! The first subject of this distinctly different series is now in production. It is a new idea that will appeal to all and is bound to be a winner, because it is a combination of live characters and cartoons, using a cast of live child actors who carry on their action on cartoon scenes with cartoon characters.*¹

Lewis Carroll's classic *Alice Adventures in Wonderland* inspired the story for this innovative cartoon, however this time, Alice goes to *Cartoonland* for her many film adventures. On his arrival in Hollywood, there were no animation studios. It was a hive of industry; Cecil B. De Mille was filming *The Ten Commandments* and Douglas Fairbanks was building a monumental set for *The Thief of Bagdad*. Charlie Chaplin wrote, produced and directed *A Woman of Paris*.



Walt Disney
Born December 5th, 1901 at 12.35
Died December 15th, 1966 at 9.30

The center of the animation industry was New York. It was 17 years since James Stuart Blackton had made the first film using drawn animation, *Humorous Phases of Funny Faces*, and in the meantime the medium had been advanced by pioneers such as Winsor McCay, Earl Hurd, Walter Lantz, and Paul Terry, and by the Fleischer brothers with their *Out of the Inkwell* series. The top cartoons of the period were *Mutt and Jeff* and Pat Sullivan's *Felix the Cat* who, animated by Otto Messmer made his debut in 1921 and was hugely popular.

Walt Disney went to live with his Uncle Robert Disney, who had retired to Los Angeles.

Disney's French ancestry

The Disney Family originated in France, it may be traced back to the 11th century to Normandy and Hughes Suhart, from the village of Isigny. He was a vassal of Duke Guillaume of Normandy and had received several strongholds including the village of Isigny for his military services. Hughes Suhart now Hugh of Isigny [Hugh d'Isigny] and his son Robert travelled with William the Conqueror in 1066 to fight in the battle of Hastings England. William became King of England and the d'Isigny family settled in Lincoln, known today as Norton Disney, 10 miles from Lincoln on the river Witham.

The Disney family was well established in Lincolnshire by the 1150 and the Church of St Peter's Norton Disney, was founded by the family, it has five Disney monuments. Carved in stone and set in a low arched recess is an effigy of Joan d'Isigny, she is dressed in a coif and wears a costume of the 1300s. A second lady also named Joan and Sir William d'Isigny, son of William the church's founder are also carved in stone, Sir William is dressed in full knights armor. On the mortuary floor is the effigy of a late 14th century lady robed in a long

A CARLOW TRIBUTE TO WALT DISNEY. 'A DREAM, 'A PENCIL, AND A MOUSE

close fitting tunic, she lies with her head resting on two diagonally set cushions and her hands are clasped together.

An inscription on one side reads; *Here lies Hautacia, daughter of William Disney, Lord of Norton.* The fifth monument is a framed brass plaque dating from the 17th century its purpose was to commemorate two generations of Disney's and is engraved with the Disney coat of arms.² The family lived in this area until the 17th century when they sided with the Duke of Monmouth in his attempt to overthrow King James 11. After the rebellion failed the Disney lands were confiscated and most of the family fled to Ireland.³

On the 30th July 1949 Walt Disney made a private visit to Norton Disney, he filmed and photographed all these monuments and church registers. The local parish magazine only recorded this quiet visit. [Central Library Lincoln.] Disney around the same time, also visited, the birth- place of Robert Louis Stevenson in Edinburgh, while he was making the film *Treasure Island* in England, which was released on July 19, 1950. [See rare photograph taken on October 15, 1949 by freelance photographer George Konig]

Disney's Carlow ancestry

By the mid 1600s at least two members of the Disney family were living in Carlow. Both Thomas Disney who died in Carlow in 1658 and John Disney who died in Carlow in 1666, are recorded in the *Index to the Act and Grant books and the Original Wills of the Dioceses of Dublin 1272-1858. [26th, 30th, 31st Reports 1894,1899.]* Location, Carlow, Ireland.⁴

On 22nd Nov. 1666, a Patent was passed granting lands in Co Waterford, Co. Louth, and Westmeath to William Disney of Strabanne, Co. Louth and his son William. The Strabanne Disney family were living there until 1732. The elder branch included Captain Thomas Disney, his brother Lieut. George Disney, his wife Susanna Disney, also in the same family were Ebenezer Disney, Mary Disney and Benoni Disney. Their children were William, who married Elizabeth Fowles of Dublin, they lived in



Walt Disney the film maker

*Permission granted by:
The Walt Disney Co.*

Strabanne and died there in 1692, Thomas [? moved to Carlow], and Eccles, became High Sheriff of Waterford in 1757 and lived in Churchtown Dysert/ Carrick-on-suir [from 11th Nov. 1743] he died there in 1758. Elizabeth and Darkis both lived and died in Strabanne.

William and Elizabeth [Fowles] Disney had three sons their 3rd son John was born c1662 and on Feb. 26th 1703 he married Jane Brabazon eldest daughter of James and Mary Brabazon. On 29th Sept. 1742 John Disney was appointed Mayor of Galway City he died in 1749.⁵

These early dated wills of Thomas and John Disney who died in Carlow in 1658 and 1666 prove that the Disney family were settled in Carlow long before the Monmouth Rebellion which took place in 1685. Records indicate that the Carlow Disney's were established before the Kilkenny branch and were in fact ancestors of the Kilkenny branch. The Carlow Disney's predate the Galway branch, and were established before, but closer to the Louth branch!

Whether there is any family connection between the Louth branch, and the Carlow branch needs further research.

[The Monmouth rebellion was led by the dashing but doomed James Scott, Duke of Monmouth an illegitimate son of King

Charles 11 and was a power struggle between the Duke and his Uncle the future King James 11. It ended with the Battle of Sedgemoor on 6th July 1685. The Duke was captured and cruelly beheaded.]

Clonmelsh cemetery, Ballyloo, Garryhunden

There are three Disney tombs in Clonmelsh cemetery Co. Carlow, that of Robert Disney born in Carlow 1746 who married Mary Kepple (1750-1815) also born in Carlow. They married on 2nd Feb. 1775 at St Mary's Church, Carlow town. He died aged 62 on August 28 1808. Robert Disney died at the home of his son Kepple Disney at Sweethill, Clone, Co. Kilkenny and was buried in Clonmelsh cemetery, Garryhunden, Carlow. Mary Disney nee Kepple, his wife, erected the tombstone.⁶

Robert Disney 1746-1808

A closer look at Robert Disney's origin will unravel much of the mystery, which has surrounded the Carlow connection with Walt Disney's roots. Until very recent research there was no evidence as to the origin or ancestry of Robert, the great, great, great grandfather of Walt Disney.

Robert Disney was born in Carlow in 1746. He was the son of Richard and Elizabeth Disney, Richard was born in 1723 in Sudbury, Suffolk, as was his wife, Richard and Elizabeth died in Clonmelsh.

Richards father was Edward Disney born in 1689 in Brent, Eleigh, Suffolk. He married Elizabeth Lingwood also born in 1680 Suffolk. They both died in Suffolk.

Edwards parents were Mechisodech and Mary [Disnie] Disney both from Brent Eleigh, Suffolk.

Mechisodech died on 21st July 1660, and his wife Mary on 6th Dec.1712 in Brent Leigh, Suffolk.

Although the Parish Register for St. Mary's Carlow records the marriage of Robert Disney and Mary Capel [Kepple, the name is of Dutch, Huguenot origin] on 2nd Feb. 1775, it does not give any indication as to where they lived or their

occupation. However further research in the Public Record Office, Dublin gives this information, it is to be found in abstracts from the list of Grants of Marriage Licences for the Diocese of Leighlin. Amongst these documents is a grant to Robert and Mary Disney, which states that Robert was a farmer from Ratibendonin Co. Carlow [Rathvinden] close to Leighlinbridge and also to Clonmelsh.

Robert Disney and Mary Kepple had nine children; Kepple born 1775, John born 1780, George born 1783, Thomas born 1786 Mary born 1788 Elinor born 1790, James born 1793, Elizabeth born 1795 and William born in 1800.⁷

The other two Disney headstones in Clonmelsh Cemetery are to the memory of Abigale Pain (alias Disney) who died November 29, 1746, aged 28, and George Disney, baker of Dublin who died May 9, 1736 aged 53. [address; 10 Mill St. Dublin]

Thomas Disney of Garryhunden

Another Carlow Disney was Thomas Disney of Garryhunden who died in 1762; he farmed the lands of Garryhunden/Clonmelsh. He is possibly related to Roberts branch, an uncle or cousin, perhaps.? [Further research on him is required]. He married Elizabeth daughter of Samuel Leonard of Garryhunden. Mary Disney, a daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Disney of Garryhunden, married William Warren who was a cousin of the Butler family through the marriage of Arrabella Butler, sister of Sir Thomas Butler 3rd Bart. Knight of Garryhunden, who married John Warren MP for Carlow 1689.⁸

George Disney of Tullowreen, Wells, Leighlin

There is also a George Disney recorded as living in Carlow born in 1794 died 1870. The Parish Register of Old Leighlin 1794-1802 records members of the Disney family for example September 4, 1797 George Disney son of George and Mary Disney both of the parish of Tullowreen, Wells and Richard Disney baptized on 3rd January 1800 son of the same couple, George and Mary Disney of the parish of Tullowreen, Wells.



*Walt Disney inventor of Mickey Mouse
Permission granted by:
The Patent Office, U.S.A.*

In 1932, Walt Disney travelled to Leighlinbridge, Carlow for a private visit to meet his Disney cousins, still living, in Coolnaskisha, Rathornan, and 2 mls from Old Leighlin.⁹

Several documents clarify the Carlow – Kilkenny Disney connection.

On February 17, 1857 the sale of 33 acres of land in Clone, Barony of Galmoy, Co Kilkenny owned by the Disney family took place in the Court of the Commissions for sale of Incumbent Estates of Ireland. The names in which the deeds were held included Henry, Kepple, Arundel Elias and Robert Disney, John Swan and William and Mary Power. [court 14, Heneretta St. Dublin.]

Further documents related to the Kilkenny connection of the family may be found in Griffiths Valuation and the Electoral Division of Rathbeagh;

Kepple Disney was farming at *Sweethill*, Rathbeagh, this was a union parish of Clomantagh, Freshford, Closhcrow, Rathbeag and Sheffin. The census for 1841 also shows Kepple Disney still alive and farming at *Sweethill*, Rathbeag. Kepple Disney died in Sweethill, Clone, Co. Kilkenny in 1857.

Kepple Disney of Sweethill, Clone, Kilkenny

Kepple Disney is a key figure in weaving together the Disney family story.

Kepple Disney was the eldest son of the afore mentioned Robert [1746-1808] and Mary Disney [Kepple] 1750-1815. He was born in Aharney parish, Co Laois in 1776. He married Frances Best, daughter of Arundel Caulfield Best¹⁰ who was born in Bestville, Carlow 1776 she died in Sweethill, Clone Kilkenny. They married on 17th Feb. in 1795 at St. Marys Church, Carlow.

They had 8 children.

1. The eldest was Mary Anne born 1795 in Clone, Kilkenny. Died Nov. 1875 in Louisville, St. Lawrence New York. She married William Powers [born 1790 in Garrentaggart, Laois] on 20th April 1815.in Ireland.
2. Robert was born on 9 July 1797 in Clones, Kilkenny. He died on 18 April 1872 in Goderich, Huron Co. Ontario. He married Jane Cook in 1829 in Kilkenny. She was born 4 Nov 1810 in Ireland, and died in 1893 in Goderich, Ontario.
3. Charlotte was born in 1801 in Clone, Kilkenny and died in Jan. 1882 in London England.
4. Arundel Elias was born in 1803 in Clone, Kilkenny. He died on 31 May 1880 in Goderich Huron Co. Ontario. He married Maria Swan on 1 Sept. 1832 in Clone Kilkenny. She was born in 1816 in Ireland. She died 26 Sept. 1896 in Ellis, Kansas, USA.
5. Kepple was born 5 Sept. 1806 in Clone, Kilkenny. And died in 1875. He married Mary E.B.? in 1830 in England.
6. James born 1807 in Clone, Kilkenny. Died in 1840.
7. Frances born 1816 in Clone, Kilkenny.
8. Henry the youngest, was born on 10 May 1816 in Sweethill, Clone, Kilkenny and died 12 April 1877 New York. He married Christina Furney born 17 Feb. 1822, Kildare, Ireland who died 29 April 1891 New York. They had 5 children born in Ireland, and 5 in New York.¹¹

Disney's move to America

In 1834 seven members of this branch of the Disney family sailed on a ship



Walt Disney the story teller

leaving Liverpool called the 'New Jersey' and arrived in New York on 3rd October. An extract of the passenger manifest from this vessel records the following;

Seven Disney's from *Sweethill*, Clone, Kilkenny;
Robert Disney aged 36 occupation Farmer.

Arundal Elias Disney aged 33 occupation Farmer.

Jane Disney [nee Cook] aged 21 wife.

Maria Disney [nee Swan] aged 20 wife.
Kepple Disney aged 2.

Frances Disney aged 4.

Elias Disney aged 3.

Arundel Elias Disney

Arundel Elias Disney was Walt Disney's great-grandfather. His son Kepple Elias Disney (1832-1891) born in Clone [aged 2 when he sailed to America], married in 1858 Mary Richardson (1838-1909) an Irish emigrant from Aghaboe Co. Laois. Their son Elias Charles Disney 1859-1941 was Walt Disney's father.

Arundel and Maria settled on the shores of Lake Huron, in Canada and set up a sawmill. He cleared and farmed 149 acres beside his brother Robert who farmed 93 acres. They had sixteen children, the eldest Kepple with his two

eldest sons Elias (Walt Disney's father) and Robert set out for Southern California in search of gold in 1878. They settled for a while into farming in Ellias, Kansas.

Elias Disney married Flora Call on 1 January 1888. They had four sons, Herbert, Raymond, Roy, Walt and one daughter, Ruth Flora.¹²

The Disney brother's

When Walt Disney arrived by train, in Los Angeles in July 1923, to stay with his uncle Robert his brother Roy was also there, they rented a small apartment near the site of their new *Hollywood Studio*, an unused storage space where the Disney Brothers officially launched their company in 1923 with the help of a loan of \$500 from their Uncle Robert. Work began on the first picture animated entirely by Walt inked and painted by two girls hired for \$15 a week and photographed by Roy on a second-hand camera which he had bought for \$200. The completed film was, *Alice's Day at the Sea*, after which there were more than 50 *Alice in Cartoonland* adventures between 1924-27. Their next film was *Oswald the Rabbit* 1926-28.

Roy Disney married Edna Francis on 7 April 1925 and on 13 July 1925 Walt

Disney married Lillian Bounds who was employed at their studio as an ink and paint artist. On the strength of *Oswald's* success, all seemed to be going well for what was now called *Walt Disney Studios*. Then a death blow was delivered by Charles Mintz his distributor when he announced that not only had he taken almost all of his animators except his friend Ub Iwerks to work for him but that under the terms of his contract his creation *Oswald the Rabbit* was the sole property of Universal Pictures and Disney had no rights to the character his studio had created.

Things could not have been worse, on that day in March 1928 when Walt and Lilly left New York for Hollywood. He had lost his film distributor, his cartoon star, and most of his animators. However, he was about to be rescued by a most unlikely hero!

Disney recalled in 1948, that Mickey Mouse had first popped out of his mind unto his drawing pad at a time when disaster seemed just around the corner.

Disney said that on his train journey he sat doodling on his sketchpad, hoping for inspiration and a solution to his problems; *Out of the trouble and confusion stood a mocking, merry little figure. Vague and indefinable at first. But grew and grew. And finally arrived----- a mouse.!*

The idea completely engulfed me. The train- wheels turned to the tune of it.

When Disney was a struggling young artist, so the tale runs, he befriended a family of mice that took up residence in his waste paper basket. One particular mouse had become very tame and would climb up onto Disney's Drawing board to be fed.

At first this imaginative Mouse was called Mortimer. Lilly Disney disliked the name and suggested that he should call him Mickey Mouse and he did. Disney's irrepressible optimism was one of his strongest attributes. Disney viewed the blow that fate had dealt him as a positive opportunity; a chance to create a new cartoon character. Mickey was neither mouse nor man but rather a symbol of *youth, optimism and adventure*.

In the first Mickey Mouse film entitled *Plane Crazy*, Disney and Ub Iwerks who was drawing up to 700 drawings a day, worked in secret on it. The scenario they devised was inspired by the exploits of Charles Lindberg who in 1927, had made the first solo, non-stop flight across the Atlantic. This set the trend for many of Mickey Mouse's earliest escapades.

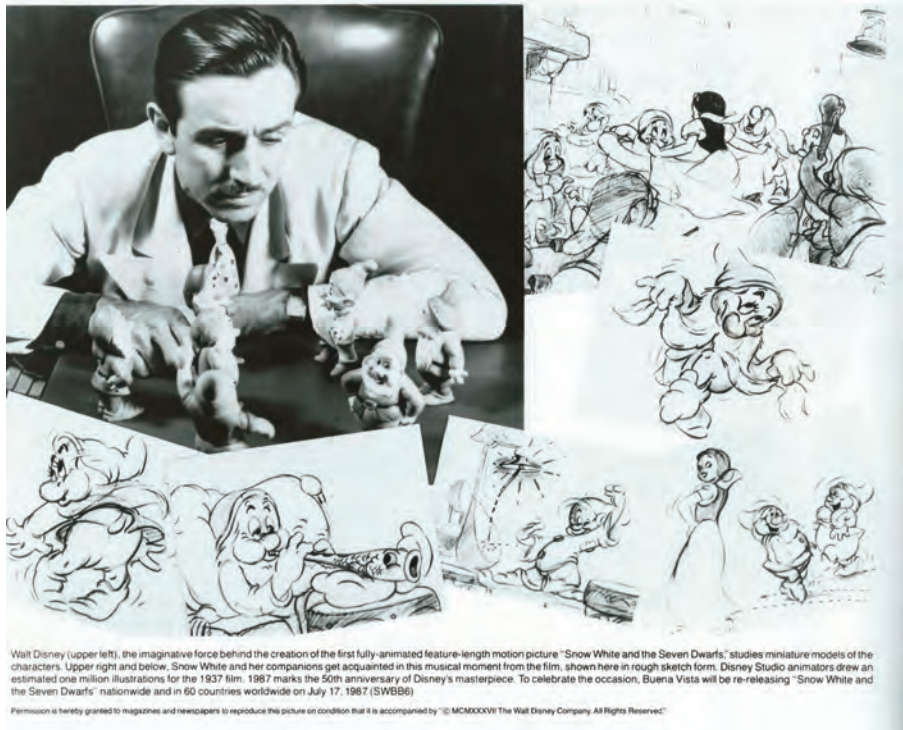
The next major development was the first sound cartoon, *Steamboat Willie*, it was a triumph. It was estimated that, in just one year, no fewer than 468 million cinemagoers saw a Mickey Mouse movie. *Mickey and I are firm friends* Disney once said *we have weathered the storms together* and indeed for many years life was anything but plain sailing for *Walt Disney Studio*.

Walt Disney was the first to add synchronized sound and, later, full colour to cartoons. He was the first in the age of talkies, to produce a feature length animated film. The first animator to experiment with stereo sound, 3-D, Cinema Scope and Technirama. He was also the first and only cartoonist to make a successful break into live-action film-making.

The characters from the Disney movies—whether animated like *Mickey Mouse* and *Pinocchio*; portrayed by actors and actresses in roles such as *Long John Silver* and *Mary Poppins*; or inanimate objects like *Herbie the Volkswagen*—are known throughout the world. The creative and imaginative use of sound, music, and folk material made Disney successful and his studio expanded rapidly.

At this point he set up a training school where a whole new generation of artists developed and this made possible the production of the first feature length cartoon *Snow White* 1937.¹³

This was a well-timed animated feature although it was dubbed by the movie industry as *Disney's folly*. Few believed that an audience would sit through a 90-minute cartoon. This film set the Disney style. *Disney's folly* turned out to be an enchanted castle. *Snow White* and the *Seven Dwarfs* was proof, beyond any doubt, of the genius of Walt Disney and his artists. Later in a radio interview Cecil B. de Mille asked Disney to explain the secret of *Snow White's* appeal.



Walt Disney (upper left), the imaginative force behind the creation of the first fully-animated feature-length motion picture "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs"; studies miniature models of the characters. Upper right and below, Snow White and her companions get acquainted in this musical moment from the film, shown here in rough sketch form. Disney Studio animators drew an estimated one million illustrations for the 1937 film. 1987 marks the 50th anniversary of Disney's masterpiece. To celebrate the occasion, Buena Vista will be re-releasing "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" nationwide and in 60 countries worldwide on July 17, 1987 (SWBB8).

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Walt Disney and the Seven Dwarfs

He replied:

Over at our place we're sure of just one thing everybody in the world was once a child. We grow up, our personalities change, but within every one of us something remains of our childhood. It knows nothing of sophistication and distinction; it's where all of us are simple and trusting. So, in planning a new picture, we don't think of grown-ups and we don't think of children, but just of that fine, clean unspoiled spot down deep in every one of us, that the world has maybe made us forget and maybe our pictures can help recall.

It was a philosophy that was to provide the Studio with a formula that would earn it success for decades to come.

Other animated features followed, including *Pinocchio*, *Bambi*, and *Fantasia*, and many more. Wild life films began with *Seal Island* in 1948. *Treasure Island* in 1950 led to the studio's major production of live-action films, which cornered the traditional 'family market'. Disney's hit *Mary Poppins* was one of his most successful films, which used occasional animation.

With the dedicated help of his brother Roy and a highly creative staff Disney

built a company that overcame numerous vicissitudes; initial uncertainties, industrial unrest, economic slumps, constantly shifting market conditions and eventually, even the death of its founder. By the time of his death on 15 December 1966 in Burbank, Los Angeles, California, Disney's enterprises had brought him respect, admiration, honors, and Oscars but he will always be remembered as the man who invented *Mickey Mouse*.¹⁴

The Disney Studio during Walt Disney's career had produced 21 full-length animated films, 493 short subjects, 47 live action films, 7 true life adventure features, 330 of Mickey Mouse Club TV programs, 78 half hour Zorro TV adventures and 280 other TV shows.

On 18 July, 1957 Disney opened Disneyland in Anaheim, California, the most successful amusement park in history. In 1971 Disney World opened in Orlando, Florida and since then Disney theme parks have opened in Tokyo, Japan and Paris. Walt Disney created and funded a new university, the California Institute of the Arts, known as Cal Arts.

Disney once commented;

It's the principal thing I hope to leave when I move on to greener pastures. If I can help provide a place to develop the

A CARLOW TRIBUTE TO WALT DISNEY. 'A DREAM, 'A PENCIL, AND A MOUSE



In order to create the beautiful fairy tale princess Snow White, Walt Disney and his animators enlisted the vocal talents of 18-year-old Adriana Caselotti (upper right) and studied the graceful movements of Marge Belcher (lower right). The latter changed her name years later to Mar Champion and gained renown as a dancer and choreographer. 1987 marks the 50th anniversary of Disney's masterpiece. To celebrate the occasion, Buena Vista will be re-releasing "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" nationwide and in 60 countries worldwide on July 17, 1987 (SWBB5)

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Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs

talent of the future, I think I will have accomplished something.¹⁵

'Beyond belief'.

When you wish upon a star.

In the world of Irish film animation, Kilkenny based *Cartoon Saloon*, established by Tom Moore and Paul Young in 1999 has grown into a multi-award winning Animation Studio. It received Oscar Academy Award nominations for *The Secret of Kells* in 2010 and *Song of the Sea* in 2014. Film animation has come a long way worldwide, thanks to Walt Disney's dream, a pencil and a mouse.

One of Disney Studios recent films

'Frozen', has become the highest grossing Disney film of all time. On 13th December 2014 Carlow Childrens Choir 'Aspiro' led a *Frozen Sing Along* to a sell out audience in the National Concert Hall, Dublin for a total of three shows. The story 'Frozen' was inspired by the Hans Christian Anderson fairy tale. Its music with many classic hits for example 'Let it Go' has made it an outstanding success. Mary Amond O'Brien established the Carlow Children's Choir in 1997 and it was a dream comes true for her and the children to perform to such packed and appreciative audiences in the National Concert Hall.

Disney's magic touched the life of Carlow Music Director Rev. Fr. Liam

Lawton also in 2014. In the year 2000 Fr. Lawton's entire portfolio of music was stolen, he was devastated and had to start writing from the beginning again.

After a Jerusalem pilgrimage he produced an album *Bethlehem Sky* inspired by that journey. One song on his album *Under a Thousand Stars* focuses on the humanitarian plight of the people of Syria.

Disney Studios shortly afterwards, asked the Irish writer to pen a song to be used in a special retrospective for film classics such as *Snow White and Cinderella*. The result was the song 'Beyond Belief' arranged by Mark Cahill, performed by the Prague Philharmonic Orchestra and sung by the Longford born soprano Emer Barry of *Affiniti*. It has been chosen as the voice of Disneyland Paris latest campaign. A dream comes true for both a talented and deserving writer and singer!

The song *Beyond Belief* represents the positivity of life and especially believing in our dreams, that all things are possible if we believe in ourselves.

What a wonderful legacy Walt Disney has left us!

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Peter Furney a cousin of the Disney family and to genealogist Paul Gorry from Baltinglass who corresponded with me on the Disney Family History. Also to sources, *Carlow roots*, *Ancestry.com*, *Find my past*, and The National Library of Ireland Archives.

Author's note.

The first film the author saw was *Snow White*, when aged 3.

'My father took me to see it at the Ritz Cinema, Carlow, it was Christmastime and I travelled the 2 miles from Kilmeaney to Carlow, as a passenger on fathers James Motorbike ZL 880, sitting on a cushion on the front seat, wearing my best clothes, father wore an aviator's helmet and goggles. I was enchanted and spellbound by the film, however, I hid under my seat when the witch arrived.

For four decades I have been privileged

to work in Art Education. Throughout that time film animation and especially the Walt Disney characters have proven to be a source of joy and inspiration for my students. What a wonderful gift imagination is. I am honored that several of my students both in Carlow and Wexford have happily followed careers in film animation. It is with the greatest joy that I write this small tribute to Walt Disney to say thank you to him, and his Studio for all the hours of happiness and laughter he has given us.'

Endnotes:

¹ Richard Holliss and Brian Sibley, *The Disney Studio Story*. Octopus Book Ltd. London. 1988. P12.

² Jan Winter, *Uncle Walt's Ancestors*, Travel Section, *The Independent*, Sat. 12th April. 1997.

³ Jimmy O'Toole, *Carlow's International Achievers. The Leinster Leader*, Naas, Kildare, Ireland. 1999, p7-14.

⁴ Index to the *Act and Grant books and the Original Wills of the Dioceses of Dublin 1272-1858*. [26th, 30th, 31st Reports 1894,1899.] Location, Carlow, Ireland. The Index to Prerogative Wills of Ireland 1536-1810 and Supplement 1914 by Sir Arthur Vicars is a useful source. He indexed all wills up to 1810. This index deals with 40,000 Irish Wills. Almost all destroyed in the 1922 explosion at the Public Record Office in Dublin. Vicar's publication was based on the transcripts and notes taken from the original wills by Sir William Bertham, Ulster King of Arms. 1779-1853.

⁵ Turtle Bunbury, *Disney of Strabannon. the Brabazon connection* see web site.

⁶ The Cemetery of Clonmelsh is abandoned and overgrown, Mrs Dorothy Leonard of Woodlands, Castledermot while researching the roots of another family there, was the first to rediscover the Disney tombs.

The present author of this article is researching the possibility of restoration and care of the Disney family tombs, for it is a great shame that they should be so



*Walt Disney visits the birthplace of Robert Louis Stevenson with J.W. Wherries, Vice President of the R.L.S. Club in Edinburgh, rare photograph, October 15th, 1949, taken by Geoarge Konig. Disney photo Library A 13 Mounted on linen. 8*10ins.*

neglected.

⁷ Peter Furney, *Disney Family History*, 2010. Private coll.

⁸ Turtle Bunbury, ref. to the Butler and Warren Family, in *Disney of Strabannon*, see web. site.

⁹ Martin Nevin, local information and Disney archives. The census for Leighlin in 1911 records James and Bridget Disney living in Coolnaskisha, Rathornan, Carlow. Aged 42 and 48, and a niece Cathleen Mallon aged 16 from America.

¹⁰ Arundel Caulfield Best, was Frances Bests father and this is where the unusual name of 'Arundel' came into the Disney family. The name is of Norman-French origin it comes from the old French (h) *arondel* a diminutive of 'aroud', a swallow. The name is strongly associated with the Munster Co. of Cork. *Arundel Mills* a village in south Cork and also *Arundel*

Castle in Ring, Cork\ Waterford boarder.

¹¹ Peter Furney, cousin of Christine Furney, who married Henry Disney, [see tree]. *Disney Family*, 2010, private coll.

¹² *Disney Family Tree*. Web site. Disney Museum archives.

¹³ Richard Holliss and Brian Sibley, *The Disney Studio Story*. Octopus Book Ltd. London. 1988. P15. ch2. *Enter The Mouse*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 6-7 *The House that Walt Built*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.82. ch.12. *Practically perfect in every way*.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CLERGY IN BORRIS

Tom Joyce

Many of the extracts for this article are taken from the well-researched book by the late Tom Murphy of Borris Co. Carlow. His Book, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris : Political Intrigue, Murder & Transportation in the 1830s*, is an extremely valuable source of information on Borris and the surrounding areas during this period. Murphy minutely examines each article in the Tory (Carlow Sentinel) and Liberal (*The Carlow Morning Post* and *The Leinster Independent*) newspapers, among others, that documents the strengthening control of the clergy in Borris over their congregation. The account covers a period of rampant sectarianism from both sections of the community. Newspapers of the time were careless or worse with the truth if it suited their agenda. What Murphy achieved was the critical analysis of the information from each article coupled with the ability and knowledge to point out the truth and inaccuracies that were contained within. This gives the reader an excellent feeling for the mood of the day while also maintaining a jaundiced eye on the vitriol that was contained in a large percentage of the reports. Murphy's attention to detail is extraordinary throughout the book. Any error is referenced back to reliable sources such as the National Library or Government papers of the time. Any contradictory stories are exposed and referenced.

The passing of The Catholic Relief Act of 1793 would prove to be a seminal moment in Irish politics and eventually its effects would filter down to villages like Borris. This act did not allow Catholics access to parliament but did

give the 40-shilling freeholder the right to vote, Catholic or Protestant. This resulted in the doubling of the number of registered freeholders in Ireland between 1795 and 1803 to 100,000 as landlords franchised their tenants in order to secure votes.¹ There is no evidence that Thomas Kavanagh the main landlord in the Borris area manipulated the tenants for electoral advantage. This can be seen when comparing two adjoining town lands in the Parish of Clonagoose (Borris), Coonogue and Rathgeran. Coonogue was in the possession of the Earl of Courtown and by 1826 there were forty-seven tenants listed, forty of them on less than ten acres, some as little as one. In the adjoining towns land of Rathgeran under the control of the Kavanaghs, the average acres per tenant was thirty-two.² At the time this act looked to have increased the power of the landlord as they could effectively enfranchise their tenants and control their votes. As it would turn out this would change when the Catholic clergy realised that controlling these votes could change things in their favour.³ The Catholic clergy in Carlow were not slow to realise this opportunity and by 1818 there was evidence of distinct Catholic electoral interest.⁴ A House of Commons Report on The State of Ireland in 1825 would back this up, as evidence is given of clergy preaching discontent from the altar.⁵ Dr. Doyle, then professor of Theology at Carlow College urged Catholic voters to cast their votes for Robert Latouche, a Whig supporter of Catholic Emancipation.⁶ He was unsuccessful in this attempt but it was only to be the start of a battle between the clergy and landlord.

The emergence of the Catholic Clergy as a political force was certainly evident in Borris. Here three very strong minded and outspoken priests, Rev John Walsh Snr. PP, his nephew Rev John Walsh Jnr. CC and Rev Buggy CC, opposed Tory candidates at every opportunity.⁷ Fr. John Walsh Snr. was born in Graignamanagh and was the first student to enrol in Carlow College.⁸ He was appointed PP of Borris in 1805 and set about repairing the local church in Ballymurphy and building the churches in Rathanna and Borris. The latter church is on record in *Slater's Leinster Directory of 1881* as costing £2000. He also built the school house in Borris with monies donated from his political opponents, the Kavanaghs of Borris House. Fr. John Walsh Jnr was appointed curate at Borris in 1823. He was a nephew of John Walsh Senior and was also born in Graiguemanagh. Fr. Buggy was appointed curate in Borris sometime before 1835.⁹ The political battle between clergy and politicians was fought out locally but also publicly in the Tory newspaper, *The Carlow Sentinel* and also the Liberal *Carlow Morning Post* and indeed from the pulpit when necessary. The two Walsh priests were denigrated and insulted shamefully by the *Sentinel* but also described quite rightly as turning the locals of Borris against their landlord Thomas Kavanagh. John Walsh Jnr. in particular was not afraid to use the press to get his point across and sent many letters to the *Sentinel* defending his actions. While the Tory newspaper used almost exclusively biased journalism in their reporting of the disturbances in Borris, the clergy it seems were also not afraid to use any means to convince their congregation to oppose Kavanagh. The Church in Borris was used for political meetings, and parishioners were threatened from the altar, if they voted for Kavanagh or Bruen.

Tom Murphy's book *The Fathers Walsh of Borris: Political Intrigue, Murder & Transportation in the 1830s*, details the different meeting and rallies organised in Borris and the outlying area around this period. A meeting was held, according to *The Carlow Post*, in Borris on November 1830 organised by the Borris clergy, petitioning Parliament for a repeal of the Union. Another was held on the follow-

ing April and was again reported in the *Post*. The first instance of an anti Tithe organisation is reported in the *Carlow Sentinel* on the 11th February 1832 when a meeting was called for the 19th in Borris.¹⁰ This was a replication of a meeting organised in Graiguenamanagh under the stewardship of Fr. Martin Doyle.¹¹ *The Sentinel* and *Post* both welcomed this meeting with the *Sentinel* describing the priests who called it as exemplary and patriotic.¹² This would be one of the few compliments bestowed on the priests of Borris over the next few years from that paper. The numbers reported at this meeting are extraordinary with between 7000-8000 people estimated in the *Post*. The *Post* also reported the amount of Tithe paid by the locals as £385 in the Parish of Kiltinnel and £235 in the parish of Clonagoose, quite a sum of money at the time. The *Sentinel* also describes how several Protestant gentlemen attended this meeting and both papers record the speeches as ecumenical, encouraging good relations with their neighbours.¹³

What is interesting about this meeting is the power that the clergy clearly felt they had with the locals. Rev. Walsh Snr.'s speech is reported in the *Sentinel* as beginning with the line, "I shall address a few words to you and as Catholic rector of this parish I will expect you to pay attention to what remarks I am about to make." Fr. Walsh Jnr. advised the audience on how to frustrate the Tithe proctor by secreting their cattle and hiding everything of value.¹⁴ This was sound advice as this very system of preventing Tithe Proctors from securing livestock had begun in the neighbouring parish of Graiguenamanagh in 1830 and had been spectacularly successful. One stipulation of the Tithe collection was that livestock could not be taken at night-time and could not be taken from under lock and key.¹⁵ Fr. Doyle in Graiguenamanagh used these loopholes and advised the locals to only allow their livestock out to graze at night and to lock them up during the day. He had also offered to store the cattle prior to sale and this had brought matters to a head when one hundred and twenty yeomanry arrived to take the cattle from the priest's house. The priests in Borris were not slow to use their fellow clergy's methods. Indeed Fr. Doyle was as regular a speaker

at the Tithe meetings as the Fr. Walshes.¹⁶ The *Morning Post* goes on to describe two other huge meetings held over the summer of 1832 in St. Mullins and The Cross of Skeough respectively, where the Walsh priests and Thomas Cloney spoke for repeal of the Union.¹⁷ The numbers given for the second meeting were even more extraordinary at 20,000. At the Cross of Skeough the tone of John Walsh Jnr. took on much more political tone as he used his speech to disparage Henry Bruen, Thomas Kavanagh's Tory running mate and son in law from Carlow, for the way he voted for the people of Carlow at parliament. He also highlights how Bruen, after the last election treated his tenant, Mr. Sinnot of Kiledmond Borris. After Sinnot had voted against him he immediately looked for arrears and then served him with a letter for non-payment. Fr. Walsh also highlights Kavanagh's conversion as he describes how once they were hereditary friends of the people but that a "blasting simoom [sic] has swept them from us."¹⁸ Interestingly although Bruen resided in Carlow, some thirty miles away, and Kavanagh in the same parish his only criticism of Kavanagh is in relation to his conversion. If Kavanagh had been practising any ill treatment of his tenants then this would have been an ideal opportunity to highlight this fact. It was not an endorsement of Kavanagh but neither was it as bitter towards him as that of Bruen in Carlow. The Kavanaghs' reputation as landlords may have had something to do with this, while Bruen on the other hand had by his own admission a reputation as a severe and grinding.¹⁹

The first sign of a counter point to the priests of Borris came not from Thomas Kavanagh but in the form of a letter to the editor of the *Sentinel* in November 1832 from one of Kavanagh's tenants. This published letter described how "most base and dishonest efforts are being made to separate Mr. Kavanagh from his tenants".²⁰ This was followed a week later by a notice of a meeting of tenants in support of Thomas Kavanagh. This meeting was held on the 19th October and a resolution was passed that an address be presented to Kavanagh expressing respect and firm attachment to him as landlord. Edmond Hagarty, Charles Corcoran and Daniel Kelly were appointed to write up the same.²¹ They completed this task and presented him

with a letter expressing their attachment to him as their landlord and how they would look to him for advice and support. They also indicated that they wished to exercise their rights (which must be presumed their right to vote), and they would look to Kavanagh to ensure that they were allowed to do so. Sixty-two names signed this letter which they requested be published in the provincial papers.²² Kavanagh wrote back a letter, which was also published in the *Sentinel*, thanking his tenants for their support. He assures them of their right to exercise their elective franchise and his willingness to support this right by force if necessary. In this letter he takes a swipe at the men of peace who ought to know better, who are inciting.²³ This is undoubtedly a reference to the clergy of Borris but he also declares that he will bring to justice the hired ruffians who nightly disturb the peace. The following week the *Sentinel* carried a letter from the Trades People and persons employed by Thomas Kavanagh endorsing the letter from his tenants and expressing similar sentiments. This was signed by sixty-five names but as before they are not given so it cannot be calculated if these were the same people as the first.²⁴ Considering that the number of engaged in trade in Borris in the 1831 Census is given as sixty-three then this was a serious endorsement. There are also twenty-eight families listed as engaged in farming of which Kavanagh undoubtedly some as his records show upwards of fifty people employed on any given day.²⁵ It is little wonder some of the people of Borris were coming out in favour of their landlord.

The clergy were not long in responding to this barrage from the *Sentinel*. On the first Sunday of November The *Post* reports that a meeting was held in Borris Chapel to propose resolutions to counteract the address presented to Mr. Kavanagh. Kavanagh responded by ordering placards erected in the town supporting Blackney, his political opponent, to be torn down, deeming them a trespass on his property.²⁶ The *Post* reports on this meeting: "After last mass Rev Walsh Snr. stated that all who were attached to their religion and priests should remain in the chapel and all those who could not repose confidence in their priests he begged withdraw". After a considerable pause he drew up three resolutions that he stated would display

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that his congregation would not be separated from their priests by the machinations of any bad Catholics or those who were their enemies. The first resolution stated that they viewed with detestation those who presented the address to Mr. Kavanagh as it cast measured censure on the conduct of the clergy. The second resolution simply expressed confidence in their priests. The third resolution was in regard to the interference of the landlords with the tenantry and as none of the signatories of the address to Mr. Kavanagh were in attendance their names were read from the altar. A Mr. Nolan expressed the belief that some of those who signed the address were now sorry, to, which Rev Walsh replied that the people would know how to deal with them.²⁷ Fr. Walsh also stated that whoever voted for Kavanagh had ceased to be a member of his Church and was handed over to Satan.²⁸

“THE CLERICAL AGITATORS” was the headline in the *Sentinel* on March 30th 1833. The paper urges the government to impose martial law following a particularly fiery sermon given by Fr. John Walsh in Ballymurphy.²⁹ Unfortunately no detail is given of the homily. On May 4th it followed up its criticism of Fr. Walsh describing him as “an ignorant agitator, a man possessing less knowledge of Latin or polite Literature, than one of our office messengers, a vulgar imperious demagogue...”.³⁰ Obvious from the article is the fact that Thomas Kavanagh had finally had enough of the political interference and had moved against some of his tenants, enforcing arrears and following that up with eviction. This included Fr. John Walsh Snr., whom Kavanagh moved to evict for non-payment of rent according to the *Kilkenny Journal* of 22nd October 1833.³¹ There was also an ejection order against the parish priest of St. Mullins. This priest, Fr. Martin Doyle was the organiser of the Tithe protest in Graignamanagh. It reported that the land was property of Mr. Carroll of Wicklow and Fr. Walsh has been in possession for 20 years. Although Walsh had paid his rent he held the land with others who had not. Kavanagh again demanded arrears and as a result all were ejected, about sixty in number. If the clergy had their loopholes to avoid the Tithe Proctor the landlords also had theirs to get rid of

troublesome tenants. The land was set to four Protestants for the purposes of winning subsequent elections according to the *Kilkenny Moderator*. The individual who took up Walsh’s land apparently became ashamed of his actions and gave up the land. Walsh again took possession of the land. This story was carried in other papers such as the *Morning Register*, *Evening Mail*, *Evening Packet* and the *Dublin Evening Post*. On the 28th September the *Sentinel* carries an article detailing how Fr. Walsh Jnr. had his turfs torn down and destroyed. Fr. Walsh responds to this article on the 5th October, by vehemently denying that a single rick of turf had been destroyed maliciously. Instead he details how the locals had come and saved his turf and carried it back to his house. The *Sentinel* commented on this letter stating that Fr. Walsh was more acquainted with the collection of his dues rather than with facts. Luke Hagarty of Kilcoltrim Borris on the 26th October wrote a letter to the paper taking exception to Fr. Walsh’s letter in the *Sentinel* regarding his turf. He questions Fr. Walsh’s facts and states that Fr. Walsh had, from the altar in Borris, asserted that his turf had been destroyed maliciously and charged the people in the townland of Moulon (sic) with the act. Fr. Walsh responded to this letter on the 5th November 1833 and makes a very poor attempt to divert attention from Hagarty’s letter. His letter veers in several tangents but does not adequately address Hagarty’s points. Hagarty again writes in the *Sentinel* on the 30th November when he effectively calls Fr. Walsh a liar and again points out the contradictions in the original letter.³² This goes to show that although the Catholic clergy was emerging as a strong political force in the Borris area there were Catholic parishioners who were unafraid to take them on.

The *Carlow Sentinel* in the early part of 1835 details several instances of violence against people who had voted for the Tory candidates at the recent election.³³ There are several alleged instances of people being accosted and “hooted at” as they were on their way to and from Mass during this period. The instances were reported to have occurred at the chapels in Rathanna and also at the parish church in Borris. A woman was reported to have been thrown from the gallery in Borris

church during this period. A full blown riot was reported in the February 7th edition of the *Sentinel*. Edward Mulligan who had apparently opposed the priests during the previous election was dragged from the gallery and beaten outside. Some of Mulligan’s friends intervened outside which prevented him from, receiving a more severe beating. Three witnesses, a Constable Patrick Roach, Richard Kelly and Patrick Holden swore evidence of this incident. Information was lodged against all these incidents and nine cases were handed over for the Quarter Sessions. One man was found guilty and the others were referred to a later sitting as the jury could not agree. At this sitting Edward Mulligan refuted the evidence he had given previously and all charges were dropped.³⁴

In January 1835 the *Sentinel* has the following editorial which is a good example of the view point taken by that newspaper.

“It appears, that restless and mischievous politician, the Rev. John Walsh and a few of his vulgar satellites, are determined at all hazards to keep up a system of agitation in his parish, in order to preserve his popularity and retain some shadow of authority over the unthinking rabble. A meeting, we perceive by the *Carlow Post* will take place on tomorrow after last mass, for various legal and constitutional purposes and thus after 'prayer', this meek and pious pastor will indulge his parishioners with a long catalogue of Irish grievances and the piety and ardent attachment of their ancestors to the priesthood. The altar will once more become a proper place to discuss the merits of popular representatives and we suppose much of the 'recusant Catholics' as are attached to their benefactor will be denounced as the enemies of the priests and therefore to all intents and purposes, heretics who should be carefully avoided, for, according to modern demagogues, no man can be a good Christian nor a sincere Roman Catholic if he obey not the mandate of the priest with the same pious defense he would the canons of a general council. The people of Borris have had opportunities of profiting by the lessons of experience - and if they suffer a wily agitator, who cares not one farthing for the people, provided he pockets his dues to sever the connection between them

and Mr. Kavanagh, they and not the priest, will be answerable for the consequences. By agitation the priest keeps up a sort of artificial excitement to browbeat and intimidate industrious traders who are attached to a resident gentry; by agitation the priest rouses the bad passion of the vulgar and the ignorant and like the dexterous juggler, he turns their credulity to his own advantage, little regarding their temporal or spiritual welfare provided he be regarded as the great idol of popular worship as a politician. It therefore behoves Mr. Kavanagh to look to the peace of that district and we should respectfully suggest to him the propriety of carefully marking out his dependents and tenantry as attend those mob assemblies at his own gate; he will be thereby enabled to distinguish the turbulent and disaffected from the peaceable and industrious people of that neighbourhood and treat them according to their merits. The Whitefoot have not latterly disturbed that district, after a few agitation meetings we shall see how matters will stand; but it is, at all events, important that the public should know those who cause the ruin of our population. Mr. Kavanagh resides constantly among his people, encouraging industry, opening fresh sources of wealth, clothing the poor, whilst his amiable family are occupied in administering relief to the sick, educating the children of the poor - in fact, blessing and being blessed; and yet, at such a gentleman's gates do a gang of heartless political incendiaries meet for the purpose of abuse, misrepresentation and sheer opposition to his known wishes. Mr. Kavanagh, we trust, will have a strict watch on their proceedings and such as repay his kindness by joining in those conventions, we hope he will take care to afford them sufficient leisure to repent for their ingratitude. Peace and contentment, there can be none, until such persons are brought to a sense of their duty."

This article would indicate that despite the bluster the Tory press was concerned with the emerging influence of the Catholic clergy in Carlow. Although the *Carlow Sentinel* was biased, bigoted and at times simply untruthful it did not have a monopoly on these characteristics. The following is an extract from the *Leinster Independent* on August 15th 1835. It is an editorial on the death of Fr. John

Walsh of Borris. The article is written under the heading "The Priest Murdering Faction", which emotively sets the tone for the rest of the article:-

"The priest murdering factions are terribly annoyed by the verdict given in the case of Mr. Walsh and are consequently straining every point to impugn the decision of the jury. The *Sentinel* is at its old trade of falsification and misrepresentation. Its first exception is grounded on the circumstance of the jury being comprised of Roman Catholics: without, however, even intimating to his readers, that Chief Constable Hawkshaw had furnished the coroner with a list of names, indiscriminately Catholic and Protestant - that the coroner had called over this list in the order of which it had been presented to him - that of the first twelve names called, five were Protestants - that these five Protestants did not answer and that, of course the coroner supplied their places with persons who happened to be Roman Catholics of such respectability and integrity, as to defy the imputations so adroitly insinuated by the *Sentinel*."

The editorial continues in this vein for another page before becoming even more emotive and accusatory in its tone

"No; not all the water which the River Barrow shall pour into the ocean till the day of eternity, will ever be able to wash out the conviction that the Rev. John Walsh fell a victim to Conservative hatred and fury. The *Sentinel* well knows that Mr. Walsh was murdered by some person or persons of the faction: he has too much sagacity not to foresee the consequences to his party and therefore is he so anxious to remove the perpetration of the horrid act to some other quarter. But in vain! The murder was Conservative - exclusively Conservative; Conservatives have the sole and entire merit of the execrable deed; and be the blood of the victim upon them and upon their children's children.

Mr. Walsh had, by his zeal and activity, been long obnoxious to the bloodstained faction. Of all the priests in the diocese, perhaps himself and his venerable uncle, the venerable Parish priest of Borris, were most detested by the murdering crew. The *Sentinel* has constantly directed its virulent attacks against both

and the topics which the print has usually selected have been of such a lying and inflammatory character, as to contribute, in no small degree, to swell the tide of Conservative odium against these two Reverend Gentlemen. We all recollect the distorted tirade of calumnies poured forth against the present venerable Parish priest of Borris, as well as against the Roman Catholic priests of the county in general, by Colonel Bruen. The gallant Colonel, not content with misrepresenting on the hustings, amidst the savage yells of demi-barbarous Protestants, thought proper to repeat, in the British House of Commons, his unfounded calumnies. The good sayings of the Colonel were re-echoed all over the county and the low devils of the action believe what emanated from his lips much sooner than they would any one portion of the gospel. We mention these things to show the state of religious feeling in the County of Carlow and to point out to strangers the deadly hate with which the Conservative faction pursued the Catholic priesthood. The *Sentinel* represented them as demons incarnate, whose extermination from society would be a work of piety. Every week the same doctrine was inculcated and sent abroad gratis to every Conservative in the county. Damiens confessed that he had been induced to stab Louis the Fifteenth, from hearing the harangues of the Parliament of Paris; and as human nature is everywhere the same, may we not easily suppose, that some of the ignorant and enthusiastic Conservatives in the region of Slyguff, by constantly reading or hearing read to them the extravagant and high wrought declamation of the *Sentinel* against the Catholic clergy, were led to perpetrate the atrocious murder, which, at the moment cries to Heaven for hearing read to them the extravagant and high wrought declamations of the *Sentinel* against the vengeance? For vengeance did we say? Yes, but the only vengeance we seek is that warranted by the laws of the country. We desire no lex talionis, no law of private retaliation, or revenge; we disclaim the right of any individual to arrogate to himself the vindication of the laws; but we hope, we trust, we confide, that before long some clue will be given to lead to the conviction of the miscreants, who imbued their hands in the blood of a priest of the living God, without any provocation having been given

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on his part, save his endeavors to stem the torrent of squireen despotism and to guide the people, not merely in the duties of religion, but in their social relations, by exhorting them to make a proper use of the elective franchise, which had been given them by the Reform Bill, for the common benefit of us all and not to serve the isolated purposes of a faction, whose darling object is the overthrow of liberty, the establishment of oligarchical despotism and the perpetration of abuses in both Church and state. Such was the course pursued by the Rev. John Walsh and for this was he marked out for destruction. In a former number of the *Independent* we styled the Orangemen "Children of Blood," and so indignant did the *Sentinel* affect to feel on the occasion, that the fellow worked himself up into one of those ranting fits so characteristic of him. We now repeat the epithets, careless to whom they may give offence. We shall never forget the blood-thirsty dispositions manifested by the Orangemen at the late Carlow election; we well remember their dirks and daggers and loaded butts and pistols, as well as their wicked, although unsuccessful attempt to deal destruction among their Catholic countrymen. All these were acts which well became children of blood and were but a warning prelude to the awful tragedy enacted on the Bridge of Kilgreany.

We have suffered ourselves to be borne along much further in these observations than we had either intended or wished; but when we find such bold sophisticated statements put forth by the lying *Sentinel*, for the purpose of misleading public opinion, the blood boils within our veins and we feel more than ordinary difficulty to restrain ourselves from launching forth into execrations against the diabolical faction, who never were content until they spilt the blood of the priesthood and offered it up, as a libation at the shrine of Toryism. The *Sentinel* may as well desist; the public have decided - and that decision is - that the Rev. John Walsh has been murdered by some person or persons belonging to the Conservative faction."

This is but one sample from both papers of how the clergy in Borris were revered and reviled in equal measure. It also shows that a real struggle was emerging between the Tory politicians and the clergy for control of the people.

K.T. Hoppen describes Carlow as one of Ireland's leading contenders in the corruption stakes, declaring that it was unambiguously up for sale to the highest bidder.³⁵ The highest bidder in fact in this election was on the Tory side. Henry Bruen expended £5000 on expenses on one of the 1835 elections.³⁶ Lack of political leadership would only fuel the unrest on both sides. To give an idea of how much Borris was split during this period, one troop of Dragoons and one company of the 51st Regiment were stationed in Borris during the elections of 1835.³⁷ Desmond Keenan in his book *Ireland 1800-1850* writes of bitter infighting in Carlow in January 1835 between Catholics who wished to vote for the local landlord and the priests who wished to support O Connell. The new bishop, Dr. Edward Nolan who had succeeded Doyle allowed political priests to canvass Catholic voters.³⁸ It was also during this 1835 election that Kavanagh was accused of cooping his freeholders at Borris House. This was reported in the *Sentinel* just before the second election of 1835. At a meeting in St. Mullins ostensibly to protest against the Tithes but really to drum up support for the Liberal candidates, Fr. Walsh and Thomas Cloney, leader of the 1798 attack on Borris House were addressing the gathering. Kavanagh had obviously prior notice of the meeting and he arrived with a troop of military from Goresbridge. He seems to have persuaded them to travel with him to Borris House where they were "protected" until polling day. Lady Kavanagh describes in her diaries how over sixty of the freeholders were brought to stay by Charles Doyne, Kavanagh's agent, in July 1835 before the second election. The Chapel was prepared as their dormitory. There is mention of ale and dancing and she recounts that she was "without sleep yesterday".³⁹ If this was the reception they received at Borris House it might not have taken much persuasion in St. Mullins to get them to come. Both sides in the elections carried out this cooping of voters and the tenants did not seem too bothered it.⁴⁰

There is also detailed correspondence between the clergy of Borris and The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland during 1835 available.⁴¹ This details the complaints of the clergy of Borris about Robert

Doyne, a magistrate of Carlow and under-agent of Thomas Kavanagh, who, they alleged, was stationing a company of soldiers at the entrance to the church in Borris. This prevented the priests from being able to say Mass for two Sundays in a row. The three priests who signed the letter stated that if they allowed the parishioners to attend then the most deplorable consequences would follow. The following correspondence which carries on for several months shows in stark detail the level of suspicion and detestation between the two parties.

To His Excellency Lord Haddington, Lord Lieutenant, General Governor and Governor of Ireland.

We, the undersigned Roman-catholic clergy, officiating in the parish of Borris, county of Carlow, most respectfully beg leave to solicit your Excellency's protection for the free and peaceable exercise of our religion. On the last and the preceding Sunday we were obliged to close our chapel and refrain from the public exercise of the rites of our religion. We have been induced to adopt this extraordinary and unprecedented course by the conduct of Robert Doyne, Esq., a magistrate of this county, and under-agent to Thomas Kavanagh, Esq., one of the representatives for this county. On Sunday the 8th instant, Mr. Doyne went to Goresbridge, in the county of Kilkenny, and brought with him a company of soldiers, to have them stationed at the entrance to the chapel of Borris, for the purpose of preventing some voters for Mr. Kavanagh being hooted by the people, and, in case they met any opposition, to force an entrance for them into the House of God. On last Sunday the military and all the police attended for the same object. We are informed that they are to attend on next Sunday, for the same purpose. We are convinced that if we permitted the people to assemble on either of these days, the most deplorable consequences would most probably have followed. We were obliged to have the chapel closed, and not permit the people and the military to come in collision. The excitement usually following a contested election was, previous to this occurrence, gradually subsiding, and would before this have entirely ceased, had not the military been ordered to attend under

arms at the chapel.

We most respectfully and earnestly beseech your Excellency to give directions for the military to discontinue appearing armed at the entrance of our place of religious worship, for whilst they continue to do so, we cannot assemble the people to worship their God, fearing that murder would follow.

We humbly conceive that the ordinary course of administering the law is quite sufficient to punish any violation of it, which might arise from the causes we have mentioned.

We look to your Excellency's impartiality to remove the pretext of exciting the religious feelings of the people.

Whilst we remain, &c.

(signed) John Walsh, P. P.
Richard Buggy, R.C.C.
John Walsh, 11.C.C.

This letter was obviously passed on to Robert Doyne and he quickly responded:-

Borris, Goresbridge, 5th March 1835.
Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 26th ult., enclosing a memorial of the Rev. Messrs. Walsh and Buggy, Roman-catholic clergymen of Borris, complaining, as they state, of my having, upon two successive Sundays, placed a military party at the entrance to their place of religious worship, and requesting that I would furnish, for the information of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, a statement of the circumstances under which I ordered the troops to attend on the occasions in question.

In reply I beg to state, that for three weeks after the election, the parish of Borris was in a state of total insubordination. At every chapel throughout that extensive district, large masses of the peasantry assembled at the chapels and in the public roads on each successive Sabbath-day, and savagely ill-treated such of the Roman-catholic electors as voted for Colonel Bruen and Mr. Kavanagh. Their pews were entered, the electors dragged out of the chapels, and

their wives and families inhumanly beaten. These occurrences took place in some instances in the presence of the priests, without the slightest exertion on their parts to prevent those outrages and scandalous violation of the public peace, as will appear by the enclosed copy of sworn information, marked No. 1.

In the chapel of Borris, one man, named Edward Mulligan, was assaulted, dragged out into the yard, where he was knocked down, pelted with stones, and but for the humane interference of some of his friends, he most probably might have been killed. As a resident magistrate, I was called upon by several Roman-Catholics to afford them the protection of the laws, and in the impartial discharge of my duty, I advised the persons upon whom assaults were committed to summon the parties to the petty sessions of Borris, on the 6th of February, upon which occasion there were nine magistrates upon the bench, among whom were Messrs. Blackney and Vigors; four men were ordered to find bail to appear at the next quarter sessions for trial, for the assault upon Mulligan as above referred to. Before the court rose, the said Edward Mulligan asked for protection on the following Sunday; and as Messrs. Walsh and Buggy, by the most inflammatory speeches from the altar, had kept the people in a state of great excitement; fearing a breach of the peace, I ordered the military to attend from Goresbridge. On their arrival they occupied the inn, which is so situate as not to be even in view of the chapel, nor within I suppose 600 yards of it; and I have the honour to assure you, for the information of his Excellency, that so far from appearing at the entrance to the chapel, which is the whole complaint of the memorialists, the military never made their appearance in the streets after they took up their quarters on their arrival. The memorialists assert, that I intended to force an entrance into the chapel in case any opposition were given to the electors; this I deny in the most unqualified terms; for my object was to preserve the peace, and in doing so, as will appear by the accompanying documents, I adopted the best course to prevent the possibility of a collision between the military and the populace.

On the second Sunday the military did

not take up their quarters within a quarter of a mile of the chapel, although stated by the Messrs. Walsh and Buggy they were stationed at the entrance to the chapel, or, as they pray, in their memorial, "We beseech your Excellency to give directions for the military to discontinue appearing armed at the entrance of our place of religious worship," being stationed in the Sessions-house at the end of the town, the chapel being at the other extremity. So far I trust I have, to the satisfaction of his Excellency, refuted the statements made by the memorialists, and on a perusal of the enclosed informations, I confidently hope he will find that I acted in my official capacity with as much prudence as the circumstances of the case required. The memorialists further state, that the "ordinary course of administering the laws was quite sufficient to preserve the peace;" in reply to which I have only to observe, that where the Roman-catholic clergymen had been mainly instrumental in producing the fierce excitement which led to breaches of the peace, and where men's lives were openly threatened, some beaten, and a young female thrown from the gallery of the chapel of Borris, I had no alternative but to call upon the military; and I here solemnly state, that in no instance did I directly or indirectly make any invasion on the religious feelings of the people, but on the contrary, my object was to protect the respectable Roman-Catholics in the due exercise of their right as British subjects, to attend their place of worship without molestation.

I have now the honour to inform you, that since the excitement ceased, the military have not been called upon; and I cannot help here stating, that the Roman-catholic clergymen, in refusing to say Mass, on pretence of having the military in the town, intended by this subterfuge to keep up excitement to serve their own purposes, by intimidating those electors who voted contrary to their mandates, so as to prevent their doing so upon any future occasion; in fact it was their mode of commencing a new canvass, upon which principle they have acted since the close of the poll at the late election, by a total prohibition from their presence of those of their miscreant flock, as they termed those who disobeyed them; and one priest, within my hearing, went so far

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as to say, in reply to an elector (who a few moments before had been dragged out of the chapel), on his appealing to him if he (the elector) had not as much right to go to his devotions as another, "that he had no business in the house of God," or in his own words, "What brought you there?"

They have also preached the doctrine of exclusive dealing, and for the people to hold no communion whatever with the supporters at the election of the representatives for this county.

I have, &c.
(signed) Robert Doyne, J.P.

Doyne also enclosed several statements from two constables, an army officer, a local labourer and a local farmer which refuted the accusation of preventing Mass from taking place. The Lieutenant who controlled the army on the day in Borris also provided a letter stating that the army remained at the courthouse in Borris and never came in sight of the Chapel. This information is forwarded from the Lord Lieutenant back to the clergy in Borris. The clergy replied back to this letter with the following:-

To His Excellency Lord Haddington, Lord Lieutenant, General Governor, and Governor of Ireland.

The Memorial of the undersigned Roman-catholic Clergy of the Parish of Borris, County Carlow, humbly sheweth, that your Memorialists feel grateful to your Excellency for communicating to them the substance of Mr. Doyne's defence, forwarded to your Excellency in answer to the charges preferred against him by your memorialists in their memorial of the 17th of last February. We feel happy in being able to furnish your Excellency with such answers to Mr. Doyne's statements as we are confident will amply vindicate the character of the inhabitants of this part of the county from the charges brought against them by Mr. Doyne, and also convince your Excellency that your memorialists are incapable of submitting to your Excellency's consideration any statement not founded on truth.

Your memorialists beg leave to inform

your Excellency, that they did not state (as Mr. Doyne asserts*) that the military were placed at the chapel, but that he brought a company of soldiers from Goresbridge to have them stationed at the entrance of the chapel, and that the military came for that purpose: one of your memorialists as informed by Lieutenant King, of the 89th, who, when memorialist waited on him to know if he came to town for the purpose of attending with his men at the chapel on that day, he informed memorialist that he was brought for that purpose, when called on by the magistrate.

This interview took place half an hour before the usual time for first Mass; and immediately after Mr. Hawkshaw, the police chief, with his men, with fixed bayonets, marched up and down the street before the chapel; under these circumstances, your memorialists determined not to have Mass in the chapel, and dispersed the people then assembled, and there being no persons at the chapel, the military had no pretext for appearing there.

In reply to Mr. Doyne's first assertion, "that for three weeks after the election, the parish of Borris was in a state of total insubordination," we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that this is not the truth; on the two Sundays next after the election, the people attended at and retired from the different chapels in this parish without manifesting the slightest symptoms of disturbance. Your memorialists beg leave to inform your Excellency that the first cause of excitement in this part of the county originated with Mr. Doyne. He caused fireworks and illuminations to be got up to celebrate the return of Colonel Bruen and Mr. Kavanagh; numbers of the country people attended, and were conducting themselves most peaceably and orderly, when they were driven by Mr. Hawkshaw and the police out of the town, the police acting as partisans by illuminating their barracks: this treatment so irritated the people, that had one of your memorialists not interposed, the most deplorable consequences might have ensued.

Mr. Doyne secondly states, "that at every chapel in this district large masses of the peasantry assembled and savagely ill-treated such of the Roman-catholic electors as voted for Colonel Bruen and

Mr. Kavanagh, entering their pews, and dragging them out of the chapels, &c. &c, without the slightest exertion of the clergy to prevent these outrages." Your memorialists most positively and solemnly assure your Excellency that the above statement is unfounded and false, and they most earnestly solicit the most rigid inquiry into its truth. Memorialists take this opportunity of informing your Excellency, that the only voter who was ever taken out of any chapel in this parish, or so assaulted, was a person named Mulligan, and that he came into the chapel at the conclusion of Mass, and that he was accompanied by several other persons in the employment of Thomas Kavanagh, Esq., who assaulted the people in the chapel-yard before Mulligan was taken out of the chapel; they were convicted of this offence, and fined by the magistrates, which fine memorialists are ready to prove. Mr. Doyne promised to pay. The persons who assaulted Mulligan were two or three women and children, strangers, and in no way connected with this parish.

Memorialists beg to state, that no outrage occurred in the presence of any one of them, and whenever they perceived the slightest disposition to disturbance, they immediately suppressed it. And on the day that Mulligan was assaulted, the parish priest declared, before commencing Mass, that if there was any disturbance or disorder in the chapel he would not say Mass. The same admonition was given at first Mass, and in all the country chapels.

Your memorialists feel much concern that expressions so injurious to their characters should go before the public through the medium of the press, before they ever heard they were made, or received your Excellency's answer to their memorial. Your memorialists solicit from your Excellency's impartiality an opportunity of vindicating their characters, and proving by the most incontrovertible evidence, that the charges preferred by Mr. Doyne against them are literally untrue.

In reply to Mr. Doyne's assertion, that a young girl was thrown from the gallery of the chapel of Borris, or from the gallery of any chapel in this parish, it is false and unfounded, no such occurrence having ever taken place. Your memorial-

ists beg leave to inform your Excellency, that Kelly's Inn, where the soldiers stopped the first day, and the Court-house, where they were stationed the second Sunday, command a direct view of the chapel. Your memorialists solicit from your Excellency the most strict inquiry into the truth of the facts stated by Mr. Doyne. And your memorialists shall ever pray.

(signed) John Walsh, P. P.
John Walsh, R.C.C.
Richard Buggy, R. C. C,
Borris, 19 March 1835.

The Lord Lieutenant replied to this letter stating that he felt that no good would come from investigating this further. He did indicate that an inquiry would be held into the illuminating of the police barracks and driving the people of Borris out of the town on the same night. A Petty Session was held in Borris to enquire into these complaints on the 6th April 1835. Sir John Harvey was tasked with the investigation and he swiftly drafted his reply to the Lord Lieutenant.

"The Minutes of Evidence taken before me, I have the honour to enclose, and to submit as my opinion, and report, with reference to them and to the facts then elicited, and to those which have otherwise come to my knowledge, that in clearing the streets of the town of Borris on the evening referred to, the chief constable and police acted under the positive and repeated orders of the only magistrate in the village, and that it has not been proved by any concurrent testimony that any act of intemperance or violence on the part of the chief constable or the police was committed against any individual.

Those who have sworn the contrary have all been compelled to admit:

1st That they sustained no bodily hurt or injury.

2nd.
That they could not identify any one of the policemen by whom they were "charged with fixed bayonets."

3rd.
That they are unable to bring forward a single witness of their own party, who

saw the transaction, though the street was full of people.

4th.

That they never made at the time or since, or thought of making, any complaint or application for redress, either to the police authorities, to the magistrates of the district, to their own clergy, or to any other individual; and were not informed that any complaint of this nature was to be preferred until Saturday last, the 4th instant.

With regard to the 2d charge, " that the police acted as partisans in illuminating their barracks," while I admit that it would have been more discreet in Mr. Hawkshaw at once to have ordered the few candles which the women had placed in some of the windows (to protect them from being broken) to be extinguished, yet I trust his Excellency will make every allowance for the circumstances in which this really humane and excellent officer was placed, in being suddenly called out from where he was at dinner to quell a riot which, I think the evidence of Mr. Doyne and the sergeant of police, as well as that of Mr. Charles Corcoran, a respectable Roman-catholic inhabitant, proved was threatening to become very serious, the town being full of 'strangers, and others, not in Mr. Kavanagh's interest, armed with bludgeons, &c. &c.' And I also beg to draw his Excellency's attention to the fact stated in Mr. Hawkshaw's letter, which appears to me to prove that police could not fairly be suspected of being partisans of the two Protestant candidates, viz. that six out of the nine of which the party was composed were Roman-Catholics.

I have, &c,

(signed) J.
Harvey, Inspector General.
Sir William Gosset, K.C.H.,"

Harvey supplied the testimony of all the individuals involved and while it would appear that the police were heavy handed on the night, a couple of hundred people had gathered in Borris on this particular night so it may have been the case that the police had to take control quickly. That being the case, there would also seem to be evidence of intimidation of some of the inhabitants of Borris on the

night. The Lord Lieutenant again forwards this information to the priests in Borris and plainly states that there is no evidence of wrongdoing by the police. He does admonish the action of illuminating of the barracks on the night but notwithstanding this it makes the complainants seem somewhat foolish. What is probably most interesting about this correspondence is that the clergy of Borris were comfortable enough to publicly denounce Doyne, a Justice of the Peace. They were also willing to publicly articulate their poor opinion of the police and their actions in Borris. The clergy clearly felt that they were now in a position to be the voice of the Catholic parishioners in Borris. This despite some of the Catholics of Borris obviously not supporting this view. The priests were unafraid to use both the public periodicals of the day but also to complain to the political masters of Ireland at the time. What is also revealing is that these political leaders were willing to entertain these complaints and in this case order enquiries when necessary. This would have sent a clear message to the local politicians and civil authorities that they could not ride roughshod over the clergy without repercussions.

These are but some samples of the opprobrium which was dished out in the local press at the time. It points to a deeply divided parish in Borris where the landlords and the clergy fought out for the loyalty of the locals. The press was invariably biased and agitated in its own right. No opportunity was missed to denigrate the opposition and promote divided feelings among the populace. Due to space constraints only a very small sample of the newspaper coverage and the other information that Tom Murphy gathered is given here. His book is full of more examples that are well worth perusing.

Footnotes:

¹ P.J. Jupp, 'Irish Parliamentary Elections and the Influence of the Catholic Vote, 1801-20', in *The Historical Journal*, x, no.2 (1976), pp. 183-196. ; Whyte, 'Landlord Influence at Elections in Ireland 1760-1885', pp. 740-760.

² Garrett Bolger, 'Coonogue Evictions', in *Carloviana*, no. 44 (1996), p 60.

³ Whyte, 'Landlord Influence at Elections in Ireland 1760-1885', pp. 740-760.

⁴ Jupp, *Irish Parliamentary Elections*, pp. 183-196.

⁵ House of Commons, *First Report from the Select Committee on the State of Ireland 1825. Evidence*

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of Denis Browne, "Formally tenants would support the landlord – latterly religious feelings frequently carry the tenants away from the landlord, particularly through the activity of the clergy". Daniel O Connell in the same report questions the influence of the clergy.

⁶ Jupp, 'Irish Parliamentary Elections and the Influence of the Catholic Vote, 1801-20', pp.740-760.

⁷ Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris*, pp. 11-45.

⁸ *Ibid*, p 5.

⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 5-9

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹ Joyce, *Graiguenamanagh A Town and its People*, p158.

¹² Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris*, p 11.

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 11-16.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 170. ; Patrick O'Donoghue, 'Opposition to the Tithe Payments in 1830-31', in *Studia Hibernica*, no.6 (1966), pp.69-98.

¹⁶ Joyce, *Graiguenamanagh A Town and its People*, pp. 157-73. ; Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris*, pp. 11-20.

¹⁷ Joyce, *Graiguenamanagh A Town and its People*, p144. ; Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris*, pp.

11-20.

¹⁸ Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris*, p 18.

¹⁹ Whyte, 'Landlord Influence at Elections in Ireland 1760-1885', pp. 740-760.

²⁰ Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris*, pp. 20-21

²¹ *Ibid*, p 21.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ *Ibid*, pp. 21-22.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p

²⁵ Online Historical Population Reports University of Essex, *1831 Census*, www.histpop.org, accessed on the 11th February 2011.

²⁶ Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris*, p 23.

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 23-25.

²⁸ *The London Quarterly Review*, volume *lxviii*, *June and September 1841*. Fr. Walsh was also reputed to declare that anyone who voted for Kavanagh would be refused all religious rites and would suffer everlasting punishment.

²⁹ Murphy, p 28.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p 29.

³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 35-40.

³² Murphy, pp 36-46

³³ *Carlow Sentinel*, various publications from 01st January 1835- March 1835.

³⁴ Murphy, pp. 47-56.

³⁵ K.T. Hoppen. *Elections, Politics and Society in Ireland, 1832—85*, (Oxford, 1984), pp. 77-84.

³⁶ Malcolm, 'The Reign of Terror in Carlow', pp.64- 65.

³⁷ Tom Murphy, *The Fathers Walsh of Borris Political Intrigue, Murder & Transportation in the 1830's*, Borris, p89

³⁸ Desmond Keenan, *Ireland 1800-1850*, Dublin, 2001, chapter 13.

³⁹ Diary of Lady Harriet Kavanagh, Borris, County Carlow, which makes a number of references to the elections in County Carlow, c1835-1839 (PRONI, D/3235, 3617)

⁴⁰ Bolger, *Coonogue Evictions*, p60

⁴¹ Copies of a correspondence between the Roman Catholic priests of the parish of Borris in the County of Carlow, Robert Doyne a magistrate ... and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the subject of the alleged attendance of the military at Roman Catholic chapel in Borris, available at <http://www.dippam.ac.uk/eppi/documents/10964/page/249103>. Also available at Parliamentary Papers, House o



Courtesy: Tom Somers archives

EASTWOOD HOUSE AND THE MONEYBEG DEMESNE

At one time known as “The Lodge”, which was or became a Bagenal premises with an avenue, part of which grew into a town, Bagenalstown, in the townland of Moneybeg, Co. Carlow.

Myles Kavanagh



Eastwood House pre-1968

Introduction

Moneybeg is a townland of 366 acres, 1 rood, 22 perches, on the east side of the river Barrow in the Civil Parish of Dunleckney, Barony of East Idrone in Co. Carlow. A townland is a small geographical division of land of Gaelic origin predating the Norman invasion and most have names of Gaelic origin. The name Moneybeg was anglicised from the Irish Muine Bheag which translates as “Small Shrubbery/Thicket”. In a map of 1640 it is spelt Moniebegge and described as “Arable and Heathy”; other variations of spelling also appear elsewhere e.g. Monyibegge, Moneybegg, Monybegge, Monibeg and Monabeg. The following article explores the origins of the establishment of two Lodges and a Mill in this townland but in particular one Lodge which became known as Eastwood House in the latter half of the 19th century from which grew the Demesne

and town of Bagenalstown. The townland in its early stages was the property of the Kavanagh Dynasty. It then came into the hands of the Carews who managed to coexist in a civil manner with the Kavanaghs until the arrival of Dudley Bagenal.

The Bagenals

In 1539 Nicholas Bagenal fled England after killing a man in a brawl. He became a mercenary under Con Bacach O’Neill, chief of the O’Neills of Tyrone. Through the influence of O’Neill Nicholas got a “General pardon of all murders and felonies by him committed” granted in Westminster, 2nd March 1543 by Henry V111.

Nicholas later circa 1552 was granted Newry Castle Co. Down with substantial lands and lived at Newry. He married Eleanor Griffith daughter of Edward Griffith, Penrhyn, Caernarvonshire,

Wales circa 1556. They had 9 Children, 6 girls and 3 boys. The 3 boys were Henry, Dudley and Ambrose. Ambrose died without issue. Henry (1556 – 1598) a soldier and politician lived at Newry and Wales. He was killed in action in the Battle of the Blackwater on the 14 August 1598 when his army was cut to pieces by Hugh O’Neill his brother-in-law.

Sir Nicholas bought a large estate of lands for his son Dudley in Idrone, County Carlow in 1585 from the Carews who had ousted the Kavanaghs, the original owners of the land. Dudley married firstly Katherine Nangle and they had one child, Nicholas (1582 - 1607). He married secondly Mabel Fitzgerald and they had 3 children George (died 1625), Adam, and Eleanor (died November 1632).

Dudley lived in the Barony of Idrone, County Carlow and held the office of Constable of the Castle at Leighlinbridge between 1585 and 1587. He started a feud with the Kavanaghs and in 1587 he was killed by the Kavanaghs in an ambush at Ballymoon. Nicholas Bagenal, son of Dudley from his first wife Katherine Nangle, on the 5th October 1602 was appointed Constable of the Castle at Leighlinbridge. He married Anne Colclough daughter of Sir Thomas Colclough and Marta Loftus who lived at Tintern Abbey Co. Wexford. Nicholas was killed in a duel in Dublin in 1607. He appears to have been the last of the Bagenals that occupied the Castle at Leighlinbridge.

George Bagenal son of Dudley from his second wife Mabel Fitzgerald married Jane Fitzgerald, daughter of Garrett Fitzgerald and married secondly, Joanne Butler, daughter of Walter Butler 11th

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Earl of Ormonde and inherited Nicholas's estates. George it appears was the builder of the first family home at Dunleckney circa 1607 - 1612. He held the office of M.P. for County Carlow in 1613. A period of peace and prosperity followed for the Bagenals until the Catholic Rebellion of 1641 and the arrival of Cromwell's army in 1649. The Bagenals in Ireland held on to the Catholic faith. Thomas Bagenal was deported to Connaught in 1641 and Colonel Walter Bagenal was executed in Kilkenny in October 1652. The Bagenals lost their entire estates following Walter's execution. They were restored to Walter's son Dudley in 1660.

At the battle of the Boyne in 1690, Dudley Bagenal commanded an Infantry Regiment for the army of King James II and in the wake of the Williamite victory the Bagenals once more forfeited their estates.

In exile in France, Dudley became Gentleman Usher to King James at the Court of St. Germain. King James II died on the 6th September 1701 at St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris. Dudley died at Bruges in 1712.

After another period of time Dudley's eldest son Walter Bagenal (c.1670–1745) became a Protestant and regained the estates. Walter started the formal building of the town that became known as Bagenalstown. Walter's second wife was Eleanor Beauchamp of Ballyloughan Castle and they had a son, Beauchamp, born in 1735, who would be remembered as the most famous of all the Bagenals. In 1745 he succeeded to the Estate and his extravagant lifestyle led to the sale in all of 32,000 acres. He died in 1802. He was succeeded by his daughter Sarah Westrop wife of Philip Newton. The Bagenal family graves are located in the Dunleckney Cemetery Bagenalstown.

Tradition has it that Walter got the idea of recreating a Versailles on the banks of the Barrow and began to lay out Bagenalstown in that way in an attempt to establish a profitable trading centre. The project failed, the only imposing architectural building that was completed is the present library, once the courthouse. It was built facing the river Barrow with its entrance opening on to the then newly

constructed road, firstly named New Road and now known as Bachelors Walk. It was an extension of the then Main Street, now known as Regent Street. The New Road continued on and joined the northern entrance road to the town by the river bank.



Eastwood Estate as per Griffith's Valuation Survey 1852

The Two Lodges

The first construction that became the Lodge may have been inhabited by a Kavanagh or a Carew and then came a Bagenal, followed by the Vigors, Mercer and Weld families. The following names appear in early deed dealings and other communications of the Lodge and Demesne lands at intervals – Rev. Edward Vigors, Edward Mercer, Richard Mercer, Luke Mercer, Simons Mercer, Michael Carter, William Chaigneau Colville. The widow, Issamy Quinn's name appears also holding land containing 24 acres 2 roods or thereabouts of the Demesne. Owen Murphy's name appears in a deed as a Miller of the Lodge Mills and holding land of eight acres and ten perches. It may be that Owen Murphy was the one who built the first mill here as his name appears in several of the deeds as "the Old Mill Quarters of Owen Murphy." The records of Griffiths Valuation of 1852 show that property number 11 of Long Range consisting of a house, malt house, corn stores, yard and garden which were then vacant, records John Murphy as the Landlord. The Queen of the Universe National School now occupies that site. Others that had substantial properties in the townland of

Moneybeg at various times included Thomas Payne, Daniel Keohler, Thomas Singleton, Samuel Ward and Robert Brown to name but a few.

The dates of the construction of the two lodges (Lodge alias Eastwood House and

the Lodge Mill House) and the mill in the townland of Moneybeg is not clear. The Lodge (Eastwood House) still exists and has been inhabited since its first recorded time and perhaps its time of construction in one form or another. The building itself conveys signs that additions of one kind or another have occurred during its time up to the present day e.g. workers at the estate uncovered evidence of the front of the building having extended a considerable length westward in the past.

Therefore, one could assume that a Bagenal may have constructed the first Lodge or Lodges in the townland of Moneybeg prior to the residence at Dunleckney or inhabited the premises already established there. In the Registry of Deeds early records in Henrietta Street, Dublin, what we know as Regent Street in the present town of Bagenalstown is referred to as the "Main Street leading to the Mill". Beside the Mill entrance is the entrance to the avenue leading to the two Lodges, and all are located in the same compound. It is reasonable then to assume that this main street led to the Lodge/s where the Bagenal family resided and therefore it is from the Lodge/s of the first Bagenals the Demesne of Moneybeg (Bagenalstown) grew.

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A map of 1640 of Dunleckney Parish and part of Wells Parish by George Marshall records the townland of Moniebegge as being part of the estate of Walter Bagnall". (See map in article "Bagenals of Idrone")

The present library which was the Court House was built according to Richard J. Butler (Carloviana 2015) "not c.1835 but almost a decade earlier, 1826". The Court House faced the River Barrow and a road was constructed in front of it called the New Road and is recorded with its residents in Griffith's Valuation of 1852. This road later became known as Bachelors Walk. This new road would seem to have been an extension of Regent Street which as mentioned previously, was referred to as the Main Street in the town that led to what once may have been a Bagenal residence. The Street of Long Range may have been constructed at the same time along with the New Road, both linking the Main Street to the Royal Oak Road and in keeping with Walter Bagenal's plan of development for the town. A very populous street in the early 1800s was what we now call Barrett Street and is recorded in Griffith's Valuation as the Old Post Office Street, also linking Main Street with the Royal Oak Road.

The Bachelors Walk name may have been introduced by William Chaigneau Colville who had considerable interests in the Canal, and adjoining lands; he is listed in Griffith's Valuation (1852) as the Landlord of the Lodge (Eastwood House) for that period. He had considerable flour business interests also at that time in Bachelors Walk, Dublin and was a Director and Governor of the Bank of Ireland.

The Memorial Deed 125497 bearing date 23rd of August 1757 in the Registry of Deeds Dublin shows that Beauchamp Bagenal leased unto Issamy Quinn widow of Bagenalstown *all that part of Moneybeg otherwise Bagenalstown now in her possession containing by estimation 24 acres 2 roods plantation measure situated in the Barony of Idrone Co. Carlow, aforesaid to hold to the said Issamy Quinn for 31 years from the 1st of May last.*

On the 1st of May 1758 Beauchamp

Bagenal leased unto Owen Murphy the Mill and Lands of the Lodge Demesne containing 8 acres 10 perches for 31 years.

In a Memorial Deed of the 16th and 17th of May 1763 Beauchamp Bagenal leased unto Michael Carter City of Dublin *all Lands of Bagenalstown commonly known by the name of Lodge and Demesne of Bagenalstown containing by the survey of Messrs Frizile 40 acres 1 rood 28 perches all and that of those of the Water Corn Mills holding being one part of the lands of Bagenalstown containing by the said Frizile Survey 8 acres 10 perches in as large and ample manner as Owen Murphy holds and enjoy the said Mills Lands nevertheless to the lease thereof made to the said Owen Murphy by the said Beauchamp Bagenal for 31 years from 1st of May 1758 and also that of the lands of Issamy Quinn said containing by Frizile Survey 24 acres 2 roods or thereabouts.*

The following is a summary taken from Indentures, dated the 22nd of October 1770 Lease 47 and Lease 84 dated 10th January 1790 concerning - *All the Lands of Bagenalstown commonly known by the name of Lodge or Demesne of Bagenalstown with the buildings and appurtenances containing 35 acres 1 rood and 32 perches and plantation measure by the same more less situated in the Barony of Idrone and County Carlow, spread over a period of time up to 1770:-*

- 1) Beauchamp Bagenal to *Michael Carter of the city of Dublin.*
- 2) Beauchamp Bagenal and Michael Carter to *Richard Cochran, his wife Elinor, his brother Robert Cochran, and William Fishburn of Carlow.*
- 3) Richard Cochran his wife Elinor and Robert Cochran, (sons of Nicholas Cochran, Abbey Street, Dublin), and William Fishburn to *Peter Pidgeon (Pigeon) of Blackditch in the Co. Wicklow, Robert Carter (son of Henry Carter, Nicholas Street, Dublin).*
- 4) Peter Pigeon to *Edward Vigors and Samuel Carpenter.*
- 5) Rev. Edward Vigors, **the Lodge**, Co. Carlow to *Richard Mercer of Killinane*

22nd October 1770.

Notes:

1) The above Leases 47&84 are contained in MS 1096 of the Cliff-Vigors Papers of the Private Collections in the National Archives Dublin.

2) The Landed Estates Court and Memorial of Deed of Conveyance of the 13th July 1859 dealt with a lease dated 17th of May 1763 concerning all the properties of the Eastwood Demesne and an Indenture of Marriage Settlement bearing date 18th March 1812 executed to the marriage of William C. Colville to Hester Lowry. The following people who had interests at various stages in the property were listed in the case - Beauchamp Bagenal, Michael Carter, Robert Wybrants and John Barlow. The address of William C. Colville was given here as 10 Russel Street, Reading, Berkshire in England.

3) In Griffith's Valuation of 1852 in Killinane Co. Carlow, two holdings with the family name Quinn i.e. Patrick Quinn with a holding of 35 acres 1 rood 35 perches and Philip Quinn 66 acres 1 rood 29 perches, both with house, offices and land facing Bagenalstown on the opposite side of the river Barrow. Perhaps Patrick and Philip may in some way be connected to the aforementioned Issamy Quinn!

Edward Vigors

The first member of the Vigors family to arrive in Ireland was the Rev. Louis Vigors from Holloden, North Devon who arrived in Cork circa 1615. He had been ordained on the 5th of November 1603 by the Bishop of Exeter. In Ireland he was beneficed in the Diocese of Ross where he became Treasurer of the Cathedral in 1631. He died in Devonshire in 1642, as did his widow in 1651. Their son Urban Vigors was beneficed 1634-37 in the Diocese of Cork and Ross, and in 1645 was Chaplain to the 1st Earl of Ossory. He married circa 1635 Catherine Boyle sister of Richard Boyle, Bishop of Ferns (1667 – 1683) and Roger Boyle Bishop of Clogher (1672-1687) and they had a son called Urban. The Vigors were granted estates in Co. Carlow during the reign of Charles 11 (1660-1685) which included Old Leighlin where Urban Vigors, son of Urban Vigors and Mary Boyle, established the first Vigors house in Co. Carlow and later built Burgage House. Sometime after they arrived in Old Leighlin they acquired Malcolm Ville, the home of the Mulhallen family, in the townland of Clorusk near the Royal Oak and changed its name to Holoden House. Urban was High Sheriff in Co. Carlow in 1700. He married Bridget Tench daughter of Allen Tench, Staplestown, Co. Carlow and niece of John Tench of Mullinderry, Co. Wexford.

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Urban and Bridget's second son Thomas Vigors was born c.1685. They had estates and houses in Derryfore and Rathevan, Queen's County (Laois) and Ballybar and Corries Co. Carlow (1729) and Seldon, Devonshire (1725). Thomas was Captain in the Legion Regiment, "The Black Horse" and was Justice of the Peace for Queen's County (Laois) and High Sheriff in 1714. Captain Thomas married twice, first to Margaret a widow and they had issue of three children Urban, Bartholomew, and Lucy. His second marriage was to Elizabeth Mercer daughter of Edward Mercer of Knockballystine Co. Carlow and they had issue of three children Richard, Edward and Elizabeth. It was at Burgage, Co. Carlow that the Rev. Edward Vigors was born in 1747 to Captain Thomas Vigors and Elizabeth Mercer. He graduated with a B.A. in Trinity College Dublin in 1767 and married Mary Low of Lissoy, Co. Westmeath, daughter of Edward Low and Elizabeth Nelligan (daughter of the Rev. Maurice Nelligan) in December 1773. Rev. Edward became Perpetual Curate of Old Leighlin, Co. Carlow in 1774 and Rector of Shankill, Co. Kilkenny 1783 and he and his wife Mary lived at various times in Old Leighlin, Burgage and the Lodge (Eastwood House).

They had three children:-

- 1) Rev. Thomas Mercer Vigors born on the 23rd October 1775, and married Anne Cliffe daughter of John Cliffe of New Ross Co. Wexford. He succeeded his father as Perpetual Curate of Old Leighlin and same parishes, except Shankill until he was appointed Rector of Rathasbeck, Queen's County (Laois) on the 25th of November 1815 and promoted to Powerstown, which he held until his death on the 7th April, 1850.
- 2) Elizabeth who died unmarried 30th July, 1828 and was buried at Old Leighlin,
- 3) Maria who married the Rev. George Alcock died in 1854 and is also buried at Old Leighlin.

The Rev. Edward died aged 51 years, on the 22th June 1797 and was buried in Old Leighlin. Mary his wife died on the 12th of April 1827 and was also buried in Old Leighlin.

Note:

The following people had shared lease interests in Lodge & Demesne, during the Beauchamp Bagenal period, prior to the tenure of Edward Vigors - Samuel Carpenter, Peter Pigeon, Robert Carter, Richard Cochran, Robert Cochran, Elinor Cochran and William Fishburn.

of the Barrow.

The following has been extracted from the travelogue of Arthur Young's Tour of Ireland 1776-1779, first published in 1780 –



Lodge Mills

Richard Mercer

Richard Mercer senior lived in Dublin and he had one son also called Richard who lived with his uncle Luke at Killinane Co. Carlow. He married Ann Pigott. Richard was a merchant and he and Ann lived at Killinane at first and then at the Lodge Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow. Edward Mercer of Knockballystine Co. Carlow whose daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Vigors may have been another uncle of Richard and also Simons Mercer of Knockballystine who was buried in Tullow on the 30th of January 1783.

In April of 1770 the Rev. Edward Vigors formerly of the Lodge, Bagenalstown leased unto Richard Mercer all lands of Lodge and Demesne of Bagenalstown and which included the Owen Murphy Old Water Corn Mill, at the yearly rent of £106 and renewable forever at a yearly rent of £106.7 shillings. This mill was started in 1708. A committee had been appointed in 1703 in the Irish House of Commons to propose a bill to make the River Barrow navigable. However, work did not start until 1761, and by 1800 ten lateral canals had been cut. The building of the Bagenalstown Mill in 1708 may have been prompted by the navigable bill

"June 19th arrived at Hollyhead
..... July 9th left Brownshill (Carlow) and taking the road to Leighlinbridge called on Mr James Butler at Ballybar Having taken a short walk with Mr Butler passed on to Captain Mercer's Mill at Laughlin-bridge (Bagenalstown). I had been told that this was one of the most considerable in Ireland; and had a letter of recommendation to Mr Mercer, which through carelessness I had lost. I did not care however to pass without seeing the mill; drove down to it and was in the awkward situation of explaining myself to be a traveller – what I wanted – from whence I came –and so forth; but the good nature and politeness of Mr Mercer presently dissipated the agreeableness of the first explanatory moments. He showed me the mill and explained everything with the utmost civility. It is a very large and convenient one, 15,000 barrels a year, and if there was a brisker demand could do yet more. I found the same necessity of kiln-drying here as at Slaine Mill, and made the same observation that the wheat was none of it of a fine bright colour, like what is common in England. The farmers also dress their corn in so lovely a manner,

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that there is the same necessity of dressing it over again, for which very powerful machines are contrived. The whole is very well calculated for, saving labour in every operation, and only eight hands are employed. After the mill was built, Mr Mercer made many alterations of his own, to render it more ample and effective, which have fully answered his expectations.”

Richard Mercer and his wife Ann ran into financial difficulties circa the late 1770s and as a result lost considerable lands and premises in Carlow, Cork and Dublin.

Summary from Memorials, Registry of Deeds, Dublin:-

Richard Mercer to William Colvill City of Dublin, Matthew Weld and Richard Weld of Dublin 22nd May 1780, 22nd March 1783, 25th November 1784, which shows; the same Lands, buildings and appurtenances as above mentioned of Lodge and Demesne of Bagenalstown along with “the house improvements thereon” and included also was “that part of the Lands of Lodge containing 4 acres 3 roods 26 perches where” Richard Mercer “built a large Bolting Mill”, along with the existing Owen Murphy Old Corn Water Mill and Mill Quarters, all being made over by Richard Mercer unto William Colvill of the city of Dublin, Matthew and Richard Weld of Dublin, along with *that part of the Lands of Killinane formerly in the possession of Simon (Simons) Mercer situated in the parish of Killinane being part of the Lands of Lord Brereton of Old Leighlin and containing 112 acres, 3 roods and 4 perches, plantation measure be the same more or less bounded as in the said deed is set forth and also all that part of Kilturk, Co. Carlow containing by estimation 37 acres 4 roods, also Richard Mercer to William Colvill lands in Dublin and also townlands – Rathellen, Leighlinbridge, Cloruske and lands of Carlow and some were of the Demesne of Charles Jackson Lord Bishop of Leighlin (1761 – 1765).*

Memorial Deed 243075 Book 363 Page 191 of the Registry Deeds Dublin shows that William Colvill did grant, bargain and sell all lands and premises mentioned in Memorial Beauchamp Bagenal unto Michael Carter, unto Matthew and

Richard Weld.

Richard was High Sheriff of Co. Carlow in 1782.

Notes

- 1) A Bolting Mill is a separate building from the Mill, in which flour is sifted.
- 2) The High Sheriff of Co. Carlow was the British Crown’s judicial representative in County Carlow.
- 3) The list of people that Arthur Young was indebted to for making him perfectly well informed was long and included – Right Honourable William Barton Slaine Castle, Mr Brown Carlow, Mr. Butler near Carlow and Mr Richard Mercer.

Colvill & Weld

Following the financial difficulties of Richard Mercer the Colvill and Weld families appear on the scene in the second half of the 1700s and early 1800s. Moneybeg Demesne and lands were made over by Richard Mercer unto William Colvill of the city of Dublin and Matthew and Richard Weld of Dublin, including Killinane lands of Mercer.

At first William Chaigneau Colvill may have been resident in the Lodge and the Weld brothers Joseph, Matthew & Richard in the Lodge Mill House which they built but not long afterwards Joseph and family moved in to the Lodge (Eastwood House) with William Chaigneau Colvill as the Land Lord. After the death of Colvill the Weld family gained full possession of the entire Demesne.

William Colville (Colvill)

William Colville was born on the 6th of December 1737 to William Colvill and Jane Thompson daughter of John Thompson, Blackabbey, Co. Down. He married Hannah Chaigneau daughter of John Chaigneau on the 18th of June 1771. They lived at Newtownards, Co. Down and at Clonsilla, Clontarf Demesne, Dublin. They had 8 children. William held the office of Member of Parliament for Newtownards – Limavady and that of Killybegs. He was one of the promoters of the Bank of Ireland in which he was director in 1783 and governor in 1801-2. William was a member of the Royal Dublin Society (R.D.S.) and a founder and director of the Grand Canal Company in 1772, in which he invested £25,000. He had premises also at 7 Bachelors Walk Dublin including a mill and Agency for the National Insurance Co. of Scotland and other premises

at 7 South Lotts (Ringsend Area) and Coolock House, Dublin. He was a member of the House of Parliament Committee on the 25th March 1788 to consider the petition of the subscribers for the improvement of the Barrow navigation between the bridge at Athy, Co. Kildare and the tide water at St. Mullins in County Carlow. Included at the meeting of the members of this Committee on Friday the 10th of October 1788, in the County Court House Carlow were, William Colvill, Richard Mercer and Beauchamp Bagenal. The Committee decided that the next meeting of the Committee would be held at the same venue on the 29th of November 1788.

William died on the 5th July 1820 aged 82 years.

William Chaigneau Colville

William Chaigneau Colville (Colvill) son of William Colville and Hannah Chaigneau was born at Bachelors Walk, Dublin on the 23rd May 1784 and baptised in St. Mary’s Church of Ireland located on the corner of Mary Street and Jervis Street.

He married Hester Lowry daughter of James Lowry, Rockdale, Co. Tyrone, on the 21st of March 1812. An indenture of Marriage Settlement bearing date 18th March 1812 in the Registry of Deeds Dublin appears to include the Lodge, Lodge Mills and Demesne lands of Bagenalstown, which I fail to fully understand. William and Hester had 11 children. William Chaigneau Colville was a flour merchant with premises at 7 Bachelors Walk and 7 South Lotts, a director of the Bank of Ireland and Governor 1832-1834 and Director of the Barrow Navigation Company. On the 16th October 1832 William was registered on the “Voters List of Idrone East” with Place of Abode as Dublin and Situation as Moneybeg. In 1833 he was High Sheriff of Co. Carlow. He was registered on the 31st December 1839 with Place of Abode as Bachelors Walk, Dublin and Situation as Bagenalstown. He retired in 1844 but was Chairman of the Barrow Navigation Company and the Great Southern and Western Railway Company in 1845. In the 1851 Census of England and Wales he was recorded at Ivy Rock Cottage, Tidenham, Chepstow, Monmouthshire, Wales, at the age of 66

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years, along with his wife Hester age 61 years, his son Thomas age 32 years, his daughter in-law Barbara age 26 years and his granddaughter Louise Hester age 4 years.

In Griffith's Valuation of 1852 William Colville was recorded as the Landlord of the Lodge (Eastwood House) with Mrs Mary Weld as the Tenant.

William died at his residence in Reading, England on the 11th of December 1864.

Notes:

1) Bachelors Walk Dublin was named after a builder by the name of Bachelor who built there after the Dublin quays were extended from Ormond Quay in the late 1600s. A water mill was located in the same area. The Colvill family had extensive business premises in this area.

2) South Lotts was created following the embankment of the River Liffey in 1711 between the city and Ringsend, thereby reclaiming the marshes as North and South Lotts. The Grand Canal Dock is in the same area.

3) The present end of Lower O Connell Street (Carlisle Street) was located on lands that formed part of Bachelors Walk, which was laid out as part of the Amory grant of 1675. In January 1675, the city granted Jonathan Amory, a merchant, a lease of 299 years "of that part of the Strand on the north side of the Liffey" which had at one end the water mill built by Gilbert Mabbott, close to location of the Abbey Theatre.

4) Colvill House 24-26 Talbot Street Dublin is at present the Irish Water Private Company Ltd. Registered Office.

5) The Rev. David Chaigneau was Minister of the French Church in Carlow in 1741 and was buried in Carlow on the 11th of July 1747, may have been a relative of John Chaigneau, father of Hannah Chaigneau, wife of William Colvill.

6) The Chaigneau family were descendants of Protestant exiles or Huguenots from France, in the reign of Louis xiv (1643-1715), who came to Great Britain and Ireland.

The Weld Family

Edmund Weld was the first member of the Weld family to arrive in Ireland and he had answered Cromwell's call for puritan ministers to serve as chaplains in the army in Ireland. He later set up a ministry in Co. Cork and soon afterwards moved to Dublin. It is from Dublin then that the Weld family spread to other areas of Ireland and acquired substantial estates. The Rev. Edmund had a son Nathaniel who was also in Holy Orders and possessed considerable estates in Ireland. A map of 1640 by George Marshall shows the Bagenal estates in

Bagenalstown and it includes the townland of Moneybeg. In the late 1700s the brothers Matthew, Richard and Joseph, grandchildren of Nathaniel were established in the two Lodge houses in the townland of Moneybeg. Matthew and Richard were the proprietors of an extensive business at the Lodge Mills in 1780 and dwelt in the Lodge Mills House. Joseph had been installed as Archdeacon of Ross, Co. Cork in 1777 and had a residence at the Lodge, Bagenalstown.

The following relating to Co. Carlow is taken from The History and Antiquities of Co. Carlow 1833, Chapter XXX Page 309 - "An account of the flour sent by land carriage and canal to Dublin from the 24th June, 1784 to the 24th June 1785 distinguishing the names of the mills, the number of miles from the Castle of Dublin, the owners names, the quantities in hundreds weights, and the bounties paid for the same":-

Names of Mills	Miles Distance	Owners of the Flour	Quantities in Cwts.	Bounties Paid for same
Burrin	40	Frances Byrne	2469	£165-17s-4d
Bridewell	39	Thomas Delaney	48	£003-03s-5d
Carlow	39	Thomas Delaney	538	£034-15s-1d
Carlow	38	James Hamilton	201	£013-00s-4d
Clashganny	54	James Byrne	16	£001-08s-9d
Lodge	50	Matthew Weld	8266	£697-03s-4d

The Rev. A. Atkinson on his journey through Ireland in the early 1800s writes the following in his travelogue "The Irish Tourist" (published in 1815):

"From Carlow I proceeded to Bagenalstown alias Monabeg a picturesque village on the banks of the Barrow, about 8 miles south of that town, and eleven north of Kilkenny. Though many of the houses have a respectable aspect and the village is composed of several streets, yet it is not a post town, nor has the patent granted by government for two annual fairs and a weekly market, produced all that benefit to the place, which might be expected from its situation on the banks of a navigable river and a country remarkable for its property and population.

.....

 But although the infant markets of this place are but thinly attended, yet we see the proofs of a tolerable home trade, in the aspect of several good shops with

which the village is furnished. It is also the seat of that famous flour mill of the Messieurs Weld which we have already noticed in our estimate of the establishments on this river. And beside those advantages, it has a brewery the property of a Mr. - Murphy; and Mr. Singleton a respectable trader who resides here and manufactures some Marble quarries in the neighbourhood, has no less than sixteen or eighteen boats on the river.

This village, in addition to its picturesque situation on the banks of the Barrow, and the good many houses which compose it, receives considerable augmentation of beauty from the receptacle of a very extensive flour-mill the property of Richard and Matthew Weld, above mentioned, the mansion and demesne of Mr. Newton (son-in-law and heir of the late Mr. Bagnel). The handsome villa of Mrs. Mulhallin beautifully elevated above the river, and from several other neat lodges

in the immediate vicinity of the town - it derives also from some monuments of antiquity near it, an auxiliary influence of grandeur."

The Weld brothers Archdeacon Joseph, Matthew, Lieutenant Royal Navy and Richard, Army Captain and Magistrate in Carlow, were established in Bagenalstown and Callan, Co. Kilkenny in the late 1700s. They always gave their address as The Lodge or the Lodge Mills. Matthew died 1806/7 and bequeathed to his nephew Matthew Weld Hartstonge (Poet, Author and Antiquarian) of Dublin all his property in Moneybeg, which included the Lodge Mills, the Lodge Mills House and the Lodge (Eastwood) and Demesne of Bagenalstown.

Daniel Keoghler (Keogh) merchant of Bagenalstown on the 1st of July 1815 leased unto Matthew and Richard Weld of Lodge Mills all the lands of Moneybeg in his possession for 999 years at a yearly

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rent of £15. The lands were “bounded on the east by a park then in the possession of Mr. Robert Brown divided by a partly wall, on the south by the Main Street leading to the Mill, on the west by a road leading to the Barrow Canal and on the north by a tracking of said Barrow Canal and premises containing in length one hundred and sixteen feet from out to out and at the rear of the tracking one hundred and twenty three feet from out to out situated and lying in the town of Bagenalstown otherwise Moneybeg, Idrone East, at yearly rent as stated, payable on first day of May and first day of November.” The witnesses were William Payne and Edward Wynne both of Bagenalstown. On the 17th January 1818 Philip and Sarah Newton sold 32 acres 2 roods and 23 perches of Clorusk land known locally as the Millers Quarter which was located on the opposite side of the Barrow in West Idrone to Matthew Weld Hartstonge.

Richard Weld’s son Richard died in 1815 and Richard senior died in 1824. Matthew Weld Hartstonge was now the owner of the Lodge Mill and resided in the Lodge Mill House and at times in his house in Molesworth Street, Dublin. Other members of the Weld family also continued to live in the two Lodges.

Samuel Crosthwaite took over management of the Mills in the early 1800s and built a seven floor high extension to it in 1824. He moved into the Lodge Mills House as a tenant following Matthew Weld Hartstonge’s death in 1834.

Joseph’s only son Matthew Weld continued to live on in the Lodge (Eastwood) following his father’s death in September 1781. Matthew died in 1832 but his wife Mary continued to live in the Lodge. She moved to her son’s home at Bloomfield, Co. Dublin in 1862 and she died there in 1864. She was buried in Dunleckney. Further information of the Weld family is to be found in the article on Matthew Weld Hartstonge in the 2015 edition of *Carloviana*.

The representatives of the Weld family remained as landlords of a large number of properties in the Monbeybeg Demesne, including all the west side of Regent Street until recent times.

In Dunleckney Church cemetery on the east side of the Church of Ireland ruins are the graves of a number of the Weld family except for Matthew Weld Hartstonge who was interred in the vaults beneath St. Anne’s Anglican Church, Dorset Street, Dublin.

Notes:

The “handsome villa of Mrs. Mulhallin” mentioned by the Rev. Atkinson also known as Malcolm Ville and Holloden House, Clorusk, Royal Oak, Co. Carlow with its 18th century estate of 40 acres of pastoral land was the setting on the 11th of September 2014 for the turning of the first sod by Bernard and Rosemary Walsh of their 25 million euro craft Irish whiskey distillery on the banks of the River Barrow.

The Crosthwait Family

The family of Crosthwait that arrived in Ireland were descended from Thomas Crosthwait of Cockermouth in the County of Cumberland, England. An ordinance was made in the year 1654 for “settling £100, per annum in Ireland upon Richard Uriel and Thomas Crosthwait of Cockermouth Castle in the County of Cumberland in satisfaction for their losses and services”. This ordinance was confirmed by the Act and Declaration made by Cromwell’s Parliament and subsequently by an Act of the Irish

Parliament in 1662, in the reign of Charles 11. John Crosthwait arrived in Ireland shortly afterwards and settled at “The Phoenix in the Kings Port of County Dublin” (Phoenix Park). The baptism of an Elizabeth Crosthwait on the 1st of February 1669 was recorded in St. Michan’s Church of Ireland, Dublin. Thomas Crosthwait son of John Crosthwait was married to Mary Macquay on the 17th of January 1744 in St. Andrew’s Church of Ireland Dublin. Leland Crosthwait a son of Thomas and Mary born on the 17th of May 1746 became Governor of the Bank of Ireland. He married Ann Darby daughter of Jonathan Darby. Leland and Ann’s son Samuel, born circa 1769 became the first Crosthwait to settle in Co. Carlow. He was recorded in Killinane, Co Carlow in the *Tithe Applotment Books* of 1828 and in *Griffith’s Valuation* of 1852 we find him recorded as a Landlord with 199 acres 3 roods 16 perches and as Landlord to Thomas Singleton with a holding of 11 acres 3 roods 17 perches located in Rathellin.

In 1830 Samuel married Elizabeth Bolton, daughter of Cornelius Bolton M.P. of Waterford, Sheriff of the County in 1810 and Mayor of the City in 1816.

Lodge Mill House 1901 Census of Ireland

Surname	Forename	Age	Relation to Head	Birthplace	Occupation
Crosthwait	Samuel	62	Head	Carlow	Mill Proprietor
Crosthwait	Sarah	55	Wife	England	
Stoker	Lucy	29	Daughter	Co. Carlow	
Crosthwait	Eileen	20	Daughter	Co.. Carlow	
Crosthwait	Olive	13	Daughter	Co. Carlow	Scholar
Crosthwait	Mara Isac	8	Gr. Daughter	Trinidad	Scholar
Keegan	Katherine	32	Servant	Co. Carlow	Cook
Baggy	Margaret	16	Servant	Co. Kilkenny	Parlour Maid

Lodge Mill House 1911 Census of Ireland

Surname	Forename	Age	Relation to Head	Birthplace	Occupation
Crosthwait	Samuel	77	Head	Carlow	Flour & Corn Mill Proprietor
Crosthwait	Eliza Olive	23	Daughter	Co. Carlow	
Crosthwait	Arthur Samuel	27	Son	Co. Carlow	
Burke	Walter De Leger	38	Friend	Roscommon	
McCann	Mary	25	Servant	Co. Kildare	Servant
Dooley	Bridget	20	Servant	Co. Kilkenny	Cook

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Samuel and Elizabeth had a number of children which included Leland Crosthwait born 29th of August 1831, Samuel Crosthwait born 21st of October 1833, Edward Crosthwait baptised 31st December 1835, Elizabeth Crosthwait baptised 15th of June 1837 and John Thomas Crosthwait baptised 9th of November 1839; all of these were baptised in Dunleckney. A Lucy Crosthwait of Bagenalstown was married to George Beamish of 60 Sackville Street Dublin, son of John Beamish and Anabella Swayne, on the 30th of November 1844, in Dunleckney. They lived at Mount Beamish, Boulteen, Co. Cork. Leland Crosthwait married on the 14th of May 1857, in Dunleckney Sophie Richards (born September 1836) of Rathwade, Co. Carlow, daughter of Captain Edwin Richards, Royal Navy, and Mary Ann Kirwan.

In the early 1800s Samuel took over the running of the Lodge Mills and in 1824 built on an extension, which included a seven story high building. The Ordnance Survey in 1837 wrote of "the very extensive flour mills of Samuel Crosthwait Esq." A medal dated 1850, was found in recent years on the Lodge Mills grounds with the inscription "Presented by the Idrone Farming Society to Samuel Crosthwait Esq for the best Short Horn Bull exhibited October 16 1850". Elizabeth Crosthwait wife of Samuel died on the 4th of February 1854 and is buried in Dunleckney, Bagenalstown. Samuel died 22nd of August 1863 aged 74 and is also buried in Dunleckney. After Samuel's death his son Samuel managed the Lodge Mills business. He had married Sarah Eliza Perry who was born in England circa 1846 and the following are the names of their children, all born in The Lodge Mills House and baptised in Dunleckney:-

Edith Elizabeth Crosthwait 1867
Herbert Leland Crosthwait 1868
Lucy Eleanor Crosthwait 1869
Cecil Henry Edward Crosthwait 1870
Edward Gerard Stewart Crosthwait 1871
William Sylvester Crosthwait 1873
Leland George Crosthwait 1881
Evelyn Mary Crosthwait 1876
Eileen Elizabeth Crosthwait 1880
Arthur Samuel Crosthwait 1883
Ernest Jevon Crosthwait 1886
Elsie Olive Crosthwait 1887



Lodge Mill Workers 1939/1940

Back Row: Jimmy Johnson, Dick Hughes, John Dargan, ? Clarke, ? O'Brien, Tom Lawlor, William Millbanks, Christy Pender, Unknown, John Doyle.

Middle Row: ? Murphy, Paddy McDonald, Richard Lawlor, Paddy Doyle, Mick Purcell, Jack Walsh, John Lillis, George Darcy (Snr), Jack Monaghan (Snr), William Watkins, Jack Monaghan (Jnr), Frank Corcoran, Unknown, Jim Geoghegan, Bill Stephenson (White coat-miller) Peter Carton, Sam Jenkinson, Unknown, Billy Stephenson, Pat Sullivan, Paky Lawlor.

*Front Row: Tom Kinsella (White coat-miller), Jim Dudley, Mr Harvey (White coat-miller), *Walter Brown, Frank Brown, Mr Hicks, Emilly Jeffs (Office), Jim McDonald, Jim Dargan.*

** Walter S. Brown = member of the 1894 Irish Triple Crown Team.*

Arthur Samuel and Leland George Crosthwait attended St. Nicholas College Lancing in England and they both entered the Royal Military College at Sandhurst in September 1896 and subsequently left in December 1897. Leland George was gazetted 2nd lieutenant unattached list for Indian Corps Staff 29th July 1900.

The Publication of List of Carlow Land Owners of 1871 shows Samuel Crosthwait with a holding of 96 acres in Bagenalstown. In 1884 Samuel Crosthwait was recorded as a Town Commissioner. Samuel and Sarah were both recorded in the National Census of 1901 at the Lodge Mills House but only Samuel was recorded in the 1911 Census along with family members. Their daughter Eileen Elizabeth Crosthwait died on the 21st of March 1968.

The Lodge Mills remained in the hands of the Crosthwait family into the 20th

century but by 1919 it was in the hands of Brown and Crosthwait Ltd. During this period the Company reroofed the Old Rudkin Mill and put it into working order and use. The Minister of Industry and Commerce Jack Lynch announced in the Dail in 1963 that that nine flour mills had been closed in Ireland since the end of 1962; this included Brown & Crosthwait Ltd. with a quota of 52,119 barrels. The Lodge Mills House and surrounds were demolished at some stage possibly in the 1930s to facilitate trucks entering and turning within the Mill compound.

Robert Wybrants

Robert Wybrants was the eldest son of Robert Wybrants of Granby Row Dublin. He was educated at Trinity College Dublin (T.C.D.) and Kings Inn. He was admitted to the Irish Bar in 1811. He was elected a member of the Royal Dublin Society (R.D.S) on the 28th of April 1836 – served on the Botany Committee 1842-1867 and on the Executive Council 1846

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– 1852. He died on the 28th August 1875. He was resident in Eastwood House for a short period of time circa 1859-62. John Barlow was in some way connected to Robert Wybrants in financial and business matters.

Captain Algernon Thomas Moreton.

Joseph Weld was established in the Lodge (Eastwood House) in the 1700s and his family occupied it up to 1862 when it was purchased by Captain Algernon Thomas Moreton.

In the early 1860s Thomas Paget, his second wife Anne Emily Handy along with their daughter Anne Jane and her husband Captain the Hon. Algernon Thomas Moreton moved from Knockglass, Co. Mayo to Dublin and soon afterwards moved to the Lodge in 1862. The following is taken from the Dublin Evening Mail 28th October 1863: “The Magistracy, Captain the Hon. Moreton of Bagenalstown, has been appointed to the Commission of the Peace for the County of Carlow, and was on Wednesday sworn in by G. W. Bolton, Esq. of Coolbawn, in the Courthouse Bagenalstown.”

The Hon. Algernon Thomas Reynolds - Moreton was born 10th August 1829 to Henry George Francis Reynolds - Moreton, 2nd Earl of Ducie and the Hon. Elizabeth Dutton. He married firstly Anne Jane Paget daughter of Thomas Paget, Knockglass, Crossmolina, Co. Mayo on the 10th October 1857 and they lived at Eastwood Bagenalstown. They had two children, Algernon Paget Reynolds - Moreton born 24th November 1858, died 12th December 1861 and Reginald Percy Reynolds - Moreton born 22nd July 1861, died August 1861 and buried in St. Mary's Church Cemetery, Crossmolina, Co. Mayo.

Algernon gained the rank of Captain in the service of the 3rd Light Dragoons also known as The Kings Own Hussars (a cavalry regiment in the British Army). His wife Anne Jane Moreton died 27th August 1873 aged 38 years and is buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery Dublin. Thomas Paget father of Anna Jane died in Dublin 8th March 1877 aged 81 years, his widow Anne E. Paget died 2nd April 1892, both also buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin.

Captain Algernon Moreton married secondly his first cousin Emilia Olivia Moreton McDonald daughter of the Hon. Augustus Henry Moreton McDonald of Largie and Mary Jane McDonald Lochhart on the 1st April 1875. They lived at Eastwood. The List of Carlow Land Owners of 1871 shows the Hon. A. Moreton with a holding of 68 acres in Eastwood Bagenalstown. Captain Algernon Moreton died on the 18th January 1880 at the age of 50 years in Corfe Mullen, Dorset, England. Emilia died 17th February 1920 at Whitechurch, Dorset, England.

The following are snippets from newspaper society columns of that time reporting on some activities of the Hon. Captain Moreton:

- 1) *Freeman's Journal* July 1861 - *The Hon. Mrs. Algernon Moreton of a son.*
- 2) *Dublin Evening Mail* 29th October 1862 - *Hunting in Ireland* - *The Hon. Algernon Moreton has sold his harriers, with Kingsland, their whip, in the bargain to Colonel Stronge.*
- 3) *Dublin Evening Mail* 1863 and 1864 *Captain Algernon Moreton - at Preservation of the Barrow - Fishery Meeting.*
- 4) *Dublin Evening Mail* 21 February 1866 - *Hon. Algernon Moreton, Secretary of the Barrow Protection Society.*
- 5) *Freeman's Journal* 18 February 1875 - *Fashion & Varieties* - *Captain Algernon Moreton arrived at Kingstown from England.*
- 6) *Freeman's Journal* 1st July 1876 - *Fashion & Varieties* - *Algernon Moreton and E. Mrs. Moreton left Kingstown for London.*
- 7) *Freeman's Journal* 17th June 1878 - *Sale of Eastwood to Arthur Henley of Waterperry Oxfordshire and now of Eastwood - also referred to as the Lodge and Demesne land.*

Other reports also referred to Captain Algernon Moreton's visits to his Hunting Lodge in Knockglass, Co. Mayo.

Notes:

- 1) We may speculate as to why the Hon. Moreton choose the name Eastwood and put forward that a wood was situated on both sides of the Barrow and as his house was on the east side he called it Eastwood House or that he took the East because it was located in the Barony of East Idrone, or that he choose it perhaps from the name Eastwood Park

Estate close to Tortwort Court the former seat of the Moreton family in Gloucester, England.

2) Captain Moreton's first wife was Anne Jane Paget of Knockglass Co. Mayo. A member of the Bourke family of Ballina married a Paget, a relative of Thomas Paget, father of Anne Jane. Mary Robinson (nee Bourke) former President of Ireland is descended from the Bourkes of Ballina.

3) Emilia Olivia second wife of Captain Moreton descended from the Lady Anne sister of King Edward 1V (Yorkist) 1461 - 1483 and King Henry V11 (Tudor) 1485-1509.

Captain Arthur Henley

In June 1878 Captain Arthur Henley bought Eastwood House and estate at the price of one thousand six hundred pounds from Captain Algernon Thomas Moreton. Arthur Henley was born in Waterperry, Oxfordshire to Joseph Warner Henley and Georgina Fane daughter of John Fane and Lady Elizabeth Parker who lived at Wormsley, Oxfordshire. On the 27th October 1868 Arthur married Margaret Gore daughter of Joseph Gore and Margaret Bagwell of Derrymore, Co. Clare at Saint James, Westminster London. They had at least three children, Margaret M. Henley born 1875, Walter E. Henley born 1877 and Cecil Henley born 1881. They lived at Eastwood, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow and Waterperry, Oxfordshire, England.

Arthur served as High Sheriff in Carlow, as a Justice of the Peace, was appointed Magistrate for Bagenalstown on the 5th of November 1878 and served as Resident Magistrate there into at least the late 1890s. In the 1881 Census he was listed at his sister's (Grace Elizabeth De Salis) residence in Egham, Surrey, Berkshire, along with his wife Margaret and three children. It was seemingly a very large household as listed also were other family members and 14 servants male and female.

The Registry Deeds show that Arthur sold Eastwood to Colonel William Barton Wade on the 3rd February 1902.

In the 1901 Census Arthur was listed as a lodger in St. George, Hanover Square, London Middlesex and listed in the 1911 Census at the age of 77 years in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. He died on the 19th September 1923 at the age of 90 years in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. He is listed as a descendant of William 1 (the Conqueror) King of England 1066 -1087 in the Genealogy Tree “Descendants of

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William the Conqueror” by Alan G. Freer A.C.I.B.

Adjutant Arthur Forbes-Gordon

Arthur Newton Forbes-Gordon was born on the 22nd January 1844 at Rayne, Scotland to Arthur Forbes Gordon and Charlotte Balfour. He gained the rank of Captain and Adjutant in the service of the 79th Highlanders. He held the office of Justice of the Peace (J.P.) for County Carlow. On the 15th September 1870 Captain Forbes-Gordon was appointed to the Court of Bagenalstown as Magistrate and resided at Rathwade House and had a residence also at Rayne, Aberdeenshire, Scotland.

He married firstly Christian Dalrymple on the 22nd of October 1872 and they had one child – Major Arthur Dalrymple Forbes-Gordon born the 29th September 1873, died 16th May 1931.

He married secondly, Adeline Sarah Newton, born in 1849 to Philip Jocelyn Newton of Dunleckney and Henrietta Maria Kennedy on the 17th of April 1876. They had 2 children- Alistair Hugh Forbes-Gordon born the 8th February, 1877, died 11th July 1961 and Adeline Winifred Forbes-Gordon, born 3rd February 1879. Philip’s second wife Adeline Sarah died the 21st February 1879 at the age of 30 years and is buried in Dunleckney cemetery.

He married thirdly, Penelope Christie daughter of Major Napier T. Christie in April 1881. They had 3 children – Amesbury Frances Mary, Forbes-Gordon, born on the 29th of September 1882; Alice Ida Kathleen Forbes-Gordon, born the 17th of March 1884 and Helen Charlotte Forbes-Gordon born on the 26th of May, 1891.

I found no record of Arthur Newton Forbes Gordon in the Registry of Deeds in Dublin but in the 1901 Census he was recorded along with his wife Penelope and family of 4 daughters, Adeline, Amesbury, Alice and Helen plus 8 servants (5 male and 3 female) residing in Eastwood. At this time the owner of Eastwood according to the Registry of Deeds was Captain Henley but he had not sold it to Colonel Wade until February 1902 and therefore Forbes-Gordon obviously had rented Eastwood for that period from Captain Henley.

Eastwood House 1901 Census of Ireland

Surname	Forename	Age	Relation to Head	Birthplace	Occupation
Forbes-Gordon	Arthur Newton	57	Head	Scotland	Retired Captain 79 Homelander
Forbes-Gordon	Penelope	53	Wife	Scotland	
Forbes	Adeline	22	Daughter	Dublin	
Forbes	Amesbury	18	Daughter	Co. Carlow	
Forbes	Ida	17	Daughter	Co. Carlow	
Forbes	Helen	9	Daughter	Scotland	Scholar
Swann	Mary	24	Governess	West Indies	Governess
MacKenzie	Mary	25	Servant	Scotland	Lady’s Maid
Robb	Mary	23	Servant	Scotland	Maid
Horsbrough	Jane	23	Servant	England	Cook
Russel	Annie	20	Servant	Co. Kilkenny	Kitchen Maid
Barry	Sarah	17	Servant	Co. Carlow	Housemaid
Copland	James	17	Servant	Scotland	Footman
Day	Martin	30	Servant	Queen’s Co.	Coachman
Copland	George	16	Servant	Scotland	Stable Boy

Adjutant Arthur Newton Forbes-Gordon died on the 7th March 1930 aged 86.

Colonel William Barton Wade

William Barton Wade, a retired Army Colonel moved from his temporary residence at St. Canice’s Cottage, Kilkenny into Eastwood House Bagenalstown in February 1902 after purchasing it from Captain Arthur Henley.

William was born at Grove, Fethard, Co. Tipperary the 11th of July 1840 and baptised there on the 29th of July. He entered the Army as ensign 26th (The Cameronians) Regiment of Foot, 11 March 1859, Lieutenant 14 January 1862, Captain 21 July 1875, Paymaster 1 April 1878, Chief Paymaster 12 November 1897, Colonel 16 February 1899, retired 23 September 1901; served in Abyssinian Expedition of 1868 (Medal);

Chief Paymaster in South Africa 1899 - 1901. He was invested as a Companion, Order of the Bath (C.B.) 29 November; mentioned in despatches, London Gazette, 16 April 1901; Justice of the Peace (J.P.) for Co. Carlow. William was the son of John Wade from the Clonebraney Estate, Co. Meath and Deborah Barton of the Barton Estate, Grove, Fethard, Co. Tipperary. He married Emily Ada Elwell born in Bermuda 1852/3 to Henry Elwell and Margaret Graham of Edinburgh. They

were married at St. James Piccadilly London on the 7th November 1878. They had two children Gwendolen Ada, born at Agra, North West Provinces, India and married at Dunleckney, Bagenalstown, 20th July 1904, to Adjutant Willoughby Jones Fowler of the Waterford Royal Garrison Artillery (Militia). Gwendolen died 27th February 1952. The second child Eric William Noel Wade was born at Aldershot, Co. Hampshire, 19th January 1886, and baptised at the Garrison Church, Aldershot; educated at Cheltenham College.

In 1890 on the 16th August at the proved reading of his father’s will at Kilkenny William Barton Wade’s address is given as Newpark, Co. Kildare.

William Barton Wade died in 1919.

Notes:

1) John Wade, Father of William Barton Wade is listed in 1853 as High Sheriff of Kilkenny City; 1854 as resident in St. Canice’s Cottage, as Land agent and Resident Magistrate, with his wife registered as a member of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society.

2) John Wade was born 1st February 1811 and died aged 78, 13th May 1889 at Kilkenny. Deborah his wife died 24th March 1895. Both are buried in the Churchyard at St. Canices.

3) The Companion Order of the Bath (C.B.) was founded in 1725 by King George 1 and is conferred on men and women for recognised services of national importance, mainly awarded to Officers of the Armed Services as well as to a smaller number of civil servants.

William Ernest Elwell, Merchant

Eastwood House passed from retired Colonel William Barton Wade on the 3rd of September 1903 to William Ernest Elwell formerly of Houghton Hill, Huntingdon and later West Dean Cottage, Chichester. William Ernest Well was a brother of Emily Ada Elwell, wife of William Barton Wade.

William and his brother Robert John Elwell of Birmingham, England, were in partnership with George Walrond Hutchinson and Henry Perry Leach, both of Bridgetown, Barbados, in the West Indies, and traded as Merchants under the firm of Elwell and Co. at London and Birmingham. The partnership was dissolved on the 26th of November 1878. Both Robert John and William Ernest were born in Birmingham, John Christened 10th January, 1844 and William born 1847. William Ernest died at Bath Somerset, England, aged 77 in 1924.

Note:

Henry Elwell father of Emily, William and Robert died on 30th of December 1872 and will proved in the District Registry at Lichfield Court of Probate on the 30th May, 1873, by Robert John Elwell of Birmingham, Merchant and William Ernest Elwell of the same place, Merchant, the executors named in the same will.

Colonel George Ewbank Briggs

George Ewbanks Briggs retired Army Officer "residing at 18 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin purchased lands and buildings at Bagenalstown commonly called by the name of Lodge or Demesne of Bagenalstown" from William Ernest Elwell "of the Cottage of West Dean Chichester on the 7th of September 1904".

George Ewbanks Briggs was born to George Briggs and Letitia Fanny Egginton on the 10th February 1856 in Yorkshire. He married Kathleen Mary Swifte at St. George, Hanover Square, London on the 1st of June 1898. He joined the Royal Fusiliers in which he reached the rank of Colonel. He was awarded the O.B.E. by the King. In 1919 Colonel Briggs sold Eastwood to Frank B. Brown.

EastwoodHouse 1911 Census of Ireland

Surname	Forename	Age	Relation to Head	Birthplace	Occupation
Briggs	George Frank	55	Head	England	Retired Colonel
Briggs	Kathleen Mary	37	Wife	Dublin	JS YN Co. Carlow
Philips	Barbara	3	Visitor	Egypt	
Philips	Di Ann	1	Visitor	England	
Borough	Dora Kate	50	Nurse	Co. Clare	Lady Nurse
Burland	Marcella Ellen	42	Nurse	Co. Dublin	Hospital Nurse
Collins	Margaeret	40	Servant	C. Waterford	Cook
Gorey	Margaret	28	Servant	Co. Kildare	Parlour Maid
Watson	Kate	34	Servant	Co. Louth	Housemaid
Rogers	Alicia	28	Servant	Co. Kildare	Kitchen Maid
McLean	Elizabeth	23	Servant	Co. Carlow	2nd Housemaid

George Ewbank Briggs died on the 2nd of July 1940 aged 84 and is buried in Whitechurch Cemetery at the foot of the Dublin Mountains in Co. Dublin. Kathleen Mary, wife of George died on the 5th of May 1962 at the age of 89 years and is buried alongside her husband, in the same grave in Whitechurch.

Notes:

- 1) O.B. E. = Officer of the British Empire.
- 2) K.C. = King's Counsel (Counsel to the Crown when the British Monarch is a King).
- 3) Kathleen Mary Swifte was the daughter of Sir E.G. Swifte of the Swifte's Heath, Kilkenny. George Swifte Ewbank Briggs was the last Swifte to reside at Swifte's Heath. He took possession of it in 1957 and sold it in 1971. He was buried in Castlecomer in 1990.

The Brown Family

The Browns were descended from John Stewart Brown who came from near Montrose, a Scottish coastal town situated between the mouths of the North and South Esk Rivers in Angus, Scotland, 38 miles north of Dundee. John Stewart Brown married Nicholas Hastings who came from Moniaive, Dumfriesshire, in 1820 and they had 12 children, 6 boys and 6 girls which included the following children born in Moniaive in the Parish of Glencairn Dumfries and christened in the United Presbyterian Church:- William Brown born 26 January 1821, Jenet Brown (Female) born 11th April 1822, Nicolas Brown (Female) born 17th April 1824, Margaret Brown christened 23rd August 1826, Robert Brown born 14th September 1827, Jane Brown born 11th September 1829, Walter Stewart Brown born 8th October 1831, Helen Brown born 7th

January 1834, Mary Brown born 1st April 1836.

William and Walter Brown emigrated to Belfast where they started a flour mill. William married and he and his wife had 6 children 2 boys and 4 girls. Two of these were Mary Brown who died in 1940 and Jane Brown born 1869, died 1901. Jane married her first cousin Frank Beveridge Brown, son of Walter Brown. William later moved to Dublin where he founded the Dock Mills. He lived at Glencairn, Dalkey.

Sometime soon after arrival in Belfast Walter Brown moved to Dublin where he founded Walter Brown & Co., a milling business in Hanover Street. He lived at Rockville, Newtown Park Avenue Blackrock. Walter married Margaret Forbes Watson on the 29th of June 1859 in Aberlemno, Angus, Scotland. They had 8 children; John Hastings Brown born 1860, Jessie Brown born 1861, Effie Brown born 1863, the aforementioned Frank Beveridge Brown born 1st October 1864, Mary Susan Brown born 9th May 1866, Walter Stewart Brown born 29th October 1867, William Brown born 14th July 1870 and Margaret Watson Brown born 30th May 1872, all born in Dublin. Walter's wife Margaret died in 1878 and he then married her sister Euphemia Watson in Switzerland because in Ireland it was illegal to marry a deceased wife's sister. There were no children from the second marriage.

The first recording of the Brown family in Bagenalstown that I have located

EASTWOOD HOUSE AND THE MONEYBEG DEMESNE

comes from the *Montrose Standard* Newspaper Scotland in 1885 and is as follows:-

Marriage.

At Panmure Place, on the 30th July, 1885 by the Rev. W. Douglas Mackenzie, J. Hastings Brown, Bagenalstown, Ireland, to Jessie Mary only daughter of James Johnston.

Therefore John Hastings and Frank Beveridge Brown may have arrived in Bagenalstown in the early 1880s and lived in the Long Range.

Frank B. Brown purchased Eastwood and lands of the Demesne of Bagenalstown on the 19th of August 1919 from George Ewbank Briggs.

Frank B. Brown was born on the 1st of October 1864 to Walter Stewart Brown and Margaret Watson at 16 Creighton Street, Dublin. Margaret Watson was the daughter of Frank Watson and M. Janet Forbes (Fife) who lived in Farm, Blackhall, Breckin, Scotland.

Frank Beveridge Brown married his first cousin Jane Brown in Dublin in 1896. They moved to Bagenalstown where he went into partnership of the Lodge Mill with Samuel Crosthwait. Frank and Jane lived at the Long Range and had 2 sons, Brian Stewart born 1897 and Frank Stewart born the 1st of November 1901. Jane died one month after the second birth, on the 3rd of December 1901 aged 31 years. Jane's, sister Mary who lived next door in Long Range helped to bring up the two boys and remained there until she died in 1940. In the 1901 Census Frank is recorded in the Long Range, Bagenalstown, along with his wife Jane and son Bryan Stewart Brown. He is recorded in the 1911 Census in the Long Range as a widower. In the house with him is his son Stewart Brown (age 9 years) and his nephew Eric Brown (age 24 years). Frank is recorded in both censuses as a Flour Mill Proprietor and Corn Merchant. Frank Beveridge Brown died on the 21st of October 1922 aged 58 years and was buried alongside his wife Jane in Mount Jerome cemetery in Dublin.

Frank's eldest son Brian joined the army after leaving Campell College Belfast

1901 Census of Ireland No 1 Long Range

Surname	Forename	Age	Relation to Head	Birthplace	Occupation
Brown	Frank B.	36	Head	Dublin	Flour Merchant & Miller
Brown	Jane	30	Wife	Dublin	
Brown	Brian S.	4	Son	Co. Carlow	
Comerford	Julia	25	Servant	Co. Carlow	Cook
McArdle Comerford	Lizzie	22	Servant	Co. Carlow	Nurse

1911 Census of Ireland N0.1 Long Range

Surname	Forename	Age	Relation to Head	Birthplace	Occupation
Brown	Frank	46	Head	Dublin	Fl. Mill Proprietor & Corn Merchant
Brown	Stewart	9	Son	Carlow	Scholar
Brown	Mary	50	Sister-in-Law	Kildare	---
Brown	Eric	24	Nephew	Carlow	Visitor
Ryan	Rose	31	Servant	Carlow	Gen. Servant
Kealy	Bridget	24	Servant	Carlow	Nurse

and was killed on the 5th April 1918 while serving with the 1/28th London Regiment, Artists Rifles. He is buried at the Hamel Military Cemetery (Beaumont Hamel - Somme France) along with 409 other casualties, his inscription reads – BROWN BRIAN STEWART United Kingdom Rifleman B/201487 Rifle Brigade 05/04/1918 Age: 21 11 F. 33/37. The second son of Frank and Jane Brown, Frank Stewart Brown (1901-1993) was born at Long Range on the 1st of November 1901. He developed an eye disease (Irises) while in his teens at Campell College, had to leave school and was blind by 21. Nevertheless, in 1930 he married Alice Isabella Badham (1904-1996) from Warwickshire England who was born with a stump in place of a right arm. Her aunt Christina Alice Bell was married to Frank Beveridge's younger brother Walter Stewart Brown. Frank Stewart and Alice farmed at Eastwood (Apples, Bees, Pigs), then later at Rathwade (milking herd, horses, chickens), and Oldtown (arable, horses, sheep, turkeys.). They had 3 boys and 3 girls; another boy died as a baby. The following are the children of Frank and Alice:- Robin (1931 – 2006), Sheelagh born 1932, Terrance died 1933, Denis born 1934, Jane (1936 -2001), Susan born 1939, and Rory born 1940. On the 17th November 1943 Frank Stewart Brown sold Eastwood and all that parts of the

land of Bagenalstown commonly called Lodge and Demesne of Bagenalstown with buildings and appurtenances of 71 acres 2 roods 24 perches statute measure, to Brown and Crosthwait Ltd., registered office Lodge Mills.

In later life Frank and Alice lived at Garryduff. Frank died in 1993 and Alice died in 1996; both are buried in Bagenalstown cemetery on the Fenagh road.

John Hastings Brown (1860-1930) eldest son of Wallter Stewart Brown and Margaret Watson married Jessie Mary Johnston from Montrose, Scotland at Panmure Place Montrose, Angus, Scotland on the 30th of July 1885.

The following news item appeared in the *Montrose Standard* July 31, 1885:- Handsome Bride's Cake.

There was exhibited this week in the window of Mr. A. C. Burnett, baker, High Street, a bride's cake which for size and finish, has scarcely been surpassed in Montrose. The cake was prepared on the occasion of the marriage of Miss Johnston, daughter of James Johnston, Esq., of the firm of Messrs Joseph Johnston & Sons, fish curers and reflects much credit on the maker, Mr. Burnett.

John and Jessie had 6 sons and 2 daugh-

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Lodge Mill workers 1947/48

Front Row seated on ground: Jimmy Johnston, Paddy O'Brien, Ger Clarke, Peter Carton, Mick Purcell, Jim Comerford, Paddy Lawlor, Dick Sheehan.

Middle Row Seated: Tom Kinsella (Jnr), Tommy Kinsella (Snr), Jim Dargan, Bill Stephenson (Jnr), Eric Brown with son, Jim on his lap, Mr Harvey, Frank Brown, Walter Brown, Billy Stephenson, Emilly Jeffs (Office), Cecil Stephenson, Eric Lewis.

Middle Row Standing: Dick Hughes, Paddy Doyle, Conor McDonald, Jim McEvoy, Richie Lawlor, Johnny Lillis, Sean Walsh, Paddy Kelly, George Darcy (Jnr) Paddy McDonald, Tommy Lawlor, Willy Millbanks, Johnny Dargan, Ted Dargan, Dick Gregory.

Back Row: George Watkins, Christy Pender, John Monaghan (Snr), Jack Walsh (Snr), Peter Hughes, John Doyle, George Darcy (Snr), John Michaels, Jim Geoghegan, Billy Watkins, John Boyle, Frick Doyle, Willy Kinsella, Jack Monaghan (Jnr)

ters; Eric Johnstone Brown (1886-1959), William Kenneth Brown (1888-1973), Nan Brown (1889-1968), John Brown (1892-1968), Harold Malcolm Brown (1899—1947), Madge Brown 1899-1967), Jerry Brown (1901-1969 and Frank McDonald Brown (1901-1975). Frank spent some time in Natal, South Africa and when he returned home lived in a small house on the estate but later had a bungalow built part way up the avenue to Eastwood House on the left hand side and lived there. He suffered from severe arthritis and died on the 2nd of July 1975. Frank is buried alongside his brother Eric in Bagenalstown cemetery on the Fenagh Road.

William Kenneth Brown was born on the 11th of June 1888 at Montrose Scotland

to Jessie and John Hastings Brown who lived at Bagenalstown. He was the second of 8 children. He married Bessie Mitchell from Montrose Scotland. They lived at Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford and had no children. Ken took over S. and A. G. Davis's Mill which was located on the banks of the Urin, a tributary to the River Slaney at Enniscorthy. S. & G. Davis (Enniscorthy) Ltd. was set up on Saturday 31st of July 1915 in Co. Wexford. The Company was dissolved and closed on Tuesday 10th of December 2002. The mill operated for just over one year more as Cooney Grain and finally closed on Friday the 7th of May 2004. William Kennet Brown died in 1973.

Eric Johnston Brown eldest son of John Hastings and Jessie Johnston was born

on the 12th of May 1886 at Bagenalstown. His father's occupation is stated as Miller. At the age of 24 years he is recorded in the 1911 Census at his Uncle Frank's house in the Long Range Bagenalstown. He married the 3rd of June, 1912 Margaret Winifred Tibbits daughter of Frederick and Mary Tibbits at Aldridge Staffordshire. Eric and Margaret had one son Christopher Tibbits Brown born at Cedar Court, Aldridge on the 28th of October 1920. Eric emigrated to Canada and went in to the mining business which was not a successful enterprise. On the 6th of January 1917 he joined the Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Force, the 15th Canadian Battalion 48th Highlanders and his wrist band number was E.J.B. 3689 M.T. - C.A.S.C. and previous to that he had spent 3 months in the Canadian Militia. In his Attestation Paper he states his date of birth as the 12th of May 1866 born at Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow and states his next-of-kin as Mrs. M.W. Brown (wife) and her address as Cedar Court, Aldridge, Staffordshire and his occupation as Real Estate Agent. The declaration made by him states *I Eric Johnston Brown do solemnly declare that the above answers made by me to the above questions are true and that I am willing to fulfil the engagements by me now made, and I hereby engage and agree to serve in the Canadian Over-Seas Expeditionary Force, and to be attached to any arm of the service therein, for the term of one year, or during the war now existing between Great Britain and Germany and should that war last longer than one year, and for six months after the termination of that war provided His Majesty should so long require my services, or until legally discharged.*

Date 6th January 1917.

After the end of WW1 and the breakup of his marriage with Margaret Tibbits, Eric returned to Ireland. Sometime afterwards Marjory Stirton from Winnipeg left Canada on board a ship and arrived in England. Eric was expecting her but did not know the port of arrival and so he visited a number of ports until he eventually succeeded in finding her. They were married and spent their honeymoon in Bray Co. Wicklow.

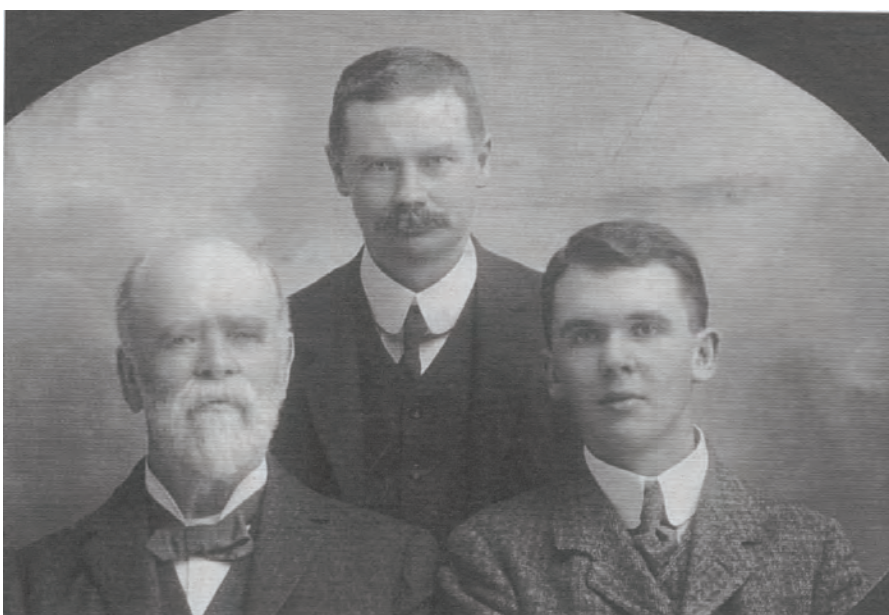
James Stirton lived in Forfarshire, Angus Scotland. He married Janet Crichton. On

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the 13th of June 1816 Janet gave birth to their first son whom they called David. When David Stirton was about 11 years old he emigrated with his father and mother to Canada. The family settled in the bush about 5 miles from the present city of Guelph. David's brother William Stirton was the first male child born in Guelph. David first toiled as a farmer in the townships of Guelph and Pulslinch, South Wellington, Nova Scotia. He had long connections with municipal affairs in Pulslinch ending in 1867. He then represented South Wellington in the Old Canadian Parliament and for 9 years after Confederation retained a seat in the House of Commons. He retired from Parliamentary life in 1876 upon his appointment to the office of Postmaster of Guelph. David Stirton was twice married, in 1842 to Mary Beattie of Pulslinch and in 1847 to Henrietta (unknown) and had children by both marriages. In the 1901 Census in Canada he is recorded in East Wellington, Ontario at the age of 84 years, widowed along with his daughter Mary J. Barlelay age 55 years (born the 19th of April 1845 in Ontario). He died on the 15th of August 1908 at Guelph, Wellington, Ontario.

On the 9th of December 1847 James Stirton was born to David and Henrietta Stirton near the city of Guelph Ontario. James farmed up to 1879 and then went in to the grain business in Manitoba until 1892. James married firstly Maggie Martin of Dumfries Ontario in 1869 and they had 3 children. Maggie died and James Stirton then married Elizabeth Lindsay Barclay from Guelph Manitoba. Marjory Stirton was born to James and Elizabeth Lindsay Stirton in the year 1900 at Manitoba, Canada. James and Elizabeth had a total of 7 children. James moved in to the real estate and financial business in Morden and in 1901 he was appointed Morden Postmaster. On the 3rd of June 1927 James Stirton died at Morden.

Eric Johnston Brown and Marjory Stirton settled in the Long Range at Bagenalstow. Eric and his younger brother Frank managed the Brown and Crosthwait Lodge Mill business. Eric's Uncle, Frank Beveridge Brown had bought Eastwood House and all lands of the Demesne in 1919 and had moved in to Eastwood House. Frank Beveridge died in 1922 and his son Frank Stewart Brown and his



*Three generations of the Brown Family.
Walter Brown, John Hastings Brown and Eric Brown.*

wife Alice continued to live on in Eastwood.

Eric and Marjory had one son Jim Brown who was born on the 7th of May 1945. Eric died on the 4th January 1959 aged 83 years. Jim attended a boarding school away from home from an early age and at 13 years of age while away at school his father died. So, Jim's early memories connect more with his mother.

After the death of his father his mother Marjory discussed with him, whether they should return to Canada or stay in Ireland and his mother's preference was to stay in Ireland and so it happened.

Marjory died on the 26th of March 1983 aged 83 years. Eric and Marjory were both buried in Bagenalstown cemetery on the Fenagh road.

Jim Brown married Margaret Blennerhasset from Beaufort, Co. Kerry and they had 4 children, Judy, Eric, Diane, and Susan. Jim managed the farm business and continued to live on at the Long Range until 1971 when he and Margaret moved to live at Killinane Farm on the west side of the river Barrow.

Notes:

1) Re "Nicholas" Hastings wife of John Stewart Brown; the "s" in her first name refers to a family name.

1) Walter Stewart Brown, younger brother of Frank Beveridge, was a member of the Ireland rugby team that won the Triple Crown for the first time in 1894. At that time also he was a member of the Dublin University Club.

2) John Hastings Brown was captain of the Carlow Rugby team at one stage.

3) Eric Johnston Brown donated the Green Park (Fair Green) in the centre of Bagenalstown for the use of the people.

4) Jim Brown's half-brother Christopher Brown lived in England and when WW2 broke out he was attending college and so he and two of his friends decided to join the forces. One friend joined the army, the second friend joined the navy and Christopher joined the R.A.F. Christopher took part in many important bombing missions and at the end of the war he was glad to return once more to college where he met up with his two former friends, life continued on and Christopher became a doctor.

Hans Jeffrey White

Colonel William Flower commenced the construction of Castle Durrow in Co. Laois in 1712. The Flower family assumed residency in 1716 and continued to expand and improve their Estate on various occasions. The family were regarded as benevolent Landlords and were the largest employers of Durrow village. They had growing financial problems up to 1919 but kept their Mansions of Castle Durrow, Cloonageera and Knocknatrina in decent condition. However, in 1922 the banks foreclosed and some members of the family relocated back to Britain. Castle Durrow was sold. Robin Flower the inventor was born on the 1st of April at Castle Durrow. He

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Residents of Eastwood House (The Lodge)	Residents of the Lodge Mills House
Bagenal Family	Matthew and Richard Weld
Michael Carter	Matthew Weld Hartstonge & Richard Weld
Edward Vigors	Samuel Crosthwait (Senior)
Richard Mercer	Samuel Crosthwait (Son)
William Chaigneau Colville	
Joseph Weld	
Matthew Weld (son of Joseph)	Lodge Millers
Mary Weld (Wife of Matthew)	Owen Murphy
Robert Wybrants	Edward Vigors
Captain Algernon Moreton	Richard Mercer
Captain Arthur Henley	Matthew & Richard Weld
Adjutant Arthur Forbes-Gordon	M. W. Hartstonge & Richard Weld
Colonel William Barton Wade	Samuel Crosthwait (Senior)
William Ernest Elwell	Samuel Crosthwait (Son)
Colonel George Ewbanks Frank Briggs	Brown & Crosthwait
Frank Beveridge Brown	
Frank Stewart Brown	
Hans Jeffrey White	
Mary Catherine White	
John Hart	

married Gertrude Sophia daughter of Rev. Sewell Hamilton. They had five children. One of his daughters Frances Mary Flower married Henry Ernest White and they lived at Knocknatrina House, Durrow Co. Laois. From 1869 Robin Flower lived at Knocknatrina. Frances Mary was widowed in 1923. On October the 2nd 1940 one of her sons Hans Jeffrey White who lived at Knocknatrina married in Dublin, Mary Catherine (Reena) Brennan of Eden Hall, Ballyragget, eldest daughter of Richard Brennan and Kathleen Mary Clare Morris. Henry and Mary lived firstly at Coolmore House, Thomastown and in 1945 moved to Eastwood House in Bagenalstown. They had 6 children; Jeffrey, Catherine, Ian, Robert, Richenda and Roger. Catherine White married John Hart of Chichester, and they lived in Chichester, England. In 1968 Eastwood House caught fire and extensive damage was done to the front of the house and the roof. The insurance was not sufficient to restore the front of the house and so it was demolished. A new front was created at the remainder of the front building and a new roof was added to the entire building. The basement of the knocked front building still exists under the front approach to the house but has been sealed off. Mary Catherine White established Eastwood Nurseries and she eventually

became a renowned producer of herbaceous plants. She died on the 1st of February 2002 and her ashes were buried in Nicholastown Churchyard. Her husband Hans Jeffrey had predeceased her. After the death of Mary the White family extended an invitation to John Hart to come and live in Eastwood. His wife Catherine had died previous to this and so John

Hart, son in law of Hans Jeffrey and Mary Catherine White, arrived in Eastwood and now resides there along with his son Edmund.

History and Folklore

In my recent retirement years I go walking several times a week. One day in early 2014 I set off as usual up Royal Oak Road, down the Long Range and into Regent Street, my favoured Street of Day Dreams. My eyes and mind were focused on Tom Singleton's large home (and later Bank of Ireland), as my feet carried me along. I visualised the house as it would have been in the glory years of canal and milling. Behind the house and forming a continuous building down to the quay and continuing south down the quayside, grain stores and stables for horses. Tom was a respected and prosperous business man of the time with 18 boats working the canal to Dublin, Waterford and towns in between. The stables of course were for the horses that towed the canal boats. I was drawn back into reality as a voice rang out "that's a fine big house there". I spied on the other side of the street Jimmy and Bridget Kelly, shopping bags in hand on the way home. I crossed the street and opened my mind to them of how I visualised the street in the past leading up to the gate entrance of Eastwood House. Jimmy then related to me a story he had heard from an elder of

King James's Irish Army List 1689/90

Colonel Dudley Bagenal's Infantry Regiment (Men =515)

Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns
The Colonel	William Bourke	John Comerford
James Power Lieutenant Colonel	Thomas Meara	Edward Butler
Major - Corbett	-----	
-- Gaffney	-----	
Geffrey Prendergast	Walter Prendergast	James Prendergast
Nicholas Power	Richard Wadding	Edmund Power
John Meagher	Edmund Meagher	Thomas Meagher
Daniel Hogan	Richard Morris	William Hogan
Richard Fanning	Edmund Connor	Thomas Butler
John Keating	Robert prendergast	Piers keating
Richard Mansfield	Edmund Roche	David Roche
Bryan O'Bryan	Murtogh O'Bryan	Edward Butler
Thomas Purcell	John Dwyer	Nicholas Purcell
John Moclare	Edmund Tobin	James Moclare
Philip Dwyer Grenadier	Thomas Dwyer Edmund Butler	
----Doherty, Quarter	Master	-- Tobin, Surgeon

EASTWOOD HOUSE AND THE MONEYBEG DEMESNE



Front of Eastwood House 2015

the town in his boyhood days. The story goes somewhat like “There was a king in trouble in Dublin and he had to flee from there. He travelled down through Wicklow and was expected to stay overnight in Eastwood House. There was great excitement in the big house and great preparations were being made to receive the Royal visitor. However, then came the disappointment, the King and his companions crossed the bridge at Leighlin and stayed in a house at the Royal Oak.”

Later on that evening I recalled having heard a similar story from another man that had heard it from the same source as Jimmy Kelly. It was relayed to me that the original source had recorded quite an amount of local folklore that was left in his house when he died. He was not a man that had published any of his material.

I have weaved fact, history and folklore together and have placed the above related story in what I believe is its historical background. I start with when Dudley Bagenal recruited and commanded an Infantry Regiment for the army of King James 11, first at the Siege of Derry 18th April – 28th July 1689 and then at the Battle of the Boyne 1st July 1690 and at stake was the British throne. Dudley Bagenal and Henry Luttrell representing County Carlow had attended the King James Parliament in Dublin that sat from the 7th May until the 20th July. The battle at the Boyne was between William 11 and his father-in-law the deposed King James 11. It took place on the 1st of July 1690 on the banks of the River Boyne. William’s army con-

sisted of 36,000 men and James’s 25,000 men. James showed no courage at the battle and at first intimation of defeat fled to Dublin with a small escort and it is most likely that this small escort included Dudley Bagenal. They stayed overnight in Dublin and set out next morning through Wicklow for the south (Kinsale) or south east coast (Duncannon). They crossed the river Barrow at Leighlin-bridge and stayed at a large house in the townland of Clorusk. The plan may have been to stay at the Lodge, a house of the Bagenals that we now know as Eastwood in the townland of Moneybeg but according to legend that did not happen. The next morning they set out for their destination in Ireland and eventually boarded a ship that took them to Brest, Brittany, France. King James set up Court at St. Germain-en-Lay near Paris with Dudley Bagenal as Gentleman Usher to him. James died there on the 6th September 1701. Dudley Bagenal died at Bruges, Belgium in 1712.

Perhaps King James and his group did cross the bridge at Leighlin, travelled on to the Royal Oak, re-crossed the Barrow at the Royal Oak ford, stayed in Eastwood House and that it was from these events came the names - Royal Oak, Royal Oak Road and Regent Street and that it was from Eastwood House in the townland of Moneybeg grew the town of Bagenalstown.

Notes:

1) On the estate of Major Boyle Heuson of Kilkenny circa 1640 a big house was built in the townland of Clorusk, Co. Carlow. On his demise the Major left the estate to the Way family in the first half of the 1800s. The house was located where the present car park is across the road from the pub

in the Royal Oak. Some twenty or thirty houses and cabins formed a sort of a street there. This house may be where King James and his escort stayed in 1690. The house was in 1815 used by Bianconi’s coaches as an Inn, a stopover and for a change of horses. A signboard ornamented the front of the house in its early years, which depicted a Royal Monarch hidden in an oak tree. Perhaps this picture commemorated the visit of King James or it may be as claimed by some that it commemorated the famous escape of King Charles 11 (1630-1685) in England by concealment in an oak tree.

The satirist poet and author Makepeace Thackeray made a journey through Ireland in the first half of the 19th century and wrote of his visit to the Royal Oak in his journal “The Irish Sketch Book.” He did not stay overnight but he and his party journeyed on to a farmer’s house situated between Royal Oak and Gowran where they stayed the night. The original Royal Oak Inn building was demolished in 1974.

Some 500 metres east of the Royal Oak Walter Bagenal built the first bridge across the River Barrow to Bagenalstown and before that time some 50 metres below the bridge was the ancient ford. When Walter Bagenal commissioned the building of the bridge at Royal Oak he placed a wager with a contemporary of his that a horse and carriage would cross it within a specific period of months. The time of the wager was almost up and it became clear that the bridge would not be completed in time. Walter ordered that planks be placed across the bridge structure and he drove his carriage across and won the wager.

2) Juliana Carew daughter of Robert Carew (Ballyboro, Co. Wexford) married secondly Thomas Way in 1707.

3) Other County Carlow electors who were members of the King James Parliament: – Borough of Carlow: Mark Baggott, John Warren. Borough of Old Leighlin: Darby Long, Daniel Doran.

House of Lords –

Cheevers, Viscount Mount Leinster (a new creation of King James).

Lord William Brereton, of Old Leighlin (not present).

Richard Ogle, Viscount Carlow (not present).

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Pigot & Co's Provincial Directory of
 1824.
 Susan Stoney
 Denis Brown
 Jim Brown.
 John Hart.
 Martin Nevin.
 Jim Murphy
 Tommy Lawler
King James's Irish Army List 1689 by
 John Dalton



*Bachelors Walk and Regent Street showing what was the
 old Court House, now the Library*



*Photo of G. Bernard Shaw
 found among Brown family
 photo collection.*



The bridge to bog field 2015

Captain Bill Murphy of Tullow

Unsung hero of the Somme

John O' Donovan



In the view of one highly-acclaimed war correspondent, the capture of Ginchy deserved to be written 'not in journalist's prose, but in heroic verse' and the same reporter went on to claim that the victorious Irish had added 'a very noble episode to the history of the Celtic race'.¹ Meanwhile, another prominent newspaper praised the determination and valour of the soldiers, suggesting that 'the narrative of the battle should be told in Irish homes for centuries'.² In addition, an eye-witness account from a Jesuit chaplain who accompanied the troops as they overwhelmed enemy forces in the village of Ginchy, on 9 September 1916, maintained that 'the wild rush of our Irish lads swept the Germans away like chaff'.³ These accounts, overstated or embellished as they may well have been, are but a sample of the many glowing reports that chronicled the undisputed courage displayed by the Irish battalions, whose fighting spirit at Ginchy won widespread praise and admiration.

Probably the shortest battle of the Somme offensive, Ginchy was, nonetheless, a significant victory as it deprived the Germans of strategic observation posts overlooking the entire combat zone. 'The strongest of all the many fortified villages in the German line', the Irish were said to have broken through 'the intricate defences of the enemy as a torrent sweeps down rubble'.⁴ Its capture – after a number of earlier assaults by British regiments had been repulsed – not only boosted morale but opened the way for further advances along the front.

The success at Ginchy was achieved at a high price, with hundreds of casualties among the six battalions of the 16th Irish Division that participated in the attack. The 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers – a battalion whose contribution proved crucial to the success of the operation – suffered heavily during the bloody encounter, losing six officers and sixty-one men with countless others wounded. The elation of victory was short-lived as the decimated battalion struggled to come to terms with the scale of the casualties that had been inflicted. Among those that lay dead on the battlefield was the battalion's commanding officer, thirty-six year old Captain W J Murphy, a grocer's son from Tullow, County Carlow.

Background

William Joseph Murphy came from a prominent business family, long associated with the town of Tullow. His grandfather – also William Murphy – had been a local shopkeeper who first opened his doors to the public in the 1840s. Trading from premises on the Market Square in Tullow, he established a successful business, catering for a variety of local needs as a butcher, grocer, wine merchant and ironmonger.⁵ As William Murphy's retail interests continued to expand, so also did the size of his family with eight boys and three girls surviving to adulthood. It was a measure of his growing prosperity that no fewer than five of his sons attended boarding school at St Vincent's College, Castleknock.⁶ Career wise, a number of

the boys followed their father into business but there was also a diocesan priest and a medical doctor, while one of his daughters entered the local convent, becoming a Brigidine nun.

As the 19th century drew to a close, the Murphy family was not just the dominant force in the commercial and business life of the town, but they were also substantial landowners in the wider Tullow area. Trading under the name W. Murphy & Son, Edward, the eldest, operated a grocery and licensed premises, located at the junction of Market Square and Barrack St. This establishment, with a spirit bar 'counted as one of the finest in the provinces of Ireland', was destroyed by fire in 1898, but it was immediately rebuilt to the highest specifications. The 'colossal' new building boasted a counter fifty-six feet in length, had ceilings panelled with Norfolk pine and featured an exterior faced with red Bridgewater brick.⁷ Across the street on the other corner – also at the junction of Barrack St and The Square – his brother Joseph carried on a successful hardware business. Meanwhile another brother, John George, – better known as Jack – who lived at Belmont on New Chapel Lane, was an extensive farmer and his standing in the town was further enhanced by an appointment as a local justice of the peace. Apart from their individual business interests, Edward and Joe Murphy were also involved in a joint enterprise, Murphy Brothers Auctioneers, a business that operated from premises on Bridge St with branch offices in Carlow and Bagenalstown.



Early 20th century Tullow with W. Murphy & Son premises extreme left of picture

Each of the three Murphy brothers that remained in Tullow made a contribution to public life. Edward was the unanimous choice of local Nationalists when they gathered in 1899 to select a representative to sit on Carlow's first County Council.⁸ A strong supporter of Home Rule, he also had a genuine concern for the disadvantaged and was well-known for his generosity towards that particular section of society; given his charitable disposition, it was not surprising that he also played a leading part in the Tullow St Vincent de Paul Society. Following Edward's untimely death, his seat on the County Council passed to his brother Jack who went on to represent the area for a number of years. Joe Murphy was involved in municipal affairs, becoming a member, and first chairman, of Tullow Town Commission when that body was established in 1902.

In January 1879, Edward Murphy had married Mary Joseph Farrelly, a grocer's daughter from the Coombe area of Dublin and, the following year, they celebrated the birth of a son and heir.⁹ Born in Tullow on 16 April 1880, he was christened William Joseph Murphy, a name that seemed destined to loom large in the business life of Tullow but would, instead, feature in the footnotes of First World War history.¹⁰ An only son with just one younger sister, he was in line for a considerable inheritance and it was taken for granted that he would, in time, follow in the footsteps of his father and grandfather. Bill, as he was generally known, grew up in a well-to-do family, helping out in the shop and learning the grocery trade from his father, while

attending school locally. As a young man he was 'extremely popular with the public owing to his amiability and other good qualities' and it was said that he 'enjoyed the goodwill and esteem of all classes of the community'.¹¹ Bill Murphy's secondary education was entrusted to two different religious congregations and in two highly contrasting establishments. From May 1893 until March 1896 he attended the Patrician Brothers' Monastery Day School in Tullow, thereafter transferring to the more prestigious Clongowes Wood College.¹² In this County Kildare boarding school, under the tutelage of the Jesuits, he spent the final two years of his formal education. During his short period at Clongowes, his name does not appear to have come to the fore in the academic, sporting or extra curricular spheres.

Early in 1900, Bill Murphy was forced to take on additional responsibilities when his father died unexpectedly at the age of fifty-two. Edward Murphy had been to Kingstown to see-off his daughter Teresa Jane, who was returning to England where she was completing her education. He contracted influenza that quickly developed into pneumonia and, despite the best efforts of doctors at a Dublin hospital, he did not respond to treatment.¹³ Although still under the age of twenty, Bill – along with his mother – took over the management of the grocery in Tullow but, after a couple of years, the family decided to step back from front-line shopkeeping.¹⁴ Having installed a manager and a number of live-in employees to operate the business, the Murphys moved permanently to their country

residence, Kilmagarvogue House, about three miles north of the town.

Gentleman and Sportsman

With the transition to country life, Bill Murphy became something of a gentleman farmer, indulging in various leisure activities, not least of which was a keen interest in horses and horsemanship. Along with his sister Tess, he was a regular on the hunting circuit and was also a frequent participant in jumping competitions; it was not unusual, at that time, to read in the *Nationalist* or the *Sentinel* that 'Mr W J Murphy, Kilmagarvogue House, Tullow' had taken the honours at one or other jumping event. Murphy kept several horses at Kill, his most successful being a mare named *Bit o' Skirt*, on which he dominated in the jumping arena at the County Carlow Agricultural Society's Annual Show for four successive years, beginning in 1903.¹⁵ At one of these shows, he jumped on five different horses in the various events and while, as usual, *Bit o' Skirt* took the top award, he also collected prizes with the more mundane sounding *Michael* and *Little Bill*. The Carlow and Island Hunt Sportsman's Meeting was another annual event where Bill Murphy's equestrian skills were displayed to good effect.

The description of Bill Murphy as being 'full of pluck and daring and a good all-round sportsman' was clearly not just a reference to his horsemanship, as he was actively involved in a number of other sports as well.¹⁶ Rugby – at the time, still the preserve of the wealthier classes – was another interest and, in his early twenties, he regularly lined out for the County Carlow Football Club. He had, no doubt, first encountered the game during his teenage years when he was a student at Clongowes Wood College, a school with a strong rugby tradition. The claim that he was 'probably one of the best players in the United Kingdom' may well have been an exaggeration, but he was highly regarded on the playing field and he served as vice-captain of the Carlow club for the 1905-06 season.¹⁷

Cricket was yet another game that appealed to the young Bill Murphy. In 1905, he was included in the Carlow XI,

CAPTAIN BILL MURPHY OF TULLOW - UNSUNG HERO OF THE SOMME



Kilmargogue House

perhaps the highlight of his cricket career, and he was also involved in the local Tullow club.¹⁸ During August of that year – alongside his uncle Jack – he was on the Tullow team that defeated Kildare by one run. In addition, he occasionally took part in matches with his own selection, known appropriately enough as the ‘W J Murphy XI’. But as the 1906 sporting seasons came to an end, so also did Murphy’s association with local sporting organisations and events; he was coming to a decision on a major life-change that would take him far from the playing fields and jumping arenas of County Carlow.

Australian Adventure

Murphy was planning to emigrate to Australia where vast tracts of land were available for leasing by European settlers with a view to starting farming enterprises. It is not clear why he opted for such a drastic change in his way of life, although one source suggests that he did so for unspecified health reasons.¹⁹ There is every likelihood, however, that it was the Murphys close ties with the O’Connor family from Western Australia that prompted consideration of such a move. The O’Connors were a prosperous family that lived in, and around, the Western Australian city of Perth. Their Kerry-born father had been an involuntary immigrant but went on to become a highly successful businessman, acquiring several extensive rural estates as well as investing in property and land in the city. A number of his sons attended Clongowes Wood Jesuit College in Kildare and it was during these years that they made the acquaintance of the Murphys. A friendship developed and the bond between the families was further strengthened by two marriages: in the

early 1900s, Jack Murphy married Mary Angela O’Connor and, a few years later, her brother Bernard wed Tess Murphy of Kilmargogue House.

Encouraged – or perhaps, persuaded – by his Australian friends, Bill Murphy set out on an exploratory trip to

the colony, landing at the port of Fremantle towards the end of 1906. First impressions must have been favourable for he quickly applied to the Lands Department to lease a considerable amount of bushland in a remote region about one-hundred-and-sixty miles north of Perth. This isolated area was completely untamed, had no towns and, at that time, a railway was only at the planning stages. Following a survey, he was issued, in October 1907, with a Crown lease for an area described as Ningham Location 55; this one-hundred-and-sixty acre holding was south of Wilgie Hill and close to the embryonic towns of Dalwallinu and Pithara, settlements that would develop at stations on the new rail line. The official survey of the block indicated that the land was bounded on the west by a road and it was also noted that York gums grew on the loamy soil.²⁰ That was only the first acquisition, as later, several other leases would be granted in his own name as well as those of his mother and a certain Thomas Murphy, assumed to be a relative in Ireland. Meanwhile, Bill Murphy had returned home to Ireland to make the necessary arrangements for a more permanent move to Australia.

In November 1907, he was on hand to ‘give away’ his sister Tess when she married Bernard Maurice O’Connor at University Chapel, St Stephen’s Green, the ceremony being followed by a reception in the Shelbourne Hotel.²¹ O’Connor, a man with extensive land, business and mining interests in Australia, chose to spend the early years of his married life living and farming at Kill House, while his brother-in-law embarked on a very different kind of adventure; and so it was that, in the summer of 1908, having settled his affairs and made a will,

Murphy took leave of his family and headed for the wheat belt of Western Australia.²²

Wilgie Hills

One of the first settlers to arrive in the Dalwallinu area, Bill Murphy found that turning a vast wilderness into arable farming land was no easy task, so it was a couple of years before wheat could be grown. The Murphy property, which came to be known as Wilgie Hills, amounted, in total, to about four-thousand acres, an enormous holding by any standards. A clearing programme to rid the land of bush and scrub was commenced, fencing was erected and a well to provide fresh water was dug. The operation was overseen from a camp that Murphy had established and it was here, in a canvas tent, that he had his own accommodation; living conditions were extremely basic, in stark contrast to the comfortable existence that he had previously enjoyed in Tullow. By 1910, the first crops had been planted and with the completion of the railway, together with the growth of the town of Dalwallinu,



Murphy during his years as an Australian wheat farmer

some type of normality descended on the area. His isolation from family also eased in 1912 when his sister Tess, with her husband and two young sons, moved to



The Camp at Wilgie Hills with unfinished H-shaped building in centre of picture

Australia, settling on an O'Connor estate near Toodyay, about one-hundred miles south of Wilgie Hills.

In a history of Dalwallinu, compiled several decades after his death, Murphy's tenure at Wilgie Hills is recalled thus: 'Neighbours remembered Bill Murphy as being a charming, generous person who did most things on a grand scale. Whereas they would buy an axe handle or a hammer, he would purchase a crate of them. He welcomed many callers who asked for water from his well or who wanted to borrow a spade, a pick or a water bag'. Wheat-growing was always the dominant enterprise at Wilgie Hills but the Dalwallinu history records one attempt at diversification: 'Several people also recalled that he attempted to run sheep about 1911. The venture was not a success for most of the mob died after eating poisonous plants while being taken by road from Moora to Wilgie Hills'.²³

Bill Murphy clearly intended to remain in the area for some time and, as soon as the land was cleared and planted, he turned his attention to the construction of permanent buildings at the camp. Work began on an H-shaped complex with machinery and feed stores at one end and living quarters at the other, these two blocks to be connected by a row of stables. The building progressed to roof-level but, unfortunately, it was never finished. As the world powers prepared for war in 1914, Murphy decided to visit his mother in Ireland, hardly realising, as he set out on that long journey, that he would never return to Wilgie Hills.

Joining the Colours

Holidaying with his mother at Kill House in the autumn of 1914, Bill Murphy kept up-to-date with the progress of the war, took note of the prevailing political discourse and, eventually, opted to volunteer for service. He was said to have 'entered the army from purely national motives' and that 'he believed in the wis-



Bill Murphy in the uniform of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers

dom of Mr Redmond's policy, and acted accordingly'.²⁴ The fact that Murphy's sojourn at Kill coincided with John Redmond's Woodenbridge speech calling for Irish participation in the war – 'in defence of right, of freedom and of religion' – undoubtedly influenced his decision to enlist.

In early November, he presented at Fermoy Barracks where he enlisted as a pri-

vate with the 7th Battalion, Leinster Regiment, being given the service number 1425. Signing up for three years, or the duration of the war, he gave his nationality as British, described his occupation as rancher and, for whatever reason, understated his age by some five years.²⁵ His period as a private soldier, however, was short, as he quickly became a sergeant-major and, within weeks, joined the regiment's newly established cadet corps, formed to address the dire shortage of officers; given Murphy's background and education – not to mention his maturity and life experiences – he would have been seen as ideal officer material at the time. After what appears to have been a cursory training, he was gazetted a lieutenant on Christmas Day 1914, and then transferred to the 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, at Buttevant Barracks. It was said to be 'the regiment of his liking' but his home address may well have been a factor, as Carlow was one of the four counties that traditionally supplied recruits to the Royal Dublin Fusiliers.²⁶

Against the backdrop of a peaceful County Cork countryside the 9th Dublins, along with the other battalions of the 48th Brigade, began preparing for war. (The 48th, together with the 47th and 49th Brigades comprised the 16th Irish Division) Lieutenant Murphy obviously impressed his superior officers with the result that, in April 1915, he was promoted to the rank of temporary captain, being assigned to the battalion's D Company. Two months later, he moved with his battalion from Buttevant to an army camp at Ballyhooly near Fermoy, for further training exercises. In September 1915, after some ten months of military manoeuvres in north County Cork, Captain Murphy accompanied the 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers to Blackdown Barracks in Aldershot where final preparations for active service would begin. As the countdown to war continued, Bill Murphy made one last visit home to Tullow in November before, as the local press report put it, 'starting to take his place with his company of Dublin Fusiliers in the trenches'.²⁷

To the Front

Just days before Christmas 1915, nine-hundred-and-nineteen men and thirty-

CAPTAIN BILL MURPHY OF TULLOW - UNSUNG HERO OF THE SOMME

three officers of the 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, landed at Le Havre with the 48th Brigade.²⁸ After arriving in France, the battalion was constantly on the move and, as well as trench training, it liaised with other units and was involved in some engagements, in a supporting role. Between March and August 1916, the 16th Irish Division was introduced to trench warfare in the Loos area of north-eastern France, with the 9th Dublins sustaining heavy casualties, particularly during the German gas attacks at Hulluch. Captain Murphy came through these hostilities unscathed, but he was hospitalised for ten days at St Omer, the complaint being nothing more serious than a bout of measles.²⁹ The war of attrition in the Loos area dragged on but, towards the end of August, the forces of the 16th Irish Division were diverted elsewhere, being ordered to relocate to the valley of the Somme.

During the first week of September some units of the 16th Division played a significant part in the capture of the village of Guillemont. The 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers was not directly involved but, in the support trenches on the periphery of the hostilities, it was subjected to a sustained German bombardment, resulting in heavy casualties. The battalion's CO, Lt Colonel Thackeray – along with a major and two captains – was among the wounded, resulting in the command of the 9th Dublins passing to the most senior remaining officer – Captain W J Murphy.³⁰

Ginchy

Fate had propelled Bill Murphy into a leadership role that he had hardly aspired to and, given the temporary nature of his commission, one for which he was probably ill-prepared. Within hours of taking command of the battalion on 6 September 1916, he received orders to prepare for an assault on the village of Ginchy and, for this action, the entire operation was being entrusted to the 16th Irish Division with the 47th and 48th Brigades to the fore. He must have realised that the attack would be particularly hazardous for the commanders, who were forced to lead by example, exposing themselves to great danger in order to keep their soldiers moving. On an elevated site at the confluence of six roads, Ginchy was by

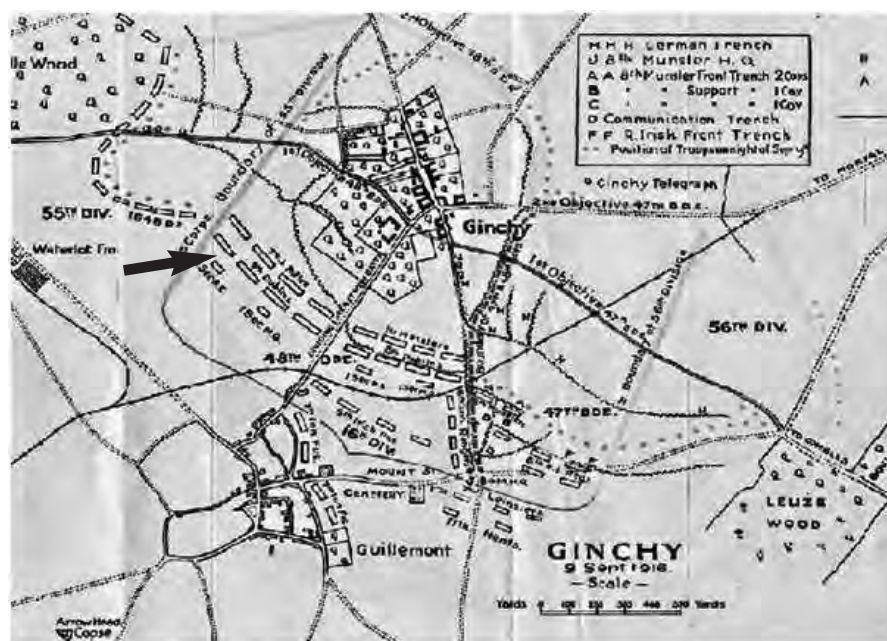
then little more than a pile of rubble but the 19th Bavarian Regiment was entrenched in cellars and underground fortresses with a vast array of machine-gun emplacements ready to repel all attacks. As the 48th Brigade was tasked with the capture of Ginchy, Captain Murphy and his fellow battalion commanders finalised the strategy to be employed for the offensive, fixed for Saturday, 9 September. It was arranged that the brigade would attack from the south-west of the village with four battalions, the 7th Royal Irish Rifles and the 1st Royal Munster Fusiliers in the front trench with the 8th and 9th Dublins in the second line.³¹

The storming of Ginchy was one of the notable successes of the Somme offensive but victory came at a high price. Contemporary reports tended to romanticise the battle, with references to the 'dash and daring of the Irish troops' and suggestions that 'men wrestled for the privilege of sharing in the glory'; another account told how the Irish 'swept on triumphantly through the village of Ginchy', displaying 'irresistible dash' on the field of battle.³² The reality, of course, was quite different and, despite the undoubted courage and determination of the Irish, the enemy inflicted a heavy death toll.

Before day-break on 9 September, a tired and depleted 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers was already in the assembly

trenches that the men had dug over the two previous nights. With the assault timed for 4.45 pm, the massed troops spent most of the day on standby in the trenches while British artillery pounded the enemy lines and the Germans replied with a counter-barrage that caused several casualties among the ranks waiting to go into action. At zero hour Captain Murphy gave the signal and led his battalion out of the trenches, following the 7th Royal Irish Rifles into battle, with the 8th Dublins moving forward on their right. Advancing with four companies, the 9th Dublins leap-frogged the 7th Rifles, who had reached their objective and consolidated, before facing into the titanic struggle that lay ahead of them. Daylight was fading and rain was falling as Murphy's battalion rushed headlong towards Ginchy, to be met with a storm of artillery and machine-gun fire.³³ With fierce determination, and despite mounting casualties, the 8th and 9th Dublins led the assault through Ginchy, reaching their objective – a German supply line north of the village – and managing to round up two-hundred prisoners. But, as the 9th Dublins consolidated and dug-in, they did so without their commanding officer who had fallen during the final stage of the assault, killed-in-action as his battalion battled its way to victory and into the history books.³⁴

The exact circumstances of Captain Murphy's death are unclear but it was



Map showing the formation for the Battle of Ginchy (Arrow indicates the position of Murphy's battalion)

CAPTAIN BILL MURPHY OF TULLOW - UNSUNG HERO OF THE SOMME

afterwards reported that he had been 'hit in the head by a rifle bullet' and was seen falling into a trench.³⁵ The official record states that '9th RDF advanced to the second objective at 5.25 pm but suffered very heavy officer casualties in doing so. Captain W J Murphy (commanding) being killed as the battalion reached Ginchy'.³⁶ His former commanding officer later acknowledged Murphy's heroic contribution to the capture of Ginchy, when he wrote: 'he met his death in a gallant and victorious charge at the head of his battalion'.³⁷ That courage and gallantry was afterwards officially recognised when Bill Murphy was posthumously Mentioned in Despatches.

The 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers suffered up to two-hundred casualties and lost more than sixty men during the storming of Ginchy. Six officers were killed and, with twice that number wounded, just two young lieutenants remained to take charge of the shattered battalion. One noteworthy individual who paid the ultimate price on that day was Lieutenant Tom Kettle, poet, Irish nationalist, former Member of Parliament and university professor, who had joined the 9th Dublins at the front just weeks earlier. Kettle, who would have crossed paths with Bill Murphy at Clongowes, enlisted mainly because of German outrages in Belgium, and was in charge of the battalion's B Company when he fell mortally wounded. Because of his national profile, Kettle's role at Ginchy is generally highlighted, while the likely more significant part played by Murphy remains understated.

Bill Murphy was not the only Tullowman to perish on the battlefield at Ginchy. Forty-two year old Edward Wall, a sergeant in the 9th Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, lost his life during that deadly encounter on 9 September. It was a remarkable coincidence that, not only did they come from the same town, but the Wall family also lived in Barrack St where the young Bill Murphy had grown up.³⁸ Despite an age gap of almost six years, they would previously have known each other on the streets of Tullow and surely that acquaintance was renewed in the trenches of the Somme before they both went to their deaths.

Disengagement

The tragic outcome at Ginchy marked the

beginning of the end of the Murphy family's involvement in the business life of Tullow. At the time of her son's death, Mary Murphy was already in Western Australia on an extended visit with her daughter Tess. Kill would never again be her permanent home, and she would spend the rest of her life living with, or near to, her daughter. Despite her absence, W. Murphy & Son continued to trade in Tullow but the business was dealt a serious blow in September 1920 when Crown Forces torched the premises in a mindless and wanton act of retaliation for the murder of two RIC members in the town.³⁹ The grocery and bar were restored but, while the business continued to operate for some years, it eventually ceased trading and the premises was sold in the early 1930s; at that stage the house and lands at Kill had already passed from family ownership, having been acquired by the Bolger family in 1925.

Tess O'Connor had, years earlier, opted for the Australian way of life, raising her four boys near the small town of Toodyay, about fifty miles north-east of Perth. In 1925 she moved temporarily to London while her sons boarded at Downside, the exclusive Benedictine school in Somerset. Living, along with her mother at an address in Hendon, it appears that her husband Bernard divided his time between England and Australia. When Bernard O'Connor died in 1932, the family returned to Toodyay but retained business and personal links with the United Kingdom.

During the Second World War, all four of Tess O'Connor's sons served in the British Armed Forces and, once again, tragedy would be visited upon the family. Kevin O'Connor, a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he read economics and – like his uncle – excelled on the sports field, was killed-in-action in Italy in October 1943.⁴⁰ A major in the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, he died as the Allies fought their way up the Adriatic coast and he is buried in Sangro River War Cemetery.

A woman of considerable wealth with numerous business interests, Tess O'Connor moved to live in Perth and it was there that she spent her final years, residing in the affluent suburb of Peppermint Grove. She died, at the age of eighty-seven, in October 1968, and is buried along with her husband and her two Tullow-born sons in the city's Karrakatta cemetery.⁴¹ There is, however, no such certainty as to the precise whereabouts of her only brother's final resting place.

In Memoriam

Captain Bill Murphy has no known grave but he is believed to be buried in Guillemont Road Cemetery, about a mile from the scene of the battle where he died.⁴² In the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Ginchy in September 1916, the dead were buried in temporary graves, close to where they fell. It was recorded that Captain Murphy's body was found and buried and his identification disc was

A 018 9 16		POST OFFICE (Island Official)		TELEGRAPHS	
Prefix	Code	Words		Telegrams only	No. of Telegram 744/3
Office of Origin and Service Instructions M. S. 3. O. H. M. S. C.A.S.		Sent		I certify that this Telegram is sent on the service of the	
		At		By	
		To		(Signature) E. G. G. G.	
		By		Dated Stamp	
Attention is called to the Regulations printed at the back hereof					
TO { Mrs Murphy Kilmaginnogue Tullow Co Carlow					
Deeply regret to inform you that Captain W J Murphy Dublin Fusiliers was killed in action September 9.					
The Army Council offers their sympathy.					
FROM { SECRETARY, WAR OFFICE.					
The Name and Address of the Sender, IF NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED, should be written in the space provided at the Back of the Form.					

Telegram from War Office informing family of Bill Murphy's death,

CAPTAIN BILL MURPHY OF TULLOW - UNSUNG HERO OF THE SOMME

included with other personal effects for return to his next-of-kin.⁴³ Meanwhile, the War Office telegram had arrived in Tullow and, with Mary Murphy absent in Australia, it was the manager of W. Murphy & Son that took delivery; Stephen Somers then had the unenviable responsibility of forwarding the tragic and distressing news to the Murphy family in Toodyay.

Captain Murphy's death was acknowledged by religious and civic leaders in his native County Carlow. At the beginning of October, a month's mind Requiem Mass and Solemn Office took place in Tullow parish church with Bishop Patrick Foley of Kildare and Leighlin in attendance, and with the deceased's uncle, Fr Arthur Murphy, officiating.⁴⁴ Carlow Urban District Council extended sympathy to the Murphy family with local MP, Michael Molloy, remarking that 'he gave his life for Ireland' and 'a finer type of Irishman we could not find'.⁴⁵

After the war ended, the Imperial War Graves Commission began the grim task of clearing the battlefields, a process that continued into the early 1920s. In a painstaking exercise, bodies were exhumed and re-interred in war cemeteries but, at that stage, identification was difficult, particularly if discs had been

removed. All the indications are that Bill Murphy is buried at Guillemont Road, a cemetery where two-thirds of the two-thousand-two-hundred grave-stones do not have a name. However, one of eight special memorials located along the back wall of the cemetery is dedicated to his memory and carries the inscription:

CAPTAIN
W J MURPHY
ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS
9TH SEPTEMBER 1916. AGE 36
REQUIESCAT IN PACE

Closer to home, an inscription on Edward Murphy's headstone in Grange churchyard refers to his only son who 'fell at Ginchy' and he is also listed among Tullow's war dead on the Leighlinbridge Memorial. One of ninety-five Old Clongownians to die in the Great War, he is remembered on a brass plaque inside the porch of the boys' chapel at Clongowes Wood while, on the other side of the world, the Murphy name appears on the Dalwallinu War Memorial in Western Australia. But surely the most tangible memorial to Bill Murphy is the town hall in Tullow that bears his name.

In June 1929, his mother and sister gifted the Commercial Club building in Barrack Street, to be used for 'the advantage, welfare and benefit of the young men of



Bill Murphy's portrait that hangs in Tullow museum

the town and district of Tullow'. At the time, still displaying a palpable sense of loss, Mary Murphy wrote: 'I am glad to say both my daughter and I think it would be fulfilling the wishes of my dear son, who always took such an interest in the Club, to make a gift of the lease for the benefit of the young men of Tullow and district. My husband built the hall solely for the purpose of providing them a means of recreation and rest during their leisure time, and I'm sure it is what he and Bill would wish, and we shall love to think there is somewhere in Tullow in memory of them'.⁴⁶ The Captain Murphy Memorial Hall, extended and redeveloped over the years, is an important part of the fabric of Tullow and stands as an enduring monument to a native of the town who gave his life on a foreign battlefield. For many years a gilt framed portrait of Bill Murphy looked down on Tullow audiences but, during a refurbishment of the hall, it was removed and is now on display in the town's museum. In Tullow, one further reference to Bill Murphy can be found on the altar in the Church of the Most Holy Rosary, the place where he worshipped as a boy and young man; on the tabernacle door – presented to the parish by the Murphy family – an inscription reads: *In memory of Capt. W. J. Murphy. Killed-in-action 9th Sept. 1916*

Bill Murphy's death was no greater, or no less, a tragedy than that of any other soldier that perished in the Great War. In and around his home town of Tullow, where he was the most prominent and probably



Captain Murphy Memorial Hall, Tullow



Special memorial to Capt. Murphy in Guillemont Road Cemetery

the highest ranking fatality, some sixty other households also mourned the loss of a family member. He joined the war effort out of a sense of duty, hardly foreseeing the terrible slaughter and carnage that would unfold and not expecting the seriously flawed military strategies that would be employed by those in overall command. And yet, when duty called in a remote corner of Picardy, he readily stepped into the breach and assumed command of a war-weary battalion that was facing an immediate and formidable challenge. A novice in military terms, this shopkeeper's son turned Australian wheat-farmer, was only twenty-two months in uniform and just three days in command of his battalion – a responsibility that afterwards merited the payment of the grand sum of eighteen shillings to the late officer's estate.⁴⁷ But despite that lack of experience, it has been claimed that Murphy's display of leadership and courage at Ginchy has 'marked him out as one of the finest Irish soldiers of the war'.⁴⁸ With the passage of time, however, the victories, defeats and sacrifices of the Great War have faded from public consciousness, but the existence of the Captain Murphy Memorial Hall ensures that, in Tullow at least, Bill Murphy's name will never be forgotten.

Endnotes:

¹ *Irish Times*: Report quoting Philip Gibbs of the *Daily Telegraph*. September 1916.

² *Ibid.*: Article quoting William Beach Thomas of the *Daily Mail*. September 1916.

³ O'Rahilly, Alfred: *Father William Doyle, S.J.* (London 1922). Quote from Fr Doyle, Chaplain 8th RDF. (London, 1922)

⁴ Buchan, John: *Nelson's History of the Great War*. (London, 1916)

⁵ Murphy, Martin: *Captain Bill Murphy and his Kinsfolk*. (unpublished)

⁶ Castleknock College Archives.

⁷ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Restoration of premises, July 1899.

⁸ *Ibid.*: Tullow meeting to select County Council candidate. February 1899.

⁹ Marriage Certificate: Married in Church of St Nicholas, Francis St, Dublin.

¹⁰ Birth Certificate and Baptismal Records for Tullow Parish.

¹¹ *Carlow Sentinel*: Obituary, September 1916.

¹² Delany Archive and Clongowes Wood Archive.

¹³ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Edward Murphy's obituary, February 1900.

¹⁴ Census of Ireland (1901): Return for House No. 1, Barrack St, Tullow.

¹⁵ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Reports and results of sporting events 1903-06.

¹⁶ *Carlow Sentinel*: Obituary, September 1916.

¹⁷ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Obituary, September 1916.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*: Sports reports 1905.

¹⁹ Crake, Hellen Antonio: *A History of Dalwallinu – A Place To Wait A While*. (WA, 1985)

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Times, Nationalist and Sentinel*: Announcement and wedding report, Nov.1907.

²² State Records Office, WA: Copy of will, dated June 1908 – M. Cartan O'Meara, Solicitors, Kildare St, Dublin.

²³ Crake, Hellen Antonio: *A History of Dalwallinu – A Place To Wait A While*. (WA, 1985)

²⁴ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Obituary, September 1916.

²⁵ War Office File: Short Service Attestation Form, November 1914.

²⁶ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Obituary, September 1916.

²⁷ *Ibid.*: Report of home visit, November 1915.

²⁸ Battalion War Diary: Landed in France, December 1915.

²⁹ War Office File: Telegrams informing family of illness and discharge.

³⁰ Battalion War Diary: Assumption of CO duties.

³¹ *Ibid.*: Record of formation of battalions.

³² *Irish Times*: Report on the 'dash and daring' of the Irish, September 1916.

³³ Johnstone, Tom: *Orange, Green & Khaki* progress of battle. (Dublin, 1992)

³⁴ Battalion War Diary: Report on the capture of Ginchy.

³⁵ *Clongownian*: Letter from Major General W B Hickie to Fr Arthur Murphy. 1917 edition.

³⁶ Battalion War Diary: Entry recording Captain Murphy's death.

³⁷ *West Australian*: Article reporting Captain Murphy's death, January 1917.

³⁸ Tullow Parish Register: Baptismal records.

³⁹ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Report on fire, September 1920.

⁴⁰ Jesus College Cambridge Archives: Student records for A P K O'Connor.

⁴¹ Metropolitan Cemeteries Board, Perth: Details from O'Connor headstone.

⁴² Commonwealth War Graves Commission: Details of Captain Murphy's memorial.

⁴³ War Office File: Details of personal effects returned to family.

⁴⁴ *Nationalist and Leinster Times*: Report of Mass in Tullow, October 1916.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: Carlow UDC report, September 1916.

⁴⁶ Counsel's opinion, May 1944.

⁴⁷ War Office File: Details of payments to Captain Murphy's estate.

⁴⁸ Myers, Kevin: *Ireland's Great War*. (Dublin, 2014)

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Al McDonell, Metropolitan Cemeteries Board, Perth

Christopher McQuinn

Tim Madden

Steven Parsons, Downside Abbey.

Paul & Melissa Sutherland, Wilgie Hills.

Billy Wright

Cella Dawson

Carlow Central Library.

National Library of Ireland.

The National Archives, Kew.

Tullow Museum.

Cumann na mBan

in Carlow

Marie Treacy

Write a biographical essay on a particular woman/group of women whose lives are understood within the framework of patriarchal constraint.

It can be difficult for modern women living in the Ireland of 2015 to relate to the patriarchal constraints that existed for women in the Ireland of 1914. Notwithstanding writing an essay on a group of women whose lives are understood within this framework gives one some considerable scope and choice. For personal reasons I have decided to write this paper on the Carlow branch of Cumann na mBan, as my grandmother, Jane Quigley was a member of that branch. She received a Military Service medal for her contribution during the War of Independence from 1919-1921 when only 16. However, the main biographical focus of this paper will be concentrated on Brigid Ryan (nee Brophy) who played multiple key roles within the same branch from 1917-1923. The paper will also include some reminiscences from talks with my grandmother about that period. It will examine how these women's lives can be understood within the patriarchal constraint of the period. Indeed the women of Ireland were not alone in these restraints. All over Europe and further afield prior to World War I women were largely confined to the home, the private sphere, carrying out household and childcare duties with few exceptions.

A number of other groups of women are worthy of a brief mention here such as the Ladies' Land League, the Suffragettes and the women of the Magdalen laundries, as they were all subjected to constraints. In fact having studied The

Ladies' Land League I was originally tempted to write about that organisation. It was originally founded in America and motivated by ideas of humanitarianism and philanthropy, which gave many women the freedom to move outside the private sphere into the public sphere of respectable good works. In Ireland moreover in the public sphere, women were involved in and contributed to the growing climate of cultural nationalism which was flourishing at the turn of the century. Historically women have always played a key yet background role in political or revolutionary events in Ireland as evidenced in Brigid's witness statement. She describes how 'a woman walked all the way from Tullow and planted three elm saplings on the Cropies Hole, one for each of her sons'. (Ryan, 1957). That woman was the mother of Ryan's three great-grand uncles who were murdered by the Yeomen, and buried there. Therefore Brigid Ryan's own revolutionary history goes back at least as far as 1798. Despite this however with Ireland and Cumann na mBan 'women's participation in militarism was mediated through their sex'. (Ryan, 2000, p77). The fact that they were women impacted not only on how they were represented [...] but also on the roles they played within the armed conflict. (Ryan, 2000, p77).

In her thesis Christi McCallum describes the Ladies' Land League as 'an excellent example of the skill of the women who organised it, Anna and Fanny Parnell, and was a remarkable organisation for its time'. (McCallum, 2005). The women aided the men by raising funds, doing nationalist women's work, and had the support of rural women and Irish peas-

antry. (McCallum, 2005). Unfortunately once Charles Stewart Parnell was released from Kilmainham Jail, the Ladies' Land League was disbanded, as part of the terms of the Kilmainham Treaty. Publicly they were seen as too militaristic, privately and more relevantly the land question had taken a back seat to Parnell's aim of Home Rule for Ireland. This example of the Ladies' Land League and its demise illustrates the constraint of patriarchal organisations such as the Church and government politicians. They believed it was women's domestic and mothering roles that should be emphasised. (Helleiner, 1997, p275). In spite of their disbandment, the Ladies' Land League highlighted the growing contribution that women who took part in the movement for Irish national independence made and whose lives should be understood within the framework of patriarchal constraint.

Notwithstanding despite these constraints Mary McAuliffe has noted that 'the first two decades of the 20th century had seen women emerge in great numbers from the domestic sphere and participate in the hitherto male-dominated sphere of Irish Politics'. (McAuliffe, 2014, p48). Women like Jenny Wyse Power who were involved in Cumann na mBan had been involved in or had been influenced by the Ladies' Land League. Indeed Brigid Ryan mentions in her witness statement that her parents were Parnellite supporters which no doubt influenced her beliefs and behaviours. Many women were involved in Cumann na mBan at an increasingly young age as evidenced by my own grandmother. Nationalist politics had been gradually changing in Ireland with the response to the Third

Home Rule bill, and the formation in 1912 of the Ulster Volunteers. (McCoole, 2000, p8). These events led to the formation of the Irish Volunteers in 1913. Furthermore the catalyst for the setting up of Cumann na mBan, the first of its kind exclusively for women, was a consequence of the fact that when the Irish Volunteers were formed women were not allowed join the executive. Accordingly in April 1914 they formed their own executive.

According to Margaret Ward in April 1914 in her inaugural address to Cumann na mBan, Agnes O'Farrelly highlighted some of the reasons behind the setting up of such a women's organisation, as being 'due to the fears and turmoil of the present moment [which has] brought here today women who until now were only known as home-makers. They are here because they fear for the liberty of the home, and because they realise that the blow aimed at the freedom of the men of Ireland strikes the women and children as well; our cause is a common cause, our interests are inextricably bound together'. (Ward, 1995, p40). Although conservative women controlled the organisation in its early days other women agitated for a more militant stance from the society. (McCallum, 2005). Critically by September 1914 according to Margaret Ward the organisation was seen as 'the most vigorous and enterprising of all the movements that have grown out of the idea of arming and drilling the nation [...] it is a force to be reckoned with [...] for all the patriotic energies of the women of the country are rushing towards it'. (Ward, 1995, p44). In addition other key women such as Constance Markievicz believed that 'a consciousness of their own dignity and worth should be encouraged in women, they should be urged to get away from wrong ideals and false standards of womanhood, to escape their domestic ruts, their feminine pens'. (Ward, 1995, p47) and Cumann na mBan was perfectly placed to assist women in this regard.

During WW1 Redmond's campaign to persuade Irish men to join the Irish regiments during the war led to a split. The male majority sided with Redmond, but Cumann na mBan chose to side with the Irish Volunteers rather than Redmond's group. Agnes O'Farrelly

resigned as president after this decision, which freed the women from conservative leadership. In fact, the women who left the organization during the split were mostly the conservative women who felt that their organisation should not choose sides, but help both the Redmondites and the Irish Volunteers. The nationalist-feminist constituency of the group thus won the battle against the most conservative members. (McCallum, 2005). Cumann na mBan soon began recruiting even larger numbers of women and these younger women were a lot more militaristic in outlook and belief. This militarism was evident in the first major event in the run up to the 1916 Rising involving Cumann na mBan which was the Howth Gun-running. They were already in charge of gathering the Defence of Ireland Fund to finish paying off the guns; their major role here was in distributing and hiding the guns. Women also helped by storing ammunition and guns as well as aiding the men by making cartridges before the Rising. (McCallum, 2005).

Historian Sinead McCoole has claimed that the number of women who took part in the 1916 Rising is unclear as the majority of the women involved were not arrested, however it may be as many as one hundred and fifty out of the one thousand six hundred who took part. (McCoole, 1997, p13). Their roles included first-aid, commandeering supplies, cooking, as well as gathering information and carrying dispatches. In the aftermath of the 1916 Rising many of the key leaders were dead, however Countess Markievicz had her death sentence commuted since the authorities were fearful 'that the execution of a woman would bring about an emotional reaction from the people of Dublin'. (Kelly, 1988, p106-7). Cumann na mBan were now poised to become a widespread more militaristic organisation. As noted by historian Jason Knirck 'revolutionary times initially seemed to hold great promise for Irish women [...] with gender boundaries seemingly open for renegotiation'. (Knirck, 2006, p160). Certainly after the 1916 Rising those women who were associated with deceased patriots were given a special position in Sinn Fein activities, keeping vital links open, and the memory of the revolutionary struggle and sacrifice fresh

in the public mind set, and generating an emotional connection to the revolutionary effort. (Knirck, 2006, p162).

Mc Coole has done much to reconstruct the lives and activities of the women of Cumann na mBan in her books and articles. She believes that the women of the organisation 'brought together the disparate elements under Sinn Fein in the months following the rising. [...] and also took a leading role in the coordination of relief and support to those widowed and orphaned [...] in the wake of the Rising'. (McCoole, 1997, p37). Cumann na mBan members collected and distributed the monies which were for the aid of the families of the Volunteers who had lost their lives, were without a breadwinner or in need of support. By 1917 as many as two hundred branches of the organisation had been established all over the country. When the threat of conscription loomed they organised a *Lá Na mBan* and between 14,000 and 15,000 women signed an anti-conscription pledge at City Hall. (McCoole, 1997, p37). However more negatively historian Sarah Benton believes 'the conscription crisis was a major turning point [...] the war was responsible for the marginalization of women which [...] in turn led them to use different arguments, [...] a development which would have fateful repercussions for women during the Treaty debates'. (Benton, 1995, p163).

Cumann na mBan in Carlow

Post 1916 however there was a sense of expectation and promise in the air for the women of Cumann na mBan in Carlow, and throughout Ireland. Ryan (nee Brophy) was involved in the organisation from its Carlow inception in 1917 when it was set up by Brid Whelan, another formidable Carlow woman. At that time Irish women were idealised symbolising 'all that is unique, pure and good within the nation'. (Knirck, 2006, p165). As Louise Ryan has observed 'the idealised Catholic woman was the Mother, Mary. The overlap between Mother Church, Mother Ireland and Irish mother is apparent'. (Ryan, 2000, p76). Furthermore patriarchal constraints extended to the 'representation of Ireland as both the young vulnerable maiden (Róisín Dubh) and the motherly old woman (Shan Van

CUMANN NA MBAN IN CARLOW

Vocht) enabling nationalists to enact a range of *masculine roles*; chivalrous hero and devoted son. Such images also helped to construct *appropriate* roles for women; selfless assistants and caring mothers'. (Ryan, 2000, p88).

Biographer Leeann Lane believes the study of the life of an individual illuminates 'social, economic, political and cultural change within a society'. (Lane, 2010, p1). My grandmother, Jane Quigley was born in 1905 and reared in times of great unrest and change, living through the Rising, the War of Independence and Civil war. She witnessed first-hand these very social, economic, political and cultural changes going on all around her. Her stories of her youth during those tumultuous times described some of the activities she was involved in during the War of Independence - moving small firearms about in prams, carrying messages, passing through army checkpoints, all requiring courage and no small amount of organisation by such young women. Although older Brigid Ryan (nee Brophy) would have experienced the same unrest and change and her witness testimony which I found in the Military Archives is testament to her involvement in Carlow Cumann na mBan at a very high level. This testimony was compiled in 1957 some 34 years after her release from Kilmainham Jail. Such a verifiable witness testimony is hugely important for compiling both historical and biographical accounts and records. Archivist Randall Jimerson believes that witness statements and documents 'provide the most reliable evidence available for understanding the past'. (Jimerson, 2003, p89).

Historian Lindsey Earner Byrne agrees, highlighting the importance of witness testimony by noting that the 'individual in history can be resurrected to heighten our historical understanding of broader patterns'. (Earner-Byrne, 2015, p78). In her testimony Ryan outlines how the Carlow Cumann na mBan branch was organised territorially, on the same basis as the Volunteers. As she explained 'we had a branch, or at least a section, in every area where there was a company of the volunteers'. (Ryan, 1957). Indeed from her testimony it is clear that Brigid was actively involved in organising branches in several parts of the country.

The Carlow Cumann's district area corresponded to the Volunteer battalion area, and similarly Carlow Cumann's brigade area was the same as the Volunteer brigade area. Crucially 'there was close co-operation between the officers of both organisations'. (Ryan, 1957).

Ryan describes in some detail their ancillary activities which included 'carrying despatches, arms and ammunition, intelligence work, cooking and supplying food for I.R.A. men who were on the run, and also for members of ambush parties. We also collected money for the Prisoners Dependents' Fund, visited the I.R.A. prisoners and supplied them with such comforts as warm clothing, cigarettes, tobacco, papers'. (Ryan, 1957). Brigid herself was a 1st lieutenant of the Carlow town branch of Cumann na mBan from 1917-1921, and was the Commanding Officer of the Carlow Brigade of the organisation from 1921-1923. Her matter of fact description of how her home was the meeting place for the brigade after its formation, (and as a consequence it was continually under enemy surveillance), is indicative of her bravery and commitment to the cause. Indeed her home was the 'first in Carlow town to be raided by enemy forces, [...] it took place on a Sunday night and caused a great deal of excitement'. (Ryan, 1957). She also carried arms and ammunitions to Volunteers about to take part in ambushes and barrack attacks; she even mentions an attack on the RIC Barracks in Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow, whereby afterwards she admits 'some of the arms used in the attack were brought to me and I concealed them'. (Ryan, 1957). This testimony shows that for Brigid Ryan the personal was political and the political was personal. (www.history.org). They were intertwined in her activities and would have been a huge influence in her life.

The fact that Brigid was able to conceal weapons, was largely due to the fact that women were not under the same level of suspicion as men. Consequently they were able to carry out their activities without detection for longer periods. Indeed as Louise Ryan claims women were usually seen within the 'conventional narratives of grieving mothers or passive nameless victims'. (Ryan, 2000, p74) rather than as revolutionaries working

against the military. Crucially her statement also shows first-hand how the women of Cumann na mBan interacted with the male revolutionaries in the Irish Volunteers, albeit within the patriarchal constraint of ancillary activities only.

In her thesis Christi McCallum outlines how the nationalist women were often described by historians as puppets of the male organisations. She disagrees with this description, maintaining they actually had a great degree of agency and 'were able to make more of an impact on the men than suffragists due to their relationship with male revolutionaries'. (McCallum, 2005). Furthermore she believes that Cumann na mBan used their unique position to increase the visibility of Irish women in the struggle for independence, and created a formidable public persona that set them apart as women and revolutionaries'. (McCallum, 2005). Historian Cal McCarthy agrees with McCallum claiming that they were substantial players in the Irish Revolution. (McCarthy, 2007, p1). He also highlights the fact that many male revolutionaries acknowledged how much the women had contributed to the Irish Republican Army's war effort. (McCarthy, 2007, p1). One witness testimony compiled in the 1940s from Pdraig O'Cathain (Kane) an IRA man from Kilkenny, and Adjutant in the Carlow Brigade of the Irish Volunteers, confirms this, mentioning Cumann na mBan women in most glowing terms; 'I cannot resist naming the Mistresses, [...] Brophy, Doyle, Quigley and Woods (Carlow). Some of them were better than many of our men'. (O'Cathain, 1940). He describes the 'great-hearted women of Cumann na mBan who could never find enough to do, and were wonderful in helping us to maintain communications'. (O'Cathain, 1940).

Nonetheless despite this positive analysis by McCallum and McCarthy, Brigid Ryan's statement conveys perfectly the specific gendered roles at play within the organisation, and crucially shows the patriarchal constraints at play. In spite of the fact that Cumann na mBan was the first ever solely women's organisation with their own executive, they were still restrained by the patriarchal ideals of the day and were subordinate to the men, the Irish Volunteers, because of their

exclusion from their executive. (McCoole, 1997, p13). Historian Margaret Ward concurs with this and claims 'this separate but equal formula gave rise to absolute inequality as women were regarded as subordinates and excluded from the decision making process', (Ward, 1995, p39) and indeed many protested that they were not the auxiliaries or the handmaidens or the camp followers of the Volunteers. (McCoole, 1997, p13).

It was the Soloheadbeg ambush of 1919 which ushered in the War of Independence, a guerrilla war, and widespread popular support was key to its success. The women of Cumann na mBan were crucial in supporting the men who were on the run and away from home for large periods of time. According to Margaret Ward the organisation 'attached a far greater degree of importance to military struggle than to political issues, [...] their primary loyalty was to the Volunteers and not to Sinn Fein'. (Ward, 1983, p132). Indeed the militant women of the organisation 'viewed Sinn Fein as the moderate wing of the nationalist movement'. (Ward, 1983, p132). Furthermore O' Cathain's witness testimony gives agency to the women's roles 'particularly in the context of a guerrilla war fought out in the countryside'. (Ryan, 2000, p78).

Lil Conlon in her memoir stated that more attention had been focussed on the women from 1919 by the authorities, as they had begun to realise that women were playing a major part in the campaign. (Conlon, 1969). Certainly an atmosphere of violence and disorder exposed women in domestic settings to considerable fear, intimidation, gender violence and assault. (Earner-Byrne, 2015, p82). Women 'who in the isolated villages remained in the privacy of the domestic sphere were easy targets for frustrated British soldiers and particularly vulnerable to attack'. (Ryan, 2000, p78). Attacks on women varied from sexual insults and other humiliations such as cutting off their hair, or dragging them from their beds in their night clothes.

However these attacks can also be seen as a way of getting to the male members of the population who were on the run and weaken their resistance. In this way the boundaries between the private home and the public battlefield become

blurred, and this can be seen in the numerous occasions that Brigid's home was raided and looted. As Sarah Benton claims 'the British Government wanted to crush the wild men so that through the propriety of politics, it could reach a settlement'. (Benton, 1995, p165). This is another important factor within the context of patriarchal constraint and our understanding of Brigid's life within this framework.

I see it as hugely important to my grandmother's memory, that her depiction of the events and roles she undertook in such a traumatic period of Ireland's history were verified by Ryan and O' Cathain. Critically over long periods of time one's awareness and memory of events can fade. Notwithstanding it should be noted that archival memory 'is a social construct reflecting power relationships in society [...] thus archivists and manuscript curators play an important role as mediators in selecting records for preservation [...] which can provide a more balanced perspective on the past'. (Jimerson, 2003, p89). This is important as this period in Ireland's history still can provoke bitterness and ignite old feuds between groups even after a period of almost a hundred years.

Recollecting those times with my grandmother, together with consideration of Brigid's testimony, has enabled me to recognise the intersectionality between what my grandmother told me, and what I have found out about the other 'ordinary' women who were involved in Cumann na mBan between 1919-1921. Little had been written about the women of organisation up until more recently, as it is those who were in positions of authority, such as Countess Markievicz, who have been eulogised. Nevertheless the huge numbers of ordinary rank and file members, described by Lil Conlon as 'mothers, wives, sisters, sweet-hearts, all were dragged into that cauldron of self-sacrifice', [...] 'those women who made diverse sacrifices in many different ways were 'ordinary' women'. (Conlon, 1969, p3).

Nevertheless McCoole disagrees with this description, arguing that they were not 'ordinary women' at all. Her own work on Irish revolutionary women in the

period 1900-1923 describes the women who played a major part in the fight for Ireland's freedom within Cumann na mBan, as originating 'from every class in society and all walks of life; titled ladies and shop assistants, doctors, housewives, laundry workers, artists and teachers. Some were married with children, some were widowed, and some mere school-children'. (McCoole, 2003, p1).

I have no specific information on how my grandmother must have felt about the split after the signing of the Anglo Irish Treaty in December 1921, however on a personal level it must have caused a lot of angst for her when considering the split in Cumann na mBan, as women who had previously fought together during the War of Independence, found themselves on opposite sides in the Civil War. Anecdotal evidence appears to show my grandmother was a supporter of the Treaty as her front parlour in Harcourt Lodge, Dublin gave pride of place to two huge paintings, one of Michael Collins in his army uniform, and another on his death bed! This would appear to confirm that Brigid's stance and my grandmother's stance differed, as during the Truce Brigid continued her activities and was appointed as Receiver of Supplies for the brigade training camp at Duckett's Grove, Co. Carlow.

Similarly during the Civil War Brigid was unstoppable. One of her many 'ancillary' activities included making all the arrangements for the funerals of all the IRA men killed in action. (Ryan, 1957). Many of her duties were highly dangerous such as procuring guns and ammunition from Free State soldiers and handing them over to the 1st battalion, ASU, IRA. Despite her activities it is clear that she took her orders from the Volunteers so despite her bravery and courage she was still subject to patriarchal constraint.

When the Civil War broke out in June 1922 Kilmainham Gaol was taken over by the Free State Government. (Kelly, 1988, p112), and many women were imprisoned there, which is an indication of the role they had played in the War of Independence. A number of Carlow members were imprisoned in Kilmainham including Brigid Ryan and Essie Snoddy, a young girl of only 16. Accord-

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ing to historian Julian Stover those imprisoned 'had been found guilty of a variety of crimes, ranging from the possession of seditious documents [...] or for breaking curfew, no doubt committed in aid of military operations'. (Stover, 2014, p97).

In her witness testimony Brigid claimed she was arrested on 16th March 1923 and released on the 27th of the same month. Whilst in Kilmainham she became involved in a project with Essie Snoddy, making a tri-colour with the Cumann na mBan initials embroidered in the centre, and the flag can be seen in Kilmainham Jail to this day. Prison crafts could be seen as an articulation of protest by the women, as this tri-colour was used to drape over the coffins of Carlow activists killed in combat. Her previous role in this type of activity is recorded in her witness statement where she describes how she 'was in charge of the firing party over the grave of Commandant Seamus O'Toole who was killed in an engagement with the enemy in 1922'. (Ryan, 1957). Ryan was obviously rearrested as she also claims to have been on hunger strike for nine days in June 1923, and whilst she was in prison her home was broken into by Free State forces who wrecked the interior of the café and dwelling apartments, and looted the contents. (Ryan, 1957). Once again political events in her life had personal repercussions. Brigid was released in September, 1923. On a lighter note Essie Snoddy was very productive whilst in prison as 'she brought home souvenirs such as tea cosies, golliwogs and dolls, as well as a crocheted top'. (McCooles, 2004, p113).

Despite the connections the women associated with the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising had, it was these same connections that led to the women being cast out of politics in the Irish Free State. The female TDs as well as most of the more politically and militarily involved women had opposed the treaty, including as mentioned above many Cumann na mBan members. Consequently the association of the women TDs with the sacrifices made by their loved ones in the rising, now became unpopular within the new Irish Free State government. According to Jason Knirck 'the Free Staters marginalised the contribution of

nationalist women and drastically curtailed their role in post-revolutionary politics'. (Knirck, 2006, p163). Republicanism became 'feminized', tarred with the brush of hysteria, irrationality and undue emotion. (Knirck, 2006, p163). This is another example of how the patriarchal society of the day was able to constrain the women, playing down their role in events and removing them from the limelight. Indeed according to historian David Fitzpatrick 'after the Treaty the search for respectability displaced revolutionary enthusiasm, imitation drove out imagination, the solemn trappings of familiar institutions enveloped and began to stifle the iconoclasts'. (Fitzpatrick, 1977, p232).

In the post-Civil War era of the new Irish Free State Irish, independence was marked not only by the rise to power of the Catholic propertied classes, but also by the marginalisation of feminist concerns that were part of the anti-colonial movement. (Helleiner, 1997, p277). The new State felt that the contribution of women would be most acceptable in the domestic sphere. This reflected the growing influence of the Catholic Church through the 1920s, which railed against the moral deterioration of the world in general and Irish women in particular. (McAuliffe, 2014, p49). However Irish feminists contested this definition believing that women could and should inhabit the public and the private spheres, be mothers and wives but also citizens who added their talents to the new state. (Valiulis, 1995, p118). Crucially despite the fact that the 1922 Constitution gave women the right to vote, subsequent legislation denied full political identification for women and by 1937 women's political, economic and reproductive rights had been severely constrained. (Valiulis, 1995 p120).

Consequently women perceived themselves as forgotten by a state they believed owed them recognition and material recompense for their participation. (Lane, 2010, p2). This can be seen in the letters of Brigid Ryan representing Old Cumann na mBan in the late 1930s. Brigid Ryan and Nellie Woods were instrumental in petitioning the government for pensions for the women involved in the period 1919-1923. Their letters are testament to the continued

bravery of these women and their continued persistence in claiming their right to a pension despite numerous delays and excuses put to them. In one letter written in 1937, signed by Brigid Ryan and Nellie Woods, the letter concludes 'kindly let me know at your earliest convenience when it will be possible for you to call a number of applicants from this area [...] as no member of Carlow Cumann na mBan has been called up to the present'. (Ryan, Woods, 1937). Furthermore their pensions, if awarded at all, were at the lowest level payable, and not on a par with a man's pension despite their service and allegiance. This is yet another example of patriarchal constraint at work, increasing our cognisance of how the women's lives are understood within that framework.

This paper has shown how women's lives are understood within the framework of patriarchal constraint. Despite Brigid Ryan's monumental participation, and that of countless other women (including my grandmother) in Cumann na mBan, their efforts were indeed mediated by the fact that they were women. Subsequently this affected the types of roles that they performed during the period 1914-1923. Patriarchal constraint also dominated the treatment that they received afterwards. Notwithstanding Brigid Ryan's participation is written large in her witness testimony, yet it is only one woman's account of her role in historic events. Countless more women's historic participation is to be found in the Military Archives and other archives and records. I have little tangible evidence of my grandmother's participation in these historic events with the exception of her medal, a more tenuous link through Padraig O'Cathain's witness testimony, and a mention of a J. Quigley in the Carlow member lists in handwritten applications for Pensions in the 1930s. Regardless of this lack of evidence for my grandmother, without doubt she, Brigid and the other 'ordinary' woman of Cumann na mBan were heroines. They deserve to be recorded in more dominant narratives similar to the dominant narratives of male patriarchy and heroes.

Currently the emphasis on these brave women is growing and more recently a wider corpus of written work has emerged. In this era of remembrance and

commemoration individual stories are beginning to appear. It is evident the Carlow women were a particularly active branch in the organisation and Brigid Ryan was an extraordinarily brave and capable woman. I am proud my grandmother was a member of this group. The history of the women of Cumann na mBan, their contribution and courage, which has for so long evaded historical record, (McCoole, 2000, is finally beginning to get the recognition it deserves. Many more stories are waiting to be told.

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Thomas J. Kennedy, managing editor of *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, 53 Park Place, a monthly magazine for Roman Catholic priests, died of a heart attack on Wednesday at his home, 258 Riverside Drive.

He was born in Ireland, was graduated from Carlow College and the National University of Ireland and studied languages at the Universities of Vienna and Bonn. Then he worked in London with the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J., on research projects until 1909, when he came to New York and joined the editorial staff of the Catholic Encyclopedia.

Later for several years Mr. Kennedy was editor of Letters and Arts Press, a religious book publishing concern. In 1824 he became managing editor of *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*. For many years he supervised the publication and translation of ecclesiastical treatises, and he collaborated in the preparation and publication of *The Catholic Biblical Encyclopedia*.

Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Moira Coyle Kennedy; two daughters, the Misses Sighle and Ethne Kennedy of New York; a brother, Brian of New York, and a sister, Mother Mary St. John of Bangalore, India.

The Bagenals of Idrone Chronology

Myles Kavanagh

1509 Nicholas Bagenal was born in Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, England where his father John Bagenal was Mayor of the town.

1539 Nicholas Bagenal fled England after killing a man in a brawl. He became a mercenary under Con Bacach O'Neill, chief of the O'Neills of Tyrone.

1543 Through the influence of O'Neill Nicholas got a "General pardon of all murders and felonies by him committed" granted in Westminster, 2nd March 1543 by Henry V111.

1544-1547 Nicholas served in the French wars where he gained a high reputation for his military prowess. Leighlinbridge Castle rebuilt by Edward Bellingham in 1547.

1548 He was back in Ireland serving under Sir Edward Bellingham and defeated a group from Laois, Carlow and Kildare led by Cahir O Connor, inflicting a crushing defeat on them in county Kildare.

1550 Nicholas Bagenal became a member of the Irish Privy Council and was appointed Marshall General of the Army in Ireland. He received a lease for 21 years on the Abbey lands of Newry, Newry Castle and was granted the Lord-

ship of Mourne.

1556 Nicholas Bagenal married Eleanor, 3rd daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Griffith of Penrhy, North Wales, the couple had 9 children Henry, Dudley and Ambrose, and daughters Frances, Mary, Margaret, Isabel, Anne and Mabel. This marriage brought Nicholas considerable estates in Wales.

1585 Nicholas bought the Barony of Idrone from George Carew for his son Dudley for £2,000. Dudley moved there and lived in Idrone, perhaps the Lodge (later to be known as Eastwood, located in the townland of Moneybeg). He was appointed Constable at Leighlinbridge Castle (Black Castle). Dudley was of a different temper and character from the Carew family and was immediately involved in a feud with the Kavanagh Clan, previous owners who had been ousted by the Carews. Dudley had the elderly Clan chief Murtagh Kavanagh killed along with a servant at Garryhill.

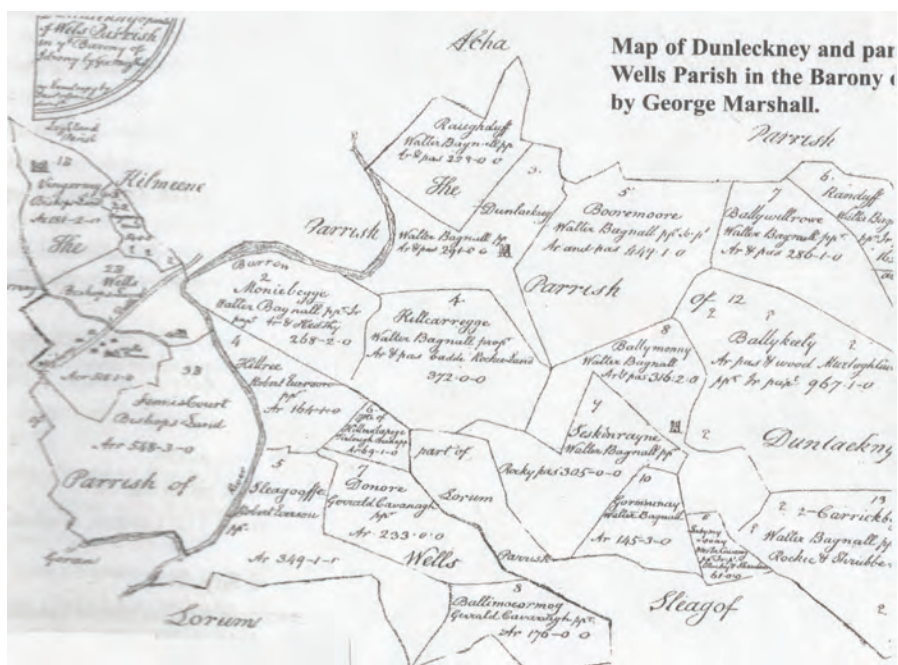
1587 Dudley with followers was killed in an ambush at Ballymoon by the Kavanaghs.

1598 Henry Bagenal son of Nicholas Bagenal was killed at the Battle of the Yellow Ford by the Irish forces led by Hugh O Neill who was married to Henry's sister Mabel Bagenal.

1602 Nicholas Bagenal son of Dudley and Katherine Nangle succeeded Dudley as Constable at Leighlinbridge Castle.

1607 Nicholas died as the result of a duel in Dublin. George Bagenal son of Dudley Bagenal and Mabel Fitzgerald succeeded Nicholas (half-brother).

1607-1612 George Bagenal built the 1st



Manor at Dunleckney.

1625 George Bagenal died.

1641 Colonel Thomas Bagenal (leader in Army of Confederate Catholics) and his brother Henry Bagenal, sons of George Bagenal and Lady Joanne Butler were banished to Connaught.

1652 Walter Bagenal son of George Bagenal and Lady Joanne Butler, was executed in the Parade Kilkenny by the Cromwellian forces. Walter was a member of Army of Confederate Catholics. The Bagenal family lost their entire estates.

1660 The Bagenal estates were restored to Dudley Bagenal, son of Walter Bagenal and Elizabeth Roper, by King Charles 11.

1689 Dudley Bagenal recruited and commanded an Infantry Regiment that fought at the Siege of Derry.

1690 Dudley Bagenal and Henry Luttrell represented County Carlow and attended the King James Parliament in Dublin. Dudley Bagenal commanded his Infantry Regiment for King James 11 at the Battle of the Boyne. King James 11 loses the battle. King James and Dudley Bagenal fled to France. King James set up Court at St. Germain-en-Lay near Paris with Dudley Bagenal as Gentleman Usher to him.

1691 Mary Bagenal daughter of Dudley Bagenal and Anne Mathew died in France. She was a nun at the Poor Clares at Gravelines.

1701 King James 11 died.

1705 Katherine Bagenal daughter of Dudley Bagenal and Anne Mathew, a nun at the Poor Clare Convent at Gravelines, France was appointed 7th Abbess of the convent.

1712 Dudley Bagenal died at Bruges, Belgium.

1710-1745 Walter Bagenal, son of Dudley Bagenal and Anne Mathew became a Protestant and regained the family estates from the Crown. Walter began the layout of the town of Bagenal-



Chimney view of Dunleckney Manor

stown. He married firstly Eleanor Barnewall and they had 2 children, and secondly Eleanor Beauchamp and they had 3 children.

1726 Walter Bagenal had the first bridge at the Royal Oak built across the river Barrow and drove a coach and horses across it before its completion to win a wager.

1735 Beauchamp Bagenal is born to Walter Bagenal and Eleanor Beauchamp. He became the most renowned and flamboyant member of the Bagenal family.

1736 Katherine Bagenal (sister of Walter), the Poor Clare nun, died in France.

1745 Walter Bagenal died.

1753 Beauchamp Bagenal entered Trinity College, Cambridge and undertook a grand tour of European capitals.

1761-1768 Beauchamp Bagenal Member of Parliament for Enniscorthy.

1762 Walter Bagenal was born to Beauchamp Bagenal and his wife Maria Ryan. They also had 2 daughters Catherine and Emelia.

1768-1776 Beauchamp Bagenal entered politics as an M.P. for Carlow. He constantly supported Catholic Relief Bills. As a politician, landlord, duellist, libertarian and *bon viveur* he became a legend in his own lifetime. The cost of his lifestyle was high as he sold 32,000 acres of his estate.

1770 Sarah Westropp, Beauchamp

Bagenal's natural daughter was born. She became his favourite and eventual heiress of the Bagenal estate.

1778 Bagenal refused to fire his gun at an opponent and neighbour Mathew Weld in a duel and accused him of an assault. The judge Mr. Crookshank found Mr. Weld guilty, imposed on him a fine of £70 and ordered him to be imprisoned for one month.

1778-1783 Beauchamp Bagenal, Member of Parliament for Co. Carlow. Beauchamp fought as few as a dozen duels, the great duellists of his time fought many. One of his 12 was against his own cousin and godson Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey. Harvey fired first, but missed, to Bagenal's delight. "You damn young villain. Do you know you had like to kill your own godfather? Go back to Dunleckney, you dog, and have a good breakfast ready for us. I only wanted to see if you were stout." (Bagenal Harvey later was hanged in the 1798 Rebellion in Wexford).

1785 Sarah Westropp at 15 years of age married Colonel Philip Newton of Bennekerry.

1802 Bagenal died and as his son Walter had no male heir, in his will, Beauchamp left his estate to Sarah.

1817 Sarah's eldest son Walter Newton inherited Dunleckney and 5,000 acres of land. He married Anne Jocelyn. Sarah and Philip's second son Philip changed his name by Royal Licence to Bagenal and inherited the Newton seat at Bennekerry.

1818 Philip Jocelyn Newton was born to Walter Newton and Anne Jocelyn.

1832 Sarah Newton died.

1833 Sarah's husband Philip Newton died.

1841 Philip Jocelyn Newton, Walter's son, married Henrietta Maria Kennedy, daughter of John Kennedy, of Dunbrody, Co. Wexford and had 3 daughters. Walter Newton had plans for the present Tudor-Gothic Manor, at Dunleckney, drawn up by Daniel Robertson. Philip's son, married Henrietta Maria Kennedy daughter of John Kennedy, of Dunbrody, Co. Wexford and they had 3 daughters.

1851 Philip Jocelyn Newton married his second wife Emily Toler Osborne.

1853 Walter Newton died and he was succeeded by his son Philip Jocelyn Newton who changed his name to Bagenal by Royal Licence. Philip was responsible for the completion of Dunleckney Manor.



Panoramic view of St Andrew's Church

1871 Anne Henrietta Newton daughter of Philip Jocelyn Newton and Henrietta Maria Kennedy married William Muschamp Vesey of Abbeyleix. They had 2 sons.

1880 William Vesey died.

1895 Philip Jocelyn Newton died. He had 5 daughters from his 2 marriages and he was succeeded by his eldest surviving daughter from his first marriage, Mrs. Anne Henrietta Vesey.

1902 Sydney Philip Charles Vesey son of Anne Henrietta Newton and William Muschamp Vesey married Blanche Edith Power.

1932 Sydney P.C. Vesey died.

1942 Mrs. Blanche Edith Vesey sold the Dunleckney estate to Thomas Donnelly, of the Belfast distillery family, ending the last Bagenal-Newton connection with Dunleckney.

Sources:
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Carlow Mart Founders

Courtesy: John Dowling

Property Owners in County Carlow in the Year 1307

Sean O'Shea

While a considerable area of County Carlow was under forestation in 1307, a certain amount of information can be gleaned regarding, property owners in the county at the time, following an inquisition held in the town. The inquisition was ordered by King Edward 1, to ascertain the Irish possessions of Roger Le Bygod, Earl of Norfolk, and Lord of Carlow, who died without issue on the 11th December, 1306. In 1302 Roger had constituted King Edward his heir on his death.

Roger Le Bygod was a descendent of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Leinster. Marshal and his wife Isobel, (daughter of Strongbow and Eve MacMurrough), had ten children, five sons and five daughters. Their five sons died without issue, thereby Marshal's daughters became co-heirs of his holdings. Maud the eldest daughter was allotted the Carlow County area, which comprised a much larger area than the present county (the county boundary being re-defined in the mid fifteen-hundreds following the creation of Counties Laois and Offaly. Joan, the second daughter was granted the Wexford area. The third daughter, Isabel received the Kilkenny area. Sibilla, a fourth daughter was allotted the Kildare area, and Eve the youngest received the Laois area (Dunroe in Ossory).

Maud married Hugh Le Bygod, Earl of Norfolk, thus entitling the Earl to succeed

to the Lordship of Carlow. They had three sons, Roger, Hugh and Ralph. On the death of Hugh, Roger, their first born, inherited the titles of Earl of Norfolk and Lord of Carlow. Roger died without issue in 1270, and his nephew, also called Roger Le Bygod succeeded to his honours and possessions. Roger married twice without issue, and as already stated - by means of surrender made in 1302, his estate passed to the King on his death. This comprised his Earldom, Marshalcy and property, which included Carlow castle, then in a state of disrepair.

The King's writ directed Sir John Wogan Justiciar of Ireland "to take into the King's hands, all lands and tenements in Ireland, the property of Roger Le Bygod, and cause them to be kept safely". To enable Wogan to comply with the King's writ, Walter De La Haye, Escheator of Ireland, was instructed to conduct an inquisition, to establish Roger's holdings, which were mainly in County Carlow. The inquisition was held in Carlow in April, 1307. Apart from insight into the property owners at the time, some insight is also gleaned as to the condition of the castle and town. Another inquisition was also undertaken to establish the value of the Knights' fees in the county.

The "Yet of Common Pleas", relating to the inquisition, is recorded in the Calendar of Justiciar Rolls of Ireland (35-Edward I) which as already stated gives some insight into the property owners in County Carlow at the time, and is set out

as follows:

Yet of Common Pleas, at Dublin, before John Wogan, Justiciar, in the quinzaine of Easter.

The King sends his writ: Edward etc. to Wogan etc. Because Roger le Bygod Earl of Norfolk, who held of the King in capite, has died, Wogan is to take into the King's hand all lands and tenements in Ireland, of which he was seised when he died, and cause them to be kept safely; and to enquire how much land he held of the King in capite, and how much of others, and by what service, and how much they are worth yearly, and who is his heir and of what age, and return inquisition. Teste at Lanrecost, 8 Dec. a. r. xxxv.

By pretext of which mandate Walter 'de la Haye, escheator of Ireland, was directed to execute it, who made extent:

Inquisition taken at *Catherlach*, on Saturday after the close of Easter a r xxxv. John Sweyn, Will. Baret, Roger the Welshman, Ricard Rys, Will. Went, Thomas Rauf, Adam Leth, Thomas Borne, Peter Borne, Simon. Bryt, Robert son of Ricard, Ric. Harpur, Johii Fraunceys, Robert le Archer, John Cadel, Stephen Cadel, John Tybaund, Robert Cadel, James de Valle, John Balymor, Adam Mauncel, Gilbert Maceon, Peter Loppyn, David Cobrath, Thomas Carru, Robert Bremyl, Henry Wyce, Geoffrey

PROPERTY OWNERS IN COUNTY CARLOW IN THE YEAR 1307

Galbarry, Ric. Galburry, Ric. le Bret, John Marcel, Robert Bendeuill, Remund Cheure, Walter de Rupe, Will. Bendeuill and Ric. Graunger.

Who say that Roger Bygod held of the King in capite, the castle and county of *Catherlach* which castle is not well roofed, and opposite the castle is a hall in which pleas of the county and assises are held, in which are many defects, as well in roofing as in walls; which are valued at nothing because no one would hire them, but they need roofing and care. There are there 68 acres of arable land, of which 50 acres are worths 50s. yearly, to wit, 12*d.* an acre, and 18 acres are worth 6s. (4*d.* an acre), 50 acres of meadow are worth 50s. yearly, a moor and an island containing 16 acres are worth 16s. yearly. Sum 6*l.* 2s.

Ric. Taloun holds the barony of Tame-lyng, and renders for it 4s. yearly. Peter Waas holds there 75 acres opposite the castle, and renders 20s. yearly. Geoffrey Wade junior holds there 20 acres, and renders yearly 12s. The burgesses of the town of *Catherlach* hold there 160 burgages, and render for them yearly 8*l.* 16½*d.* and do suit to the hundred. Sum 6*l.* 17s. 4½*d.*

Also there is there an oven, which the burgesses hold at will, and it is worth yearly 20s. The burgesses render yearly for the toll and farm (*sensar'*) of said town, 8s. 3*d.*; the prise of ale there is worth yearly 40s.; and there are there three water - mills worth yearly 8 marks, and three weirs worth yearly 5s. Sum 8*l.* 19s. 11*d.*

Edmund le Botiller holds one barony of Tulagh Offelmyth, by the service of 8*l.*, as often as it shall be proclaimed, and does suit to the county court; Nich. de Carru holds one barony in Odrone at Donlek', by the service of 10*l.* and does suit as above; John de Valle holds one knight's fee at Ardbrystyn, by the service of 40s. and does suit to the court of Foth'; Thomas le Boteller holds one knight's fee at Gras by the service of 40s. and does suit there; Adam Broun holds one knight's fee at Ardynhch, by the service of 40s.; Will. Traherne holds one knight's fee at Kilcloit, by the service of 40s., and a fourth part of a knight's fee at Kylbolet,

by the service of 10s.; the heir of Reginald de Dene holds two knights' fees at Kenles in Foth', by the service of 4*l.*; Ric. Taloun holds an eighth part of a knight's fee at Balymakele, by the service of 5s.; Robert Bremyl holds a third part of a knight's fee at Balyscandyl, by the service of 1 mark. Sum 44*l.* 2s. 4*d.*

They say that at Foth' there is a stone chamber covered with shingles and boards valued at nothing, and no one will hire it, and a grange of ten principal beams (*furcis*), almost fallen, of no value except the beams, and 368 acres of demesne land, worth yearly 12*l.* 5s. 4*d.*, to wit, 8*d.* an acre, 20 acres of meadow, worth yearly 13s. 4*d.*, a pasture called Oxsynles, containing 10a. worth 40*d.*, a pasture containing 10a. of no value, a decayed water mill with 12 acres of pasture adjoining, worth yearly 5 marks. Sum 16*l.* 16s. 8*d.*

Ric. Taloun holds 2 carucates of land in Balym^ccolye and renders yearly 26s, 8*d.*; William Traherne holds 1 carucate at le Boly, and renders yearly 30s. 6*d.* Amicia Manecouena.unf[d] holds two carucates at the Drym and renders yearly 3s. Will., de Benclouill and Eva his wife hold one carucate at the Kneiston, and render yearly 2s.

The burgesses of the town of Castle-Foth' hold there 79 burgages, and render for them 69s., and there are there 29 cottagers who render for their cottages 13s. 11½*d.* Also the burgesses render each Michaelmas 10 geese or 20*d.*, and for each smith's house, four horse shoes, or 4*d.* yearly rent. Also they render 3*d.* yearly rent for one place in the head of the town (*1 plac' in cap' ville*). Tho. Wade junior holds there 15 acres, and renders yearly 11*l.* of pepper and 1½*l.* of cummin, or 16*d.* Will. Spynel holds there 12 acres for 12*d.* yearly rent. Adam le Tanner holds there half a stang of land and renders yearly ½*l.* of cummin, or 1*d.* Sum 7*l.* 19s. The toll there is worth yearly 8s. 6*d.*

And there are at Dunlek' and Leghlyn 55 acres, of which 14 are worth yearly 7s. and the rest lies waste for want of tenants and poverty of the land; and 6 cottiers who render for their cottages yearly 6s., of which there are paid to Nich. de Carru

chief lord of that fee 6s., to Robert Mauncel 16*d.*, and to Ric. son of Robert 20*d.* Sum; beyond this rent repaid 4s.

And there are at Fynuagh 6 carucates 47 *caruc'* (recte acres) and 1 stang, worth yearly 38 marks 4s. 10*d.* (to wit 8*d.* an acre), of which Douenald Mcmurwoth held for term of his life, two carucates 7 acres 1 stang; and there are 15a. of meadow worth yearly 7s. 6*d.* The works of tenants in autumn worth yearly half a mark; betaghs render yearly 6s. 8*d.* for suit which they were accustomed to make to the mill, which mill is now waste land prostrate. Sum 26*l.* 12s. 4*d.*

The serjeants of the county of Ceatherlach were accustomed to render 20 marks for their serjeancies yearly.

Also the perquisites of assises there are worth in common years, deducting the fees- of the Seneschal and other ministers, 40*l.* Also the county court there is worth yearly, clear, 5 marks. Also the perquisites of the court of Fothered are worth yearly half a mark. The perquisites of the hundred of *Catherlach* are worth yearly 20s. Sum 45*l.*

The above "Yet of Common Pleas" is confined as nearly as possible to the present boundary of the County of Carlow.

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- (1) *The History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow* by John Ryan MRSL
- (2) Brophy Papers
- (3) *Carlow Sentinel*
- (4) *The Calendar of Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, 1305-1307, 35th Edward I*

PR COMES TO CARLOW

Sean O'Shea

Proportional Representation (or P.R. as it's referred to) was first introduced to Carlow when the 1920 Local Elections were held on the 15th January of that year. Sometime earlier, an order issued by the Local Government Board in accordance with the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1919, brought the procedure into effect.

In the town, eligible voters were somewhat apprehensive of the new system of voting, as was the local paper, which stated "the election will be the most drastic test to which the single transferrable vote has been submitted in any part of the world"

The system of electing members to local authorities had varied from early times. While the borough of Carlow possessed a municipal or corporate existence from the days of King John, when a charter was granted to the town by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, there is no mention of a corporation or provision for the election of members to a local authority contained in the charter. The system for the election of members to Carlow Corporation was not defined until King James I granted a second charter to the town in 1613. This charter established "One Body Corporate and Politique" in the town and decreed, "the corporate body consists of one portrieve and twelve free burgesses" John Kerton was named the first portrieve and the twelve burgesses were also named.

Burgesses were elected by a majority of the corporate members and held office for their natural lives. The portrieve (later sovereign) was elected annually by the Burgesses. While other charters were granted to the town, the procedure for electing members to the corporation remained unchanged until the introduction of the municipal corporation (Ireland) Act 1840 when Carlow Corporation was

dissolved and replaced by a Town Commission. Unfortunately, the Town Commission of 1840 had a short innings and was succeeded by a new town commission in 1855.

This followed the adoption of the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act 1854 by the householders of the town.

Under the provisions of the 1854 Act, property owners of at least £12.00 valuation qualified to go forward as candidates for the office of Town Commissioner and rate payers with property of £8.00 valuation and upwards, were entitled to vote. Elections were held annually with one third of commissioners vacating office each year. Over time, qualifications to hold office and right to vote became more liberal.

The Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 abolished the Town Commission and it was replaced by an Urban District Council. From that period onwards members held office for a three year period, when new elections were held. Voting was by way of a single vote with candidates receiving the majority of votes declared elected.

In January 1920, the single transferrable vote was introduced, unfortunately without giving any clear government guidance to the electorate on the operation of the system. The local papers were helpful in explaining the new method of voting as were the "Proportional Representation Society of Ireland". The following extract from the Nationalist and Leinster Times gives some indication as to the position at the time.

Proportional Representation

Wednesday night last, a lecture was delivered in the Town Hall, Carlow, on Proportional Representation. The lecturer

was Mr. Campbell, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Aston. There was a large attendance and deep interest was taken in the proceedings. Those who listened to the lecturer and followed the details of the model election afterwards, realised that after all the system is not so complicated as would seem at first sight, and the various societies and associations should take steps to supply information to their members.

Mr. Michael Governey presided, and at the close of the proceedings a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

The model election was most interesting."

Carlow Urban District was divided into three electoral areas (wards) namely:- Carlow North, Carlow South and Graiguecullen. Carlow North to return 9 members, Carlow South to return 6 members and Graiguecullen to return 3 members.

On Monday the 5th January 1920, William A. Lawler returning officer attended at the Town Hall to receive nominations from candidates for membership of the Urban Council.

The election held on the 15th January evoked considerable interest from the opening of the polling booths at 8am until the close of poll twelve hours later. All polling took place within the precincts of the Town Hall, where six booths were provided, and twenty seven candidates contested the eighteen seats. At 10am on Friday 16th January the sorting and counting of votes commenced in the Council Chamber. The returning officer was W.A. Lawler, Town Clerk, with P.A. Lawler acting as deputy returning officer, while P.J. Byrne Solicitor was the assessor. T.R. Coyle, clerk of the union, acted as superintendent of elections and D. Fenlon N.T. and P.P. Carbery B.S. were calculators. The counters were J. White, P.C. Bergin, J. Lawler and F. Bolger. The count took place in the presence of the candidates and finished at 10am.

Following the completion of each count the returning officer declared the candidates elected in order of preference in the areas:-

P R COMES TO CARLOW

Carlow North Area

William Purcell
Edward Duggan
John Brennan
Patrick Breen
Sean O' Farrell
Frederick J. Williams
Catherine Mc Donnell
Bridget Laffan
Mary R. Bolger

Carlow South Area

Patrick Comerford
Robert C. Browne-Clayton
James Leonard
James J. Cuddy
Thomas Kirwan
Frederick G. Thompson

Graigucullen Area

Michael Governey
John Byrne
Ebenezer Shackleton

The Nationalist and Leinster Times reporting on the election stated that *the P.R. system worked smoothly and the small percentage of spoiled votes (54) proved that the electorate grasped the principle, although the time for educating the public was rather short. The various officials did their work excellently from the viewpoint of routine, impartiality and administration, and showed that a careful study of the scheme had been made.*

Interest had waned when the next Urban Council Elections were held in June 1925, with the *Nationalist and Leinster Times* reporting as follows:

The first Local Government Elections since 1920 were held on Tuesday, and were probably the quietest on record, Co. Carlow being no exception. About 55% seemed to be the average poll.

The only contest in Carlow Urban area was in the electoral division of Graigucullen. There were four candidates for three seats, viz.: John Bolger (Maltster), D. Fenlon, N.T. (Labour); P. MacGamhna (Labour) and Ebenezer Shackleton. The latter, who was the defeated candidate, obtained 13 votes. The other three were elected on the first count. Mr. John Bolger headed the poll with 93 votes; Mr. D. Fenlon came second with 89 votes, and Mr. P MacGamhna received 68 votes. The result was announced about 10 o' clock on Tuesday night.

Carlow North Area

Candidate	Proposer	Seconder
Patrick Breen Tulloo Street	Michael Doyle	Thomas Lawler
John Brennan Dublin Street	Patrick C. Bergin	Annie Laffan
Mary Rose Bolger Coal Market	Thomas McDonald	P. C. Bergin
Edward Duggan Dublin Street	D.J. McGrath	John G. Connor
John Foley Tulloo Street	John Walsh	William Hade
Bridget Laffan Dublin Street	Mary A. McDonald	Bridget Murphy
Catherine McDonald Haymarket	Annie F. Reddy	Rev. J. Killian
Sean O'Farrell Tulloo Street	Rev. J. Killian	John Brennan
William O'Neill Tulloo Street	John O'Neill	James Farrell
William Purcell Tulloo Street	William Ellis	James Byrne
Frederick D. Williams Tulloo Street	Michael Clarke	Martin Kehoe

Carlow South Area

Candidate	Proposer	Seconder
Col. R. Brown-Clayton Brown's Hill	Rev. Cannon Ridgeway	Peter Begley
Patrick Comerford Burrin Street	Richard Rogers	Thomas Lynam
J.J. Cuddy Tulloo Street	Edward Hughes	Edward McKenna
J.J. Dunphy Tulloo Street	J. Kelly	John Corcoran
William Jackson Tulloo Street	John Grage	Patrick Whelan
Walter Kehoe Pembroke	John Kelly	Michael Brophy
Thomas Kirwan Tulloo Street	Peter Doyle	J.J. Cuddy
James Leonard Tulloo Street	John Foley	Edward Hughes
Michael Molloy Tulloo Street	Thomas Murphy	W.J. Jackson
John Murphy Tulloo Street	W. J. Jackson	Gerald Donnelly
Frederick Thompson Mount Hanover	John Yarnell	Michael Murphy

Graigucullen Area

Candidate	Proposer	Seconder
John Byrne Carlow Quay	John Comerford	Matthew Doyle
Michael Governey Barroville	Daniel Fenlon	Annie Bennett
Thomas Little Potato Market	Daniel Fenlon	Kate Fenlon
Denis Mullane Marlborough Street	Bernard Rafferty	Joseph Glover
Ebenezer Shackleton Graigucullen	Michael Webster	Thomas Moore

P R COMES TO CARLOW

Carlow Urban Election
North Area 15th January 1920

Voters Registered: 1035 Valid Votes Recorded: 698
No. To Be Elected: 9 Quota: 70

CANDIDATES	1 st count	2 nd Count		3 rd Count		4 th Count		5 th Count		6 th Count		7 th Count		8 th count		
	Votes	Transfer Purcell's surplus	Transfer Duggan's surplus	Transfer Brennan's surplus	Transfer Breen's surplus	Transfer William's surplus	Elimination O' Neill's votes	Transfer Mc Donald's Surplus								
Mary R. Bolger, Sinn Fein	39	9	48	2	50	2	52	1	53	1	54	6	60	8	68	Elected (9)
Patrick Breen, Nationalist	65	26	91		91		91	-21	70		70		70		70	Elected (4)
John Brennan, Sinn Fein	57	37	94		94	-24	70		70		70		70		70	Elected (3)
Edward Duggan, Nationalist	89		89	-19	70		70		70		70		70		70	Elected (2)
John Foley, Nationalist	21	14	35	3	38	5	43	7	50	2	52	6	58	2	60	
Bridget Laffan, Sinn Fein	32	14	46	2	48	9	57	5	62		62	9	71		71	Elected (8)
Catherine Mc Donnell, Sinn Fein	39	14	53	3	56	5	61	4	65	3	68	14	82	-12	70	Elected (7)
Sean O' Farrell, Sinn Fein	43	27	70		70		70		70		70		70		70	Elected (5)
William O' Neill, Sinn Fein	15	20	35		35	3	38	4	42		42	-42				
William Purcell, Labour	248	-178	70		70		70		70		70		70		70	Elected (1)
Fredrick J. Williams, Nationalist	50	17	67	9	76		76		76	-6	70		70		70	Elected (6)
Non-Transferrable												7	7	2	9	
Total	698		698		698		698		698		698		698		698	

Records of the North Area

Carlow Urban Election
South Area 15th January 1920

Voters Registered: 684 Valid Votes Recorded: 481
No. To Be Elected: 6 Quota: 69

CANDIDATES	1 st count	2 nd Count		3 rd Count		4 th Count		5 th Count		6 th Count		7 th Count		8 th count		
	Votes	Transfer Comerford's surplus	Transfer B. Clayton surplus	Transfer Leonard's surplus	Elimination Jackson's votes	Elimination Dunphy's votes	Elimination Molloy's votes	Elimination Murphy's votes								
R. Browne Clayton, Unionist	119		119	-50	69		69		69		69		69		69	Elected (2)
Patrick Comerford, Labour	151	-82	69		69		69		69		69		69		69	Elected (1)
James J. Cuddy, Sinn Fein	28	19	47	4	51	1	52	1	53	7	60		60	10	70	Elected (4)
James J. Dunphy, Sinn Fein	11	4	15	1	16	1	17	1	18	-18						
William J. Jackson, Tenants	6	5	11	3	14	1	15	-15								
Walter Kehoe, Nationalist	24	7	31	11	42		42	4	46	2	48	5	53	7	60	
Thomas Kirwan, Sinn Fein	25	15	40	1	41	6	47	2	49	6	55	3	58	10	68	Elected (5)
James Leonard, Sinn Fein	60	19	79		79	-10	69		69		69		69		69	Elected (3)
Michael Molloy, Nationalist	13	2	15	4	19		19	2	21	1	22	-22				
John Murphy, Nationalist	22	7	29	4	33		33	3	36		36	8	44	-44		
Fredrick J. Thompson, Indept.	22	4	26	22	48	1	49	2	51		51	4	55	11	66	Elected (6)
Non-Transferrable										2	2	2	4	6	10	
Total	481		481		481		481		481		481		481		481	

Records of the South Area

Carlow Urban Election
Graiguecullen Area 15th January 1920

Voters Registered: 402 Valid Votes Recorded: 334
No. To Be Elected: 3 Quota: 84

CANDIDATES	1 st count	2 nd Count		
	Votes	Transfer Governey's surplus		
John Byrne, Sinn Fein	67	29	96	Elected (2)
Michael Governey, Nationalist	146	-62	84	Elected (1)
Thomas Little, Labour	35	20	55	
Denis Mullane, Nationalist	7	7	14	
Ebenezer Shackleton, Unionist	79	6	85	Elected (3)
Non-Transferrable				
Total	334		334	

Records of the Graiguecullen Area

Dunleckney

Post -

Bagenals

1802-2015



Myles Kavanagh

Dunleckney Manor as featured in Helen and Derek Sheane's Christmas Card

Introduction

Beauchamp Bagenal of Dunleckney Manor died on the 1st of January 1802. He was buried in Dunleckney cemetery next to his favourite grandchild Catherine Newton, daughter of Sarah and Philip Newton, who died at 14 years of age in 1800.

Sarah Westropp (1770 – 1832) daughter of Beauchamp Bagenal married Colonel Philip Newton. Walter Bagenal, son of Beauchamp, had no male heir and in his will Beauchamp Bagenal left his estate to Sarah.

Newton

Sarah & Philip's son Walter Newton married Anne Jocelyn, daughter of the Hon. George Jocelyn, on the 22nd of March 1817. They had 2 children Thomasine Jocelyn Newton and Philip Jocelyn Newton. Walter inherited Dunleckney and plans for the present Tudor – Gothic Mansion were drawn up by Daniel Robertson (1770-1849). Walter died on 28th of August 1853 and his son Philip Jocelyn Newton (1818-1895) succeeded him and completed the building of Dunleckney Manor. Sarah and Philip's son Philip Newton (1796 – 1856) changed his name to Philip Bagenal by Royal Licence and this was done in accordance with the express wishes of his

mother and his grandfather from whom he thereby inherited the family estates. He lived at the Newton seat in Bennekerry. During the Bagenal period in Dunleckney some tenants lived in houses and mud cabins in close vicinity of the Manor and this was acceptable to the Bagenal family but the Newtons did not favour this and gradually tenant residents that lived close to the Manor were located elsewhere on the estate. Daniel Bryan

great grandfather of Richard Sheehan lived at Amore (Dunleckney field name) and he and his family were located to a house on the opposite side of the road to the entrance of Rathwade House which belonged to the Newton family.

Anne Henrietta Newton daughter of Philip Jocelyn Newton married William Muschamp Vesey of Abbeyleix on the 17th of October 1871.



Philip Jocelyn Newton seated on the steps and his 2nd wife Emily standing, the three older children, Adeline, Maria, Anne, from his first marriage and the 2 younger children, Harriett and Emily of Philip and Emily. Children's governess seated

In 1895 Philip Jocelyn Newton died. He had 5 daughters from his 2 marriages and he was succeeded by his eldest surviving daughter from his first marriage, Mrs. Anne Henrietta Vesey.

Vesey

William Muschamp Vesey was born to the Hon. Rev. Arthur Vesey Rector of Abbeyleix Co. Laois and Sydney Johnstone on the 23rd of June 1827. William held the office of Justice of the Peace in Co. Carlow and at first lived at Borris and then at Upton House Fenagh. William and Anne lived at Ballyellen and Upton House before moving to Dunleckney Manor. They at first had twins who died at birth and later had two sons Sydney Philip Charles Vesey born the 9th of March 1873 and Charles Vesey born the 10th of November, 1874 at Ballyellen House.

the second Bore War in South Africa. He was awarded the C.B.E. i.e. Commander of Order of the British Empire in 1918. Sydney Philip Charles Vesey married Blanche Edith Power of Tramore House Co. Waterford in 1902 and they lived at Dunleckney Manor. She was the granddaughter of Mr. Henry Denny who began the Denny bacon business. Blanche Vesey had a cousin who was Catherine Power, (Sister Alphonsus), a nun in the Presentation Order. She was Mother Superior of the convent in Bagenalstown at one stage of her life. Blanche Vesey would visit her cousin in the convent and towards the end of the visit all the nuns in the community would join them. Sydney inherited Dunleckney after his mother died in 1927 and he died the 28th of October 1932 aged 59 years. His wife Blanche Edith Vesey died on the 10th of January 1955 aged 82 years and both are

Tomduff and Rathanna along with local residents which included Michael Shiels of the Market Square Bagenalstown. The O Toole family from Tomduff rented the field known as the High Field. The present Pairc Mhuire housing estate in Bagenalstown is located in Casey's and Donald's fields. Each field in Dunleckney became known by the name of the person who had it rented. During this time also Richard Sheehan's father Robert worked at Dunleckney as herdsman caring for the sheep and animals in all the fields, along with the maintenance and upkeep of all the fields, fences and ditches. He would round up the sheep with his collie sheep dog and lambs that were motherless or delicate were nursed at his house, as pet lambs, until they were strong enough to return to the fields. He had started at 12 years of age in Dunleckney Manor as Pantry Boy, later he moved to Marlfield, Clonmel as Footman, and he then moved to Kilkea Castle as Footman and once more returned to Dunleckney as Gardener and finally worked as Herdsman in Dunleckney.



Dr Hope Trant home on leave during WWI, visiting her aunt, Mrs Anne Vesey, on the 3 wheeled Dunleckney Parcel Bicycle with her friend, Ms Tiffeney from South Africa on the basket, in the stable yard in Dunleckney.

William Vesey died on the 24th of September 1880 aged 53 years at Aix-La-Chapelle, France and was buried there. His wife Anne Henrietta Vesey aged 80 years died the 26th of February 1927 and she is buried in Dunleckney with her mother, Henrietta Maria Newton who died at Dunleckney on the 14th of December 1849.

Sydney Vesey attended Rugby School, Warwickshire, England and Christ Church University Oxford where he graduated with a B.A and M.A. degree. He gained the rank of Captain in the Kings Royal Rifle Corps and served in

buried in Dunleckney.

Charles Vesey lived in South Africa and died there on the 1st of November 1911 from Blackwater Fever and was buried in Johannesburg.

During Sydney's time in Dunleckney he discontinued the farming business and leased out the fields on an annual basis for eleven months of each year. The 12th month (February) was left vacant so to allow growth before the next renting auction in March. The majority of people that rented land at this time were sheep farmers from around the foot of Mount Leinster which included Coolasnaghta,

During the Vesey period in Dunleckney and up to the death of Captain Vesey in 1932 the tenant children arrived at the kitchen Manor door on a fixed date at Christmas time and from there they were escorted into the Servants Hall, the room where the servants sat, had their meals and relaxed. The children sat at the long table on which lay cakes, buns, jelly, custard and other goodies. Afterwards they were taken into the billiard room where they all sat on cushions on the floor. There was a Christmas tree in the room and Mr. and Mrs. Vesey sat at each side of the fireplace. The older children then individually entertained Mr and Mrs Vesey with a song, a recitation or some Irish dancing.

When the entertainment concluded each child received a present from Mr. and Mrs. Vesey. The presents had been bought by Mrs. Vesey and each was wrapped up in paper with the child's name written on it. After the presentation of presents the children departed for home. Richard Sheehan was present only once and that was in 1931 when he was five years of age. He received a toy bugle as his present that day at the Christmas party in Dunleckney.

DUNLECKNEY POST-BAGENAL 1802-2015

Richard recalls clearly seeing Mrs Blanch Vesey's big shining Armstrong Siddeley black and blue car with gold lining around it and chrome headlamps. She sat up in it like a queen, he said and during cold days would place her feet in a foot muff and wrap a rug around her body. Bill Foster her chauffeur who hailed from Abbeyleix would pick her up at the front door of the Manor and take her to that day's destination and at Christmas time that would be to Dublin's Grafton Street where she would buy the Christmas presents. At Christmas each year Mrs. Anne Vesey visited the District Hospital in Bagenalstown and presented the female patients with toiletries and the male patients with tobacco and cigarettes. This custom was continued by Mrs. Blanche Vesey. Tenant houses received a half hundredweight of coal each Christmas.

Following the death of her husband, Sydney Philip Charles, Mrs. Blanche Edith Vesey sold the Dunleckney estate to Thomas Donnelly, spirit merchant and wine importer from Co. Antrim, in 1942, ending the last Bagenal-Newton connection with Dunleckney.

Donnelly

Margaret Donnelly (nee Nugent) about to depart for the races, captured in a quick sketch in Dunleckney, by visiting artist, Gaetano de Gennaro.

Thomas Donnelly and his wife Margaret modernized Dunleckney Manor and put

in a terrazzo floor in the entrance hall. All the Vesey staff had gone to Dublin and so the Donnelly family employed local staff for the house and the estate in general. Richard Sheehan, Jim Monaghan, Pat Curran and Paddy Finn to name but a few



Catherine Donnelly's birthday party at Dunleckney. Tom Donnelly seated on deck chair and nannie Sheehan by the seesaw.

of the young boys. At one stage during the stay of the Donnelly family in Dunleckney they employed over 30 workers there in various positions i.e. house staff, garden staff, farm staff, stables and horses staff. The garden featured prominently with all kinds of produce been grown and transported to the Dublin market as well as milk and butter. Flowers were grown and were available for purchase at Dunleckney. One day of each week Richard Sheehan, the then house and garden boy, delivered to Mrs Donnelly a fresh lot of flowers from the garden, which were placed on display in each room of the house and this added to the ambience. Hunting and horse racing also played a prominent part in the life style at this time. The Donnelly family were competent horse riders and bred well known thoroughbreds of the time which included Pink Larkspur and Drawbridge. Thomas Donnelly at one time brought over from America the famous jockey, Johnny Longden (1907-2003) to ride one of the family horses in a race.

The Italian artist Gaetano de Gennaro (1890-1959) worked in Ireland from 1940 to circa 1946 and prior to his departure for Sao Paulo, Brazil where he became professor of painting, he stayed at Dunleckney Manor with the Donnelly family. During his stay in Dunleckney he painted portraits of each member of the family. He painted one large rectangular portrait of Margaret Donnelly holding a

large Venetian hand mirror in her hand, which later was hung from the wooden panel on the halfway landing of the stairs from the inner hall and it was visible to all that entered the house. After the Donnelly family moved from Dunleck-

ney to Glenageary the painting of Margaret was so large that it was put in to storage and was mislaid. Gaetano enjoyed walking around the Dunleckney estate and the general area of Bagenalstown especially along the banks of the River Barrow. The background portrait of each member of the Donnelly family featured picturesque scenes of the local countryside. The style and fashion of Margaret Donnelly at Sunday Mass in Bagenalstown caught the attention of many.

Thomas and Margaret had 6 children, Peggy, Anne, Geraldine, Jimmy, John and Catherine. Jimmy now manages the family wine importing business and spirit business in Belfast while John is based in Dublin involved in the same business along with additional businesses. Peggy met a young Argentinian who was doing a post graduate course in Trinity College Dublin. They got married and settled in Argentina and he was one of officers in the Argentinian army who occupied the Falkland Islands in the recent conflict there in 1982. Geraldine carved out a career in the horse industry business and moved to America. Anne Donnelly became an Artist. She studied first at the College of Art in Dublin in 1953 and a year later at the Escuela de Bellas Artes in Madrid. She then went to study at the Ecole Julienne in Paris in 1956 where she met her husband Carlo Mazzantini a renowned Italian writer. Ann lived and



Jimmy Donnelly on horseback in the stable yard at Dunleckney



Geraldine competing at the R.D.S. in Dublin

worked in many parts of the world; France in 1956, Morocco 1958-61, returned to Ireland 1961-63 and from 1963-66 she Carlo and their family took up residence in Tuscany and from there they moved to Tivoli. Today she lives and works close to the ruins of the Emperor Hadrian's Villa. She has had exhibitions in Dublin, London, New York and Rome. Her works can be found in Collections in Ireland, Italy, France and the USA.

The following extract is taken from the Irish Times in October 2014 - "Obituary - Catherine Sheerin-Donnelly; April 29th 1948 - October 8th 2014. Writer, arts champion and captivating queen of Irish Advertising. Catherine Sheerin - Donnelly who has died aged 66 after a short illness, was widely regarded as one of the finest advertising copywriters of her generation. Her campaigns for Ballygowan, the IDA and Barry's Tea are among the most iconic Irish advertising

of the 20th century. Catherine Donnelly was the youngest child of Thomas and Margaret Donnelly. She spent her childhood in the grand 17th-century Dunleckney Manor stud farm in Co. Carlow, where she developed a lifelong fondness for horses."

Keenan

In 1958 Thomas Donnelly put Dunleckney up for sale and many potential buyers from Ireland and abroad came to view it and there were reports of dissatisfaction as some people wanted the land divided and that delayed the sale but eventually Thomas Donnelly sold the Dunleckney estate to the Keenan Brothers (Richard, Patrick & John) of Bagenalstown. The Keenan Brothers had a business in Bagenalstown and then went into farming in Dunleckney which included sheep farming. John Keenan and his wife Sheila moved in to Dunleckney Manor

and lived there until they built their own house not far from the Manor. They then left and lived in their new house. During the ownership period of the Keenan brothers the Manor also was unoccupied for a time and for a time was also let out in apartments. When the Keenan business firm in Bagenalstown was dissolved, the estate was divided up among the family with the Dunleckney Manor section passing to the Hughes family. Jim Hughes built a house for his family in a field on the farm, a short distance up from the entrance to the Manor House. Jim's wife continues to live in the house while her son and family live in what was once the Gardener's house and at another time the Steward's house. The house has since been redecorated and extended.

Colloton

In 1980 Mayler and Loretto Colloton from Wexford bought Dunleckney Manor. They carried out some restoration work on it and operated it as a Bed and Breakfast business.

Sheane

In 1988 Helen Sheane Wall Coverings Ltd. of London bought Dunleckney Manor for a reported £425,000.00 from the Colloton family, who returned to Wexford and now operate a Bed and Breakfast business at Healthfield Manor, Killurin, Co. Wexford. Michael Hopkins of Bagenalstown was appointed caretaker of Dunleckney Manor by the proprietors Helen and Derek Sheane.

Jimmy Hickey and Christy Lawler of Bagenalstown were employed in 1990 by Derek and Helen Sheane to work at the restoration of the house from roof to walls, windows and floor. Richard Sheehan of Dunleckney who had started work in the garden at Dunleckney Manor as a young boy and had later emigrated to England first and then America had returned home, was approached by Michael Hopkins to work on the restoration of garden and grounds and eventually was persuaded by Michael to take on the work. Tommy McAssey was the general workman at Dunleckney at this period of time. Jimmy and Christy stripped the roof of the house of all the slates and among them found a slate lined

DUNLECKNEY POST-BAGENAL 1802-2015



Threshing Day at Dunleckney -1947

*L-R Top of rick of straw: Pat Curran, Percy Rogers, Jim Armstrong.
Lower straw: Jack Sheehan, John Darcy, Bob Sheehan (hand on head),
Lar Fleming (hat on & facing mill),*



On the farm at Dunleckney-

L-R Robert Sheehan, Tom Sheehan, Jack Sheehan, William Dreeland (Ballycinnigan) and Joe Nolan (Acha).



*The pleasure gardens at Dunleckney and Bridie Doyle,
the parlour maid circa 1950s*

with names and boxes that showed all the workdays of March 1845 ticked off, which indicated that all those days had been worked at the time of the construction of the building and the roofing. The non-workdays had been left blank. The names on the slates were of men from Wales. On the visit to the house by a Welsh couple some years afterwards, Richard Sheehan showed the slate to them and queried the meaning of a Welsh word after one of the names as to what it meant, the lady pointed out to him that it was the name of a village and as two men had the same name on the slate, it distinguished one from the other.

Jimmy Hickey sourced good quality second hand Bangor (Wales) blue slates that had been discarded from houses and the roof of the Manor was re-slatted with these slates and thus restored to its original state. Cotton material to cover the walls rather than wallpaper was installed on the walls and this is the same method used in French historical houses. Behind the wall covering of one wall in the house was placed a white board which contained the names of the workers. The outdoor swimming pool was restored, walled, roofed and connected to the Manor building with an indoor access. Jimmy Hickey and Christy Lawler worked from January 1990 to June 2007 on the restoration of Dunleckney Manor as did Richard Sheehan on the garden and grounds.

The considerable works to the Manor House, the garden, parkland and the superb lime tree avenue complement the entire estate and landscape, giving us a true picture of its former glory.

The owners and the workers have done a memorable and praiseworthy job.

Notes

1) Some field names of Dunleckney:- Amore, Aughney Augh, Casey's (Pairc Mhuire), Church Meadow, Crab Bush, Cricket, Donald's (Pairc Mhuire), Doran's (McGrath Park), Fourteen Acres, High Field (O'Tooles), Lower Well Field, Mill Field, Orchard Field, Pavilion, Pig Paddock, Pump Field, Railway Field, Square Field, Upper Well Field.

2) The Italian artist Gaetano De Genaro



Luxurious and imposing , an Armstrong - Siddeley

worked in Ireland from 1940 to c.1946. He exhibited regularly at the RHA from 1942. Predominantly a portrait painter, he painted many prominent figures in Dublin Society such as Dr Douglas Hyde (first President of Ireland 1938-45), Jerome Connor (Irish sculptor 1874-1943), Jack Yates (Irish Artist & Olympic Medalist 1871-1957), and actor Rita Mooney.

Some paintings of De Genaro may be viewed at public collections in:

- a) Crawford Municipal Gallery, Cork
- b) Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin
- c) National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

Sources

Richard Sheehan, Dunleckney, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.



Carlow Historical and Archaeological Society outing to Hillsborough

COUNTY STATISTICS

2002

Compiled by John Dowling and Martin Nevin

Source: *Encyclopaedia of Ireland - 2003*

County	County Town	Area		Population	Place Size	MOTOR CAR NUMBER PLATES OF OLD (PRE-1987)
		km ²	Sq. Mls			
Antrim	Belfast	2,838	(1,092)	642,000	9	Co: DZ, IA, KZ, RZ; Belfast AZ, CZ, EZ, FZ, GZ, MZ, OI, OZ, PZ, TZ, UZ, WZ, XI
Armagh	Armagh	1,254	(483)	119,000	28	IB, LZ, XZ
Carlow	Carlow	896	(347)	45,845	31	IC
Cavan	Cavan	1,890	(730)	56,416	19	ID
Clare	Ennis	3,188	(1,231)	103,333	8	IE
Cork	Cork	7,459	(2,880)	448,181	1	IF, PI, ZB, ZF, ZT, ZK
Derry	Derry	2,108	(799)	187,000	15	City: UI; County: YZ, IW, NZ
Donegal	Lifford	4,830	(1,864)	137,383	4	IH, ZP
Down	Downpatrick	2,466	(953)	63,828	11	BZ, IJ, JZ, SZ
Dublin	Dublin	922	(355)	1,122,600	30	IK, RI, SI, YI, Z, ZA, ZC, ZD, ZE, ZG, ZH, ZJ, ZL, ZO, ZS, ZU, ZV, ZZ
Fermanagh	Enniskillen	1,852	(648)	52,000	20	IG, IL
Galway	Galway	5,939	(2,293)	208,826	2	IM, ZM
Kerry	Tralee	4,701	(1,814)	132,424	5	IN, ZX
Kildare	Naas	1,694	(652)	163,995	25	IO, ZW
Kilkenny	Kilkenny	2,062	(795)	80,421	16	IP
Laois	Portlaoise	1,719	(664)	58,732	24	CI
Leitrim	Carrig-an-Shannon	1,525	(591)	25,815	26	IT
Limerick	Limerick	2,686	(1,038)	175,529	10	IU, IV, TI
Longford	Longford	1,034	(401)	31,127	29	IX
Louth	Dundalk	821	(317)	101,802	32	IY, ZY
Mayo	Castlebar	5,398	(2,084)	117,428	3	IS, IZ
Meath	Navan	2,338	(903)	133,936	14	AI, ZN
Monaghan	Monaghan	1,291	(498)	52,772	27	BI
Offaly	Tullamore	2,000	(772)	63,702	18	IR
Roscommon	Roscommon	2,463	(950)	53,803	12	DI
Sligo	Sligo	1,795	(695)	58,178	22	EI
Tipperary	Nenagh/Clonmel	4,255	(1,644)	140,281	6	FI (North) GI, HI, (South)
Tyrone	Omagh	3,263	(1,220)	144,000	7	HZ, JI, VZ
Waterford	Dungarvan	1,838	(710)	101,518	21	KI, WI
Westmeath	Mullingar	1,764	(679)	72,027	23	LI
Wexford	Wexford	2,352	(907)	116,543	13	MI, ZR
Wicklow	Arklow	2,025	(784)	114,719	17	NI

A Carlow Folly

J. M. Feeley
E. A. Moore

19th c. Most likely builder was;

1 Edward August Stratford who is said *had a strong interest in architecture and urban development which manifested itself not only in follies and obelisks...* Mr Stratford married into the O'Neill family, the landowners of the time.

Historian, Paul Gorry; thinks the structure served as an ice house for Mountneill House. Ice houses were a feature of most big houses up to the invention of freezers. The ice was harvested in winter

In the townland of Mountneill is an earthen mound adjacent to the River Slaney. It is recorded as a 'moatabower' on an early ordnance map, but is not recorded in the Archaeological Inventory of Co Carlow (OPW). From the nearby road the observer sees a large grass grown mound encircled by several mature larch trees. (see Fig 1).

However, when viewed from across the river one is surprised to see a romanesque entrance leading to a building within. (see Fig 2). Projecting from the entrance portal are the remains of a semicircular brickwork canopy. The left quadrant has since collapsed and lies on the grass nearby. The doorway and windows are of chiselled granite. Strangely there is no evidence for door hangings.

The building within is circular: 4.77M (15'-6") diameter and topped by a brickwork dome 3.7M (12'-0"), above a stone flagged floor. On each side of the doorway are large niches in the wall of unknown purpose. The smaller niche is now used as a den by badgers who have spread loose clay nearby. The floor is also littered with animal bones and several sheeps' skulls. The building is dry and cool within.

The whole scene reminds one of an Indiana Jones movie, without the snakes or giant spiders etc!

So what is the building for? Who built it and when?

The authors' view is that it is a folly and was once attached to a big house nearby, probably Mountneill House. Folly building was in fashion during the 18th c in Ireland. Our best date estimate for its construction is the 18th c or very early



A CARLOW FOLLY

from the river nearby and stored therein. Normally ice houses are of simple shape and mostly underground. This particular example is very elaborate for the purpose. It quite resembles in particular the Fox's **Earth** and the *Feuillé* at **Larchhill Arcadian Gardens in Co Kildare**. We agree that the structure served Mountneill House but is rather distant from the house, (which burned down in 1806 and shown on early ordnance map as 'in ruins'). *Our view is that an earlier big house was once located in the same field as the mound itself.*

Neighbouring counties; Kildare, Wicklow and Dublin have many well known follies. Is this the only example for Co Carlow?

Further Reading;

- 1 Alborough House Dublin; a construction history by Aidan O'Boyle Irish Architectural and decorative Studies. Vol IV, 2001
- 2 Wikipedia; Ice House (building).
3. Storage, Preservation & Icehouses (Laois Education Centre).

4. Technology & the Big House in Ireland c1800-1930. Charles John Thomas Carson.

5. Moatabower. Short (Mp4) Movie. <http://glasnost.itcarlow.ie/~feeleyjm/archaeology/moatabower.mp4>

Sincere thanks to historians; Paul Gorry & Richard.Lennon

Surveyed by; Eamonn Moore, John Kinsella, & Gabriel Healy.



A forgotten
Carlow landmark,
the Sugar
Factory Chimney.

Courtesy: Michael Keenan

Memories of Life on the Barrow / Grand Canal

Mary Hoare

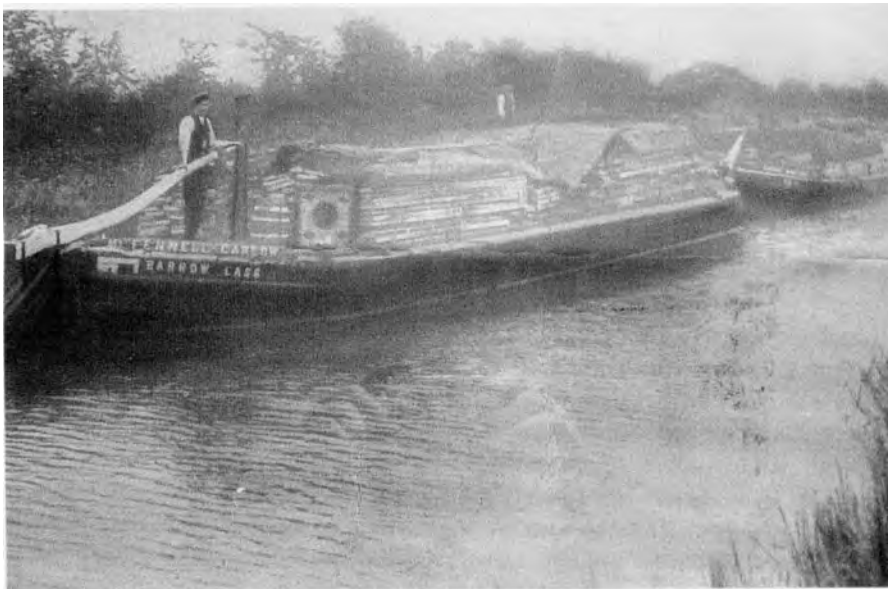
Just a small bit of history to set the scene. In 1772 the Grand Canal Company was to build the Grand Canal of Ireland, after a lot of problems it reached Lowtown, in Co Kildare. This being junction for the Shannon and Barrow lines, as there was trading being carried out on the Barrow by small boats already it was decided to build to the Barrow as this would show a profit quicker. In 1791 the Canal reached Athy, and at the Lock below entered the River Barrow. Boats could then carry all manner of cargo between Dublin and

Waterford, the Boats were drawn at first by Horses walking along the Tow Path.

In places along the River where the water was not deep enough for Boats to travel, short Canals were dug, you will see them usually going to Locks along the system. The Locks are built to cope with rising or falling ground, on the Barrow all Locks are lower as you go towards St. Mullins, from there on to New Ross and Waterford the river is tidal. So Boats have to go out with the Falling Tide and come



Tommy and Jack Anderson coming down the canal on the 73M



This Boat a Horse Boat was owned by Martin Fennell, who was a native of Carlow and has many relatives still living in Carlow, as you can see she has a big load of timber on board. This Boat was called a Long Tailed Barrow Boat, the Tiller which Martin is holding, as is the Rudder are made of wood and are used to guide the boat as the Horse pulls it.

back with the rising tide. The Scenery as you go down the Barrow is Beautiful, a little piece of Heaven

The Stables were on the area which is now the Town Park, Michael Mealia was in charge of the them and his son was assistant stable man and another son was store man in 1901. The Melia family lived in Bachelors Walk, close to the stables in Graigue. (The name Graiguecullen was much later)

The Boatmen of that era, and there was a lot of them in this Parish then, were Dennis Fitzpatrick, Daniel Butler, Patrick Hogan, Terence Hoare, James Neill, John Hennessy, Michael Hennessy, Martin Fennell, Edward Haughney, Michael Haughney, Thomas Hoare, James



View from the Canal Store in 1908. Note the horse drawn barges, stabel on the far side (now the Town Park) and the Church steeple on the Athy Road which was removed stone by stone and reerected in Graiguecullen.

Dobbys, Patrick Farrell, John Farrell, John Meaney, James Byrne, Michael Callinan, John Keating, Dennis Haughney, Thomas Begley, John Farrell, Thomas Moore, Patrick Haughney, Francis Tobin, William Hoare, Patrick Hoare, John Fennell. Some of the Boat owners from this area I remember from later times than the above

The boatmen of that era, and there was a lot of them in this parish then, were Denis Fitzpatrick, Daniel Butler, Patrick Hohan, Terence Hoare, James Neill, John Hennessy, Martin Fennell, Edward Haughney, Michael Haughney, Thomas Hoare, James Dobbys, Patrick Farrell, John Farrell, John Meaney, James Byrne, Michael Callinan, John Keating, Denis Haughney, Thomas Begley, John Farrell, Thomas Moore, Patrick Haughney, Francis Tobin, William Hoare. Patrick Hoare, John Fennell, Some of the boat owners from this area I remember from later times than the above list are Jack, Eddie and Thomas Moore, They had 54B (the letter B after the after the number on the boat means she was privately owned and paid tolls to the Grand Canal Company, they were also known as Hack Boats) Bill O'Neill had 120 B, Mick Fennell 107 B. They are just some in remember there were also a lot of people who would have worked drawing sugar beet to the factory. Several Boatmen from other areas found wives in Graiguecullen, Tom Bolger from Graignamanagh married Katie O'Brien.

Matt Duggan from Allenwood, Co. Kildare, married Clare Walsh from Sleaty Road, their oldest son Pete, whom a lot of people would know from Knockbeg, boated with his Dad for a short time.,

Tommie Anderson also from Allenwood also married down here, and his son Jack boated for a while before going to America, where he joined the Army and become a Paratrooper, Jack saw service in all the hot spots of the world, that America was involved in his time. All of



34B in Sallins Co. Kildare on her way back to base after delivering a load to Dublin

those people still have family here in Graiguecullen

The letter after the number on the Boats are M meaning the Boat has an engine as opposed to Horse drawn Boats, "M" for Motor. 'B' is Bye trader or Hack boat privately or owned by a company and paying a toll to the Grand Canal Company. 'E' engineering boat doing repairs to Locks, River Banks, Weirs along the navigation system.

My own family were Boatmen for five or more generations, my great, great Grandfather George Hoare his son William was my great Grandfather, his son again my Grandfather Patrick my Father Michael and all of their brothers and nephews and cousins, so now you know where my interest in boats comes from. I was also born and reared at a Lock and remember a lot of Boats and Boatmen. They were and still the salt of the Earth, Gentlemen all

Next time you visit the Town Park go to the Foot Bridge on the Park side of the River, you will see just beside the bridge an inlet with stone walls coming in from the Barrow, this is the Dry-Dock where Boats were brought in to be repaired, it would have had Gates like the Lock Gates, with racks to let water in or out. Boats needing repairs were sailed in the



John Hoare, my uncle and his son, Pat

water let out, the boat was sitting on blocks, ready to be repaired. I know of at least one Boat 11B which was built there. Tom Moore sen. brought a Shipwright from Wexford to build her. She was later exchanged with the Barrow Mill Company for 348.

Jack Moore is sitting to the front of her. This was his Fathers Boat then passed to Mary Moore nee Hoare on the death of her husband, and later to Jack. If you

look at the writing at the back of the boat you will see M MOORE and a Shamrock. Jack and his brothers Eddie and Tommie worked this Boat together for years, and Jack kept her tied up in the Barrow for a long time and went over to her every day and sat on her before he finally parted with her.

The Boat on the opposite page belonged to Mick Fennell of Sleaty Road, as you can see the Mill had been closed and was



First boat load of wheat delivered to the reopened Barrow Milling Company in february 11935. Similar baots were operated by the Grand Canal Company until 1960. In the early part of the 20th century boats were converted from horse drawn to being powered by diesel engine.

Courtesy: Carlow County Museum. Donated by W. L. Duggan, ccm74-286.

just reopening; left to right (1) Tom King, Deckhand and Cook, he worked all his life with Mick Fennell's Father on the Barrow and Canal (2) unknown (3) Jack Flynn, Canal Agent (4) unknown (5) Frank Mealia, Store man in the Canal Stores (6) Tommie Anderson, Engineman (7) Mick Fennell, Skipper and Owner of 107B

The Boats carried all manner of Cargo, from wheat as seen here sugar beet to the Sugar Factory and the finished product from there all over the Country, Coal, Guinness to name but a few items. They were the heavy goods vehicles of their time, the hold of a Boat held 50 ton. (Not tonne) From stem to stern they measured 60feet, and 13feet across. There was a small cabin in the front about 12 feet by 12 feet with 3 beds that were tied up against the side during the day to leave a bench to sit on, not that the men had a lot of time for sitting around, and a stove in the stem for heating and cooking.

The old Canal Stores where the Boats loaded and unloaded is now the Boat Club and is a very attractive building; Jack Flynn was the last Canal Agent there. I believe he had a very grand title " Agent of the Grand Canal Company, Superintendent of the Barrow Navigation and Collector of Tolls"

Boats approaching the Canal Stores from Dublin always turned and berthed with their bows facing up the River. The prevailing flow of the River meant that the boats coming down the River would be travelling quite fast even on reduced engine power. As the boat drew level with the Canal Store the Skipper would put the tiller hard to the right. For many years the Barrow opposite the Canal was divided into 2 channels by a long island. Bystanders watching canal boats turning would gasp with shock as the blunt round prow of the boat struck the island causing the vessel to stop dead in its tracks and then the southerly flow of the river would catch the boat now immobile across the channel and the boat would swing right around to face up river, a quick juggling of the throttle control and the tiller again hard over and the canal boat glided over to tie up. Yes those boatmen were extremely skilled in control of those seemingly awkward and hard to manage canal boats.



Bill Dobson, Storeman Daigean, Co. Offaly; Matt Duggan, Mickie Connolly, Graiguenamanagh and Tommy Anderson

This is the wheel of the tug Paddy McGrath was not a member of that crew but I think the photo is worth seeing; the crew of her were Mickie Connolly. Skipper, Matt Duggan. Engine man and Tim Connolly, Deck man, I also remember Paddy Connell as a member of that crew earlier.

Next to the Lock Keepers; The locks nearest to Carlow are at Bestfield, on the census of 1901 the Lock Keeper was William Hickson, a later lock keeper was named Barron, at Carlow the lock keeper was Michael Webster in fact 2 or 3 generations of Websters minded that

lock, must people will recognise Miki's photo above. In fact there were 3 locks looked after by Webster families at Ardreich near Athy and at St. Mullins Co. Carlow. At Clogrennan the Lock keeper was John Lanigan, the lock keepers were responsible for looking after the River banks and drains in their area as well as the locks.

A Boat that must be remembered is 6 M the Barrow Tug she was the boat that was used to bring the other boats up the Barrow in the high water. Here is a photo of boats, fully loaded being pulled against the floods, 5 or 6 boats roped

together behind the tug. There are 4 locks between Carlow and the Barrow lock in Athy, at each lock the tug would come up to the lockpull over untie the boat behind go through the lock, pull in put the next boat through the lock and continue this until all the boats were through, as only 1 boat would fit in the lock at a time this had to be done at each lock. When they got through the Barrow Lock they were on the Canal and tug would go back to Carlow and do the same again until the floods subsided. The tug had a very strong engine.



Paddy McGrath



The old canal stores in 1940s
Paddy Gill



The Tug boat at work

Robert Hartpole

Constable of Carlow

Life and afterlife: a 500 year saga

John Kelly

Introduction

The Tudor period is the point in time where sufficient records survive to provide a coherent narrative of the pivotal place of Carlow in the struggle for control of Ireland between the Gaelic Irish, the Old English and the New English planters. In this context Robert Hartpole is a key figure and he has left significant evidence of his life in archives, physical artefacts and social memory. His life provides a unique insight into the rise in social status and rank of a colonial soldier/settler and the establishment of an interesting and often eccentric Anglo Irish dynasty.

Robert Hartpole's¹ service in various State posts held in County Carlow established his reputation and saw him gain honours and rewards which enabled him to become a major landowner and political figure in both Carlow and Laois². He continued his association with Carlow to the end of his life when he was buried in the Parish Church of St Mary's in October 1594.

This period saw Gaelic Irish clans engaged in a terminal struggle for cultural and political survival. The Irish position was weakened by territorial and clan rivalry with the result that no real unity existed on the Irish side. Loyalties often changed and *'in those disturbed times, the Irish chiefs opposed to each other often took different sides, according as interest or passion dictated'*.³

To quell the ongoing unrest a policy of 'Surrender and Regrant' meant to assimilate the Gaelic Irish by establishing their leaders as an English style gentry was introduced. When this policy failed the concept of plantation took shape. This aimed at introducing English language, law and culture through the 'planting' of English settlers on Gaelic Irish lands. A similar policy had previously been proposed in February 1537 when Lord Deputy Grey and the Privy Council of Ireland suggested to Henry VIII that substantial farmers should be encouraged to 'inhabite the countrie' and describes *'the bridge of Leghlen' as 'a good place to buylde a towne, there is a house of Friars there which will helpe well to that purpose. Lett another party of them be assigned to Carlaugh being walled already, another company to Castledermot which is alsoo walled already'*.⁴ In 1556 the Tudor Administration acted decisively to subdue the rebellious Gaelic Irish to the west of Carlow and the Plantation of Laois and Offaly was established *'whereby the King and Queen's Majesties, and the Heires and Successors of the Queen, be entituled to the Counties of Leix, Slewmerge, Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaily, and for making the same Countries Shire Grounds.'*⁵ The ensuing opposition to this strategy ensured that Carlow town remained on the front line and constantly under threat of attack from both its eastern and western flanks. Bunbury writes that at this time the *'English "Counties" were plunged in a state of perpetual war with native tribesmen employing the time honored guerilla tac-*

tics to systematically eliminate the hard-nosed English soldiers posted to defend the planter families'.⁶ One of these hard-nosed Englishmen was a young man from Canterbury in the County of Kent and his name comes down through history as Robert Hartpole.

Origins

Writing in his memoirs, Sir Henry Sidney praises the *'service of a faithful countryman of mine, a Kentishman, I mean Robert Harpool, an inveterate soldier of that country'*.⁷ The Hartpole family pedigree⁸ begins seven generations before Robert with William Hartelepole, who on 10th October 1330 is mentioned in a Charter of King Edward III. The pedigree describes the *'Harpoles of England'* as of *'very worthy and of long continuance'*. *His father John is recorded in the family pedigree as having 'lived in the city of Canterbury'*. The records of the Irish branch of the family were maintained and it is possible to trace the male line from William Hartelepole to the unfortunate George Hartpole of Shrule, who died after a sad and unlucky life in 1795, a period of over 450 years.

In his memoir *'Personal Sketches of His Own Times'*, Sir Jonah Barrington describes the character of the Hartpoles as *'the hardest livers in the county'*.⁹ He makes reference to the legendary family curse (or 'doom') which was supposed to haunt the family and he claims that the *'fathers seldom survive the attainment of the age of twenty three years by their*

ROBERT HARTPOLE CONSTABLE OF CARLOW

elder sons, which circumstances gave rise to numerous traditionary tales of sprites and warnings'. Barrington attributes this a fondness for alcohol and states the Hartpoles 'will never be found a sturdy race'. In her book, *Ancient legends, mystic charms, and superstitions of Ireland*, Lady Wilde attributes the origin of this family curse to the execution of a priest named O'Moore by a Richard Hartpole.¹⁰ Before he was killed the priest is said to have let out three screams and laid down the curse that *'So shall you scream, and all your descendants in your last agony, as a sign of the doom upon your race. You have murdered my people, you are now going to take my life ; but I lay the curse of God on you and yours — your property shall pass away; your race shall perish off the earth ; and by the three death screeches all men shall know that you and your posterity are accursed.'* While this story is almost certainly apocryphal, it reflects a reputation for cruelty and severity which endured long after Hartpole's death in 1594 and was still strong enough to result in a severe attack of vandalism on his tomb when it was rediscovered in 1809.

Early Life

Using surviving information it is possible to make some reasonable deductions in relation to Hartpole's early life. The inscription on his tomb states that at his death in 1594 he was *'septagenario maor'*. This has been interpreted as meaning more than a septuagenarian (i.e. over 80).¹¹ This was a major achievement for a man whose role was central to the violent times he lived through and gives his year of birth as approximately 1514.

A reference in the State Papers for December 1567 to *'Robert Harpoole, a soldier for 18 years in Ireland'*¹² allows his arrival in Ireland to be dated to 1549 when he was about 35 years old. He was accompanied (or later joined) by two of his brothers; Walter and Thomas. Walter was appointed Dean of Leighlin in 1588 and died in 1596. *Thomas, described on his tomb as 'of Catherlagh' and 'an officer in the army'* died sometime after 1596. Both are buried in Ballyadams Church in Laois and their grave slab has the following inscription (parts of which are still readable) around its edge.

'HEARE LYETH VNDER THIS STONE, TOO BRETHEREN ALL IN ONE, BRITTIANES BORN, HARTPOOLES BY NACION, HEARE LIVING GOTT GREAT COMENDACION, VALIANT THOMAS WITH HIS SWORD, VIRTVOVS WALTER BY THE WRITTEN WORD'



Walter and Thomas Hartpole's Grave, Ballyadams, Co Laois

John Kelly, 2015

The first official mention of Hartpole in Ireland is on the 31st of December, 1556 when he is identified as a suitable settler for lands in Laois in the Act of Queen Mary. His reputation as a reliable soldier appears well established at this point and both he and Nicholas Malby are referred to *'Malbie and Harpoole, two gentlemen that can serve, and the one that had charge'*.¹³ At this time he was resident in Leighlin, where he held the post of Deputy Constable¹⁴ and is described as *'Robert Hartpole of Leighlin (County Carlow), gentleman and soldier'*.¹⁵ Lord Deputy Edward Bellingham had walled a suppressed monastery and established a fort at Leighlin in 1549 as part of his campaign against the O'Moores and O'Connors.¹⁶ If Hartpole was part of Bellingham's force this may account for Hartpole's early connection with Leighlin and his official duties there. He remained associated with that part of Carlow and in 1567 is listed in a pardon as *'Robert Hrpoole, of Ballibar'*.¹⁷

Ryan describes Hartpole as a *'strict, vigilant and active officer'* and that he was *'recommended to the Queen (Elizabeth) by the Lord Downy of the daye in very flattering terms, which probably procured him the honour of knighthood which he afterwards enjoyed'*.¹⁸ He is also referred to as Sir Robert Harpole by a number of other authors including Lodge,¹⁹ but none give any supporting detail. Hartpole is not referred anywhere

in the extant records of the period as 'Sir' and neither his effigy nor his Will make reference to such an honour and his supposed ennoblement may result from confusion with his grandson Sir Robert Hartpole. Hartpole had noble ancestry; the family pedigree records that his grandfather John was married to Joane Littlebery, a descendant of Sir Humphrey Littlebery of Lincolnshire. He was well respected and after his death the Lord Chancellor (recommending his son William for the post of Constable of Carlow) refers to *'his father's long and faithful service'*.²⁰ So while he had a prosperous career in the service of the State and died a wealthy man, it is likely that Hartpole still retained some of

the rough traits of a soldier and it may therefore have fallen to the second generation of the family in Ireland to attain the honour of Knighthood when his son, and successor as Constable, William was knighted on *'2 daye of October 1603'*²¹ by Sir George Carey, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

A man of property

The selection of Hartpole to participate in Queen Mary's plantation of Laois and Offaly marked the beginning of a relentless campaign of land acquisition in both Carlow and Laois which established Hartpole as major landowner in both counties and ensured that he became a rich and influential man.

In 1563 he was granted *'the lands of Ballyrahene, Rossenalgan, Garroughe, Dormoyle and Cappoyle, in the lordship of Slewmerge, Queen's co'*.²² As part of the conditions of the grant he was to maintain one English horseman. In the following year 1664, he received *'an old castle in Colvanacre, alias Coolbanahore, in the Queens County, and the lands of Colvanacre, Ballinabeg and Sheanbeg, containing 200 acres of the county measyre known as 'Irry acres;'* and also *Ballimolrone, together with a parcel of land there of called Ballinastraghe'*.²³ On this occasion, perhaps reflecting the size of the grant, he was required to maintain six English horse-

men in the service of the Crown 'and of their attending all hostings and risings out when summoned and of their giving a plough-day on their lands whensoever it should be required by the Constable of the Castle of Maryborough'.²⁴

In 1565 Hartpole expanded his interests to the Carlow side of the Barrow and on the 13th of October 1565 he and Henry Davells are recorded as having leased lands at 'Ballevare, Clonmolskye, Kirrikegroghan, Chapelstown and Powerstown, co Carlow, and the customs of the tenants, possessions of the late monastery of Baltinglass, co. Carlow'²⁵ for 21 years. In accordance with the policy of promoting English settlement they were instructed not to let land to any tenant who was not 'English by both parents'. They were also not permitted to 'levy coyn or other extractions'. On the 27th of June 1568 Hartpole continued the expansion of his property with the acquisition of 'lands, and half a wood, in Kynnaughe, and half of Tomegroghe, county Carlow,' which were seized from the attainted rebel Gerard McDonnoghe moyne Cavenaghe.²⁶

Monksgrange

His acquisitions in Laois continued apace and on the 24th of October of 1569 he was granted 'the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of S. Fenton of Clownenaghe, Queen's co'.²⁷ Five years later, in August 1574, he was granted 'the grange of Kilmagobock alias the Mounkes Grange, with its tithes, Queen's co. To Hold for ever, by the service of a twentieth part of a knights fee'.

Monksgrange castle was a tower house located approximately a mile from the Hartpole seat at Shrule. Local legend has it that this was built for his wife Grainne who would not sleep under the same roof as Robert when she discovered that he had fathered a child by a serving maid (who the legend claims he subsequently killed). The tower had a stone above the door inscribed with the year '1588' and the initials 'RH', which may have dated the structure. An Austin Cooper sketch dated 1782 shows the building in poor condition and roofless. The remains of this castle may have been subsequently incorporated into a house on the site.



Austin Cooper Sketch Monksgrange Castle 1782
Pic: The National Library of Ireland



Stone from Monksgrange Castle
Journal Kildare Archaeological Society

Shrulle

In 1576 Hartpole was granted the 523 acres of the Manor of Shrulle in Slievemargy. Associated with the Hartpole family for the rest of their existence, the Shrulle estate was formerly in the possession of John Barre until his death allowed its transfer to Hartpole.²⁸ On the 24th of May 'Daniel, bishop of Laghlen, Roger Maneringe, esq., queen's rememberancer, Robert Bice, of Dublin, and Richard Gos, of Catherlagh, gent' accepted the surrender of lands from 'William Portas, of Blackord, Queen's co., Robert Harpoll, of Colbanahore, Thomas Myrrick, of Clonrigh, John Barre, of Shrowle, and Lishagh Mc Conor, of Ballahide'. Hartpole was regranted his property on the 2nd of August and his expanded holdings now included 'the manor of Blackforde, a castle in Moniferick, Rathmaddock alias the Blackforde, Kiltighan, Garrans, Kilgessin, Ballekilkavan, Dromlin alias Killiclery, Inche alias Ballicowley, and Bavon an old castle in Colvanacre alias Colbanahore, the lands of Colvanacre alias Colbanahore, Ballarighan, Killgenne, Ballenbeg, Shanebeg, Ballemolrone, and Ballenestraghe, the lands of Shrowle, Ballyhormer, Ballecollin, Rathduf, Garribriken, Aghatenan, and Cappescribedor, in the lordship of Slemarge, a ruinous castle and land in Clonrere²⁹ alias Merrickstown, lands in Cultwerin, Killclonhoberd, Ballekilkaraghe, Knockandiere, Rathnemanaghe, and Knockanbroghe, Rossleachanbege,

and Rosseleaghanmore, the lands of Killehide, Ballehide, Garrenroe, Ballinecard, Far-rinduf, Rossemore, and Ballin'-Kegane, in the lordship of Slemarge, the lands of Ballirahen, Rossenalgan, Garroughe, Dromoile, and Cappeliole, in the same lordship; the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of S. Fenton, of Clownenaghe, diocese of Leighlen, all in Queen's co. to hold forever, by the service of a fourth part of a knights fee; rent £26 1s. 6d'.³⁰ In keeping with his obligation



Shrulle Castle
Pic: John Kelly, June 2015

of service Hartpole was required to maintain six English horsemen as part of the terms of grant.

Shrulle Castle, the ancestral seat of the Hartpole family, stands on the Laois bank of the River Barrow near the point where the River Lerr enters the Barrow. Located at the confluence of the counties of Carlow, Laois and Kildare and at a traditional fording point of the Barrow it occupies a strategic position. Dating the structure is difficult but it certainly existed by 1576 as an inscription on the fireplace of the stateroom on the first floor reads:

1576 ROBERT HARPOL
GRAIN HARPOL
DONAGH O'LALOR



ROBERT HARTPOLE CONSTABLE OF CARLOW

Standing four storeys high, Shrulce Castle is a classic example of an Elizabethan tower house and contains features typical to such structures of that period.³¹ These include stairs within the walls to the upper floors; a ground floor entrance protected by a murder hole; stone vaulted roofs on the chambers of the ground floor which also form the floor of the first floor stateroom; the other floors being constructed of timber and the roof surrounded by a parapet with defensive castellations. Interestingly there is also a carving of a Tudor style Rose on a lintel which is now part of an adjoining wall but which may have been part of the structure at some stage.



Plaque, Shrulce Castle
John Kelly, June 2015

The dimensions of the structure are 12 by 11 metres and it is 14 metres high. The upper floors and roof are gone but stairs, walkways and the parapet remain. The castellation was removed at a date in the 17th century when the castle was converted into a more comfortable residence. This was probably done by Sir Robert Hartpole, grandson of the original Robert and who died at the battle of Drogheda in 1649. He was married to Catherine (Katherine) Lutterell and a plaque located on the outside of the castle dated 1640 may date the renovation.

Thanks to the great care and affection of the present owners, Trevor and Wendy Fennell, Shrulce Castle is now in good condition and it has been spared the fate of Hartpole's other castle at Coolbanagher and will continue to stand as an important monument for many years to come.

The Constableness of Carlow Castle

The return of Sir Henry Sidney to Ireland in 1568 saw the launch of a sustained campaign by the Lord Deputy to pacify and settle Ireland. This provoked a num-

ber of rebellions involving both the Old English and the Gaelic Irish and resulted in an increased military presence and the strengthening of centers of control (such as Carlow) to enable a quick response to rebel activity in their localities.

Extreme measures were taken by all sides in engagements. In May 1564 a protective pardon was granted to Hartpole and others (such as Davells and Cosby) for 'services against the Irish rebels, and in the execution of martial law, during which they may have offended without malice, against the rigour of the laws'.³² In 1566 a general commission granted to execute martial law included Robert Hartpole for Carlow.³³ These pardons and commissions gave their holders wide ranging punitive powers, including summary execution, and were a key tool used by the Tudor administration to suppress local resistance.

By 1567 Hartpole's military abilities appear to have caught the notice of Sidney and he wrote to the Queen recommending Hartpole's confirmation to the post of Constable of Carlow Castle, which he had temporarily been assigned to Hartpole following the death of the previous Constable, Francis Randolph. Sidney writes; 'Robert Harpoole who was Constable, by our Deputy, of the Castle of Carlo, shall have the determination of the lease made thereof to Edward Randolph,³⁴ the same Constableness, with the lands thereunto belonging; and in the meantime, he shall have the pension which he enjoyed before he was appointed Constable, and also a grant of the Constableness of the said castle, and of the land therewith occupied'.³⁵ The Queen appeared to want more information on the character of Hartpole and responded on the 22nd of July that she 'will not give Robert Harpoole a lease in reversion for the castle of Carlow, but will hear the matter on Sidney's coming over'.³⁶

Sidney again set out the case for Hartpole in a letter seeking the support of Sir William Cecil, chief advisor to the Queen and dated the 17th of August; 'The bearer, Robert Harpoole, is the man to whom Sidney has given custody of prisoners in the castle of Carlow, on the death of Francis Randolph. He has requested a lease in reversion of the

castle and lands, now in the possession of Randolph's wife, by a lease for term of years yet to come. A good soldier, he deserves the same'.³⁷ The letter refers to Hartpole as bearer and it's possible that he travelled to London to pursue his case directly.

On the 17th of September the State Papers record 'Grant to Robert Harpoole, gent., of the office of constable of the castle of Catherlaughe'.³⁸ This entry is most likely a reminder that his claim remained to be decided because in December of that year both Hartpole and Langham had suits before the Queen regarding the Constableness of Carlow.³⁹

The issue seemed to be decided in Langham's favour on the 20th of April 1568 when Queen's instructions to Lord Deputy stated 'Edmund Langham to have custody of the castle of Carlow with allowance as constable with reservation of rent as in the lease. Robert Harpoole was appointed constable by the lord deputy and after expiry of the lease he shall be constable there and have the occupation of the said lands upon reservation of the like rent during pleasure'.⁴⁰

Sidney either did not receive the Queen's decision regarding Langham or chose to ignore it because he appointed Hartpole to lead the Ward of Carlow in September 1567⁴¹ and in an entry dated the 20th of April 1568 titled 'suits for lands in Ireland'⁴² he records that 'Robert Harpoole sues for the same thing as Langham and is the most sufficient man for the service'. By June Sidney finally had his way and he writes 'Harpoole to have his office'.⁴³

A report dated the 31st of March 1572 confirms that Langham was discharged as Constable on the 29th of September 1569 and later left for England. It states 'Edward Langham entered 16 May 1565 and was likewise one of the said number paid in England and yet continued in pay until 20 March 1568 and then being appointed constable of Carlow was discharged of his pension and being after discharged again from the ward on 29 September 1569 then was entered into his pension again and continued until his going into England by passport since which time he remains checked'.⁴⁴

In April 1570 the State Papers record that '*Robert Harpoole to have Carlow for life*'⁴⁵ and Hartpole's formal appointment as Constable of Carlow is definitively entered on the record on the 26th of October 1570. The grant reads; '*to Robert Harpoole, gent.; of the manor of Catherlaghe, and old strong castle with four towers on the east side of the Barowe, one tower on the other side, the fishing of the Barowe, the demesne lands in Barneglasse on the other side of the Barowe, Ardconeryan, Rathmore, Coranmore, Farranclough, Heloighe, Monesnekyll, Skeamragh and Rathwvll, Corranbegge, Burlooe on this side of the Barowe, Knockanecrogha, the Erlesmodowe and a water mill there, on the demesne lands of the manor, messauges, and the land in the town of Catherlaghe, and the customs of the tenants, lands of Mortelliston, parcel of the manor, half of Dowganstown, Ballenraghe, Ahate, Kyllenore, the customs of the tenants of Douganston, Paynston, Johnston and Pollardeston, and the prerequisites of the court of the manor. To hold for 21 years, at a rent of £23 3s. Id. Lessee or his assign to reside in the castle, and not to assign without license. As many of the tenants of the houses in Catherlaghe as the lord deputy shall appoint to keep bedding and stabling for travellers. The castle and stable reserved for the use of the lord deputy when required, lessee providing 100 loads of hay, at 2s. sterling a load, 200 pecks of oats, at 16 d., 24 loads of wheat straw, at 12 d. And 100 loads of wood, at 12 d. For his use. Not to charge coyn*'.⁴⁶ This position added considerably to Hartpole's land holdings and influence. He retained this prestigious position until his death, following which both his son and grandson held it successively.

The rebellion of Sir Edward Butler⁴⁷

Among the instances of organised opposition to Sidney's Irish policies in this period, the rebellion of Sir Edmund Butler in 1569 is of particular interest from a Carlow perspective. Primarily a dispute about land title, it also formed part of the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond against the policies of the Tudor government. Sir Edmund, second son of James Butler, Earl of Ormond, held the Dullough (the western part of the Barony of Idrone) with his seat at

Clogrennane Castle. His father had bought these lands from the Kavanaghs, who had held them without challenge since before the Norman Conquest. This changed in 1568 when Sir Peter Carew, a native of Devon, travelled to Ireland to pursue claims to Irish lands (including the Dullough) which he believed were his inheritance through an ancestor's possession of the title 'Lord of Idrone' which had been granted to the Carew family by a descendant of Strongbow.

Carew's claims were supported by Sidney, as they would assist his settlement policy and reduce the holdings and influence of the Ormond family. In 1568 Carew's case came before the Lord Deputy and Privy Council and was decided in his favour. This was a legally questionable departure from the normal process where such cases were heard by the Courts. Carew took legal possession of the Barony and was shortly afterwards also appointed as Constable of Leighlin. In response Butler and his brothers, Piers and Edward, rose in rebellion.

The rebellion had heated up on the 22nd of June 1569 and Edward Langham wrote to the Lord Deputy warning him of rumours that the Queen and the Earl of Ormond had been killed and that this was the reason why Sir Edmund Butler was in rebellion. He also warned '*they give great threatenings to this poor town, which Langham will to the uttermost defend*'.⁴⁸ Guided by Caher Kedagh O'Moore, the Butlers raided planter towns in Laois on the 29th of June. In response Sidney ordered Carew to take the lands of the Dullough and the Butler castle at Clogrennane. Following an initial refusal by the garrison to surrender, Carew misled the Chief Warder by saying the Lord Deputy was present and that safe conduct was guaranteed to the garrison.⁴⁹ He then took the Castle and '*all in it, men, women, and children, were put to the sword*'.⁵⁰

The garrison at Carlow prepared to defend itself from imminent attack. Viscount Baltinglass - Roland Eustace, (who was Butler's father in law), John Eustace and Hartpole wrote to the Lord Chancellor and Privy Council on the 12th of August 1569 warning that Piers Butler was on the borders of Carlow at the Dullough and Slievemary. They stated

they had only 28 horsemen and 30 kerne against the Butlers' 50 horsemen and 400 footmen and that '*Aid is needed quickly from the counties of Dublin, Kildare and Meath*'.⁵¹ The letter also informed the Council that Piers Butlers had attacked Leighlinbridge while Carew was absent. Leighlinbridge at this time was the second largest town in Carlow, with its own Constable and garrison. Butler's attack on the town resulted in the burning of 19 houses, killing 9 men and burning four children.⁵²

On the 18th of August Hartpole and his associates again wrote to the Privy Council that; '*Yesterday Edmund Butler made camp within three miles of Carlow and burned Little Nowth in Co. Kildare. He is now around Tullow which he also took yesterday*'. They stated they couldn't defend Carlow against him as their company was too small and their locally raised kerne '*have defected to the rebels, as have two of O'Byrne's sons, Gerald Ore and Edmund O'Byrne, and Cahir mac Callough along with divers others*'. The situation was desperate and they warned (with perhaps a hint of exaggeration) '*If they are not dealt with soon the rebellion will approach Dublin*'.⁵³ The crisis was averted, however, when the Earl of Kildare arrived at Tullow in mid-August and drove the Butlers back over the Barrow, relieving the situation in Carlow.

In response to the rebellion, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, a favourite of the Queen, returned to Ireland in August and immediately set about bringing his troublesome brothers back in line. The rebellion, while sparked by Carew's land claims, was also part of a dispute within the Ormond lordship and '*from the very start the rebels had striven to destroy Earl Thomas's power*'.⁵⁴ Accompanied by senior local notables including Hartpole, Ormond met his brothers outside Kilkenny on the 1st of September. Edmund complained '*about the cruelties he had suffered at the hands of Lord Deputy Sidney and Sir Peter Carew, who wished not only to take his lands without any recourse to law, but to kill him as well. They declared him a traitor, the only reason being that he had refused to come to Sidney, who had made threats against the life and property*'.⁵⁵ He also wrote to the Queen placing himself at her mercy.

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He was imprisoned by Sidney in Dublin Castle for a short time but escaped. He later surrendered under the Earl's bond in February 1570 and was formally pardoned in 1573. In September 1572 Hartpole was among a number of gentlemen requested 'to make enquiry of the ancient bounds of the barony of odrone, co Carlow, the lawful inheritance of sir Peter Carewe, knt., and to certify to the Chancery'.⁵⁶ Nothing came of this inquiry and Carew continued to hold Idrone in the name of the Queen until it was eventually restored to Butler following his pardon.

The Carlow Garrison in the 1570s

The main threat to Carlow in the 1570s came from the activities of the Laois chieftain Rory Óg O'Moore. O'Moore had been pardoned in the mid 1560s but following the departure of Sidney from Ireland in March 1571 he again became active. In April it is recorded that 'Feagh M'Hugh, son of the wily Hugh M'Shane, is joined with Rory Oge'⁵⁷ and that they had done '1,000l' of damage on the borders of the Pale. In November Rory is recorded as being 'more peaceable'⁵⁸ but by July 1572 he was again active and being pursued by the Earls of Kildare and Ormond.⁵⁹ His activities continued until the return of Sidney in 1575 (who it appears he feared as a much more dangerous adversary than the Seneschal of Queen's County, Francis Cosby) and he was again pardoned by Sidney on the 4th of June 1576. This pardon would not last long and would be followed by the violent and fateful events in 1577 and 1578.

A commission to implement Martial law in Carlow was again issued to Hartpole and Henry Davells (Constable of Leighlin) in March 1570.⁶⁰ The garrison of Carlow was significantly strengthened in response to the threat of O'Moore and on the 1st of April 1571⁶¹ the ward of Carlow is recorded as having 18 men at arms. Interestingly the ward of Leighlin under Davells had 32 men at this time. This reflects its strategic position and jurisdiction as far as New Ross, as well as the ever present threat of the Kavanaghs to the East and the O'Moores to the West. On the 28th of September Hartpole, now titled as 'sheriff of Catherlogh', and Davells were again commis-

sioned to 'execute martial law in the co. Catherlogh; with power to search out, after the order of martial law, all disorders committed in the county, and on finding any persons to be felons, rebels, enemies, or other notorious evil-doers, to punish them by death or otherwise, observing however, in all points the instructions of the lord justice'.⁶²

Hartpole was particularly active in his duties as Constable. In carrying out these duties (and in common with other officers of the colonial administration) he exploited his position to increase his personal wealth. In 1571 a number of individuals from Forth O'Nolan (modern Myshall, Ballon & Kilbride), Clonegal and Rathvilly who had been subject to Hartpole's extractions made a formal complaint against him.⁶³ Bagwell describes how Hartpole 'sheriff of Carlow and constable of the Castle, and his sub-sheriff were accused upon oath of having seized a vast number of cattle on all sorts of pretences, of forcing labourers to work, and in general of every sort of violence and corruption' and concludes that 'No particular notice seems to have been taken of the charges against him'.⁶⁴

On the 1st of January 1572 the Carlow and Leighlin garrisons again stood at 18 and 32 men respectively. Hartpole is also recorded as a pensioner in service 'besides his ward at Carlow'.⁶⁵ He had entered service as a pensioner on 26 May 1567 'by the queen's special instruction to the lord deputy and is ready to go to any place of service'.⁶⁶ In March 1572 Hartpole received £191 4s and Davell's, £85 19s in payments for the year ending 20 March 1572.⁶⁷ By this time the threat from O'Moore must have diminished and the Carlow garrison was reduced to 8 (losing 6 horsemen and 4 footmen).⁶⁸ Leighlin retained its strength of 32 men. In June Carlow remained at 8 (2 horsemen, 6 footmen).⁶⁹ The strength of both garrisons remained the same in November⁷⁰ and again in 1574, with the only change being that Sir Peter Carew assumed command at Leighlin from Davells.

In September 1573 the Lord Deputy and the Privy Council ordered Hartpole and Davells to impose a cess of one third on Ormond's lands for protection against the O'Moores and O'Connors. Cess was a

form a taxation and a major grievance. It was generally taken in the form of food because in Ireland's largely agricultural economy money or other tradable items of value were rare. The Lord Deputy and the Privy Council ordered 'For the better extirpation of the proclaimed rebels, the O'Connors and the O'Mores, who continue to annoy the queen's subjects in Queen's County and County Carlow, we have ordered that 100 kern with 50 boys for the next three months serve and be at the order of Henry Davells, sheriff and Robert Harpoole and to be divided as you think meet. Cess the kern and boys and receive and levy the entertainment accustomed for the same. Take distress from those who refuse to contribute and sell it if it is not redeemed within eight days. A third part of the land in the Forth O'Nolan appertaining to the earl of Ormond has been stayed from cess by an order of the queen's letters. These lands are not part of the lands which the earl holds freed of antiquity and this service of defence, being a general service whereunto all such freed lands (of the earl's and others) ought to bear cess and contribute to this charge. Therefore cess the third part'.⁷¹ Hartpole's continued service shows that any complaints against his conduct brought to the attention of the administration were not treated seriously and he continued to be a central figure in local military and administrative structures.

1577 and 1578: Rory Óg O'Moore and Mullaghmast

1577 and 1578 were to be momentous years in the life of Robert Hartpole and their events cemented the fate of both the Gaelic Irish opposition and the future of the Tudor settlement in South Leinster. Rory Óg O'Moore, in alliance with Connor MacCormac, leader of the O'Connors, had recommenced his rebellion in earnest following his failure to be re-instated to the Chieftaincy of Leix. His claims were dismissed by Sidney in his memoir as 'that aspiring imagination of tittle to the cuntry'.

In support of his claims to the chieftancy O'Moore attacked and burned Naas on the 3rd of March 1577. His men 'ranne thorough the towne lyke haggas and furies of hell, with flakes of fier fastned on poles ends'.⁷² He appears to have been

a bold and audacious leader, with a fearsome reputation. Unafraid to announce his intention to attack; by day he led his men with pipers and at night by lighted torches. This must have had a devastating psychological impact on the determination of his intended victims to resist. He was also clever and the attack on Naas took place at the end of a pattern day when the local men and troops of the garrison would not be in a fit state to defend the town after the traditional pattern celebrations.

Emboldened by this success and upping the ante in the hope of a favourable settlement from Sidney he then attacked a number of towns, including Leighlin-bridge. He burned half the town and nearly took the castle, before Sir Peter Carew (a cousin of the original Sir Peter) leading a much smaller force managed to fend off the attack.

Later in 1577 O'Moore carried out a daring coup when he took Captain Harrington and Alexander Cosby, son of Francis Cosby as prisoners. Sidney writing in his memoir with a measure of embarrassment at the naivety of the pair says Harrington was persuaded by 'some about him, and his own credulity' to meet O'Moore and discuss his submission and this had led to his capture. Sidney opened ransom negotiations to free the prisoners (who were being moved about the country in chains and no doubt exhibited to the local Gaelic Irish as an example of O'Moore's bravery and skill as a war leader) but it is likely this was an attempt to buy time for Hartpole to locate the prisoners and rescue them. Hartpole was the ideal choice as both an experienced soldier and a local landowner familiar with O'Moore's territory. Hartpole's efforts were successful and a disgruntled servant directed him to the hideout; 'the house of a ranger situated in the heart of a large wood at the north side of Carlow'.⁷³ Sidney describes O'Moore as having twenty six of his best men with him as well as his Marshall, Shane mac Rory reagh. O'Moore's and Mac Rory's wives were also present. Hartpole was accompanied by a Captain Furse, Lieutenant Parker and about 50 men.⁷⁴

During the attack to free the prisoners a fierce battle occurred and all of O'Moore's men, as well as his wife,

Margaret Maol O'Byrne (sister of Feach MacHugh O'Byrne) and possibly two of O'Moore's children were killed. Mac Rory's wife was captured. Both O'Moore and Mac Rory escaped by creeping 'between the legs of the soldiers into fastness of the plashes of trees'. O'Moore had a very close escape and Sydney in his memoir claims that 'skirts of his shirt were with an English sword cut from his bare body'. However, it wasn't only the rebels who suffered casualties; Sidney's man, John Parker, was killed in the heat of the battle and Sidney describes Henry Harrington as 'being tied in chains, and him most shamefully hacked and hewed with my nephew's own sword, to the effusion of such a quantity of blood as were incredible to behold. He brake his arm with that blunt sword and cut off the little finger of one of his hands, and in the sundry parts of his head so wounded him, as I myself in his dressing did see his brains moving'.⁷⁵ Harrington was carried away to a safe place by Sydney's men using their halberds and pikes as a stretcher and he later made a miraculous recovery from his wounds.

The outcome of the rescue was recorded on the 26th of November in a report by Sidney to the Privy Council; 'Harpoll has rescued Captain Harrington, Alexander Cosbye, and the other prisoners, killing all the rebels in the house where they were, save only Rory himself'.⁷⁶

Enraged, O'Moore immediately attacked and burned Carlow. Bagwell says 'He entered Carlow through one of many breaches in the wall, and fired all the thatched houses'.⁷⁷ Carlow's walls appeared to be in constant disrepair throughout their existence. His attack was unsuccessful and he only succeeded in burning 'some haggards of corn and houses, after which he retired'. While withdrawing he was attacked by Hartpole at a ford in the Barrow where he lost sixteen or seventeen men.⁷⁸ Despite this O'Moore again had escaped and a frustrated Sidney decided it was time to deal decisively with O'Moore and 'appointed a general hosting to extirp Rory Oge, the O'Conors and O'Mores,

who have cost the Crown of England 200,000'.⁷⁹

The most famous and controversial event of this short period of intense warfare was the massacre of leaders of the Clans of Laois at the Rath of Mullaghmast, close to Crookstown in Co Kildare.⁸⁰ The event most likely took place between the end of 1577 and March 1578.⁸¹

No direct reference to the event is identifiable in State Papers but number of Irish accounts survive. In an account of the massacre quoted by Fitzgerald, a local source states 'those who were chiefly



From John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, 1581. The decapitated head of the lady on the right is reputedly O'Moore's wife (Quinn, 2006)

concerned with this horrid murder were the Deavils, the Grehams, The Cosbys, the Piggotts, the Bowens, the Hartpoles, the Hovendens and the Dempseys... The last four of them were at the time Roman Catholics'.⁸²

The association of the New English Settler families with the event has led to speculation that it was a local action carried out by them to remove Irish opposition to the plantation. While there is probably an element of truth to this view, the prior delivery of hostages to Sidney as a sign of good will by the Irish strongly indicates the Lord Deputy had at least prior knowledge of the event. Given his avowed determination to capture O'Moore, it is reasonable to assume his assent and possible active participation in the events about to unfold.

The leaders of the Laois Clans, led by Muircheartach O'Mordha, were invited to Mullaghmast under protection to discuss alliances. When the parley had commenced they were surrounded and slaughtered by an English force led by Cosby. Sidney's strongman Hartpole was

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said to be 'responsible for the treachery aforesaid in the fort of Mullamast'⁸³ and apparently directed the carnage. In an insertion to the account of the Four Masters Hartpole is reputed to have given as an excuse for his actions that 'Moris had geven villanous wordes to the breach of his protection'.⁸⁴ Accounts vary as to the number of Gaelic Irish killed but it would appear to be between 60 and 70.⁸⁵ Hartpole's ruthless determination to achieve Sidney's aim of 'the totall extirpacion of those rebells' is further supported by O'Cadhla's assertion that Hartpole hanged the Irish hostages on the following day.

The massacre resulted in the elimination of the leaders of the O'Moores, O'Kellys, O'Lalors, Devoys, McEvoys (Mavaboyd), O'Dorans, O'Dowlings and Keatings. O'Moore's activities in 1577 and 1578 ultimately proved fatal and he was killed by Brian Og MacGillpatrick in an ambush on the 30th of June 1578. Following his death the remaining Gaelic Irish clans submitted to Crown authority. As for Hartpole the impact is best summed up by Walsh who states 'the readiest way to enjoy these lands was to murder the rightful Irish master of the



*The Rath of Mullaghmast and
Memorial to the Laois Clans
John Kelly, 2015*

whole district'.⁸⁶

Declining Years

By 1578 Hartpole was at least 64 years old but remained an active servant of the Crown. In February of that year he was appointed as a commissioner with other senior members of the ruling elite such as the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Sir Nicholas Bagnal, Sir Theobald Butler, Richard Shee, Edmund Butler, Henry Davells and Francis Cosby) to survey the prospective county of Wicklow. 'This county or country hath, by west of it the

county of Catherlagh; north-west, Kildare; flat north, Dublin; east, the main sea; and south, the county of Wexford'.⁸⁷

Disputes over cess continued but this time Hartpole opposed its collection and he was party to a petition from 'Gentlemen of the Queens co.' to the Lord Deputy and Privy Council seeking an exemption of payments to support the Pale in compensation for cess they had paid.⁸⁸

Hartpole's star was still ascendant in 1579 when he was appointed as High Sheriff of Queen's County, and in 1580 he was also appointed as High Sheriff of Carlow.⁸⁹ In August of 1580 the next generation of the Hartpole clan was also emerging when his son William, appears for the first time on record as a co-lessee of the Manor of Carlow.⁹⁰ William, living at Coolbanagher, joined his father again in 1586, when sitting on an Inquisition 'to ascertain what lands Turlough mac Alexander MacDonnell, of Gastlenocoy alias Newcastle, in the Barony of Slievermaragy, Queen's County, held from the Crown at the time of his death'.⁹¹ William was also commissioned, along with his father, Edmund Butler, Josua Mynce and James Grace to take the muster and array of County Carlow in January 1588.⁹²

Hartpole was at the pinnacle of his public career (having been appointed as first member of Parliament for Queen's County in Perrot's Parliament of 1585) when a serious threat to his Carlow holdings and offices emerged. In January of that year the Earl of Kildare wrote to the Privy Council reminding them of his claim for restitution of the Manor of Carlow.⁹³ He claimed that the 'the auncient inheritaunce of the Earle of Kildare, have ben held from him these xvijth yeares by Robert Harpoole, Constable of Catherlagh Castle, by vertue of a lease made unto him by Sir Henry Sidney, knight, then, Lord Deputy there, and that thereuppon his Lordship's tytle having ben brought in question before the Cheefe Justices of both the Benches, the Lord Cheife Baron and the Master of the Rolles of Ireland, they yeilded their opinions of the insufficiencye of the lease, and favored his Lordship's tytle'. The Council found that the castle and its lands were too important to the defence of the County to return to the Earl and recom-

mended that lands of equivalent value be given to the him. The Queen agreed, and in September commanded the Privy Council 'with convenient speed, to pass unto the Earl and his heirs as estate in fee simple of such lands and reversions in this our realm in exchange, as shall be answerable to like antiquity and goodness of the lands in Catherlaghe; for such lands as the Earl is to pass unto us, being now annexed to the Fort of Catherlaghe'. Writing in the early 1900s⁹⁴ Fitzgerald (a descendant of the Earl) wrote that he had 'not ascertained which property was given to the Earl in exchange'.

A document dated 1591 'Notes on the Provinces of Leinster and Meath' lists Hartpole as a 'man of power'.⁹⁵ This document must have been compiled at a much earlier date as it also mentions Carew and Davells, both of whom had died in the 1570s. Hartpole is said to be 'matched with a Coultieoman and a maintainer of rebels'. This is a reference to his wife Grainne, who was an O'Byrne. The Coultieoman are described as 'notable knaves and rebels pertaining to the Earl of Ormond'. The Coultieoman O'Byrnes were a branch of the wider O'Byrne clan and centred on Tullow. Piers Butler seized Tullow in 1531 and thereafter, despite underlying clan allegiances, they became allies of the Butlers of Ormond.⁹⁶

On the 11th of October 1594 after a long eventful life Robert Hartpole died. He must have known the end was near as his will was dated on the 12th of September and stated he was 'sick in body but whole in mynde and in full and sound memory'. He was buried in the Chancery of St. Mary's Church in Carlow and an elaborate altar-tomb was erected to his memory.

When, on the 21st of October 1594, Queen Elizabeth appointed his son William Harpole to the office of the Constable of the Castle of the Carlow, the family succession was secured. Robert Hartpole was dead but his story does not end there.

Family

Robert Hartpole was married to Grainne O'Byrne and Fitzgerald states they 'left issue five sons and at least three daughters'.⁹⁷

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Sir William Hartpole; Coolbanagher, succeeded his father as Constable of Carlow Castle and inherited the family estates. He died in 1616

George Hartpole; Monksgrange, second son and heir to his brother. After Williams's death he succeeded to the family estates. His son, Robert succeeded William as Constable of Carlow and died in the battle of Drogheda in 1649.

James Hartpole; not mentioned in Hartpole's will and therefore likely dead before 1594.

Henry Hartpole; not mentioned in Hartpole's will and therefore likely dead before 1594.

Pierce Hartpole; referred to in the will as the youngest son and was left lands in Co Carlow (including Chaplestown) and Queen's County. Born in 1559, he died on the 11th February, 1619.

An unnamed daughter who was married to John Hovenden, of Ballyfoyle, Queen's County.

Helen (or Ellen) Hartpole; married 1st, Francis Cosby and after his death in the battle of Stradbally she married Sir Thomas Loftus of Timahoe.

Margaret Hartpole, wife of Gerald Grace, Ballylinch, Kilkenny. She died in 1619 and both are buried at Jerpoint Abbey.

Will and Burial

Hartpole died in October 1594. His will was quickly proved after his death on the 28th of October. The original of the will appears to have disappeared at an early date and Vicar's 'Index of Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810' records only a copy existing in 1897.⁹⁸

The Will leaves his possessions to his three sons William, George, and Pierce. A Queen's County inquisition⁹⁹ mentions two other sons, James and Henry, as living in 1579, but as they are not mentioned in the will. No reference is made to his daughters.

'In the name of God Amen. I Robert Hartpole of Catherlough, Esquier, though sick in body but whole in mynde and in full

and sound memory doo make this my last will and Testain in manner and fforme as ffolloweth.

Ffirdt I bequeath my soule into the hands of Almighty God, and my body to be buryed and interred in the Church of Chancell of Our Blessed lady the Virgin Mary att Catherlough.

Item, I doo by this my will and last Testamt, constitute and appoynte my lovinge wyfe Graine Hartpoole to be my full and whole executrix.

Itm. Idoo will yt therebe delyvered and geeven as a ffree token and healpe to my lovinge soone-in-law Mr, John Hovenden, or to his assignes, one halfe yeares warrante of myne entertaynmt due on her Maite contayninge ye some of threescore pounds lawffull mooney of Irelande, for to paye suche arrerages as he is behynde to her Matie in the tyme yt the countrey was waste in ye rebellion of ye O'Mores'

The Will was witnessed by his son in law John Hovenden, David Lea, Robert Bowen of Ballyadams and Piers White, the Vicar of Carlow.

As requested in his Will Hartpole was laid to rest in the Church of the Blessed Lady the Virgin Mary in Carlow. This was the church associated with St Mary's Abbey which is placed by a number of sources on the hill where the castle stands and was part of the medieval settlement around the castle. This location is supported by a lease dated 1723 which refers to a plot '*bounding on the south with the Castle Churchyard, on the north by Gaynor's plot, on the west by the Castle Yard and on the east by the road leading to the Barracks*'¹⁰⁰ and by Malcomson, who refers to '*the remnant of the burial-ground attached to the annihilated Abbey of St. Mary, on Castle-hill, in the town of Carlow*'.¹⁰¹ Archaeological digs carried out as part of the Carlow Main Drainage Scheme in the years 2010 to 2012 show that the graveyard associated with this church was large and stretched north through Coal Market to the present St Marys Church. Curiously while Fennell¹⁰² notes that St Mary's Church passed to the new Protestant faith in 1562 a number of sources describe Hartpole as a Papist and the Hartpoles are stated to be a Roman

Catholic family in Fitzgerald's account of Mullaghmast. His wife, an O'Byrne, would almost certainly have retained her Catholic faith. The 'Papist' tag was also applied to both his son and grandson and the family is only definitively recorded as Protestant in the Down Survey in where his grandson Robert is described as Protestant in the surveys of 1641 and 1670.

Hartpole was placed in an altar tomb made up of a slab (Mensa) mounted with an effigy and a chest to hold his remains. The effigial slab was bevelled along one side and at the two ends suggesting that the non-bevelled side was placed against a wall in the chancel of the church. The chancel is the area of the church around the altar and was a prestigious location which reflected Hartpole's place in local society. The choice of an effigial tomb also reflects his status and wealth. In 1614 £230 was paid for the tomb of the Earl of Ormond, and in 1620 the tomb of the Earl of Youghal cost £330.¹⁰³ Hartpole's tomb is apparently of similar quality and would therefore have incurred a similar cost. This demonstrates the rising status of the new settler class in relation to the Old English aristocracy.

The effigy was of a knight in a suit of plate-armour, with the head resting on a round helmet. The feet were supported by a dog. The hands lay on the chest, fingers joined in prayer. A sword was attached by a belt round the waist on the left side of the effigy. An inscription was carved into the right hand side of the tomb:

'Hic jacet Robartus Hartpoole, Conestabulrius de Catherlagh, Septuagenario maor, interiit iii die Octobris 1594'

This was later translated (by Fitzgerald) to read:

'Here lies Robert Hartpoole, Constable of Carlow, he died on the 3rd day of October, 1594, being more than a septuagenarian [i.e. being eighty years of age and over]'.

In the 1630s the churches in Ireland are described as '*in a deplorable condition, the Cathedrals in many places destroyed, the parish Churches generally ruined, unroofed or unrepaired, the houses of the Clergy left desolate*'.¹⁰⁴ This was also the case of the Church of the Abbey of St

Mary which fell into disrepair and 'became untenable in the sixteen thirties through decay'.¹⁰⁵ A new church was constructed around the year 1635 at the location of the present St Mary's Church. It is likely the old church was scavenged for building material and the site became overgrown and forgotten (although a local tradition indicates some ruins still remained as late as 1786).¹⁰⁶

This part of Carlow was subject to extensive development in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The construction of a new military barracks in Barrack St in the 1750s made the land of old Cavalry Barracks along the River Barrow available for development. In addition the development of the street of Castle Hill (the emergence of which can be seen on Columbine's map of 1735) resulted in extensive works in the area. These factors, while altering the landscape of Castle Hill and obliterating the remains of medieval settlement in the area, ultimately led to the re-discovery of Hartpole's tomb.

Discovery

Hartpole's effigy was rediscovered in 1809 when workers 'engaged cutting away a portion of the graveyard for building purposes..... discovered a stone effigy about four feet below the surface, which they raised and placed upright against a tombstone. The effigy was in a perfect state of preservation, notwithstanding the long period it remained buried beneath the surface of the churchyard'.¹⁰⁷

This dating is calculated from a diary entry of 18 year old Elizabeth Cole (nee Leadbetter), who wrote the following; 'I was in Carlow last week, and the day before I went there there was a tombstone dug up in an old churchyard bearing the inscription 'Robertus Hartpold. A.D. 1594' – 215 years ago. It is in high preservation; about 7 feet long and three [illegible] wide. on the tomb is a man in complete armour, as large as life, with his head resting on his helmet; at his feet a bloodhound. It is of grey marble, and as good as if it were done but three years ago'.¹⁰⁸

The find generated interest and excitement and immediately became a local at-

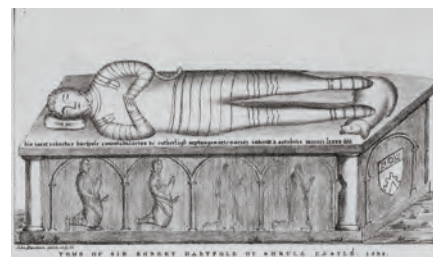
traction. Ms Leadbetter continued; 'I went to see it along with some other young people, but we could not see it satisfactorily, the crowd was so great. It lies exposed where it was found for anyone to look at it. I wonder the man who discovered it did not bring it home and make something of showing it there. It was no more than 5 feet below the surface of the earth on Castle Hill'. Speculation began as to who the impressive figure was. Initially it appears the local people thought it was a long forgotten Gaelic Irish King or Chieftain but eventually 'an old friar visited the spot, and pronounced it to be the effigy of Robert Harpol, and pointed out a Latin inscription which had escaped the notice of those who had previously examined it'.¹⁰⁹ The knowledge of the identity of the effigy may have stirred latent memories of Mullaghmast and aroused the fury of the workmen. As a result 'discovering that it was not to the memory of an Irish King, a labourer contemptuously knocked the head off. The head was thrown into the Barrow. To save what remained, Mr Bruen has the slab removed to Oak Park, and offered, successfully, a reward for the recovery of the head'.¹¹⁰ The destruction of memorials to persons seen as oppressors of the Irish was not unusual at this time. In Ballyadams Churchyard the effigies of Robert Bowen and his wife Alice Hartpole (a daughter of Walter Hartpole) were destroyed by a funeral crowd in 1832.¹¹¹

Move to Portarlinton

The remnants of the tomb resided in the walled garden of Oak Park House for a number of years until Charles Hartpole-Bowen, a descendant of Hartpole, got permission from Col. Bruen to relocate it to his family home at Kilnacourt, Portarlinton.¹¹²

By the 1890s interest in the fate of the effigy revived in Carlow and Col. Vigors writes that he had got information from 'a lady....whose name led me to believe her to be a descendant of the family', and that he had 'traced the old warrior to his present resting place, under a grove of fine trees in the grounds of Kilnacourt House, Portarlinton'.¹¹³ In a letter to the Editor of the *Carlow Vindicator* Vigors states that 'the head, I am informed, is also at Kilnacourt, and we may hope to

have it restored to its proper place some day'.¹¹⁴ Alice Hartpole-Bowen, daughter of Charles, was his lady correspondent and she had written to him in January 1895 confirming that 'the head of the effigy, which rested on a helmet, was broken off at the neck, and, as a child, I remember seeing it kept at a garden-house at Kilnacourt, but do not know what has since come of it'.¹¹⁵ She also gave him an etching of the tomb (a copy of Hewetson's conjectural representation below).



John Hewetson's lithograph of the effigy (From 'Memoirs of the Family of Grace' by Sheffield Grace, 1828).

This lithograph bears very little likeness to the remaining parts of the tomb and must have been drawn from an oral or written description .

Local antiquary Lord Walter Fitzgerald also took an interest in the effigy and wrote that 'The effigy is at present placed on a base of mason-work, built on a little hillock, under the trees near the lough at the back of Kilnacourt'.¹¹⁶ The following year he dealt with the effigy in more detail. Having been described at its uncovering in 1809 as being in very good condition it had now badly deteriorated, probably due to the damage caused by the workmen before Bruen's rescue. Fitzgerald notes 'The head is broken off and missing ; finger-tips joined; they are badly broken.....The legs, too, have met with bad treatment. The effigy-slab itself is broken into two parts,



Photograph of effigy and rubbing of inscription, Lord Walter Fitzgerald, *JPMDI*, Vol. VI

caused by a clean break just above the knees'.¹¹⁷

However, not all of the tomb had found its way to Portarlinton and in 1905 Canon Ffrench identified a figure and a heap of debris in the walled garden at Oak Park as the remains of the tomb. He describes the figure as made from black marble and it details as *'The present gross width of the stone, from which the figure stands in relief, is 2 feet 3 inches. The height of the stone figure, and the height of the pillar alongside it, is 21 inches; the gross width of the figure is 13 inches. It seems to be represented as vested in a steel cuirass. Possibly it may be a long-waisted, peaked, and close-fitting doublet; but it looks more like a cuirass, and over it, around the neck, there is a collar turned down. Some light open headpiece, probably the "salade"*



Hartpole Tomb Remnant, Oak Park, 1905, Canon Ffrench, JPMDI, Vol. VI

or morion, was worn, which is now greatly defaced. The face shows a short fringe of hair across the forehead'.¹¹⁸

The Effigy in 2015

In the latter part of the twentieth century due to a change of ownership of Kilnacourt House the effigy ended up being stored in the yard of Laois County Council at Portarlinton. At this time Carlow historian, Tommy Clarke made efforts to have the effigy returned to Carlow. He gained approval for the move but the emergence of some local opposition caused him to drop the matter. The effigy was later moved to its present location in the People's Park, Portarlinton where it now lies on a platform covered by a canopy constructed of wood and metal sheeting.



The Hartpole effigy in the People's Park, Portarlinton

John Kelly, 2015

The effigial slab measures 193 x 71cm (76 x 28 inches). The figure appears to be unchanged since Fitzgerald's examination but the inscription is badly damaged and is now missing its central script on the lower line. This piece is marked by 'chip' and 'break' in Fitzgerald's rubbing

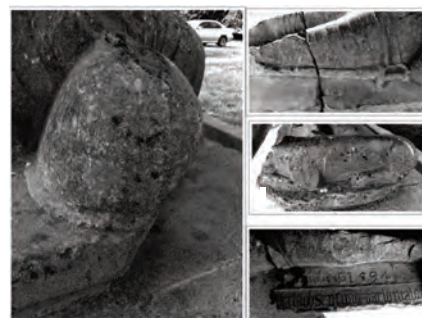


Graffiti on effigy

and was always in danger of being broken off. In its present location the effigy is subject to graffiti, litter and vulnerable to vandalism.¹¹⁹

While described by some authors as being made of black marble, it appears the effigy is carved from limestone. This is a type of black 'marble-like limestone' local to Kilkenny which when polished takes on the appearance of black marble.¹²⁰ This effect can be seen in photographs of the effigy. The helmet on which the head rested is a Cabasset type helmet and is very similar to helmets in Derricke's illustrations. The belt, sword and armour remain well defined and the dog (also headless) is well preserved. For an artefact over 400 years old the effigy

seems strangely modern in design and its stout proportions (particularly the large chest) is unlike the Ormond effigies in Kilkenny and Tipperary.¹²¹ Its distinctive features include the helmet, armour (the breastplate may be a late Peascod type) and in particular the sword, which is a British design and may be a Proto-Mortuary type sword.¹²² The sword has a basket shaped handguard unlike the older crossguard type on both the Ormond effigies and soldiers in Derricke's illustra-



Features of effigy: Helmet, Sword, Dog and Inscription

tions. These features reflect the transition in military style and function from the medieval to the early modern period.

The Oak Park weeper also survives and takes a place of honour in the Oak Park museum. As can be seen in the picture below most of the backing slab has gone and the features have become less distinct since Ffrench's discovery. The pile of debris has unfortunately been lost. An extensive search in the 1980s did not discover any more artefacts of the tomb at Oak Park and unless serendipity allows some undiscovered or misplaced pieces to be uncovered in the future the weeper will remain as the only piece of the tomb extant in Carlow.



*Hartpole Tomb Weeper, Oak Park, 1905
Pic: Canon Ffrench, JPMDI, Vol VII*

ROBERT HARTPOLE CONSTABLE OF CARLOW

SUMMARY

The Robert Hartpole that emerges from history is rightly viewed as a rapacious land grabber, a ruthless soldier of severe temperament and having a single minded ambition to climb to the top of the social ladder. However Hartpole also had a more enigmatic side. In common with other figures of the period he had ambiguous loyalties; he may have retained his Catholic faith, he married a Gaelic Irish woman and in at least one account is said to be a 'maintainer of rebels'.

Regardless of his personal nature and activities in life he remains an important figure in the history of Carlow and his effigy is an important artefact in Carlow's archaeological history. Its present location has no historical connection with Hartpole and the familial connection, the Hartpole-Bowens, who brought the effigy to Portarlinton, no longer reside there. The canopy covering the effigy is not aesthetically appropriate to the artefact nor does it provide any protection from weather or vandalism. Hartpole's Will directs that he be buried in St Mary's Church in Carlow and as no records exist of discovery of his body, it must be assumed his remains are still interred at Castle Hill.

While two different Carlow historians (Vigors and Clarke) made unsuccessful attempts to have the effigy returned¹²³, it is this author's opinion that a serious and sensitive attempt to return the effigy to Carlow could be successful, particularly if an assurance could be given it would be reunited with its surviving weeper and a safe location was secured to ensure its preservation. The present St Mary's Church of Ireland would be an eminently suitable location. The County Museum may also be suitable. As for the missing head perhaps some publicity may turn it up in a rockery or on a shelf in the Portarlinton area.

Thanks are due to the following for their help and assistance in compiling this article; Wendy and Trevor Fennell, Shrule; Ronnie Matthews, Portarlinton; Eric Donald and Connie Conway, Teagasc, Oak Park; Pat Comerford and Deirdre, Janet and the excellent and patient staff of Carlow County Library.

¹ The name Hartpole is recorded in a number of different forms. Among archival sources it is found spelled as Hartlepool, Harpol, Harpool, Harpoole, and in Robert's case most commonly as Harpole. This article will use the modern spelling of Hartpole for the family, except where quotations are taken directly from sources.

² The territory of the modern county of Laois is referred to in original sources as Leix or Queen's County. In this article the modern title of Laois is used except where quotations are taken directly from sources.

³ O'Hanlon, J., & O'Leary, E., *History of the Queen's County*, 1907, P. 424

⁴ *The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, Memorial for Winning Leinster*, State papers of Henry VIII, Vol ii, 1537, p.413

⁵ 3 & 4 Phil & Mar, c.2 (1556)

⁶ www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_irish/history_irish_mullaghmast.htm

⁷ Brady, C., *A Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland*, 2002, P. 97

⁸ GO MS 177, National Library of Ireland (NLI)

⁹ Is Barrington referring to their lifestyle or their actual Livers? Perhaps a bit of lawyerly double entendre at play?

¹⁰ This is most likely referring to Robert about whom this story appears in various guises in a number of sources

¹¹ Fitzgerald, W., *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland* (JPMDI), Vol. XXX, P137

¹² SP 63/22 f.176

¹³ SP, Vol 1, P134

¹⁴ Brady, 2002, P127

¹⁵ 171, Fiants Philip and Mary

¹⁶ Ryan, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow*, 1833 P.101

¹⁷ 1185, *Fiants Elizabeth*

¹⁸ Ryan, 1833, P. 379

¹⁹ Lodge, J., *The Peerage of Ireland, Vol III*, PP.183-184

²⁰ SP 63/188 f.43

²¹ Official grants and confirmations of arms, GO103-111g, NLI

²² 953, *Fiants Elizabeth*

²³ 612, *Fiants Elizabeth*

²⁴ Home of William Hartpole, Roberts's son and successor, Coolbanagher castle was constructed as part of a ring of towers constructed to defend the Rock of Dunamase complex. It was a tower house and has been dated to the 13th century. The castle stood 3 stories high and castle contained a murder hole in the doorway, a typical feature in this type of structure. Before its demolition three walls of the original structure remained, the western wall having previously collapsed. Unfortunately Storm Darwin caused the collapse of the southern part of the structure on the 12th of February 2014 and the remainder was demolished on the 24th of February

2014. More information see Chapple, R., *Demolition of 13th/14th Century Castle, Coolbanagher, Co.Laois*, <http://rmchapple.blogspot.ie/2014/02/demolition-of-13th14th-castle.html>

²⁵ 808, *Fiants Elizabeth*

²⁶ SP 63/25 f.25

²⁷ 1599, *Fiants Elizabeth*

²⁸ Cosby, I., *The English Settlers in Queen's County, 1570-1603*, Laois History and Society, 1999, PP. 283-326

²⁹ Clonreher castle is a four storey tower with a hall over a vaulted cellar and loft and its remains are located to the north of Portlaoise. See Searle, M., *Castles of Leinster: Clonreher, Laois*, <http://www.geograph.ie/photo/2493938>

³⁰ 2838, *Fiants Elizabeth*

³¹ National Monuments Service, *Ireland's Tower Houses, Country Living Section, Irish Farmers Journal*, 24 March 2012

³² 629, *Fiants Elizabeth*

³³ 953, *Fiants Elizabeth*

³⁴ This should read Edward Langham who had married the widow of Francis Randolph

³⁵ *Patent and Close Rolls of Ireland, Elizabeth, 1567*

³⁶ 499, *Fiants Elizabeth*

³⁷ SP 63/21 f.181

³⁸ 1125, *Fiants Elizabeth*

³⁹ SP 63/22 f.176

⁴⁰ SP 63/24 f.32

⁴¹ SP 63/22 f.84

⁴² SP 63/24 f.32

⁴³ SP 63/25 f.22

⁴⁴ SP 63/35 f.168

⁴⁵ SP 63/30 f.94

⁴⁶ 1600, *Fiants Elizabeth*

⁴⁷ See Hughes, J., "Sir Edmund Butler of the Dullogh, Knight". *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, Fourth Series, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1870

⁴⁸ SP 63/28 f.106

⁴⁹ Butler regarded himself as loyal to the Queen (who was his cousin) and refused to engage with troops which were led in her name. This stance explains the chief warden's apparent credulity.

⁵⁰ Hughes, 1870

⁵¹ SP 63/29 f.67

⁵² John McLean, *The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew Kt*, 1857, P221

⁵³ SP 63/29 f.72

⁵⁴ Edwards, D., *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642*, 2000, PP. 196-199

⁵⁵ SP 63/29 f.108

⁵⁶ 2147, *Fiants Elizabeth*

⁵⁷ SP 12 of 1571 Vol. xxxii

⁵⁸ SP 29 of 1571 Vol. xxxiv

⁵⁹ SP 11 of 1572 Vol. xxxvii

⁶⁰ 1505, *Fiants Elizabeth*

⁶¹ SP 63/32 f.1

⁶² 1829, *Fiants Elizabeth*

⁶³ This document entitled 'The Book against

Robert Hartpole' will be the subject of a future article by this author

⁶⁴ Bagwell, R, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, Vol. II, 1885, P.229

⁶⁵ SP 63/35 f.2

⁶⁶ SP 63/35 f.168

⁶⁷ SP 63/35 f.2

⁶⁸ SP 63/35 f.140

⁶⁹ SP 63/36 f.154

⁷⁰ SP 63/38 f.46

⁷¹ P 63/42 f.54

⁷² SP37, Vol LVIII, 1577

⁷³ O'Neill, J., letter to Editor of the Carlow Vindicator, 16th February, 1895.

⁷⁴ Ryan, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow*, 1833, P. 379

⁷⁵ Brady, 2002, PP. 96-98

⁷⁶ SP 63/59 f.128

⁷⁷ Bagwell, 1885, P. 345

⁷⁸ Ryan, 1833, P. 110

⁷⁹ SP57, Vol LVIII, 1577

⁸⁰ For a detailed examination of Mullaghmast see: Carey, Dr. V., *John Derricke's Image of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney, and the massacre at Mullaghmast, 1578, Irish Historical Studies, Vol. XXXI No 123*, Vincent P. Carey, 1999

⁸¹ While it is traditionally accepted as having occurred on New Year's Day 1577, Carey dates the massacre to March 1578. This difference may have resulted from the fact that the administrative year until 1752 ran from Lady Day (25th March) and not 1st January and would have resulted in the 1st of January 1578 being dated using this notation as the 1st of January 1577. This would be in line with the earliest Irish account by Corc Og O'Cadhla dated 22nd of March 1578 and the assertion of its editor, Walsh, who states that 'our entry was made a few months after the event took place'.

⁸² Fitzgerald, W., Mullaghmast: Its History and Traditions, *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society* (JCKAS), VI, P379-390

⁸³ Walsh, P., Editor, *Corc Óg Ó Cadhla, Gleanings From Irish Manuscripts*, 1933, P.

166

⁸⁴ O'Donovan, J., *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 1854, P. 1694

⁸⁵ O'Cadhla puts the dead at more than 58, *Annals of Lough Ce at 70 and the Annals of Ireland at 40*

⁸⁶ Walsh, 1933, P. 172

⁸⁷ Document dated 1596 in Carew Mss

⁸⁸ SP 63/62 f.200

⁸⁹ 3848 *Fiants Elizabeth*

⁹⁰ SP 63/62 f.200

⁹¹ SP 63/117 f.127

⁹² SP 63/123 f.44

⁹³ SP 59 of Vol. VII, 1588

⁹⁴ Fitzgerald, W., *The Castle and Manor of Carlow, JCKAS, Volume 6, 1909-1911*, PP. 335-337

⁹⁵ SP63/213 f.33 Addenda, 587

⁹⁶ Byrne-Rothwell, D., *The Byrnes and O'Byrne's, Vol. II*, 2010, P109

⁹⁷ Fitzgerald, E., *JCKAS, Vol IV*, PP. 305-306

⁹⁸ A search of the National Archives in 2015 failed to locate a copy of the will and it is likely that it was destroyed in the Civil War destruction of State Records. It is possible to piece together most of the terms of the will from research carried out by Fitzgerald and Vigors.

⁹⁹ *Queens Co Chancery Inquisition, No 13 of Charles I*

¹⁰⁰ Hardy, C., www.excavations.ie, number: 2004:0090, Valerie J. Keeley Ltd

¹⁰¹ Malcomson, R., *The Carlow Parliamentary Roll*, Dublin, 1872, P.61

¹⁰² Fennell, H., "History of St Mary's Parish Church Carlow", *Carloviana, 1986/87*, PP. 41-44

¹⁰³ Loeber, R., *Sculptured Memorials of the Dead in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland: A Survey from "Monuments Eblane" and other Sources*, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Vol. 81C, 1981, P. 269

¹⁰⁴ Carte, T., *An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, 1736*, Book 2, P.68

¹⁰⁵ Fennell, 1986/87, P. 41

¹⁰⁶ Fennell, 1986/87

¹⁰⁷ O'Neill, 1895, *Carlow Vindicator*

¹⁰⁸ Barrington, A., *The Barrington's, 1917*, P. 80

¹⁰⁹ O'Neill, 1895, *Carlow Vindicator*, reprinted in Vol III, JPMDI, 1895, P.P. 135-137

¹¹⁰ McCartney, D., W.E.H. Lecky, *Carloviana*, 1966, P. 34

¹¹¹ Fitzgerald, W., *JPMDI, Vol II, Part 2, 1892-94*, P. 536

¹¹² Despite a search of Oak Park estate records a date for this move cannot be established but it was definitely before 1880 when Hartpole-Bowen died

¹¹³ Vigors, P. *JPMDI, Vol III, 1895*, P.P. 134-145

¹¹⁴ Dated 6th March, 1895 and reprinted in Vol III, JPMDI, 1895

¹¹⁵ *JKAS, Vol IV, 1905*, P. 433

¹¹⁶ See Fitzgerald, W., *JKAS, Vol IV, 1905*, P.P. 301-311

¹¹⁷ Fitzgerald, W., *JPMDI, Vol VI*, P.137

¹¹⁸ Canon Ffrench, *JPMDI, Vol VII, Part 2, 1907-1909*, PP. 521-522

¹¹⁹ See Barker, L.W., Gilligan, N. & Fegan, G., *Laois Burial Grounds Survey 2011, Volume 2: Gazetteer of Burial Grounds*. October 2011

¹²⁰ Loeber, 1981, P. 278

¹²¹ For a detailed examination of these effigies see Rae, E.C., "Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages", *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland*, Volume 100, 1970

¹²² Thanks to Dave Swift of Claiomh, Irish Living History & Military Heritage, who gave the author useful and thought provoking comments on the effigy

¹²³ Past opposition to a return may have resulted from a misidentification of the effigy with the destroyed effigy of Robert Bowen in Ballyadams.

CARLOWMAN IN THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE

Daniel Dowling Rode In Famous British Charge at Balaklava, Spector to *The New York Times*.

UTICA, July 15.—In the County Almshouse in Rome to-day died a survivor of the 'Charge of the Light Brigade' at Balaklava on October 25, 1854. He was Daniel Dowling, born in Carlow, Ireland. in 1832. He enlisted in the British Army, going at once into the Crimean Peninsula, where he was in many battles. He was one of the very few who came out of the charge of the six

hundred without a wound, and not until the battle of Inkerman was he wounded. After the Crimean War Dowling went to many places, fighting for England. He saw service in Malta, Egypt, India, Australia, and South America. He came to the United States with the intention of entering the Union Army. When he was on his way here the surrender of Lee was made.

Dowling's only sister had gone with her husband to South America. He began a search for her and for years traveled in

many countries on his guest, which never was successful. He had distant relatives in this region and came here to live, taking up farming. Age coming on, he was compelled to seek the almshouse.

The veteran had all his discharge papers, but he never received any assistance from the British Government. Among the few possessions he retained to the last were the spurs he wore in the famous Charge and a copy of Tennyson's poem.

William Desmond Taylor Carlow's Forgotten Celluloid King

Murder most mysterious - Hollywood February, 1922

Martin J. Lynch



William Desmond Taylor in 1921.

Courtesy of Bison Archives

In Feb., 2012, on the 90th Anniversary of his death Carlow finally honoured its most glamorous son, who also was the central figure of one of Tinsel Town's most enduring and infamous mysteries, fit to rank with all the Marilyn Monroe death conspiracies.

Carlow's greatest cinematic celebrity (only equalled in recent years by our own beloved Seoirse Ronan) William Cunningham Deane-Tanner known to history and filmdom as William Desmond Taylor would henceforth be remembered with an annual Taylor Fest. Poignant to reflect that of his astonishing corpus of 87 or so films only 6 perhaps survive.

He pioneered many film techniques we revere today, and these are surely his second enduring legacy.

Plaudits are due to filmdom's and Carlow's native-son Marc-Ivan O'Gorman and the organizing committee for their Trojan efforts. Likewise, Carlow Little Theatre's accurate dramatization /synopsis of the complexities of a life such as Taylor's was awesome! It was, sadly to be the swan-song of that other Carlow showman/writer/ actor/ director and fitting interpreter of this epic, Sheamus O'Rourke. God rest his merry twinkling cultivated and friendly soul. How we miss Sheamus, his beautiful

voice, his Beate's cap and his adventures!

Strawhall –The Gentry & Boyhood

One views Strawhall now with its vanished Sugar Factory, Gateway Enterprise Centre and across the Cannery Rd., Strawhall Industrial Estate's half-abandoned commercial units. Book-ended by the compassion and love of Holy Angels at the top with Delta Centre at the bottom, it is difficult now to envisage the Tanner-O'Brien holdings ensconced there at the end of the 19th Century. Typical of the estates of the minor Anglo-Irish gentry it (and its non-absentee family) was justly respected in the town. William Cunningham Deane-Tanner was born there on April 26th, 1872, second child and eldest son of the dashing Major Thomas Kearns Deane –Tanner and the land-heiress, Jane O'Brien. The family name is now immortalized in a modern housing estate, round the corner on the Athy Rd., called Tanner Hall, complete with green board!

William grew to young manhood in the then sleepy little hamlet and garrison-town of Carlow which boasted a mere 880 souls. Then and now it was dominated by the already-ruined 13th Century Castle of the Marshal. The 'insanity' (pun intended) of its 1814 destruction still causing sniggers among

the locals. The trimmed hedges and neat white-painted cottages nestling beside the broad Barrow, Ireland's second-greatest river. The town's only previous excitement had been the ambush/massacre of the 600 insurgents on its small main street 100 years before in 1798.

Family Roots in Strawhall/Carlow Rifles/Early Fire Service

Taylor's father, Major Thomas Kearns Deane-Tanner held his rank from the militia body known as the *King's Royal Rifle Corps* or the *Carlow Rifles* as the locals called it. Two years before William's birth, the Major had returned from active service in the 'Opium Wars' and Britain's cynical suppression of the T'ai Ping Rebellion when Peking fell to the imperial forces.

The Major's maternal grandfather was Sir Thomas Deane, the most influential architect of his time (pointer perhaps to William's future artistry?). The Major quickly became founding head of Carlow's fledgling fire-service. Set-up in 1878, when members of the town council and locals banded together. Thirty volunteers were enrolled with buckets and helmets coughed up from council funds. Major Tanner and his merry men fought local outbreaks from a Merriweather-

Paxton appliance requiring no –less than 22 men plus 2 horses! A long long way from our renowned World Champion Service of today!

The dashing Major had wasted no time in 'nailing down the money' by marrying the land-heiress, Jane O'Brien in 1870. Their first-born was the beautiful Ellen who onto become 'the most dominant, powerful, trusted, best-married family member'. This attribute no little aided by her inheriting the many bequests of this multi-branched family. William came next, being born in 1872, followed by Lizzie(1874) or 'Daisy'; then Denis (1876); and finally Oswald(1878) who died of whooping cough before his first birthday.

Their mother had inherited from her father, Denis, the then enormous sum of £17,000 (£2 million today) supposed to be held in trust for her children. Incredibly, this vast sum was to be nibbled away by a lavish life-style including a town-house in Dublin, then the 'second city of Empire'. William never got a penny of this birth right or any Tanner inheritances to his eternal rightful anger.

However, he grew to manhood, highly-strung, silent and removed but neither reclusive nor a weakling. At 17 he was handsome, striking, with dark brown hair and eyes, on top of a lean, well-proportioned horseman's body. An air of intriguing romantic mystery surrounded him.

Cowboy Days

A year later he was packed off to Kansas, by his family for nefarious reasons to a young gentlemen's 'finishing school' dude ranch. This was run by a young Irishman Francis (Ned) J. Turnby and his partner. He arrived there, adept at languages, cultivated, an extremely fine horseman with many outdoor skills. All of which would stand him in good stead as his varied life unfolded! Runnymede Ranch became William's final foundational-experience on his arrival in 1889 as the Frontier was settled. He learned carpentry, building, shooting from horseback (Carlow had already taught him static marksmanship). It became his first attempt at acting in the ranch's 'fit-ups'.

Women were plentiful including the prospective genteel Irish and British debs slipped in for just that purpose to the nearby Harper Township. He showed only a polite interest in all such, his repressed bi-sexuality probably first surfacing in the all-male environment of the ranch. Later, he would in passing refer to a 'lost love', either imagined/real (or self-serving in Hollywood's hedonistic birthing). Was this a man or a woman?

The ranch closed in 1892 and Taylor began the life of an itinerant labourer and railway yardman, even selling magazines door-to-door. Passing thru Missouri and Fort Leavenworth he got a job as a 15cents-a-plate waiter in St. Paul, Minnesota. He impressed many in this heyday of immigrant-era America with his fluent French, German and his doggerel verse.

Antique Dealer to the Wealthy

Heading for the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition he was taken on by the once-famous Fannie Davenport's Theatrical Company by 1895. Here he finally found solace from his American loneliness and poverty. The struggling company and its ailing fading actress offered him relief on-stage but a hugely demanding schedule of constant touring. When the dying Davenport in 1898 collapsed onstage at the Chicago Grand Opera House he was already gone, touring with other troupes. When he made it to Broadway's Great White Way by 1900 he would be buoyed up by (his sole such remembrance by family) his beloved sister Lizzie's bequest (d.1898) of £1092 (£30,000 today).

He took over an elegant apartment on 5th Avenue among the rich and famous, many of whom he easily befriended. With a slight knowledge of antiques and as an available English (?) batchelor with a purely imaginary Indian Army background, he became a favourite of Long Island hostesses. He even laid on musicals for the Astor's and the Vanderbilt's!!

Backed by wealthy male friends Taylor opened an antique and interior-designer's store on 5th Ave. Thus opened up to him the demi-world of Manhattan's wealthy homosexuals. He could also cast many-an-eye on the Precinct's pretty girls.

Soon he unwisely married a great pretender, like himself, called Ethel (Effie) Hamilton in an ill-matched and disastrous union. Her gloom and selfishness matched by his indifference to womanly perspective and female sexual demands. Nonetheless, they would remain both at their bluebook address and married at West 93rd St. for all of 7 years. This encompassed the birth of his daughter, Ethel Daisy on Nov.15th, 1902.

His wife's constant weeping and demanding female intimacy sent him during these strange years to seek the company of the afore-mentioned young bucks of Manhattan where at he maintained a batchelor apartment. The great American financial crash of 1907 and suspicions about the provenance of some of his antiques (his partner was the true culprit) saw the rapid decline of his fortune.

Owing money to all his wealthy friends William abandoned backers, apartments, the great city and even his wife and child. He deliberately drove them to Ethel's favourite upstate New York retreat and fled. The last she would hear of him was a courier-delivered \$500 draft. Eventually, belatedly she reported him to the police, years later, as 'losing his memory'!

In 1914, remarried by now to a wealthy restaurateur, she took Daisy to the movies only to jump up in the middle of his most famous acting-film 'Capt. Alvarez', screaming 'That's your father'! No further contact is recorded between them. Daisy was spoiled by her adoptive father and would die wealthy but no thanks to the putative erstwhile Carlow man.

Shaving off his moustache for good William joined a travelling Canadian acting troupe to further cover his tracks. Henceforth he adopted the name he is known to history by **William Desmond Taylor**. His Carlow sense of irony evidenced in the name Taylor which was the surname of his cheating partner.

North to the Yukon

He thereafter allowed himself to be recruited by the goldmining offshoot of the fabulously wealthy Guggenheims to

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work their holdings for the Yukon Gold-mining Co. Onboard the *Dolphin* he sailed for Scagway on May 12th, 1909. He was appointed Timekeeper /Stores Controller thus assuring himself the enmity of his fellow equally exploited fellow-workers, under the stingy uncaring Guggenheims, working the men to death on tiny rations in the harsh conditions.

Riding from mine head to mine head his supreme horsemanship, learned in Carlow and refined in Kansas to the long-stirrup American style enabled him to remain safe and in the saddle across the incredible terrain, over the Dismal Swamp with his time books in his saddlebags. He thus gained the solitude he loved and the self-reliance for which he longed.

The creative side of his gifted persona showed when he even gained the friendship of the poet of the Yukon, Robert W. Service ('Dangerous Dan McGrew' etc. etc.). However, Taylor left Alaska before winter closed it and him in. Meantime, his mother died in 1911 leaving him £5000 which he was never to know about despite his then desperate poverty.

An Actor's Life for Me

Arriving in San Francisco Taylor heard of the fledgling movie industry being born in New York and more significantly in Los Angeles' suburb, Hollywood. It was crying out for a new kind of actor, so gentleman -of-fortune as ever, he caught the Southern Pacific train stepping off at Long Mile Pier, Malibu in early 1912.

Round this time James Joyce was launching Ireland's first purpose-built cinema in Dublin's Mary Street!

Going to work immediately for the brilliant irascible Thomas Harper Ince for the modest sum of \$40 weekly. William made his maiden appearance *The Counterfeiters* wherein he was both actor and director. He then went on to complete 11 films in 17 months for Ince.

He was headhunted by Vitagraph Studios in 1914. He then created his most enduring success, *Captain Alverez*. In this ground breaker he began the string of cinematic innovations for many of his

subsequent movies for which filmdom owes him a debt.

He was also his own stuntman before the term or the job was even thought of. These stunts involved in executing the most dangerous sequences any movie had seen up to that time, such as galloping down a precipitous slope at break-neck speed and 'hitting the mark' in one shoot! *God bless Carlow and the Yukon!* This film's success finally persuaded the Balboa (!) Studio heads to appoint him a full director and script consultant. This was in spite of having NO such film or even stage experience.

Taylor's 'British' appearance and accent plus the tall tales surrounding him of a lost Irish romance (stable boy and the lady stuff) imprisonment in Dublin (never of course happened). Gold-digging in the Yukon plus equally foundationless *vaquero* adventures in South America guaranteed him acceptance, respect and even awe in the newly-born industry and its baby celeb magazines. He, of course, did nothing to dispel any of the rumours strict truth about his past never having troubled William before in any case! Both the ladies and the gay set simply adored him encouraged by his impeccable manners and bearing with time for nearly everyone.

He now embarked on a love-affair with the female star Neva Gerber at the same time conducting a passionate sexual relationship with the set designer, George Hopkins. Both would love him to the end of his life. Taylor was able to cover up much of his homoerotic involvement to his lover Gerber with lies and imagined stress-related illnesses. He claimed to be getting bad news from Ireland and New York while 'over-working'. It helped that like the Carlow man Gerber's early life and birth were shrouded in mystery and lies.

Taylor added to his macho image when he shot and directed *Davy Crockett* in the blizzard-prone San Bernardino Mountains in 1916. After 4 years success as a director he was honoured by being elected President of the Motion Pictures L.A. Lodge, the fore runner of the future Oscar's Academy of Film. He was now truly accepted by his fellow artists.

Conscription/ Taylor Meets His Nemesis/ Bisexuality & Obsession

Despite his age, identity cover-up, neuroses, and genuine health problems as the Great War hoovered up all available manhood Taylor now felt the long arm of British desperation when he was compelled to submit to conscription in early 1918. Rising meteorically from private to major inside a year he nonetheless spent his service in pointless tomfoolery far from the Front. He was released from this Purgatory in May, 1919.



Taylor in army uniform

Just before this severe prolonged disruption to his film career, he attended the Club of Forty Halloween Dance with Hollywood's elite. He was then halfway thru shooting his masterpiece 'Tom Sawyer' in the book's original settings of Hannibal and St. Petersburg, Missouri.

Taylor would for the very first time at this dance meet the 15yr. old rising and unstable star, Mary Miles Minter, sweet and dimpled, she was being chaperoned by her equally volatile poisoned mother. Escorting this twosome was the corrupt and unscrupulous L.A. District Attorney, Thomas Lee Woolwine. Thus the 4 characters and the first act of the tragedy 4 years hence, collided like the starry portents foretelling that other murder of

the Ides of March 44 B.C.

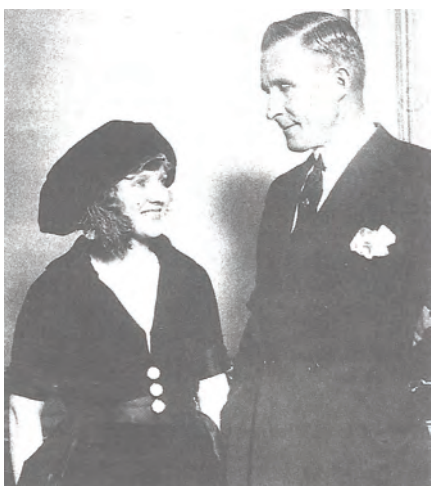
His Last Home.

William came back from his 'War' to a bisexual double welcome, from a cool George Hopkins and an overwrought weeping Neva Gerber. Emotional women and tears always irritated and rendered Taylor insensitive. He used this disagreeable welcome as excuse to break off the engagement.

However, before this rupture Gerber did him the at-the-time enormous but fate-ridden service of finding for him a fashionable stylish address, ready furnished at upmarket 400B Sth. Alvarado St. Newly built the monthly rent would be a very steep \$132. Here he would spend 4 happy and productive years, surrounded by filmdom's best, oil and merchant princes. He would make even more new friends. But here he would also meet his obsessed killer and come to his lonely and undeserved end.

Enter Fatal 'Romance'

At this time already enduring screen-legend Mary Pickford left Taylor's studio, Famous Players for a rival, First National Films. In her place the fatal (for Taylor) decision was taken to build up the image/career of the ingénue Mary Miles Minter. To begin this process studio heads paired her with Taylor their leading director and noted for his handling of actresses. Taylor would be warned by all his knowledgeable friends to refuse and steer clear of her. She already had a



Taylor with Mary Miles Minter

Courtesy of Bison Archives

reputation as a temperamental nightmare, a romantic fantasist especially toward older and sometimes gay men. She was also aided and abetted by her viperous formidable interfering mother, Charlotte Shelby. Both of their names and backgrounds were murky.

Beginning with Taylor's *Anne of Green Gables* Minter entered his professional life. She was 30yrs. his junior. Born in Texas in 1902 on Apr.26th, as a child she was so beautiful and naturally talented she could have been a forerunner to Shirley Temple, 15yrs later. In fact, by then, her film career had been dead for a decade. She lived in a dual world of self-obsessed flighty sexual fantasy and steely mother-domination.

Taylor ignored all the advice and the warnings of his friends, male and female, even that of his lover and artistic collaborator, George Hopkins. Much of what we know of this time has been recorded by Hopkins and proven by the testimony of others as to its veracity.

Minter would, over the next 3 years, send almost childish letter after letter, many overt or explicitly sexual. Some still secret have never seen the light of scrutiny. Her mother, aware of her daughter's nymphomaniac obsession with older men would frequently wield a .38 Smith and Wesson revolver at suitors she suspected. Mother and daughter would hysterically conduct continuous screaming matches with each other. Often these would be over Taylor whom Shelby particularly loathed.

Some were even in front of Taylor himself but he seemed to treat all of this with a dangerous off-handedness? All oblivious of her mounting possessiveness he meantime courted many lovers, male and female.

The Director's Chair.

Taylor's output and quality of film throughout this period of 1920/21 and right up to his death was prodigious..... he was reaching the apogee of his art. His studio, Famous Players even allowed him the then unheard-of accolade in June, 1921 of forming his own film unit and editing his own films!!

He developed a revolutionary pioneering method of under-screen sub-titles rather than the tedious narrative-interrupting card-titles then the standard practice as talkies already loomed. He also started to shock and titillate Hollywood and his audiences with lurid sexually explicit filmic devices, such as naked men (especially) and women, writhing about on set in such best-sellers as *The Furnace* in staid still puritanical WASP America! Crowds rushed his sets to feast their eyes on Hollywood's most beautiful bodies. He even went so far as to force his studio publicists to concoct stories of his heroin addiction to improve his public persona and box-office. Some tales were even true adding to his machismo.

But finally in March 1921 William Taylor tiring of Minter's hysterics and shameless sexual overtures, wrote to her explicitly ordering her to never write, phone or contact him in any form again. But was it all too little too late?

Despite this after a short while she blatantly phoned only to be wisely told Taylor was ill. However, at a performance of the opera *Othello* Minter and her mother would spot the daring pair of Taylor and his 'friend' Hopkins. This finally woke her stupefied mind to Taylor's alternative lifestyle. From that moment on the world-renowned former Carlovian would be doomed.

The stress of this odd incident at the opera and a huge workload caused a breakdown in his health. Undergoing surgery for a duodenal ulcer he then underwent a second and a third operation in those pre-keyhole surgery days. All this hospitalized him for a month. A long convalescence followed in Paris, London, and New York keeping him from work into the summer.

At home his two man-servants stole and embezzled \$7000, at least, from him. For good measure they also wrecked his top-of-the-range automobile. Both were fired and disappeared but both would later be suspect's further diverting attention from the investigations.

Romance, Friendship and Insanity.

When Mary Miles Minter returned to L.A. from filming late in 1921 she found

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the now recovered William Taylor had begun a new and rewarding romance with the truly great (as an actress and a genuine human being) Mabel Normand. She was everything Minter was not. Normand was amusing, sweet, unpossessive, fun-to-be-with, an adorable friend and lover with an even temperament. She seemed to be able to ignore his gay friends, his odd ways and even the irritating proclivities of his ever present houseman.



Mabel Normand, 1921 (inscribed "Cordially Mabel Normand")

Courtesy the Bison Archives

She had experienced the great romance of her life with the immortal Mack Sennett before WW 1, which would 60 yrs. hence be immortalized in the hit musical *Mack and Mabel*.

But in that unique special way of her's, which she exhibited throughout her short life, she retained Mack's friendship, till her tubercular death in 1929. Like Taylor and so many others in that early film world she had invented her past for the press. She was giddy, full of Irish mischief (a trait she transferred to the screen), a tomboy. Like him she was athletic and loved books. Millions of working-class girls identified with her.

In his bi-sexual way Taylor was, finally, truly in love with Mabel Normand. He would stare, in this his middle-age, at her framed photo night after night. When she

was away he besieged her with telegrams. He wined and dined her, often at Mack Sennett's parties. He swapped books and constant presents with her. She enjoyed his erudition, he her vitality. Just before Christmas, 1921 while shopping for gifts for her, he was disagreeably spotted across an aisle by the odious Mary Miles Minter. Minter then turned up at his door late on Christmas Eve. They exchanged what Taylor vainly hoped were farewell notes. Minter would relate this to an Asst. District Attorney after his murder.

Mabel and Taylor later in that Christmas season would argue despite their earlier exchange of expensive gifts. However, he was immediately contrite and sent her a \$1250 jewelled tassel! Throughout the whole of January he showered her with roses trimmed with heather daily.



Henry Peavey, Taylor's houseman.

Courtesy of Bison Archives.

The last Day.

The morning of Mon., 21st Feb., 1922 broke frostily and clear as the famed Hollywood director, known to movie history as William Desmond Taylor was awoken by his manservant, Henry Peavey with a spoonful of milk of magnesia, suffering as he did with severe digestive problems. This same Peavey had a chequered past being due to appear for trial 2 days hence for lewd conduct

with a man and vagrancy in Westlake Park.

The director, just shy of 50 was, at this stage of his exotic life, handsome in a patrician fashion, with attractive grey hair cut close to his high intellectual brow. His blue-grey secretive eyes stared intently over his Roman nose. His thin-lipped mouth giving forth an air of fine breeding and silent solitude. Very much in keeping with his actual background of Irish minor nobility, duty and service and not the fictional one which he encouraged his multitude of admirers to promulgate. Years of horseback riding and manual labour helped still maintain a lean hard physique.

He bathed and took from a drawer his choice of monogrammed crisp shirts wherein also nestled a lady's pink nightgown (?). He had just finished *The Green Temptation*. Yesterday he had driven into the San Gabriel Range seeking locations for his forthcoming adaption of Somerset Maugham's society story *The Ordeal*. Already for this project his homosexual lover and artistic collaborator of 6 yrs..., George Hopkins had designed a brilliant ballroom set. Taylor and Hopkins had brilliantly cooperated on many such films before. They had thus given birth to a whole new execution of the previously ramshackle business of film set-design.

His young chauffeur, Howard Fellows then drove him from his Alvarado Court Apartment in his luxury \$18,500 McFarlane to his tax-advisor, Juliet Berger. He was then driven on a gift-buying spree for his lover, star and part-protégée, Mabel Normand. Taylor then swam and lunched at the L.A. Athletic Club. He then went on to Famous Players Studio to discuss with the rising mogul, Jesse E. Laskey, the pending film and Taylor's plans for other future projects.

Arriving home at 5.00pm Taylor phoned Mabel Normand inviting her to visit later to receive her presents and render him loving conversational company. Then he sat down to his bland 'British' supper before being involved in an annoying mysterious phone call (?). This distraction for the chronically absent-minded director resulted in Mabel Normand having to stand in the 32 degrees cold night for several minutes. She refused his

offer of supper, being due on-set at Sennett Studios very early next morning. But she entertained him on his piano while they drank 2 Orange Blossoms a favourite tippie for both of them.

Because there was then a Black/Latino curfew, which still exists today in certain select parts of L.A., the manservant, Peavey then left having locked the back and side-doors. Taylor and Normand arranged to accompany each other to the Cameraman's Ball that coming Saturday while he ushered her to her car. The couple were heard laughing by Taylor's neighbours the Lawrence family. As Mabel pulled away she blew a kiss to William, little knowing she would never see him alive again. Nor would anyone else except his murderer(s?).

Taylor then went back thru his door to continue working on his tax-papers. A man knocked but left after a few minutes receiving no answer. Later around 8.30p.m. Taylor's driver left his McFarlane limousine round the rear. Walking round he rang the bell but Taylor didn't answer. So Fellows went home, remarking to himself on his bosses' partial deafness and chronic addiction to work.

Two days before these fateful happenings Taylor told a lady friend of a most unwelcome midnight visit from the increasingly unbalanced child-woman, Mary Miles Minter. Such a visit would be characteristic of her erratic behaviour round Taylor. Minter's visits would often be interrupted by a pursuing hysterical vengeful Charlotte Shelby, Minter's domineering dangerous and equally unbalanced mother. Shelby would even go so far as to petition Taylor's gay friends to find her daughter. But when such help was offered Shelby would refuse it!

Meantime, at her home Mary Minter returned from what she claimed had been a failed attempt to talk to Taylor. She then read aloud to her mother and grandmother. Slowly the fatal dawn of Feb. 22 approached.

Murder Most Mysterious?

Henry Peavey, William's foppish and effeminate man-servant was leaving his

cheap lodgings, as this dawn broke. Before boarding the trolley-bus to head for Alvarado Court he bought a bottle of milk of magnesia for his boss's dyspepsia. As was stated he would not have been allowed to sleep under his white employer's roof.

Opening the front-door he noticed the still brightly-lit apartment had its blinds still down. But his workaholic boss was perfectly capable of pulling an 'all-nighter' working on scripts so he thought nothing of this oddity. However, Peavey was surprized to find the front-door locked as Taylor normally forgot.

All was as the servant had left it the previous evening, except for the prostrate neatly laid-out body of the exiled Irish film-maker. Even his tan gabardine jacket and slacks were uncreased! Taylor's face was in repose, his hands by his sides and his eyes were closed!?

The terrified boy ran into the street shouting his head off. He was quickly joined by the landlord, Myles Jessurum, ill from his bed. Mrs Jessurum rang a doctor. Then she incredibly rang Mabel Normand, rather than the police. Thus Famous Players were alerted and losing no time sent their trouble-shooter, Charles F. Eyton for 'damage-limitation', as we now refer to such cover-ups round celebrity's activities.

Far too late to secure this crime-scene the police, late in the day, finally arrived. They find the apartment swarming with tenants in night-attire nosing everywhere, touching everything. By then even the body was grossly disturbed with the right arm, originally straight by Taylor's side, lying at right angles with the clenched fist now forced open (the Coroner's rightful sole duty). Thus time-of-death, rigor mortis, etc. would all be wrongly calculated.

The originally unrumpled body should have indicated the killer had an emotional attachment to the deceased. If a man falls in death, shot or not, he falls in an untidy heap. No death such as Taylor's, violent or not, was ever recorded where the body ends up almost lying-in-state as William's corpse originally was found. So it had to have been thus lovingly so arranged by his killer?

Deputy Sherriff Francis J. Wallis and Sargent of Detectives, Thomas A. Zeigler compounded their late arrival by acting like green rookies when they still failed to seal the area and secure it for the Coroner. Now appears a never explained or traced figure, posing as a doctor who proclaims the director had died of a coronary or internal haemorrhage despite the blood on the Axminster carpet and the hole under his arm. Nobody stops this 'doctor' or enquires his bona fides! I speculate it may even have been a characteristic stunt of a certain hyper-imaginative Mary Miles Minter?!?

The Coroner continues this almost Key-stonesque charade when he fails to note the presence of the uncongealed blood, indicating a time-of-death of under 12 hours. Then in an incredible breach of jurisprudence this same Coroner allows studio trouble-shooter, Charles Eton to recommence an examination of the victim! Eyton then in a Chaplin parody even goes on to instruct the medical man on body-examination procedures! He was a mere studio manager with not even a background in security much less one in medicine!

The bullet-hole was eventually found under William's armpit with burn marks around it indicating a point-blank close-up shot. Also, the killer wasn't a professional as a pro would realize the victim could have swung around and seized the gun. Rather the murderer held the victim in a loving embrace given the angle and place-of-entry of the bullet.

Studio man Eyton now compounded his felonies, not that anybody was noticing, by removing vital evidence from the murder scene, thus becoming an accessory after-the-fact to the killing. Under the gaze of 5 police officers he further messed -up fingerprints, ransacked drawers and cupboards for anything damaging to his employers. Anything he found he piled into a wire basket still in plain view of the now dozen or so officials.

Forensics Fouled-up /Evidence Evaded.

When the police finally got around to searching the body and the crime scene themselves, they failed to wear rubber

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gloves for dusting Taylor's effects for fingerprints, etc..... Mistakes and mishandling continued to pile upon each other. Still, bystanders were let stand around as more officials and reporters shoved in.

However, in a drawer was found a pink nightie which Taylor was even rumoured to wear? Also an initialled ladies handkerchief was found. This would be accurately identified as belonging to Mary Miles Minter. A pale lavender notepaper sheet from her, embossed with her favourite butterfly motif fluttered to the floor from the handkerchief. Written on it was:

Dearest,
I love you ---I love you---I love you

xxxxxxx
X
Yours Always!



Surely this was proof enough of her proximity to the put-upon Taylor at the time -of-death?? Both items typical of her self-centred schoolgirl loony fantasy with him. Also, it was sure evidence of why she would drive the fuss hating

man-of-the-world to distraction.

Various, sometimes conflicting witness accounts of Taylor's last evening and the varied comings-and-goings at Alvarado Court were taken to no avail. Sightings of men asking for directions in the vicinity proved false. Following in this now-established pattern of ineptitude the victim's clothes were burnt without any analysis of forensic evidence or ballistic examination!

The constant fixation with a male fugitive was explained with the facile excuse 'a woman seldom uses a .38 (ref. syndicated columnist Edward Doherty). However, one female very definitely DID use one, frequently in public view, and in a bogus suicide attempt years before. That that woman was Mary Miles Minter!!

Taylor's death -wound when examined by police Chief Autopsy Surgeon Dr. A.F. Wagner was proven to have burn-marks around it in the side of his jacket. It indicated Taylor at the moment of his death had his arms stretched out, in an embrace (?). He had sustained the wound on his left-side, between his seventh and eighth rib, penetrating his left lung. In common with its initial upward directed entry the bullet passed up into the neck where it deflected, before hitting the collarbone four and a half inches inside his flesh. The angle indicated a much shorter person (A woman?) than Taylor's full six foot.

The .38 Smith and Wesson death weapon had been tilted up at the moment of the fatal shot with William's arms embracing his killer in affection or in struggle. The facial composure indicated it was not in a death defence.

Ballistics established firmly it had been a 10yr. old blue- steel break top 1911 model Smith and Wesson .38. This type of revolver was most uncommon by 1922. No official forensic time of death could be established but it circumstantially could be assumed to be the early hours of the morning (ref. *Variety*, issue April 10th, 1922).

Minter and her harridan mother were well-known to own such an unusual weapon but amazingly did not knowingly

dispose of it till years later! This believed disposal happening, astoundingly, in the middle of another unrelated criminal hunt! This weapon was never asked for or examined by the investigators.

On Taylor's jacket were found 3 long strands of blond hair further indicating a female with her head on his chest? These were found to match Minter's blond locks exactly. Brought in reluctantly for questioning she lied consistently, oft contradicting herself against known facts. Some facile excuse was offered by her for the presence of her locks on Taylor's coat. Given that William had rejected her and even thrown her out again and again, she could offer no explanation for her presence in his proximity. Neither had she any alibi to indicate she had not premeditated the murder.

Innocents Suffer.

Detectives did actually arrest Minter. Going to her mother Shelby's house they even questioned this possessive vindictive old woman who plainly hated William Taylor. She gave every indication of an accomplice preparing to flee and offered no help.

As previously written Shelby was a long-time close associate of the deeply corrupt (remember L.A. *Confidential*?) and ambitious L.A. District Attorney Thomas L. Woolwine. He would use all his guile and connections to avoid at every turn any attempt to implicate this terrible female twosome. Misguided hunts after any or all other suspects were demanded by him.

Subsequently, the investigative author Charles Higham (who devoted a lot of his life and his veteran Hollywood contacts to find the truth) was told by Mary Minter that her mother Charlotte Shelby had told Minter of Taylor's death at 11.00 A.M. However, Shelby had that morning already made a fatal incriminating mistake. As early as 7.00 A.M. Shelby had phoned a friend advisor, Mary Berger to say the studio had rung to tell her of William's murder.

But Peavey did not even open the apartment till 7.30 A.M. a time underwritten by his regular trolley bus ride. Actual murder was not suspected for a further 20

minutes! Shelby thus had to know who killed William Taylor from the very beginning! Thus the noose should have tightened round both these unsavoury women way back in 1922. But.....!

If further convincing were needed, mother and daughter now initiated more heartbreak and tragedy. Shelby disposed of her innocent naïve cook, Belle Simpson who had seen too much. Shelby had Belle arrested on a trumped-up charge and sent quickly to a lunatic asylum in a totally illegal manner (shades of D.A. Woolwine). Poor Belle would spend the rest of her life in solitary confinement, while her family for 7 decades vainly sought her release. The family were constantly told by the police to 'not pursue it'.

Another witness to much of the activity in the Shelby-Minter house on that fateful night paid an equally high price. Manley Earls Tiffany, healthy, young, and well-connected, seized by a mystery illness, died 3 weeks later under an unnamed operation?

Stories and Lies.

Minter's version of the story, in 1922, again 4 years later, subsequently in 1937 to her sister, Margaret and finally to Author Charles Higham decades later, would contain contradictions and facts at variance with each other. Al Capone was wise when he advised 'A liar has to have a long good memory'!

Shelby was not the only one on that awful morning to make basic mistakes, Minter made at least 2 further mistakes on arrival at Alvarado Court. She asked for Taylor's pinkie finger cabochon sapphire and diamond ring. She also enquired if he had left a Will? Thirty nine years later she would continue to regret both serious lapses (ref. C. Higham). She then went, she claimed, to where the body lay, again inventing fantasies resembling purple silent melodrama round this sub-incident.

Minter unbelievably called an actual press conference on the evening of the murder! Feigning an obvious bogus cold she remained calm throughout curled up on a coach. Lies about her relations with

Taylor percolated her narrative. She had the neck to claim William 'had not an enemy in the world', a fact she knew to be patently false (at least Shelby and his murderer bore a grudge). All this 'guff' was to slip in her bogus alibi. The whole charade an opportunistic cheap shot at self-publicity.

Mabel Normand, by contrast, always in her short remaining life, gave then and later, accurate, true and never changing accounts of her movements on that fateful evening and how she heard the morbid news on-set.

There is not sufficient space here to recount all the dubious and various suspects who were used to cover the trail of clear evidence under the nose of the police. We make one set of observations before summing up.

Corruption Capitol---Why the Murder Remains 'Unsolved'.

Los Angeles in the '20s was a corrupt and dangerous city, comprising as it still does 80 towns strung together in a metropolis of steaming heat and hedonism. This unenviable image went back to its 1849 Gold Rush days. Opium was freely available, brothels were rife, lynch mobs In this city of then barely three quarters of a million people 91,123 arrests were made in one bare year! Pickpockets roamed freely. Policemen were killed with impunity. Police, for their part, failed to answer alarm calls. Thus vigilantes usurped normal law and order. One police chief resigned after only 3 weeks, only to be replaced by the corrupt officer he himself had taken office from!

The D.A. Woolwine, we mentioned in our narrative facing then into an election he would lose, was already suffering from the cancer that, 3yrs. hence would kill him. Crooked as they come he would spin web after web of lies and deceit to his public. Ironically, it was he who had originally introduced Taylor to Mary Miles Minter! Minter could not have had a more ruthless and powerful ally.

The murder bungalow at 400B Alvarado Court was demolished in 1966 to make way for a supermarket of all things

The Funeral.

St. Pauls, Pershing Square, a shabby cathedral marked for demolition, the site of the future Biltmore Hotel, sent William Desmond Taylor to his eternal reward. A motley crowd of 10,000 sensation-seekers, idlers, and tourists were barely kept in order by mounted and foot police. To the undoubted disappointment of this crew, none of Hollywood's best and brightest bothered to attend. Only Taylor's tried and true friends braved the notoriety in mourning. Hopkins, Normand, Cecil B. DeMille (who would immortalize Taylor's orgiastic cast style), and Constance Talmadge were probably the only notables.

A rival mediocre despised (by Taylor) director, Frank Lloyd devised a vulgar tasteless self-promoting spectacle as if William was royalty or a distinguished soldier, complete with Union flag on the coffin, something the dead man would have hated. However, in the front pew were his true friends and lovers, of both sexes, behind wreaths sent by Mabel Normand, Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Gloria Swanson, Rudolf Valentino, etc...

But even this awful service could not drown out the screaming, pushing mob outside. A consolation for his friends was Mary Miles Minter was a no-show. At the time she was spinning another of her tasteless fables to an Asst. District Attorney. This worthy was helpfully steering her away from any possible self-incrimination in yet another example of the utter complicity of the authorities in the Irishman's murder

Two Women and the Legend.

One more myth of the William Desmond Taylor tragedy needs to be cleared up. The killing was supposed to destroy the careers of both Mabel Normand and Mary Miles Minter. Both were rumoured to have been dropped from all future films. For a while the opposite was the case for Minter began filming a lurid sex-drama *South of Suva* showing no grief nor missing a days filming. She then went on a holiday cruise to Hawaii making the maximum of all this ill-gained attention and press interest. She would have many love affairs even one with

WILLIAM DESMOND TAYLOR CARLOW'S FORGOTTEN CELLULOID KING

Charlie Chaplin. But by 1925 her film career was permanently washed up. Maybe even the uncaring film world realized the truth but never announced it? She ballooned to an enormous size. She would, in common with her crone mother live a very long contentious life buoyed up by bequests, court settlements and fortuitous property deals. Both were never far from controversy and sometimes jail. Despite her many love affairs, in keeping with her lifelong fantasies especially in regard to Taylor, she died claiming, somewhat outlandishly, to be still a virgin!! On her deathbed in 1984 she was rumoured to have made a confession. But the nurse, Amanda Ryland's disappeared for good immediately. Minter left \$ 4million plus real estate.

Unfortunately, the notorious Smith and Wesson's deadly story was far from finished. Minter incredibly kept it in her possession until her mother stole it, evidently fearing this paranoid selfish girl-woman might actually use it as lethally again!

Shelby asked a friend, Chauncey Eaton to hide it. However, it would surface again in a 1937 family fall-out murder case. Police belatedly matched the ballistics to the Taylor bullet. Despite this damning forensic proof unbelievably Minter was still not charged though murder has no Statute of Limitations. In some peculiar way it found its way back to the L.A. Police. Another corrupt-to-the-end D.A., Barren Fits who had illegally closed the Taylor file in 1938, used it to shoot himself in 1973. 51yrs had passed since it had killed the great Carlow director. Generations of D.As had kept it, quite improperly, rather than have it correctly stored in the secure police property dept...

But this close shave would never stop these two duplicitous women. In but one example, Shelby was involved in another court battles over money. She was accused of fraud. Her fellow swindler Leslie Henry went to jail. She as usual walked away scot-free. Their lies went on and on.

Mabel Normand his true and abiding friend saw her career flourish. However, true to her (half) Irish luck she would be involved in another murder case. Her

one-time great love Mack Sennett stood by her and she was totally cleared. Her increasing bad health required and received Sennett's support but she died at the Pottenger Sanatorium in Monrovia in 1929 at only 32yrs old.

The contention, repeated by the character Denis (Taylor's brother) in the script of Carlow Little Theatre's 'Life', that Mabel was Hollywood's 'Queen of Druggies' is totally unfounded and I could not trace it in any legitimate source. She was gifted, funny, pretty, vibrant, and a beloved incredible honest soul, a hero of working girls. She was the Silent Screen's Premier Comedienne.

Her most enduring 2 memorials are due to two immortal film and stage productions. Firstly Billy Wilder's central character in *Sunset Boulevard* is named NORMA DESMOND, a conscious meshing of Mabel's surname and Taylor's middle name. The character relaunched the career of Mabel's real life friend, Gloria Swanson and who would create great roles until her death.

Later the great Andrew Lloyd Webber would relaunch the drama as an immortal musical. The storyline with its also unsolved body-in-the-pool, aka Taylor, echoes the anarchic Wild West atmosphere of Taylor's '20s L.A. Here lived still such legends as even Wyatt Earp, who only died at his typewriter in 1927!

The great love affair of Mabel's life would be remembered in the hit musical *Mack and Mabel*. When this opened on Broadway to rave revues in 1970 it starred the great Robert Preston of *Music Man* fame and Bernadette Powers. It has been seen there and in the West End many times since always to a fantastic reception.

Other Players.

William's brother Denis in a stark symbolism of that lost gentile family of our town would disappeared in the Americas in the year of the 'Talkies' 1927, having failed to make a breakthrough in Hollywood, never to be seen again.

Ethel Daisy Deane-Tanner (she retained her father's Carlow name) Robins, Taylor's only child whom he had aban-

doned in New York, died in Florida in 1974. Her mother had passed away in 1928. Neither woman received a penny from the director's ravaged but originally substantial estate. But thanks to her mother's happy rich second marriage this ill-treated girl died wealthy. She would finally receive recognition only on her father's tombstone.

So by the end of the Twenties all of the main characters but one, excepting the harpies' twosome, were dead. The other survivor was the gifted set-designer and Taylor's gay lover of 6 yrs., George Hopkins. His unpublished memoir would point the finger of accusation in a long-overdue but accurate direction.

This gifted gentle man would go on to fame and renown at Warner Bros. Winning many Oscars and other awards his most well-known and loved creations would be Rick's Club in *Casablanca* and the magnificent chocolate box backdrops of *My Fair Lady*. One can be sure the lovely George would not have realized the ironic connection of Shaw to his lost friend's birthplace. This latter was also my own beloved Father's last film! Hopkins died in 1988.

Epilogue/ Appreciation.

What would have been Taylor's potential had he lived? Dying short of 50 he might have gone on to, at least 20+ yrs. more of creativity. His already large corpus of 84 films or so showed great promise. Sadly, only 6 perhaps survive so much can only be speculation but the positive contemporary critiques they elicited give us good grounds for high expectations.

Given his cultivation, learning, inventiveness and lovely speaking voice what possibilities might Talkies (only 5yrs. hence) have offered him? Remember, with *Alvarez Kelly* he had been a pioneer of the full length feature film. Directing and acting in so many films his progress was always on a rising trajectory.

He had been President of the Motion Picture Directors Association (forerunner of the Academy) for an impressive 3yrs. Each of all his later films would demonstrate new innovations.

Born to gentility and relative rural

obscurity he had, in a life of adventure, hardship, and ultimately glamour come to stride the stage of the world with the great, the good and the very ungood. At the apogee of his career he would die an innocent, violent, undeserved, and pointless death. His murderers would go to their time –distant graves unpunished. He surely was a victim of his gentle manners and sexually harmless ambivalence.

But perhaps like Valentino or James Dean, Desmond Taylor's greatest enduring legacy to the world was to die thus at the height of his potential, fame, and influence!?

Poignantly, his tomb would echo both this lost legacy and the far-off repudiated (understandably by him) land of his birth. His Hollywood Cemetery's (final home of many film and other luminaries) cathedral-like chapel now shelters the bones of William Desmond Taylor. Ironically, his famed renowned nomenclature, W. D. Taylor was not referred to on his tombstone. It reads:

William C. Deane-Tanner
Beloved Father of Ethel Deane-Tanner
Died February 22an, 1922.

References:

Author's Note: Charles Higham's contribution to the vast and continuous 90 yrs. on, body of literary investigation of this infamous crime is definitive I feel. His masterful bio of Taylor's oft mysterious life stands head and shoulders above all other attempts. It was my primary and principle source. Higham's father knew Taylor and many of the protagonists. He also had access to written posthumous testimonies. He interviewed all of the surviving players just in time!

Thus Highiam could draw on evidence and personal perceptions of all these, as most others could not. With circumspection, forensic deduction, and painstaking detective work he goes on to examine the later actions of our participant players to infer a bearing on their guilt or innocence. Having studied, over 3yrs. much that has been extensively written on this abiding mystery I believe Higham's conclusions are beyond doubt.

Murder in Hollywood
Solving a Silent Screen Mystery
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Terrace Bks.2004
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Stanley Gardner Duell, Sloane & Pearce
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Metuchen, N.J. & London

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A very special thank you to Carlow man Marc Ivan O'Gorman now of Hollywood, Los Angeles and New York who took time out from script-writing and many other T.V. and film projects to encourage, guide and direct me to copy-right-sources regarding my elusive subject. Marc is also the founding-father of Taylor Fest so both William Desmond Taylor and I have much to thank him for. Thanks also, finally to Bison Studio who allowed the use of certain photos in this study.

Polo in Carlow

The Carlow Polo Club announced a tournament, but as the dates clashed with other fixtures, and as there were only three entries, it was decided to play a Carlow Team v a Wexford team yesterday, the winners to play Mr. J. J. Roark's team to-day. Owing to the long-continued drought the ground was very bard, and partly, it not entirely, owing to this state of things. the play yesterday resulted in a chapter of accidents, happily with no more serious result than a broken collar-bone. Shortly after three o'clock the teams lined out as follow, before a goodly number of spectators:—

Carlow - Mr. S. Slocock, Mr. B. Slocock, Mr. W. E. Grogan, Mr. W. Slocock (hack).

Wexford - Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chambers,

Mr. Deathe, Captain Loftus Bryan (back).

Mr. Stewart Duckett acted as umpire.

The Wexford team were allowed a handicap of three goals, and the play throughout was fast, and closely contested. Daring the first two chukkars neither side scored. Just after the commencement of the third chukkar Carlow scored first goal, and a few minutes later Captain Bryan's pony fell, throwing its rider heavily, and breaking his left collar-bone. After a short delay, during which he was attended by Drs. Mc Donald and Rawson, who were spectators, Capt. Bryan's place was taken by Mr. D. Ross, and at, the end of the fourth chukkar the play was WI goals each. Give and take play followed, Carlow slowly adding to

the N:ure, hut before the finish. Mr. Grogan's mounts fell no less than three times. Mr. Grogan continued to play after the two first falls, but. was obliged to retire after the third. though happily not much hurt, when playing off the deciding goal, both sides being six goals (in; eluding Wexford's handicap). At this stage of the game Wexford retired, leaving Carlow to play Mr. Roark's team. Mr. Roark's team will be:—

Mr. Roark. Mr. Lakin, 11th Hussars; Captain Rome, 11th Hussars; and Mr. D. J. Ross.

The Irish Times (1874-1920; September 12, 1906;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers; *The Irish Times* (1859-2012) and *The Weekly Iris!* pg. 7

CARLOW CONNECTIONS
FROM A NEW BOOK
“THE VILLAIN OF STEAM
LIFE OF DIONYSIUS LARDNER”
BY A. L. MARTIN

Norman McMillan and Martin Nevin

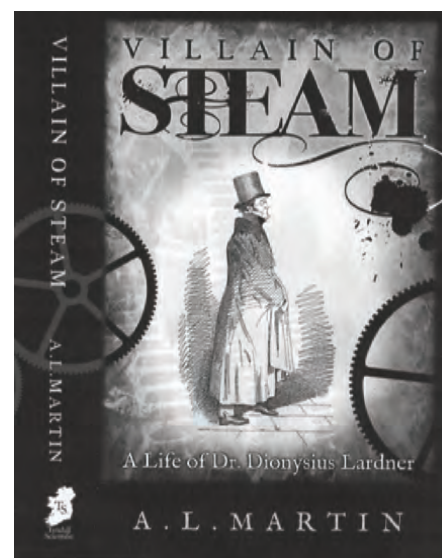
Lardner's story was not about a life “well lived” as he was a bit of a villain, but his is the story of a life packed full of incidents, with dispute and developments of the highest importance in 19th century society. His affair and elopement with Mrs Heaviside was an international scandal that put the Irishman on the front page of national papers. Lardner was already a household name by 1838 having established a publishing empire that ‘literally’ touched the life of most middle-class of Victorians who proudly showed their educational credentials with volumes of Lardner's Cyclopaedias or his derivate books on their bookshelves; the first books to be within their price range in middle-class households. Upwardly mobile working class men and tradesmen were able to start to get qualifications from pursuing course in local Mechanics Institutes and Colleges but in 1850 these Institutes faced a threat to their very existence but many transformed themselves into famous universities aided in no small part by the availability for the first time of suitable student textbooks streaming out of the Lardner publishing empire. Carlow in the 1840s had no less than two Mechanics Institutes, one Protestant and one Catholic but despite this unique distinction still awaits a university!

Lardner's great celebrity was partly based on his colorful and tangled love life which culminated in him running away to Paris with Mary the wife of Captain Richard Heaviside. This scandal

is detailed by Anna Martin giving the full salacious detail of the Captain administering some physical punishment to the small Dionysius and then throwing his wig in the fire. ‘The Villain’ is a page turner for sure at this point but these predictions populate his intriguing story starting from Denis's early life in Dublin and marriage to Cecelia Flood a member of the famous nationalist family and their eventual separation. The Provost of Trinity, Patrick Prendergast recently commented one of the first colourful aspects of Lardner's tangled love life. Denis in Trinity adopted the moniker Dionysius a name that even today almost marks him out as being unique, but not quite.

To give an example of the surprises you'll uncover: Lardner's liaison with a married woman in Dublin produced the only other 'Dionysius' in Irish history – one who eventually became much more famous than his father. This is Dion Boucicault, who was in fact christened Dionysius Lardner Boursiquot so not much effort was made to hide his paternity. Dion Boucicault inherited his father's facility with words, but he was more creative again – his plays are still performed.

What is invariably forgotten is Lardner's own leading role in educational in the first half of the 19th century and his work was unquestionably culturally transformative. His university mathematics, physics and steam engineering textbooks



opened up university education, while his school textbooks on science provided the basis for the first ever school science courses in the mid-nineteenth century. Steam, scandal and the six shilling sciences: Dionysius Lardner was an expert in all three. The most famous savant of his day, he rubbed shoulders with the rich and famous, commissioning Sir Walter Scott, Mary Shelley and Robert Southey to write for his encyclopaedia, and he supported Rowland Hill in the campaign for a cheap postal service. He wrote also and lectured with prescience in Europe and the USA on the importance of computers a century before they began their enormous transformative role on our modern society.

Anna Martin puts her finger on the very crucial moment for Lardner's mass production of books when in 1824 the publisher Archibald Constable announced excitedly at a dinner with Sir Walter Scott “printing and bookselling, an instrument for enlightening and entertaining mankind, as well, of course, as making money, are yet in their infancy”. Scott was inveigled into a publishing project entitled ‘Constable's Miscellany’ which Lardner copied with his lster ‘Cabinet Cyclopaedia’ volumes that ran from 1829 until Thomas Moore's History of Ireland which was the final volume in 1846. After Lardner's elopement with Mrs Heaviside the Cyclopaedia titles were sold in 1851. Lardner had seized his opportunity when Constable's empire ran into trouble and Scott was left financially distressed to be recruited by Lardner. The Cyclopaedias thus took the front line in

the commercial war for shelf space on the frontrooms of Victorian middle-class. Lardner was also to write the first of many serial monographs with his hugely influential book 'Treatise on Mechanics' for the Library of Useful Knowledge (LUK) in 1829. These monographs sold in astonishing numbers and Lardner published an astonishing number of these written by himself and others! Some of us are old enough to remember glass fronted bookshelves family homes which almost invariably had amongst them selections of Encyclopaedias/Cyclopaedias, smatterings of monographs and always classic novels usually including a couple of Scott volumes.

The book is a very welcome release and certainly enlivened this year's Steam Festival where it was presented as it resurrects a knowledge of the now forgotten but in his day the foremost international celebrity of steam. Lardner's fame was from his acknowledged authority on steam engineering, steam-car locomotion, steam railways, steam navigation, steam economics and lastly and not least, his lecturing on steam. His RDS lectures in 1826 on steam were a sensation as were his book on these lectures coming before Ireland's first railway built by William Dargan of Laois/Carlow in 1831. Lardner was an Irish nationalist and Whig, and close to Thomas Moore.

Many criticized the idea of setting up a new university in London but Lardner's role in Gower Street's UCL was centrally important to the radical's educational revolution. Let it not be forgotten Tories and enemies of this project were racing to establish their rival King's College so it was not surprising that politically many were very rude about Lardner and his cheap publications (Calling the University 'StinkO'm Alley' is racist but another term of abuse 'The Old Lady of Gower Street' today has become a term of endearment for UCL); it was in truth the birth of one of the world's great universities. Lardner was the first super star academic of the new university delivering the opening lecture. He took directly from his own Trinity College Dublin to the new University College London a tradition of the external student studying in their own time for degrees supported initially and uniquely for his

course with well-written mathematics, physics and philosophy textbooks. From this launch pad, London by the end of that century became the largest 'examination' university in the world for such external students. Lardner must therefore be placed at the very forefront of the field of pedagogy in both second and third-level which is overlooked or forgotten because pedagogy was a science that simply had no recognition in Victorian society.

Anna Martin's biography is about a man whose reputation is certainly diminished in historical studies for various good reasons, but whose legacy in truth is today still evident and one of incredible importance. Irish people's self-deprecating humour will enjoy the joke that is represented by Lardner's life described in this book as it is largely at the expense of the English establishment. The Brits could not break free from the then crippling intellectual restrictions of Newton's embrace which the analytical reformers in mathematics called "the 'dot'age" until a reform led by Lardner that promoted the continental methods of differential calculus; they refused to allow the anachronistic dominance of classics by any introduction of science content in their school curriculums

despite the outcry in the national papers as Britain fell disastrously behind Germany and France; only very late indeed did Britain make any attempts to provide training facilities for working men; and most embarrassingly, the British Establishment failed to reform their government of science as the Royal Society scandalously remained a drinking club for aristocrats. The joke is that the British Establishment received an enormous jolt from this man abused as the 'Irish Diddler' and indeed across so many key areas of British society that were all in need of such drastic reform.

A L Martin draws together original material from many sources to rebuild Lardner's astonishing, triumphant and surprisingly hilarious story. This wonderful book is the first ever biography of Dionysius Lardner, one of the most well-known men of the Regency Age, whose scientific and cultural publications helped transform Victorian society as radically as the advent of Wikipedia transformed the lives of our generation. Wonderfully, to end the story, Lardner "Saw Naples and died".

Railways, Carlow and Lardner

The disgraced Lardner left from Europe to set up tours (1840-1845) of American



A.L. Martin with Paddy Prendergast, Provost of Trinity College

CARLOW CONNECTIONS FROM A NEW BOOK "THE VILLAIN OF STEAM"

cities having his lectures published in full in national and regional newspapers the day of the lecture, moving to lecturing in lecture halls rather than lecturing in large auditoriums, thereby making science and engineering lectures available to large numbers of both men and women. Anna Martin noted the historian Paul H Theerman has estimated Lardner could have performed in front of "the equivalent of a quarter of the civilized America". His lecture performances radically extended the use educational props, but this dependence on props spelt the end of this incredible tour when these were destroyed in 1844 in a theatre fire in Providence on Rhode Island. The books he published with Longmans were quick but beautifully edited transcriptions from newspaper articles that were full of woodcut illustrations made Lardner fabulously rich. He was already famous, or perhaps more accurately infamous, touring America with Mrs Heaviside who was by then Mrs Lardner. He was able to marry Mary as she had been divorced by her husband by an Act of the Westminster Parliament after the couple's scandalous elopement in 1839.

The disputes Lardner had over Railways came from his expert witness roles in many Westminster Railway Bills. The English hero worship of Brunel has distorted this history badly. Brunel was employed by our wonderful entrepreneur William Dargan on early pioneering rail constructions in Wicklow learning a lot about tunneling and other engineering matters. Lardner is constantly derided and misrepresenting for predicting stream navigation across Atlantic was impossible. The truth is as Anna Martin demonstrates that Lardner was objectively explaining the advantage of using Ireland (Foynes was established as the hub by Dargan and later importantly led to the seaplane connection that then presaged the Shannon Airport) as the point of departure for New York. Lardner was proved correct by warning of the commercial failure of Bristol and Liverpool Atlantic Communications. He was clear, as everyone in Ireland now knows that England's connection with the New World should be through Ireland. The great liners steamed to New York from Southampton with a stop at Cove. The Great Western Railway and Steam Navigation Bill evidence given by Lardner

was prescient in explaining the financial limitations of this proposed Atlantic route. He was never forgiven for opposing Brunel and still less for being right! Lardner's greatest recognition came at the 1835 Dublin British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) meeting. The reform movement in Dublin had been led by Provost Bartholomew Lloyd from the start of the 19th century and he was the only academic leader at the founding of the BAAS in York in 1831 which was a development boycotted by the other establishment church universities in Oxbridge and St Andrews. The reform of a mathematical curriculum in science and engineering was led by Lardner who introduced the analytical method for the first time in the science of economics. Lardner was the man who wrote the books in the early 1820 that delivered really this university reform in Britain because his books were written for the student and at a level that could understood by those who really needed professionally to grasp these methods. The importance of the books Lardner wrote on mathematics cannot be over-exaggerated. These books were *Central Forces* (1820), *Algebraic Geometry* (1823 and republished 1831), *Differential and Integral Calculus* (1825), *Lines of Curvature of Ellipoids, hyperboloids and Paraboloids* (1825), *Spherical Trigonometry* (1826), not forgetting his *Six Books of Euclid* (1830). He recycled these works and indeed produced later mathematical masterpieces in his *Cyclopaedias* articles and monographs. Lardner did not need to recruit for some of his volumes authors having written these wonderful and hugely popular and influential studies. Lardner did however recruit specialists such as de Morgan works on recent algebraic developments demonstrating Lardner's appreciation of his own limitations.

Lardner established a lecture tour (1840-44) that enable Tyndall in 1872 working again with Longmans in a year-long tour of the Eastern Seaboard of the USA to raise enough funds (Billions in today's money) to actually establish the first research facilities in the USA's premier Ivy League Universities. The venues initially established by Lardner were in place and indeed primed for exploitation by Tyndall. The Carlowman's contribu-

tion to the now much Nobel decorated science of the USA is something Carlow can be proud. This notable Irish contribution to the USA detailed in McMillan's book that was planned and edited with his friend Bill Brock 250th Anniversary Publication of the RDS "John Tyndall: Essays in a Natural Philosopher" and featuring Katherine Russell Sopka's study in Chapter 15 of "John Tyndall: International Popularizer of Science" pp.193 – 203. The International Tyndall School and the National Environmental Week in 1993 run by McMillan and his son Douglas was opened by the President of Penn State University in a transatlantic broadcast to acknowledge this debt to Carlow and from this historic event run in Carlow came the establishment of the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research was almost certainly named from this event as the three founding universities East Anglia, Southampton and Manchester were in attendance and established their project after being in Carlow for that week's events and lectures on climate change and related matters. This is a new legacy that flows out internationally from Ireland via Lardner and to Tyndall that should not be forgotten.

Lardner work is diminished and criticized as being simply "That of a popularizer" but he was clearly an original thinker and especially this aspect of his published works is most clearly presented in his 'Railway Economy' published in New York by Harper Brothers in 1850. In this landmark work, he introduced important graphical methods and most importantly analytical mathematics to economic analysis and prediction. This kind of superior analysis of data and presentation is seen here as ground breaking but is to be found everywhere throughout his books and articles.

This is an excellent book and indeed a real-life thriller with lasting value as your historical understanding of Victorian society will be much improved by this well-researched biography. A good Xmas stocking filler.

Here's to the 32!

When you travel through Ireland in the summer, you don't need road signs to tell you which county you're in. Flags attached to urban gables and farmyard gates, or fluttering from little plastic flag poles clipped to car-windows, leave you in no doubt.

The Gaelic Athletic Association season is in full swing and allegiances are proudly displayed in most of the thirty-two counties on the island of Ireland - especially those counties which are in With a chance of winning something, be it in football or hurling.

The GAA justifiably boasts that it reaches into every village and crossroads in the country. It has a presence in even the smallest communities, but the county structure is the backbone of the organisation.

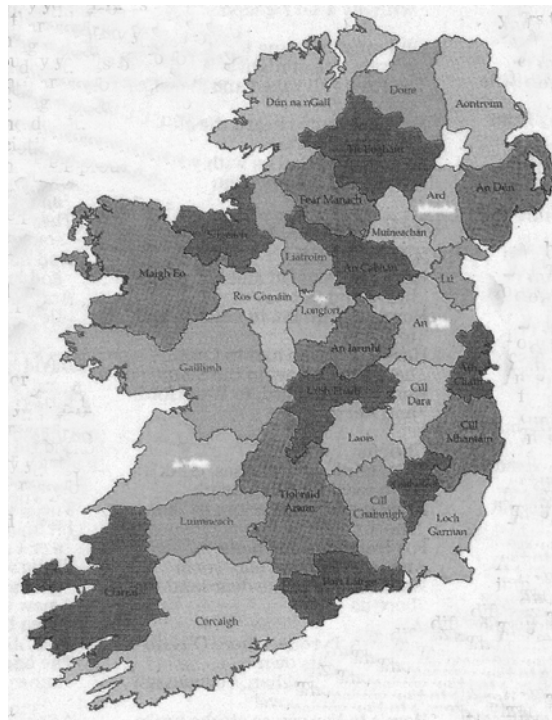
County allegiance is not confined to such matters. The Irish abroad have always bled together and in many instances have formed county associations.

Parts of cities like London and New York not only had 'Irish districts but many of these districts had particular streets populated by people from a particular county.

Ask most Irish people where they are from and the chances are they will answer with the name, not of their town, but of their county.

We even go so far as to have our own county anthems, such as *The Rose of Tralee*; *The Banks of my Own Lovely Lee*; and *The Rose of Mooncoin*. I was going to say that the list is endless, but actually it ends at thirty-two and I can't think of quarter of them.

ANYONE WOULD be forgiven for thinking that the county structure was part of our DNA, a badge of identity we can trace back to the time of Finn McCool's granny.



Jim Rees examines the origins of our county system, introduced to Ireland by the Normans

In fact, it is the least 'Irish' of our administrative divisions.

The county system was introduced by the Normans and consolidated by the English Tudor monarchs. It replaced the native Irish divisions of townlands and provinces in importance and took over four hundred years to complete.

Look at an alphabetical list of counties and it all seems neat and logical, but getting them all in place was a long and torturous process. The newly arrived Normans didn't sit down after securing a toe-hold at Baginbun and say:

'Right, lads, we'll start here with Antrim,

work our way through and finish with Wicklow?'

IT WASN'T even a question of starting in Dublin and slowly spreading outwards from the Pale with the western being created last, as many people understandably imagine. The immediate proof of this is the last of the thirty-two to be formed was Wicklow - right on Dublin's doorstep.

So, how did they go about it? And when did your county come into being?

Before the Normans, Ireland was divided into regions controlled by different groups of people, tuatha. These were minor lordships and there were about ninety of them. The old tuatha structure didn't suit the business-minded Normans and they introduced the county system that had worked well for them in France and England.

As far as they were concerned, Prince John - the baddie in all the Robin Hood films - was Lord of Ireland, and it was under his command that the shiring of the country (the creation of counties) began. And some of them will appear odd to modern readers.

As mentioned, the Normans first arrived in what is now County Wexford, but it wasn't long before they transferred their seat of power to Dublin. Not surprisingly, the city and surrounding countryside for several miles became the first Irish county. That was in 1190.

Which was next - Meath, Kildare or Wicklow? Not a bit of it. Try Cork and Waterford.

In fact, try both together, for the County of Waterford Cork came into being in 1211, with County Munster following hot on its heels. Yes, County Munster.

This 'Munstershire' wasn't really anything more than a label. It was so vast that it might well have been called

HERE'S TO THE 32!

'Monstershire' and the Normans held little sway in ninety per cent of it, but it looked good on parchment or vellum back in London.

AS NORMAN control increased, however, particularly in urban areas, this massive 'county' was subdivided in Limerick (1251) and Tipperary (1254). In the meantime, both Louth and Kerry had been established in 1233.

But what of the vast area west of the Shannon, another region in which the Normans had made little headway, but on which they had nonetheless set their greedy little eyes?

No problem, they simply did what they had done in Munster, and the virtually fictitious County of Connacht came into being in 1247. Roscommon made its debut in 1292, bringing the first stage of shiring to a close just as the thirteenth century came to an end.

So, 120 years after the arrival of the Normans, large sections of Ireland had been parcelled into nine administrative regions called 'counties':

The man in charge of each county was a shire-reeve, literally a custodian of the shire. Time has shortened this title to sheriff. He was assisted by a coroner who investigated sudden deaths with the main purpose of seeing if the deceased's estate could be forfeited to the crown ('coroner' comes from 'crown'). There was also an escheator, a clerk for markets and justices of the peace.

Other areas under Norman rule were called 'liberties':

These were slightly different in that they were much more autonomous than regular counties. They were controlled by a major lord. The southern half of modern Leinster was a liberty, as was Meath which included most of modern north Leinster.

In 1297, the Leinster liberty was subdivided into the liberties of Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny and Kildare. Bit by bit, the privileges that made them liberties were eroded until they were eventually reduced to the same subjugated state of ordinary counties.

WHEN WAS YOUR COUNTY FORMED

Different sources have slightly varying but agree with the dates before

Antrim c.1300	Galway c.1570	Monaghan 1604
Armagh 1604	Kerry 1233	Offaly 1557
Carlow 1306	Kildare 1297	Roscommon 1292
Cavan 1579	Kilkenny c.1200	Sligo c.1570
Clare c.1570	Laois 1557	Tipperary 1254
Cork 1211	Leitrim 1565	Tyrone 1579
Derry 1579	Limerick 1254	Waterfors 1211
Donegal 1604	Longford 1571	Westmeath 1543
Down c.1300	Louth 1233	Wexford 1247
Dublin c.1190	Mayo c.1570	Wicklow 1606
Fermanagh 1579	Meath 1297	

to shire the entire country, however, were put on hold in the 1300s and 1400s as the Irish started to regain some of their lost power.

Then came the 1500s and the Tudor dynasty of English kings. Henry VIII was particularly anxious to bring the Irish to heel, and what we might call 'The Shiring of Ireland Part II' got under way.

The counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, Wexford, Limerick, Kerry and Tipperary were consolidated and soon Carlow, Kilkenny, Cork and Waterford were also smacked on the wrist, their liberties taken away, told to be good boys and to take their place in the fold.

IT WAS also decided that Meath ..,twas too big to control as a single unit, so Westmeath was hived off in 1543, with King's and Queen's Counties (Offaly and Laois) coming into being in 1557. The County of Connacht was divided into Galway, Mayo and Sligo. Clare was established at this time too, but as part of the province of Connacht.

Longford, Antrim and Down soon followed and Leitrim was separated from Roscommon. Tyrone, Fermanagh and Cavan were formed in 1579. County Coleraine was established the same year, but this later became County Derry.

The year 1601 saw the final tragic throw of the dice for the old Gaelic chieftains and land divisions. The Battle of Kinsale was lost and within a few years the Flight of the Earls brought down the curtain.

There was still some land not yet parcelled up and tied in neat ribbons, but

when Monaghan, Armagh and Donegal were shired in 1604, there was only one supposedly 'untamed' district left; the mountainous region on Dublin's southern doorstep which was controlled by the O'Byrnes.

LOT has been said and written about the O'Neills and the O'Donnells and their resistance to English rule in the north-west. Unfairly, outside his native Wicklow, little is known of the exploits of Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne.

The remote and rugged valleys of Glenmalure and Glen Imaal afforded the O'Byrnes the terrain that made continued resistance possible. In the 1580s the English administration in Dublin sent an army under Lord Grey into the Wicklow mountains to rout the O'Byrnes.

But it didn't work out like that.
*'Grey said victory was sure
That soon the firebrand he'd secure
Until he met at Glenmalure
With Flack MacHugh O'Byrne'*

Fiach's triumph over Grey was simply postponing the inevitable. In 1606, the 'O'Byrne Country; as it was known, became the last of the thirty-two counties to be shired, taking the name Wicklow.

Perhaps that's why Wicklow has never lifted the Sam Maguire or Liam MacCarthy trophies - the other counties have had more time to practise!

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