

Greystones Archaeological & Historical Society

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Chairperson's Introduction

Greystones is a rapidly changing and fast developing community. As we move forward it is essential for us to look back and reflect on the past. Only in understanding our heritage can we begin to value our complex modern society. Thus it gives me great pleasure to introduce this journal of the Greystones Archaeological and Historical Society, which presents a number of papers that examine our past.

Of course it is also important to look ahead and plan for the future, and I am delighted to say that we are now on the World Wide Web. You can find us at www.greystones.info. Sincere thanks are due to Frank Deignan for organising this. Information about our Society and articles from past journals are also located on this site.

The Society continues to have monthly lectures. Many of our guest speakers include professional archaeologists and historians such as Christian Corlett, Peter Pearson and Liam Hackett. Several of our speakers are well-informed local historians such as Pat Power, Liam Clare and Jim Scannell, who have a keen interest in their subjects and a wealth of knowledge to share with their audiences.

Some of the highlights of our summer outings and day trips, that explore our heritage, were the guided tour of St Enda's School, an informative tour of Knowth and The Hill of Tara, and our most recent excursion to Trim Castle followed by a visit to Butterstream gardens.

Our four-day annual Spring trips continue to be a great success. In March 2002 we went to Donegal and in 2003 we travelled to Mayo. The latter event is reported in this journal. Many thanks are due to Aileen Short for her hard work in organising and coordinating these events.

This is the fourth journal that the Society has produced. Thanks to all our contributors for their support and to our committee members for their time and effort.

Geraldine Herrera – Chairperson

GREYSTONES ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Major Hermann Goertz and German World War 2 Intelligence Gathering in Ireland

By James Scannell

Background

Espionage can be defined as the process of obtaining and collecting military, political, commercial and other secret information by a variety of means including the use of spies, secret agents or illegal monitoring and collecting devices. Espionage relies on aggressive and illegal methods to collect information. On the other hand, intelligence gathering involves the collecting and collating of information, much of which is available legally with only that information that is classed “secret” or “confidential” being the type of information that espionage must be resorted to in order to obtain it. About 80% of information that countries collect about each other comes from open sources such as the news media, published reports government documents, scientific and economic journals and the legitimate collection of political and strategic information by ambassadors and military attaches. But the most vital information is often contained in the remaining 20%, which must be obtained by other means, usually espionage, using spies or secret agents.

International law recognises by implication the rights of all states to employ in time of war, espionage agents, popularly known as spies, a term which most operatives take grave exception to, preferring to be known as intelligence gatherers or collectors. Under Article 29 of the Hague Convention, a person can be considered a spy when he/she is collecting information clandestinely or under false pretences. A soldier in uniform operating behind enemy lines is not a spy but if he/she is wearing civilian clothes, or some other form of disguise, then he/she is considered a spy and forfeits entitlement to treatment as a prisoner of war if captured.

In wartime, a secret agent operating behind enemy lines leads a very dangerous, solitary and tension filled life, cannot afford to get sick or be injured in case he/she is hospitalised, and must always keep clear of incidents which may lead to his/her assumed identity being subjected to closer scrutiny by the authorities. A secret agent always runs the risk of betrayal by a friend or colleague, random capture or arrest as the result of an operation by the counter intelligence forces of the country he/she is operating in or discovery through some flaw in his/her documentation. More importantly, a secret agent having collected the information he/she was assigned to obtain, has then to forward this information back to his/her superiors by whatever means – are at his/her disposal in a timely and prompt manner and may have to rely on a chain of couriers to convey this information, with the risk of betrayal/discovery if any of the individuals involved in this activity is captured by the counter intelligence services and forced to talk.

All German secret agents sent to Britain, with one or two exceptions, were captured by the British counter intelligence services and those who could not be used in what was known as the “Double XX” system operated by British counter intelligence to provide the Germans with false information, were tried in court, and when found guilty, sentenced to death and executed in accordance with British law.

Many British secret agents and European nationals sent into Occupied Europe by the British S.O.E. (Special Operations Executive) were captured by the Gestapo, and after torture were summarily executed or sent to concentration camps for incarceration with very few agents surviving the terrible conditions in these camps. Also executed on many occasions were uniformed individuals who had been captured in intelligence gathering or on Commando type

MAJOR HERMANN GOERTZ

missions. The Germans did not afford these prisoner of war statuses after 1942 in accordance with the special Hitler “*Commando*” Order, which removed prisoner of war status from uniformed individuals captured while engaged in special operations and intelligence gathering missions in Occupied Europe. The Japanese applied similar sanctions against some of those they captured in intelligence gathering missions. At the end of World War 2, those involved in the murder of Allied secret agents were tried as war criminals before International War Crimes Tribunals in Germany and Japan.

When World War 2 broke out, the fact that Britain and Ireland were both islands posed great difficulty for German military intelligence with all the German secret agents sent to Britain landing from submarines, by parachute or infiltration from neutral countries.

Those agents dropped by parachute ran the risk of being killed or injured on landing and their radio sets damaged or lost. This happened not only to some German secret agents parachuted into Britain and Ireland but also to a number of Allied agents parachuted into Occupied Europe. Equally dangerous was landing by rubber dingy from a submarine as usually these took place under cover of darkness with all its attendant difficulties. Those trying to infiltrate Britain from neutral countries were subjected to the intense scrutiny that all arrivals from these countries were subjected to by the British authorities for the duration of World War 2 with the authorities in Ireland being equally vigilant.

It is fair to say that being a secret agent operating behind enemy lines is not the glamorous and exciting activity as portrayed in popular fiction, movies and TV, and is a view which those who were engaged in this activity during World War 2 totally disagree with.

Many people may not realise that prior to the outbreak of World War 2, some members of the German community resident in Ireland were engaged in considerable low level German espionage and intelligence gathering in Ireland and a full account of these activities is covered in David O'Donoghue's book “*Hitler's Irish Voices*” published in 1998 by *Beyond the Pale Publishing*, which is currently available through booksellers.

Initial Moves

German military intelligence gathering suffered from inter-service rivalries and internal politics to the extent that there was a great duplication and dilution of effort and resources. The Abwehr (German Military Intelligence) disliked the SS and S.D. intelligence services, considering them nothing more than bullyboys in uniform and non-professional in attitude



Abwehr Building, Berlin

and approach while the SS and S.D. considered the Abwehr as old fashioned and out of touch with reality and modern warfare intelligence gathering techniques.

In fairness, it must be said that the inter-service rivalry was not confined to the Germans as the British S.O.E. encountered difficulties and opposition from MI5 and the SIS with regard to operations and intelligence gathering in Occupied Europe. In Ireland, on a few occasions there was minor friction between Military Intelligence (G2) and the Garda Security Section (C3) but



Admiral Wilhelm Canaris

in the main both these organisations worked exceedingly well during the Emergency in the discharge of their duties covering their respective areas of jurisdiction.

Admiral Canaris, head of the Abwehr, held the view that the key to German sabotage and espionage operations in Great Britain was to be found in-Ireland while his colleague Major General Larhousen was keen to establish links with the IRA. after it began a bombing campaign in Britain from January 1939 onwards – the “S” Plan – in an attempt to force the British to leave Northern Ireland.

Prior to the outbreak of World War 2, the Germans sent an individual called Oscar Pfaus to Ireland who made contact with Sean Russell, head of the IRA, and James O'Donovan, who had been IRA Director of Chemicals during the War of Independence and was the architect of the “S” Plan bombing campaign in Britain. On 3

occasions during 1939, O'Donovan, who was living in Shankill, Co. Dublin, travelled to Germany and had discussions with the Abwehr concerning the supply of arms and wireless sets to Ireland in the event of war breaking out between Germany and Britain. On his last visit to Germany in August 1939, the harsh treatment meted out to O'Donovan's wife by an overzealous German customs officer due to a simple misunderstanding, nearly led to the termination of the O'Donovan mission. It took a great deal of work by the Abwehr to calm down the O'Donovans who were prepared to return to Ireland immediately, but in the end the efforts of the Abwehr were successful and the O'Donovan mission continued.

At that time, James O'Donovan was living in *Florenceville*, now called *Millfield*, off the Shanganagh Road on the Shankill side of Shanganagh bridge. Here a radio transmitter brought back from Germany was secretly installed and used on Sunday nights to send coded messages to Germany.



Jim O'Donovan

Hermann Goertz

The first serious German military intelligence gathering mission to Ireland was that of Major Hermann Goertz, probably the most successful of all the German operatives that landed in Ireland even though, generally speaking, German intelligence activities in Ireland were not successful and fell very short of what they were intended to achieve for a variety of reasons.

Hermann Goertz was born in 1890 in Lubec, the son of a wealthy and distinguished lawyer, and learned English from his governess. In keeping with family tradition, he studied law but

MAJOR HERMANN GOERTZ

the outbreak of World War 1 interrupted his studies. During this conflict he served with the German Army and in Christmas 1914 was wounded while serving in Russia, receiving the Iron Cross for valour. He then enlisted in the Luftwaffe and served as a reconnaissance officer and later as an interrogation officer. In 1916, he married Ellen Aschenborn, daughter of a German admiral. Goertz was highly cultured, an excellent sportsman, gifted at mathematics and excelled at hill walking.

When the war was over he returned to law, studying at Heidelberg, Paris, Edinburg and Kiel, specialising in international law and acquired a doctorate in this field after completing the necessary course in the United States of America. While in America, he met a number of prominent Irish people, some of who were members of the IRA. or had connections with it and from these he acquired knowledge of Irish affairs. He qualified as a solicitor in 1925, and was appointed a notary in 1927. That same year, he visited Ireland with his wife as part of a touring holiday covering Wales and Ireland with the beauty of Co. Wicklow and the Lakes of Killarney making a deep impression on him. In 1929, he was appointed a solicitor of the Hamburg Law Court. Between 1929 and 1931, he travelled to Britain on a number of occasions representing the Siemens Company, which was engaged in a legal action against the British Government.

In 1928, he joined the "*Shadow Luftwaffe*", an organisation created to provide aviation training for Germans to circumvent the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty, which prohibited Germany from having an air force. He served with this organisation until 1935 when he rejoined the Luftwaffe on a full time basis at a time when military conscription had been re-introduced in Germany. He held a strong belief that the Royal Air Force (RAF) was establishing a fleet of bombers along the East Coast of England and was sent to England on an intelligence gathering mission with the cover story of researching a book and under this pretext toured the East Coast of England observing the RAF bases and the activities in progress at them.

On August 28th 1935, he arrived in Britain with a female companion, Ms Marianne Emig, and embarked on a tour of Britain collecting information on British airbases, taking photographs and drawing sketches. After a number of weeks, Ms Emig, who could not speak English, became uneasy about this activity and asked that they return to Germany which they did on October 24th 1935 leaving in such a hurry that he left a suitcase behind him full of documents and sketches. At one location, the landlady of the accommodation where he was

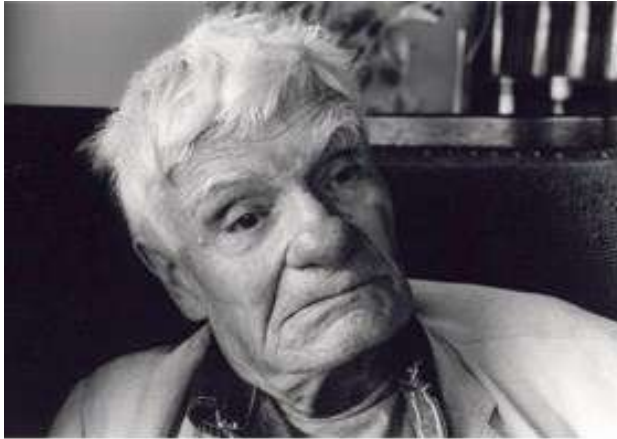


Hermann Goertz and Marianne Emig

staying had been suspicious of his activities. Following his departure; she received a postcard from him requesting her to mind the suitcase for him, as he would be back within 2 days to collect it and some other personal belongings. Goertz was delayed in Germany and was unable to return as scheduled and when he sent her a note from Germany asking the landlady to forward some of his belongings, she notified the police of her suspicions. When the police opened his suitcase, they were amazed to discover the true nature of his research and the type of activities he had been engaged in. No immediate action was taken but a watch was maintained for him and the next time he returned to England on November 8th 1935, he was

arrested on landing and charged with espionage. Following a brief trial in March 1936, which was a minor sensation at that time, he was found guilty as charged and sentenced to 4 years penal servitude, being released early in February 1939, having earned remission for good behaviour. He returned to Germany and rejoined the Luftwaffe in August 1939.

Preparation for Irish Mission



Francis Stuart in later life

Goertz suggested to the Abwehr that members of the IRA should be used in Britain as saboteurs and to create revolt in Northern Ireland but this idea did not go down well with the German High Command. Goertz persisted with this view and managed to persuade the Abwehr to allow him 3 months to prepare for a mission to Ireland. As part of his mission preparations, Goertz contacted a number of Irish people working in Germany including Francis Stuart, who had arrived in Germany in January 1940 to take up a post of lecture in the English Department of Berlin University.

Francis Fromme introduced Goertz to Stuart who offered him the opportunity to shelter with his wife in Laragh, Co. Wicklow, should the need arise. What Stuart was doing in Germany at this time is covered in detail in David O'Donoghue's book mentioned earlier and is outside the scope of this paper. Goertz received the standard mission training of using a parachute, operating a wireless transmitter, the use of secret communications, and the coding/decoding of messages. During his training period, he had the secretarial services of an Irish woman, Nora O'Mara, who was working in Germany and later was a mistress of Stuart.

The German Foreign Office was anxious that Ireland's neutral stance should not be compromised and advised the Army Staff that Goertz should not involve himself in Irish affairs and was to confine his operations to Northern Ireland.

The Goertz mission to Ireland was given the name "*Operation Mainau*", with Goertz being assigned the code name of "*Gitka*". It was the specific understanding of Goertz that he was being sent to Ireland as an intelligence officer and not as a spy, with the task of liaising with the IRA, making it more interested in Northern Ireland and preparing the way for espionage and sabotage operations there. However the Germans appear to have overlooked the fact that most Republican sympathisers, North and South, were known to both the RUC and the Garda Síochána, and that the more active of these were being kept under surveillance by police and intelligence services on both sides of the Border. Additionally, many German nationals in Ireland, some of whom were members of the Nazi Party, had returned to Germany in September 1939 for military service at the request of the German Government, thus depriving the Germans of a network of supporters who could have been utilised to assist and support secret agents like Goertz. Those German nationals remaining in Ireland, like other foreign nationals, were kept under discreet and intermittent surveillance by the Garda for the duration of the Emergency.

Arrival in Ireland

On the night of May 5th 1940, Goertz was parachuted into Ireland from a German aircraft and landed near Ballivor, Co. Meath, though his intended landing zone was supposed to be in Co. Tyrone, wearing full military uniform so that if captured he could claim prisoner of war status as a German officer and not as a spy. Goertz was extremely sensitive about this point always maintaining that he was an intelligence officer and not a spy. A second parachute containing



Hermann Goertz

his radio transmitter and other items went adrift and in the darkness he was unable to locate it. After burying most of his uniform and parachute, he set out for Iseult Stuart's house in Laragh, dressed in breeches, riding boots, pullover and black beret. The other possessions he carried with him included a phial of cyanide, which he intended to take if captured, as well as a considerable quantity of British and American currency notes.

His orders were to make contact with James O'Donovan in Shankill but first he had to reach Iseult Stuart's house in Laragh, trekking across country undetected, a task that took him 4 days. When he arrived at her house in Laragh on May 9th 1940, she was very unsure of what to make of the dishevelled individual standing in front of her and it was some time before she allowed him in. She

sent him to bed and while he slept she went to Dublin and purchased a suit of clothes for him in Switzers of Grafton Street, an action that did not go unremembered by the staff. Later that night, a car driven by James O'Donovan arrived in Laragh to bring him to the house of one of O'Donovan's friends who was supposed to shelter him. This friend then refused to accommodate him so O'Donovan brought him to his own house in Shankill, Florenceville now called Millfield, where he was placed in a vacant room. His son Donal, who normally used this room, was in hospital at that time receiving treatment for a complaint.

Goertz remained out of sight during his stay in Shankill, hidden in the garage at night while by day he was concealed behind a eucalyptus tree with his radio codebook hidden in the eaves of the house. During this stay in Shankill, Goertz met Stephen Hayes, new Chief of Staff of the IRA, and held a number of meetings with him. Goertz was armed with two weapons, a pistol and a knife for personal protection, both of which he gave to James O'Donovan for safekeeping until his departure.



Konstanz, Templeogue Road

Goertz remained in Shankill for about 8 days after which he was moved to a house called *Konstanz* in Templeogue Road, Dublin, owned by Stephen Held. While there, he provided the IRA with details of the location where he buried his uniform and parachute so that these could be recovered. While his uniform and radio transmitter could not be found, the parachute was successfully recovered and brought to the house where it was burned on the maid's day off.

Goertz Avoids Capture

Acting on information received from one of the maids in the Held household, who was concerned about some of the strange and suspicious activities going on, the Garda raided *Konstanz* on May 24th 1940. Goertz heard the squeal of the Garda raiding party's cars pulling up outside and escaped out a back door as the raiding party entered through the front door, jumped over a back wall and sheltered in a neighbouring garden for a number of hours.

The Garda raid uncovered a great deal of incriminating information during the search of Held's house, including notes covering the landing of arms in Ireland by submarines, a tent, coded messages, a radio transmitter, Goertz's World War 1 decorations, his cap, details of the type of information to be collected in Ireland and a suit of clothes from Switzers, whose records showed that these had been purchased by Iseult Stuart on May 9th. This purchase had aroused the curiosity of the staff in Switzers at that time who wondered why she needed men's clothes costing more than £20 especially when he husband was in Germany. A safe in the house could not be opened and when Held could not produce a key for it, the safe was broken open and US \$20,000 in notes found inside it. Held spun a story about how the material belonged to a Heinrich Brandy but the Garda did not believe this story and Held subsequently appeared before the Special Criminal Court, charged with a number of offences, and, after conviction, was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.



Helena Moloney

When all the activity in *Konstanz* had died down, Goertz left the neighbouring garden where he had been sheltering undetected for several hours and returned to Iseult Stuart's house in Laragh only to discover on arrival that she too had been arrested. When brought before the Special Criminal Court, Iseult Stuart was able to give some harmless explanations sufficient to result in her acquittal. Luckily for Goertz, Helena Moloney, a friend of Iseult Stuart, and a leading member of the Women Workers Union, was in her house when he arrived. She took matters in hand and arranged for him to stay in a number of safe houses where those sheltering him were Republican sympathisers, after which he began a period of living in rented accommodation. These included a house in Charlemont Avenue, Dun Laoghaire, owned by a Miss Coffey, where Goertz was known as a Mr. Robinson using the cover as a

commercial traveller to explain his absences during which he claimed he was visiting customers. In reality Goertz was in a house in Dalkey where for a time a radio transmitter was installed with Goertz being brought to and from the house in Dalkey by car.

Secret Meetings with Irish Army Officer

One visitor to the Dalkey house was Major General Hugo MacNeill, commander of the 2nd Division of the Irish Army, who was concerned to know if Germany would come to Ireland's assistance if the British forces in Northern Ireland invaded. MacNeill was treading on very dangerous grounds and was engaging in a course of action which could have ended in a court martial if the Government had become aware of the true nature of his dealings. MacNeill was one of a number of high-ranking army officers known to Irish military intelligence for their anti-British views, which declined cover to him during these discussions. While in Dalkey, Goertz received medical treatment from a medical practitioner and met several politicians and it appears that while his presence was known to several well placed people, the authorities took no action, though it is possible that he may have been under surveillance at this time to see who his contacts were.

When Dr Eduard Hempel, the German Minister to Ireland, became aware of what was going on, he indicated to Berlin that Taoiseach Eamon de Valera would have nothing to do with what MacNeill was proposing and was reluctant to meet Goertz in case the Irish Government became aware of any contacts or meetings between them. Hempel was also afraid that Goertz was competing with him for control of German policy in Ireland. But Hempel also realised that the Irish feared a British invasion from Northern Ireland to seize ports along the South and West coast and that the Irish Army needed support.

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Goertz took the initiative by proposing a meeting with Hempel, who agreed to this and to his credit organised a novel way for the two men to meet by arranging a party for members of the German community in his Monkstown residence. Goertz was invited to it and attended it unnoticed by the Special Branch outside or by the large attendance inside. Goertz called at Hempel's residence in the guise of one of the guests and when he gave a coded greeting at the door, was ushered into a study away from the gaze of the other guests. From time to time, Hempel excused himself from his guests and held brief conversations with Goertz in this study. Hempel was impressed by Goertz's manners and sharpness of mind and was extremely delighted when Goertz indicated to him that he wished to return to Germany to submit his full report on the situation in Ireland. This suited Hempel as he considered the activities of Goertz as a threat to his diplomatic mission in Ireland and that Goertz's contacts and intrigues with Major-General MacNeill posed threats to Irish neutrality. Hempel was also concerned that the Allies might use the presence and activities of Goertz as a German espionage operator in Ireland as a propaganda tool to force Taoiseach Eamon de Valera to abandon his stance of neutrality and enter World War 2 on the Allies side.

One can appreciate Hempel's situation - his mission was to keep Ireland from joining with the Allies; to prevent the country giving direct assistance to the Allies; to ensure that the country remained neutral; and finally if at all possible to try and get Ireland to side with Germany, however unlikely this might be. Hempel was not the first diplomat to be kept in the dark over what intelligence services were engaged in with the usual problems that these activities can cause for diplomats when they come to light because they have not been briefed about such activities.

Attempts to Leave Ireland

In February and September 1941, attempts were made to return Goertz to France by boat but these attempts failed due to bad weather on one occasion and the arrest of an individual in Kerry trying to arrange this on the other. In late Autumn 1941, the Garda working with the Irish intelligence services as part of a general security clamp down, rounded up nearly all of those who were assisting Goertz including James O'Donovan, having obtained information on the location of most of the safe houses used by the IRA due to poor document security observed by the latter. Goertz now felt that the Irish authorities were closing on him and that it was vital for him to reach France to report his belief that the Irish Defence Forces would support Germany if the British attempted to seize Irish ports, which were of great strategic benefit to Britain as the "*Battle of the Atlantic*" was at its height with Britain relying on the cargos of eastbound convoys from the United States of America and Canada for survival.

One eminent historian has argued that following the Fall of France in June 1940, the Luftwaffe began operating from bases in France and that Allied ships using these Irish ports would have been subjected to air attacks and therefore were of little strategic value. He further argues that the British policy of routing Allied convoys around Northern Ireland and down the Irish Sea to various British west coast ports was the correct one as convoys sailing around the south of Ireland would have been exposed to sustained air attacks from Luftwaffe units operating from their French bases.

Capture and Internment

Time had run out for Goertz. On November 27th 1941, Goertz was arrested during a Garda raid on the house of P J Claffey, 1 Blackheath Park, Clontarf, the home of a girl whom he had developed a relationship with, where he had been staying for some time. How the Garda knew that he was at this address is uncertain. Some suggest that some dissident members of the IRA betrayed his presence to the authorities while others maintain that he had been under observation by the Garda for some time and that they finally decided to arrest him. Others

claim that he was caught by accident while the Garda were searching the area for Pearse Kelly, the new IRA Chief of Staff.



Arbour Hill Prison

Following his arrest by the authorities, Goertz was brought to Arbour Hill Military Prison in Dublin where he was subjected to intensive questioning but refused to divulge anything. An escape attempt to break out from his cell was foiled when the authorities discovered what he was at and he was moved to a new cell. In the autumn of 1942, he was transferred to the Athlone Internment Camp where he was well treated and enjoyed good conditions including being able to listen to Irish radio and read Irish newspapers. While Goertz had endured a period of imprisonment in a British Gaol (1936 -1939), he found it hard to adjust to the conditions and regime in Athlone

which were far more relaxed and less restrictive than his British experience Goertz resolved to escape and made detailed and elaborate plans to achieve this while at the same time conveying messages for assistance to Hempel, who was unable to assist him with the result that these plans fell apart.

As an international lawyer, Goertz could not understand the concept of interment without charge and wanted to be put on trial. To achieve this, he went on a hunger strike but abandoned this after three weeks when his fellow internees convinced him that the Irish government would let him die and thus save it of deciding what to do with him.

Goertz settled down to the Athlone routine, devoting his time to writing two plays in German and making vast entries in his diary. Gunther Schutz was the only one of the other internees held in Athlone that he did not get on with as Goertz considered Schutz to be too talkative. But this may have been a ploy by Schutz to gather information for another escape attempt (he already had escaped from Mountjoy Gaol and was recaptured after two weeks). Goertz took a dislike to Schutz and Carolle J Carter, who has written one of the standard reference works on this aspect of Irish military history, *"The Shamrock and the Swastika"*, states that both men had a fight on one occasion but were separated by the other internees. The same author claims that Goertz was behind the sabotaging of an escape attempt by Schutz by arranging the destruction of the clothing that Schutz had gathered for use as a disguise in this attempt.

Goertz tried to escape from Athlone but this attempt was foiled by the authorities who then engaged in a message interception and control operation, which detailed in Carolle J Carter's *"The Shamrock and the Swastika"*, in which Colonel Eamon de Buitlear played a key part. Hempel indicated to Goertz that he was not prepared to assist him in any escape attempts with the result that Goertz was left to pass the time in Athlone engaging in some of the activities mentioned previously.

End of War in Europe and Freedom

When World War 2 in Europe ended in May 1945, in addition to the German internees held in Athlone, the Curragh Camp held 266 German aviators and sailors consisting of Luftwaffe personnel from aircraft which had crashed in Ireland and the sailors who had been picked up December 29th 1943 in the Bay of Biscay by the *Kerlogue* while en route to Ireland from Portugal with a cargo of oranges. In June 1945, the British submitted a request to the Irish

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government asking it to hand over all the German personnel and internees it was holding. Taoiseach Eamon de Valera agreed to hand over the Curragh internees subject to a British guarantee that none of them would be executed or forced to return to the Soviet Zone of Germany. Delays by the British in confirming this guarantee held up the hand over which did not take place until August 13th 1945 when the Curragh internees were brought to Dublin and placed on board a British warship which brought them to Belgium for processing and release.

De Valera refused to hand over the Athlone internees, whom the British intelligence services were keen to interview, and these were allowed to remain in the country. Colonel de Buitlear came to an agreement with Goertz that he would not be deported to Germany with the other internees provided he offered a full statement on his activities in Ireland. Goertz agreed to this and wrote a very fanciful account of his activities while at the same time concealing the true identities of some of those who had assisted him, claiming that it was never his intention or that of Germany to violate Irish neutrality.

However in Germany a different picture began to emerge at the Nuremberg International War Crimes Trials, which began in 1946. At these, Major General Larhousen admitted that plans had been prepared for landing German troops in Ireland. This disclosure upset Goertz as he feared that if he was sent back to Germany he would be tried and sentenced to death. He resolved not to return to Germany. He was also afraid of being handed over to the Russian as he had fought against the Reds during the turbulent period of post-World War 1 political upheaval in Germany when rival Left and Right wing groups fought each to try and gain political control of that country.

In September 1946, Gerald Boland, Irish Minister for Justice, announced that all German spies interned in Ireland would be offered political asylum. This gave Goertz a major boost and he began to settle down to Irish life obtaining a job in February 1947 as secretary to the "*Save the German Children Fund*", an Irish relief organisation established to assist Germany. This relief organisation brought a large number of German children to Ireland for rest and recuperation, with many being subsequently adopted by families in Ireland. Goertz sold small stools and other furniture to raise funds for this organisation. During this period he visited *Florenceville* on a number of occasions and presented Donal O'Donovan, James O'Donovan's son, with his .32 FN semi-automatic pistol, 50 rounds of ammunition and his parachute knife. In the 1970's these items were lost when Donal O'Donovan's residence in Bray was burgled and for obvious reasons at that time, their loss could not be reported to the authorities and their current whereabouts are unknown.



Eduard Hempel

However the Department of External Affairs was opposed to the offer of asylum extended to the German agents by the Minister for Justice and managed to persuade Taoiseach Eamon de Valera that it might be more prudent to avoid further British opposition to this move by reversing this decision and at the end of the day, the Taoiseach agreed with this view and reversed the earlier decision taken by the Minister for Justice.

On April 12th 1947, Goertz and the other internees were arrested by the Garda and returned to Mountjoy Gaol from where Goertz sent a letter to the Taoiseach pleading for asylum. While most of the other German secret agents were deported, Goertz was allowed out on parole to wind up his personal affairs in Ireland. Goertz was extremely unhappy at the prospect of being deported to Germany and sought the aid of anyone who could help prevent this. Invited to dine with Hempel at his Monkstown residence, Frederick Boland, Assistant Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, was present at the meal. Goertz was

asked if he would be interested in working for the Americans. He requested time to consider this offer.

Following this meal, Goertz met another former internee, Luftwaffe officer George Fleischmann, in Dun Laoghaire's Royal Marine Hotel, where they spent the entire night discussing this offer and what it entailed with Fleischmann encouraging Goertz to accept it. Fleischmann was an Austrian who, along with two other Austrians, had been granted political asylum by de Valera following their request to remain in the country on the grounds that if returned to Austria they might be charged with treason because they had considered themselves Germans. But Goertz suspected that he was being double crossed and that he would be deported back to Germany and spent the next few days in the West of Ireland trying to calm down his nerves.

Suicide

When Goertz returned to Dublin, two letters were waiting for him at the Glenageary address he was staying at. One instructed him to report to the Alien's Office in Dublin Castle on Friday May 23rd 1947 to have his parole extended while the other invited him to have lunch with Hempel on the same day. As he made his way to the Alien's Office, he was unaware that due to a breakdown in communication between Government Departments, the Hempel/Boland plan that he should work for the Americans had not been communicated to the intelligence services. On arrival at the Alien's Office, a Special Branch detective remarked to Goertz that an aircraft was waiting to fly him back to Germany. In a moment of panic, he swallowed a phial of potassium cyanide he had on his person and was rushed by ambulance to Mercer's Hospital where he was pronounced dead despite a 30 minute sustained attempt to save him by one of the Registrars. This Registrar, who happened to be Jewish, used all the resources at his disposal to try and save Goertz but after 30 minutes Goertz failed to respond to treatment and died. It is said that one of the reasons it took so long for the poison to act was that potassium cyanide he took was stale. This poison can go stale after a short period, losing its rapid effectiveness, and this means that it does not work as quickly as intended, that is, within a minute or two.

An inquest held before the Dublin City Coroner returned a verdict of "*death due to cardiac failure due to the swallowing of poison*" and made no mention of that fact that Goertz had taken his own life. Investigations by the Garda were unable to discover the source of the poison used. When I gave a version of this paper to the Enniskerry History Society in October 2001, a member of the audience revealed that he had been a medical student in Mercer's Hospital and was one of the medical students who had to prepare his remains for a post mortem. One of his recollections of that day was the tiny fragments of glass from the poison capsule, which were still adhering to Goertz's lips.

By one of those strange quirks of fate, on the day Goertz took his life in the Alien's Office, Gunther Schutz was waiting his turn to be processed in an adjacent room and was unaware that Goertz was outside. Schutz only became aware that something had happened when all of a sudden he was quickly searched by Garda on duty in the Alien's Office to see if he had any concealed poison capsules on his person - he did not.

Goertz was buried in Deans grange Cemetery on 26th May 1947 in grave space 12G St Nessel's, with his coffin draped in the swastika flag - the World War 2 German military flag. The Irish government advised the former German Minister to Ireland, Dr. Eduard Hempel, that it would not be appropriate for him to attend and being the thorough professional diplomat that he was, he complied with this advice and did not attend the burial. The burial was attended by 30 people, many of whom had met or sheltered him during the Emergency.

MAJOR HERMANN GOERTZ

There the remains of Dr. Herman Goertz reposed in Deans grange until April 26th 1974 when that night, under the cover darkness, some German ex-army officers exhumed his remains and re-interred them in the German War Cemetery in Glencree, Co. Wicklow, where they currently repose.

Recently it was revealed in the *Irish Times* that in 1947 his widow petitioned the Irish Government for the repayment of the US \$20,000 found in Stephen Held's house, as at this time, she was living in reduced circumstances in post war Germany but it appears that the petition was denied.



Hermann Goertz's Gravestone in Glencree

Conclusion

Major Hermann Goertz was the most serious minded of all the German World War 2 secret agents sent to Ireland and took his mission very earnestly. He resented being called a spy to the extent that in 1947 he and Werner Unland sued a British newspaper over being called spies. By the time an out of court settlement was reached, Goertz was dead, leaving Unland as the sole beneficiary of this settlement. Goertz was at liberty in Ireland for nearly 18 months and there are still unanswered questions about why he was allowed to remain at liberty for so long. Some historians maintain that his presence in Held's house came as a shock to the Government who were unaware that he was in Ireland. Others maintain that the intelligence and security service kept him under deeper surveillance than has been revealed to date to see whom he contacted. Another scenario claims that the Government allowed him to remain free so that in the event of British invasion to seize ports, he could be used to summon German assistance.

As a trained military officer, he considered his mission to Ireland to be one of collecting military information in the role of an intelligence officer. He resented being called a spy and parachuted into Ireland in full military uniform so that if captured in Northern Ireland, which was his intended landing zone, he could claim prisoner of war status under the Geneva Convention. He was disappointed with the IRA with regard to their manner of operation, attitude and capabilities. Highly honourable, he tried to carry out his orders to the best of his ability and did what was expected of him, carrying out his mission with great seriousness. Undoubtedly on this basis, he can be considered as the most successful of all the German World War 2 secret agents landed in Ireland.

The success of Irish military intelligence and their counter-espionage operations, with the Garda, against the Abwehr agents was due to Colonel Liam Bryan and Colonel Dan Archer who in the 1930's prepared very detailed studies on Ireland's strategic position should Britain go to war and made the necessary preparations to serve the country in such an excellent fashion. What information exchanged between Britain and Ireland during the Emergency and between the Gardaí and RUC on German operations in Ireland is covered in Chapter 6 "*Security Operations and covert operations, 1939 – 1945*" of Eunan O'Halpin's "*Defending Ireland - The Irish State and its Enemies Since 1922*", (Oxford 1999), which includes information on the nature of the material exchanged and how this was carried out. However it is my opinion that a lot of this material still remains a classified secret and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future as secret services by their nature like to keep their secrets and activities to themselves.

Acknowledgements

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County Mayo Tour April 2003

By Geraldine Herrera

On a bright Monday morning we left Greystones by coach. We travelled in style and comfort and were well entertained by our driver Ciaran. After a brief stop for coffee we set off for Ardagh. Travelling in such luxury can have its drawbacks. We learned this after trying to negotiate a low bridge and so we took the scenic route and met Paddy Egan at the award winning heritage centre at Ardagh a little later than planned.

After lunch we were shown around the centre, an old schoolhouse built in 1898. Paddy gave us a brief history of the village. We learned of its mythical roots, its importance as an early church and its development into an estate village. Ardagh is also famous for its writers and musicians: Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Walter Scott and Turlough Carolan. Regrettably we didn't have time to follow the town trail, as we had to proceed to the Atlantic Coast Hotel for a welcome drink and dinner.

After our meal we were given a slide show by Gerry Bracken to preview our tour for the following day. This tied in beautifully with the lecture given by Chris Corlett in February. Gerry Bracken worked with Chris on his book: *Antiquities of Co. Mayo*. One of the slides showing the rock of Boheh was of particular interest. The cup, ring marks and spirals that cover this large, natural, outcrop of rock are typical of a style of art dating to the end of the Stone Age. Gerry noticed that from this exact point one could view what he terms the "rolling sun". On the 18th of April and on the 24th of August one can actually observe (weather permitting) the setting sun *roll* down the side of Croagh Patrick. These dates coincide with traditional dates for planting and harvesting.



Aghagower Altar

On the second day of our trip, Gerry acted as our guide for the day. Our first stop was at Aghagower (The Field of the Spring). Aghagower is a Patrician foundation with a round tower and a ruined abbey. St Patrick established a church there at the early stages of his missionary work. His last visit is well recorded by bishop Tireachan who lived before 656. St Patrick spent the winter of 440 - 441 there in preparation for his Croagh Patrick pilgrimage. We had the opportunity to view some of the interesting monuments in Aghagower i.e. leaba Phadraig,

Teampull na bhFiach, Tobar na nDeochaun (The Well of the Deacons) and Dabhach Phadraig (St Patrick's Vat or Tub).

Our next stop was Murrisk, at the base of Croagh Patrick. Opposite the visitor's centre was the magnificent yet somewhat disturbing National Famine Monument. This superb memorial by John Behan commemorates the anniversary of the famine. We also had the chance to see Murrisk Abbey allegedly founded by Augustinian friars in 1456. The east window was of interest with unusual carved heads on the outside wall. The holy water stoop at the east end of the church should also get a mention. It was then time to head for Louisburgh and lunch.

After an eventful morning we were ready to sit back and enjoy the scenic route through Doo Lough Valley. The weather was perfect, blue skies overhead and stunning scenery. Gerry provided information on various sites throughout the afternoon. We arrived back in Westport in time for a quick visit to Clew Bay Heritage Centre, which traces the history of Westport from Pre-Christian times to the present. That evening we enjoyed another delicious meal and some of our group continued to enjoy the night into the early hours.



Aghagower Sculpture



Michael Davitt

The morning of our third day we were introduced to Noel O'Neill and his friend Gerry, enthusiastic local historians with a wealth of information. They called themselves "*The last of the summer wine*". I can't make any connection between wine and archaeology but I'm sure they had a good story behind the name as they certainly had a good story for everything else. We stopped in Castlebar and were given a short, informed history of the town. After that we proceeded to the village of Straide, Foxford, where we were given a most interesting talk on the life of Michael Davitt.

Our next stop was the Céide fields. From the bus we had a splendid view of the cliffs of Céide, an excellent visual example of 300,000,000 years of the Earth's geological past with hundreds of distinct horizontal layers of shale, sandstone and limestone. The Céide Fields were lived in and worked on over five thousand years ago. Today, beneath four metres of bog is a second landscape, possibly the oldest enclosed landscape in Europe, hidden and untouched for fifty centuries. Inside the interpretive

centre we saw that cutting through the bog literally allows one to step back in time and look at the remains of plants from Viking times, Christian times, Roman times, all the way back to the time of the pyramids, a vertical timeline.

COUNTY MAYO TOUR APRIL 2003

The following morning we left the Atlantic Coast and had a quick stop in Westport for a little sightseeing and shopping. On the advice of Noel our guide, we took a short detour to the



Ceide Fields

Museum of Country Life, Turlough Park. It is the only branch of the National museum of Ireland situated outside Dublin and concentrates on rural life in Ireland from the mid- nineteenth to the mid- twentieth centuries. The collection is a celebration of everyday life and shows the struggle and the skill needed for survival in rural communities. Turlough Park House, the work of Thomas Newenham Deane, the new modern building that nestles into the ground, and the elegant glasshouse were admired by many. Most of the group felt that a second visit to the museum would be worthwhile.

Our last and final visit was to CruachanAi, a modern visitors' centre in Tulske where archaeology, history and mythology are brought together in one of the most important royal Celtic royal sites in Europe. Gerry Bracken had provided the centre with some wonderful aerial photography, which was on display. We watched a short video and were given a talk on the recent work of archaeologists and geologists who have been using the latest modern technology to discover more about this fascinating landscape.

After a quick lunch at the centre it was time to head back home. We arrived back in Greystones shortly after six. Many positive comments were made about the trip, which we felt was a great success. The wonderful weather made the trip all the more pleasant. The staff of The Atlantic Coast Hotel should be commended for their excellent service. Many thanks are due to our driver who catered for our every need and comfort throughout our trip.

Credit is also due to Leo Ireton who provided some interesting reading material based on some of our visits. We look forward to next year's trip with great anticipation.

The County Wicklow Military Road

By Pat Power

Background

Many features have helped delineate County Wicklow's status among the counties of Ireland as the "*Garden of Ireland*". Its half million acres are blessed with an immensely varied landscape and superb coastline. Within the county the hand of man and the works of nature have complimented one another repeatedly. Examples shine out like Powerscourt, Mount Usher, Glendalough, Kilruddery and a hundred other locations. Some places of unsurpassed beauty as the Valley of Luggelaw, Lough Dan, the two Lough Brays or the remote vistas of the Wicklow highlands might never have been seen by the general public but for an exceptional and original work of man, the 46 mile long "*Great Military Road*", constructed between 1801 and 1809. This road, built for motives far removed from its present function as a leisure artery of the county, is Ireland's only purpose built military road of any substance. With its surviving barrack buildings and generally unaltered structural state, the route is a historical monument of the first importance, but it also serves as the county's most utilised roadway in communication throughout Wicklow's outstanding mountain terrain, a unique duality. This is a remarkable feature for a historical monument, shared by few other major heritage sites in Ireland, with the exception perhaps of Dun Laoghaire pier.

The concept for a military road across Wicklow was not new even as the 1798 Rebellion swept over Wexford and Wicklow 200 years ago. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558 - 1603) and even earlier, when the Henrician Tudor administration was ruthlessly crushing the native Wicklow septs of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, it was discussed by various Lord Lieutenants and their Anglo-Irish warlords to construct an access into the Wicklow heartlands all the better to control the wilder and more remote places of the mountain lands. They never embarked on a full scale road as such, but portions of the landscape were modified to the military needs of the day.

Thus a short stretch of roadway was cut through the Glen of the Downs by order of Lord Deputy Grey in 1552. The "*DeputiesPass*" near Glenealy was another cutting made for military purposes when the Lord Deputy Russell had it cut in 1594 to supply his new military fortress in Rathdrum, founded as a settlement for English tenants, but now a fully garrisoned military camp.



Dunganstown Castle

Other large scale military building projects never came to fruition, although they were planned on paper like the grandiose "*Osborne's Fort*", a great maritime citadel destined perhaps for to stand on Wicklow Head, but which was never even started. In the early 17th century and during the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, many military type structures were built such as earth walled enclosures, embankments and causeways across wet ground, some of which have lasted into modern times. Other military features shared dual

purpose with civilian usage like "*DunganstownCastle*" (it was actually a fortified house)

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and “Cavanaghs Camp” in Glen Imaal. Military features are also recalled in place names such as “King Williams’s Road” near Arklow and the “Williamite Camp” near Ballyrichard.

An old epigraph of the Dublin Pale summed up the fears and anxieties of its inhabitants towards the native Irish neighbours of the remote mountain lands in “O’Byrnes Countree”, ever visible from the city. In John Derrick’s “Image of Irelande” (1581) a short poetic caption of one of its woodcuts concludes:

“O Sydney worthy of tryple renowne,

For Plagyug the traytours that troubled the crowne. 1581.”

It was this last line which articulated the strategic worry perpetually debated by authority that something must be done with “Wild Wicklow” to make it less a haven to rebels, real and imagined. Nothing was done however and the issue was allowed to sleep. Yet the concept of



Sir Henry Sydney returns to Dublin Castle

securing the capital was not forgotten even as it slept and occasionally events would occur which would awaken the debate to secure Dublin from inaccessible Wicklow.

Despite the narrow Ascendancy politics of the 18th century, the social deprivation of its general population, and layer upon layer of uncivil Penal Laws the bulk of that century was one of relative stability and peace for County Wicklow. At times there were various scares for the government and local authority, like rumoured landings by the various Stewart pretenders, or reports of French recruiting agents infesting the countryside. Reactions to Europe's shifting politics were always likely to make authority run scared and such occasions sent the jitters through the military. On several such crises in far flung Europe, the county's armed forces were mustered for duty. No full scale war preparations were ever made however until 1780 when the perceived invasion from the army of revolutionary France became a real possibility.

Rebellion of 1798

The Rebellion of 1798 precipitated many changes in Ireland, not least of which was its state of military preparations, or rather lack of them. After the scare of Bantry Bay and the actual invasion by French forces in Killala, the military authorities made a searching review of the state of Ireland's defences. This was to have far flung effects, some of which are manifest today in some of the more impressive military monuments like the famous Martello Towers around the coast, the fort at Shannon bridge and the fortifications on Spike Island. Closer to home was the formidable military camp at Loughlinstown, now obliterated by modern housing developments.

Circumstances in County Wicklow presented unique problems. Geographically large swathes of the county were inaccessible, indeed it was this very feature, which received prominent notice in Jacob Nevill's county map of 1760 and was later commented on by his nephew Abraham Nevill on his revision map in 1797. As the rebellion ran its course through 1798 a



Vinegar Hill, Wexford

sizable portion of the rebel army retreated into Wicklow's heartland after Vinegar Hill. Using local knowledge of tracks, glens and the hidden defiles along the length of the Wicklow Mountains, the rebels under Joseph Holt gave a good account of themselves and avoided all efforts to ensnare them in a set piece battle against overwhelming military odds in which they would surely have been destroyed.

During the autumn of '98 the idea of a military road across the mountains was mooted by Colonel John Skerret of the Durham Fencibles. Skerret was a respected soldier and was looked upon by many as the true victor of the decisive

Battle of Arklow (June 9 1798). His strategy was simple, a road would restrict the rebels ability to move their columns around the trackless moor lands and would allow the government to saturate an area swiftly with troops. He intended to move significant numbers of men into hostile areas quickly and snuff out any potential build up of rebel forces. It was appreciated by now, late 1798, that months of living in the field and combat experience had given the rebel host formidable fighting skills and a large unbroken body of such fighters could not be tolerated especially so near the city and coast.

In December the military road idea received a further significant boost when Graves Archer, the captain of the NewtownmountKennedy yeomanry, and a zealous loyalist magistrate wrote a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, outlining a road and a system of blockhouses for the defence of the county. In January 1800, following a number of meetings by the Ascendancy minded Grand Jury, another petition was sent to the viceroy signed by almost all the county nobility, gentry and influential loyalists. Cornwallis was sympathetic to such a project from the outset and had already set preliminary surveys for a military road in train.

General Joseph Holt nominal chief of the Wicklow rebels had surrendered in November 1798 and the mantle of leadership passed to the formidable Michael Dwyer of Glen Imaal. A local born guerrilla leader, Dwyer carved himself a



Lord Cornwallis

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formidable reputation for courage, resourcefulness and skill in the battlefield. He remained an avowed and uncompromising foe of authority, especially to its localised leadership. Dwyer knew his mountain background intimately where, with the support of an extended family and the goodwill of mountain residents, he lived a fugitive's life along with a shifting number of equally determined followers. Though never in a position to mount any large scale operation against the Crown forces, Dwyer's occasional forays and small attacks kept the local yeomanry off balance and the ascendancy gentlemen, especially those resident in the mountain areas, in a constant anxiety. Militarily impotent as he was however, Michael Dwyer worried Dublin Castle while "*he hung over the town*". In truth his government enemies were not too sure how many armed men lay behind the Wicklow rebel leader or what support he could muster if insurrection flared up again. Another factor in their thinking was what possible part Dwyer might play in the event of a French landing on the east coast. All of these issues, and the sleeping ambition since the days of the Tudor wars, helped sway the decision to construct a military road across the Wicklow Mountains that was agreed in February of 1800.



Michael Dwyer

Such a road as proposed by the army was not a novel concept in the British Isles. From 1716, military and social conditions in the Scottish highlands following the Jacobite Rebellion were to be mirrored in rebel Wicklow 80 years later. Access to the remote Scottish highlands following the 1716 campaign became a military priority then. The building of several lengthy roads and a system of fortified blockhouses over a ten year period from 1725 was entrusted to an army general of outstanding engineering ability, George Wade (1673-1748); a native of County Westmeath. Wade's system became a standard model for other army road projects in different countries. One of his most enduring innovations were the "*Wades Bridges*", of which over forty were constructed in Scotland and most of which still serve today. The Scottish Military Roads were well laid and metalled all weather highways, on which six men could march comfortably abreast with full kit, and which allowed horse drawn artillery to traverse without becoming bogged down. At various strategic stages along the route fortified stone blockhouses were built, strong enough to withstand a short local siege on the supposition that reinforcements could be swiftly brought to bear and relieve them. General Wade's system was the one adapted, with some modification, to the Wicklow situation.

Route of Road Mapped Out

In the spring of 1800 the Lord Lieutenant authorised an extensive survey of the proposed Wicklow route. It was entrusted to a 55 year old career soldier from Aberdeen, Captain Alexander Taylor. He would later make a name for himself as one of Ireland's great road builders. Taylor came to Ireland in 1778 as a surveyor with the Aberdeen Highlanders. In 1789 he was seconded to the newly founded Royal Irish Engineers. As Taylor prepared for his project there was large scale military activity taking place in Wicklow. Since the end of the rebellion strategic encampments had been established in various mountain glens by Colonel George Stewart. Large numbers of troops were deployed from these camps. Stewart organised periodic sweeps through the mountains hoping to flush out the last pockets of resistance and the remnants of the rebel army. It was all a much wasted effort. Michael Dwyer was prudent enough to keep the head down and out of harms way knowing that his small forces were not in a position to precipitate a new full scale rebellion, or take on Stewart's forces on a one to

one basis. Dwyer may have eluded defeat however but under the protection of Colonel Stewart's forces, the route of the Military Road was fully surveyed and plotted by Taylor without hindrance and this would lead to Dwyer's eventual undoing. Colonel Stewart's sorties were also used as an opportunity to run any rebel bands away from the new road line. Taylor's final assessment for the road was presented to Cornwallis in late spring 1801.

County Wicklow's overall military weakness, from the government's point of view, was based on the fact that four of the counties crossing routes from east to west had no connecting road from north to south. Military officials were conscious that this had frustrated the destruction of the rebel army in 1798 and a new communication must connect all four inter-county roads by the north-south artery. The road would begin in the Dublin suburb of Rathfarnham, then a distinct township outside the city proper, but close to the main mustering barracks. It would exit the county from Ballyboden and Mount Venus towards Glencree and Aurora. Following a long spur over desolate heath it would intersect with the Blessington - Roundwood road at Sallygap. Continuing across the mountains it would reach Laragh via the scenic and then isolated Glenmacnass. A short stretch of the then existing Grand Jury road was incorporated until at Derrybawn it would cut across mountain country again, descending into Drumgoff in mid Glenmalur. From there it would be cut across to lonely Aughavannagh. In addition there was to be a short portion of road to link the main Military Road with Enniskerry and another to link with Roundwood skirting the heights above Lough Dan. In total the Wicklow Military Road would cover 36 miles and was specified to be 12 to 14 feet wide.

Work Commences on the Road

Lord Cornwallis, always a keen advocate of the project, visited the proposed route in April 1800. On the 15th May Captain Taylor was ordered to commence the work proper. In June 200 soldiers drawn from the North Cork Militia, the Dublin City Militia, The Duke of York's Highlanders, and the Somerset Fencibles moved into the area. They were divided into groups of fifty under the supervision of four officers. Soldier's pay was a shilling a day, all found (12 old pence was equal to 5 pence in modern values, but the purchasing power of money in 1800 should be taken into account). Officers received five shillings a day and Alexander Taylor was paid the princely sum of fifteen shillings per day, the lion's share of the fees.

The headquarters of the project was set up in Glencree. There were initially no plans for permanent manned barracks and the army personnel lived in tents and sod houses constructed from turf, in the Scottish fashion. These were built by members of the 72 Regiment of Seaford Highlanders. It was an irony that Michael Dwyer also used sod houses and dugouts concealed with turf to remain at liberty, often under the noses of these same soldiers.

The bureaucracy of the project was never a smooth running operation and for a month the soldiers stood around awaiting an issue of tools. These were not made until August to the disgust of Taylor, who lamented the loss of a whole six week period of good summer weather when road making could have been carrying on. Eventually 200 shovels, 40 wheel barrows, crowbars, hammers and pickaxes were distributed and work proper began on the 12th August. Some local labour was hired to supplement the soldiers, but generally the potential civilian workforce along the route were not too impressed with the employment opportunities the road works offered. This was not out of any loyalty or fear of reprisal from Michael Dwyer, or from anti-army sentiment but from (as it happened), a justifiable concern, that when the road was completed and functioning the rents for mountain land hitherto set at a very modest figure would steeply increase now that such land was directly accessed. Alexander Taylor recognised this himself when he wrote to his superiors in Dublin *"They are not amenable to the discipline of the military and would sooner tend their cattle than work"*.

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This rent issue was to be a constant fear for the peasant communities living near the Military Road. It engendered hostility to the project for the duration of its construction and certainly helped Dwyer and his men keep anti-government sentiment alive. Despite these limitations and Taylor's own prejudices about the natives, he did manage to recruit a number of civilians on the project. Most of these were drawn from the loyalist spectrum of the population and as they gained experience more work was entrusted to them.

Many permanent features of architectural "*hard landscape*" were incorporated into the road. In its initial ten miles eighty six structures were laid down such as bridges, water sewers, culverts and pavement. Some of the stone required for these was quarried from outcrops along the route, but other material probably originated from a more controversial source, such as the materials from which the Owendoher Bridge were constructed. These may have been stones from an ancient stone ring fort on Killakee Hill. Captain Taylor was not sensitive to the modern ethos of preserving heritage en-route.

Structures like bridges were made on a pattern basis. These were devised when a Scottish master mason in the army would lay down a model bridge to an exact standard. This in turn was faithfully copied by other army masons and contractors and duplicated all along the route, size being the only limitation. In this way uniformity was established throughout the whole length of the Military Road. It is a testament of how well they built that almost two centuries later the same constructions still serve bearing traffic inconceivable to Taylor and his artisans.

Throughout 1800 and the following year the military forged ahead though not without problems. Taylor was constantly plagued by administrative troubles within the army itself. Much of this was outside his control. The loss of skilled manpower was the main problem. Men were constantly being drafted from his small compliment of 200 into the regiments of the line for active service. Though much of the road work was brute strength and heavy mulakin with pick and shovel, this labouring was nonetheless skilled in its way and the constant haemorrhage of his experienced workers and stone layers set back the project completion time considerably.

Pleading with the office of the Lord Lieutenant brought little succour even though the highest in the land was well disposed to the road. In fact Taylor was lucky to be allowed continue at all. With the Peace of Amiens in 1802 huge numbers of troops were stood down in Ireland, as elsewhere, and it looked for a couple of months of that year at any rate that the whole military road project would be wound up as a cost saving exercise. The road's expense was never without its critics and now that a peace was signed there were those who questioned the need for the Wicklow Military Road at all.

Lord Hardwicke, who succeeded Cornwallis was, if anything an even stronger apostle to the idea of the great military road and he probably kept the project from folding entirely. Powerful too was the lobby of the Wicklow county gentry and local military establishment who were unswerving in supporting the road for their own security. The renewed war with France in 1803 finally ensured the success for the road completion; indeed it took on a new dimension as a national strategic military asset as well as a county defence project. Yet even as the project moved up in the national military requirements and strategic importance, the army still continued to hive off Taylor's best men. This was never resolved and was a situation the engineer had to live with until the whole road was completed.

In 1802 Captain Taylor established a new corps of road builders to be his mainstay in completing the route. These would be drawn from ex-soldiers and skilled labourers and would work under military discipline. The corps itself would have quasi-military status with the same conditions of military service as the local yeomanry groups. The new organisation was called the "*Glencree Pioneers*" because they were bivouacked in the Glencree valley. Accommodation was still in tent camps and sod houses. It was yet another of Taylor's gripes

that none of his pioneers could get lodgings and accommodation in the homes of the locals, which he would have liked in preference to the rough and ready temporary dwellings at Glencree. But the locals, as he complained, were always asking far too much for the lodgings.

The situation of a proper permanent barrack might never have been resolved but for the renewing of the war with France in 1803, when it was to continue intermittently until Waterloo in 1815. As the war progressed in intensity Captain Taylor eventually found his cooperation from the War Office easier when instructions from the Lord Lieutenant's office guaranteed him a steady supply of both men and finance. Indeed the whole scale of the road broadened and where hitherto it was envisaged just as a road for quick communication, now the emphasis changed to that of a road of strategic defence.

This rent issue was to be a constant fear for the peasant communities living near the Military Road. It engendered hostility to the project for the duration of its construction and certainly helped Dwyer and his men keep anti-government sentiment alive. Despite these limitations and Taylor's own prejudices about the natives, he did manage to recruit a number of civilians on the project. Most of these were drawn from the loyalist spectrum of the population and as they gained experience more work was entrusted to them.

Many permanent features of architectural "*hard landscape*" were incorporated into the road. In its initial ten miles eighty six structures were laid down such as bridges, water sewers, culverts and pavement. Some of the stone required for these was quarried from outcrops along the route, but other material probably originated from a more controversial source, such as the materials from which the Owendoher Bridge were constructed. These may have been stones from an ancient stone ring fort on Killakee Hill. Captain Taylor was not sensitive to the modern ethos of preserving heritage en-route.

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Barracks on the Road

In January 1803 the Barrack Board, a section of the war office, inspected the road route for sites where three permanent barracks and perhaps a fourth, could be erected capable of housing several hundred troops each. The sites chosen were at Glencree, near Aurora turf house camp, a possible one at Liffy Head Bridge, one at Laragh, one at Drumgoff in mid Glenmalure and one at Aughavannagh. Not strictly on the Military Road itself was Leitrim Barracks in the Glen Imaal. Its function was to protect the old mountain track way linking Glen Imaal to Glendalough. While Captain Taylor's Glencree Pioneers built the approach roads and artillery bastions for the quarters, the structures were erected by private contractors from Dublin. The bridges serving the barracks were built from the Grand Jury county road budget, The Drumgoff two arched stone bridge in Glenmalure, which still stands, cost £700. The original bridge at Aughavannagh, replaced in 1907, cost £1,500 making it an expensive addition to the Military Road.

Five barracks were eventually erected in record time at a cost overall of £26,500. The military deemed it money well spent. The purpose of this major outlay was not just to inhibit Michael Dwyer and his (now small ragged rebel band), but also to deter a full-fledged French invasion. Hence the size, strength and frequency of the Wicklow barrack system. They were to be an integral part of a larger battle plan incorporating coastal defences like the Martello Towers and inland forts like Shannonbridge. Wicklow's barracks could accommodate up to 600 men indoors along with support stores, with many more bivouacking in the redoubts. Leitrim Barracks in Glen Imaal was the largest building with a compliment of 200. Drumgoff, Laragh, Aughavannagh, and Glencree held a normal compliment of 100 men each. An additional barrack was planned for Liffy Head between the Sally Gap and Glencree but was never built. Each of these structures was surrounded with a raised redoubt, which is a defensive wall with steep sides from which fire could be brought to bear on all points. The redoubts were armed with two cannon.

With the poor fighting equipment of the Wicklow rebels a direct attack on any barrack was out of the question. Yet strong as they were in comparison to the rebel's resources, Michael Dwyer was not intimidated by their presence on the landscape. He made some efforts to delay the

completion of the Leitrim Barracks at least, by pulling down sections of newly built walls. Dwyer also approached the civilian workmen and tried to subvert them into the United Irishmen Society. This might have been a relatively easy task, for it was rumoured among the Wicklow loyalists that some of the Dublin builders' labourers employed on the project were "*United to a man*".

Alexander Taylor was to experience Dwyer's audaciousness himself when the Wicklow outlaw visited sympathetic workmen on the Leitrim Barrack construction site in May 1803. On this occasion the captain and the rebel exchanged a polite conversation without Taylor knowing it was the bane of the Wicklow loyalists he addressed. A few days later Dwyer coolly talked his way out of capture by a couple of yeomen who happened upon him alone by dropping Taylor's name and convincing them he was in fact an employee on the Leitrim Barracks.

Emmett's abortive rising spurred the whole military road construction throughout the summer of 1803. Even in the wake of Michael Dwyer's surrender in December 1803 after years in the field, the authorities in Dublin did not let up on the work. They still feared a French invasion probably more than ever now that Napoleon's armies were at the zenith of their conquest of Europe. Pressure was exerted on Taylor to finish the project despite the setbacks from the War Office flitching his men and legal obstacles. This was a case with a Wicklow gentleman of very loyalist outlook, Abraham Critchely of Derrybawn, who despite his bleating about loyalist security nevertheless held up the progress of the road for over a year between Derrybawn and Aughavannagh when he went into dispute over the route crossing his property.

Completion of the Road

At last in 1809 the Great Military Road could be said to have finished and Alexander Taylor submitted his last bill for £1,976. The entire road cost £435,000, working out at about £1,280 per mile. It was twice what Taylor originally budgeted for.

After the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo bringing an end to the Anglo-French war, the history of the road became something of an anti-climax. For a while the idea was touted to give demobbed Highland soldiers plots for small farms and private houses along the road hoping to institute a corps of latter day Janissaries in the Turkish fashion, to live among the native peasantry. The plan was not taken up despite the enthusiasm of Lord Lieutenant Hardwicke, mainly because these would-be farmers of the mountains could not get leases longer than 21 years, and the acknowledged poverty of the actual land itself. So what might have been Ireland's last "*Plantation*" failed, and the hopes articulated by Sir Richard Griffith that:

"With a small portion of land we would soon behold a sturdy race of loyal mountaineers who would strengthen the hands of Government by rendering what has lately been a shelter for lawless rebels, the residence of a grateful Population"



The Military Roads

From its completion, the Military Road was available to the local civilian population. Those who resided in the immediate vicinity could use it anytime, as the local military probably knew them. However strangers wishing to travel it were obliged to obtain a permit of transit by application from the Barrack Master in Dublin. Such permission was rarely refused. The hidden benefit of the road, that it was an access to Wicklow's hitherto inaccessible majestic mountain scenery was immediately appreciated. By 1809 early travellers and commentators

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waxed eloquent about the newly discovered vistas now on view to the public. It was not long before artists and writers were recording the scenes by word, paint and on engravings. Even before the road was fully completed in 1806 the eminent Irish landscapist Thomas Sautelle Roberts (1760-1826) was painting the construction of the section as it traversed Glenmacnass. George Petrie (1790-1866) illustrated a fine study of a lonely Drumgoff Barracks in 1822, along with several other portions of scenery viewed from the Military Road for Wrights "*Tour of Wicklow*", one of the best illustrated tour guides of the county published during the Georgian period.



Drumgoff Barracks circa 1827

With the declining threat from foreign invasion the marital aspects of the mountain road diminished. But it was not allowed to fall to dereliction, as was the fate of many military installations when the threat of war was removed. From time to time the roads strategic purpose was resurrected in reaction to national issues, as during the land agitation in the 1840's when several platoons of the newly instituted para-military Irish Constabulary occupied several of the barrack buildings. The Fenian rising of 1867 brought back all the latent fears of '98 when the nationalists assembled at Tallaght for an attempt on Dublin. In the wake of that event great manhunts and searches were organised along the road on a scale not seen since the days of Michael Dwyer. Between such crises the military intermittently patrolled the route when they kept a presence in the five barrack buildings.

During the War of Independence from 1916 to 1922 the British army and the notorious Black and Tans scoured along the road in the belief that "*Shinners*", as they dubbed the IRA, had many men hiding in the mountains, a claim not without foundation. Up to the Second World War the road continued to play a part in Irish military history. In 1943 it provided access to the Featherbeds and Glenree turf bogs which were of vital economic importance during the country's wartime fuel shortages. So important was the access the road gave to the turf grounds that the portion between Glenree and Sallygap was reconstructed to take laden turf lorries.

The barrack buildings, probably the most conspicuous features of the Wicklow Military Road, have had chequered histories. Within a generation of the roads completion they ceased a purely military use and were given over to other purposes.

Glencree Barrack

Glencree Barrack building was militarily occupied for 40 years after the whole project was finished. It was from here that passes were issued to visitors of “*good reputation*” who wished to travel the road and view the mountain scenery. After the end of its garrison phase in the 1840's the building became a store for government materials and was the base for the Ordnance Survey when it mapped the eastern counties. Later the premise was used mainly by the Irish Post Office.

In the mid-19th century Glencree barracks became a religious foundation run by the Irish Christian Brothers. They also ran an “*Industrial School*” in the premises. This particular institution, now reviled for its insensitive regime and rough discipline, lasted up to the mid 1950's. One of its brighter uses in a grim time was during the years 1945/46 when it served as a hostel for German refugee children coming to Ireland to rehabilitate after the trauma of the war. Glencree also played a part in the life of the Irish literary figure Oscar Wilde. His mother and sisters were baptised as Roman Catholics in the school church here. Today the premise is an internationally famous venue for peace and reconciliation. It has been extensively rebuilt and renovated during the Millennium year.



Glencree Barracks today

Laragh Barrack

Laragh Barrack did not fare so well. It was sold off by the Irish department of the War Office in the mid-19th century. For years after it served as a storehouse to the Laragh Mill. It was later converted to a private residence. The whole edifice was demolished in 1955. The ground it stood on is still called the “*Ordnance Ground*”.

Drumgoff Barrack

Drumgoff Barrack, though now a gaunt shell, still remains a dramatic sight. Situated halfway up the Glenmalur valley, the ruin occupies a two and a half acre site. It is built on the slightly rising ground of an ancient glacial esker. The barrack consists of an outer defence wall, approach road, gate, bridge traversing the Avonbeg River and a three - storied building. The barrack probably lies on the location of an Elizabethan military camp raised by Lord Deputy Russell in 1598, in prosecution of his war against Feagh McHugh O'Byrne. If this is indeed the case then Drumgoff takes on a deeper historical significance. Michael Dwyer is intimately associated with Drumgoff. It was part of the garrison's task to curtail his activities in the

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Glenmalure area. Much of the folklore and many stories surrounding Dwyer emanate from the conflict between his rebel band and the highland troops stationed in the barrack. The striking rocky crag to the northeast of Drumgoff, which overlooks the building, is called "*Dwyer's Lookout*". As part of Lord Hardwick's plantation scheme, Drumgoff was envisaged as the nucleus for a projected village peopled by a community of demobbed Scottish soldiers and emigrants who would farm for their sustenance but for reasons stated the scheme never materialised.

In 1822 Drumgoff's military compliment was reduced from a hundred soldiers to a company of twelve men only. If local political conditions demanded it however, such as the collection of the annual church tithe, or other socially divisive occasion, the garrison was increased.

The Wicklow Mining Company, which operated the Glenmalure Lead Mine further up the valley from Drumgoff, leased the building as living quarters for miners and company offices from 1844. It was to serve as a hostel for over thirty years. Drumgoff never appeared to have any purely military purpose after 1844.

In c.1868 when mining ceased in Glenmalure ownership of the barrack site reverted to the Kemmis family of Ballinacor House (on whose land it was originally built, and this was the case with all the barrack buildings; when they ceased military use, the ground landlords had first option on the structures). Colonel Kemmis loaned the premises out from time to time for shooting parties. Over a century ago the immediate grounds surrounding the building were extensively planted with Beech trees to embellish its rather stark location. This landscaping was part of an unfulfilled plan to turn the barrack building into a health spa, an idea of the Colonel. Up to this modest planting scheme, Glenmalure had little natural woodland in the valley. All of its native trees had long been removed for fuel and other uses during the mining period in the 18th century. Since 1900 the Drumgoff Barrack has steadily deteriorated until it has reached its present sorry state as a gaunt, derelict and closed off ruin.



Drumgoff Barrack today

Aughavannagh Barrack

The most intact of the original military buildings along the road is Aughavannagh Barrack. It retains many of the defensive features first constructed in 1804. Most prominent is a watchtower which overlooks a large swathe of bog land. Outhouses and ancillary structures, all totally ruined, surround the main block. These buildings were unfortunately unroofed during the turn of the last century to avoid paying rates, and not out of any martial considerations. Two (now ruined) redoubts guarded Aughavannagh from attack. Both are still discernable, although the defensive walls have more or less collapsed.

William Parnell, grandfather of the famous Charles Stewart Parnell, retained a portion of the barrack as a hunting lodge shortly after the War Office ceased using it in 1825 (Parnell was ground landlord). Later on the family shared the building with the newly founded Irish Constabulary who used it for many years as a garrison, sometimes with up to 50 men, depending on the perceived state of the country. Charles Stewart Parnell was a frequent resident of Aughavannagh throughout his short lifetime and, before he met his destined love Katherine O'Shea, he used it as a refuge to escape from a busy parliamentary life. Up to the famous meeting and subsequent relationship, Parnell would hunt and shoot across the heath land of Aughavannagh with a small cadre of handpicked friends. There they would drink and unwind, and no doubt plot and guide the destiny of the Irish Land League and Home Rule movement.

Following Parnell's tragic death the barrack came into the ownership of the parliamentary leader John Redmond, who continued to use it as a sporting lodge. It was as well perhaps that Aughavannagh had these particular owners who used the place only occasionally thus sparing it from rebuilding and renovations that may have profoundly altered the original plans. In its later history the premises came into the ownership of An Oige who used it as a hostel. In this aspect Aughavannagh Barracks has become known to generations of hill walkers. A conservation programme to preserve the building is now underway.



Aughavannagh Barrack

Leitrim Barrack

Little remains of Leitrim Barrack near Seskin in the isolated Glen Imaal. It was built principally to intimidate Michael Dwyer, for it was appreciated at the time (1803) that this was the rebel leader's heartland. Dwyer made several efforts to stymie the building, but lacking much by way of explosives or manpower, he was limited in what he could achieve, but it did not stop some of his followers trying, as this account attests:

"When night drew its veil along the dark Glen of Imaal they loaded all their arms and went straight to the barracks, the walls of which had now reached the elevation of twenty feet, they soon found some crowbars and then set to it with the greatest diligence and expedition to

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throw down the masonry work and in a short time an immense quantity of the work was cast down ... it was positively affirmed that there should have been several hundred men engaged in that diabolical destruction of that splendid homestead that was rapidly advancing to completion to domicile the journeymen butchers of their fellowmen."

(Testimony of Laurence O'Keefe, a companion of Dwyer, who took part in the destruction, quoted from: *Exploring Wicklow's Rebel Past* by Dr Ruan O'Donnell.)

Because the military used conscripted labour on the building, the civilian workers were generally sympathetic to Dwyer and supplied him with gunpowder and victuals when they could. Following Michael Dwyer's surrender and a general pacification of County Wicklow, Leirim Barracks became an economic liability. Far off the beaten track there was little demand for any other purpose other than what it had been built for. In 1914 following an accidental fire that destroyed large portions of the main barracks the place was demolished. The foundations and a few fragments of wall are all that now remain of this historic place.

A Priest, an Altar and a Window

By Canon Robert Jennings

Introduction

The Church of Ireland Church of St Matthew's Newtownmountkennedy has memorials to a number of famous people. It was built in 1836 as a Chapel of Ease for the Parish Church of Newcastle, which could no longer accommodate its growing population. It also became the centre of worship for the "*gentry*" of surrounding parishes. Parish records bear witness to this, as parishioners included not only those from the Parish, but also from Glendalough, Ballinastoe, Roundwood, Tinnapark, Dromin, Kilquade, Streamstown, Killincarrig, Delgany and Kilcoole. The morning congregation often numbered 270 and a 100 at the evening service. Rented stabling for horses as well as a bicycle shed were provided where Fishers shop now stands. The church still has the old box pews for which families paid a pew rent. Each pew has a lockable door, which gave privacy to the family and inside another small lockable cupboard for hymn books and prayer books, and hooks for gentleman's hats and ladies' handbags. At the back of the Church and in the extended gallery were open pews, which anyone could use without payment. Even as late as 1900, 25 families paid pew rents of between 15 shillings to £3 5s 0d per year. Pew rents were later abolished.



St Matthew's Church, Newtownmountkennedy

The most notable Rector of St Matthew's was Reverend Henry Irwin who ministered there for 32 years 1863 - 1895. For 80 years one or more of the Irwin family, father, the Revd. Henry Irwin, son Arthur, a lay reader, and daughter Amy travelled the two miles or so almost daily by pony and trap from their home, Prospect House (for there was no Rectory) to their beloved Church. They took the services, taught in the school and in Sunday School, cared for the Church, played the organ, visited the parishioners and the sick and were known and loved by all. As was said of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of Westminster Abbey, if you wish to see the Irwins' memorial, look around St Matthew's Church. The Irwins had six children, three of whom became missionary priests: Henry to Canada; Philip to Florida, where he was once

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tarred and feathered for befriending the blacks and later became archdeacon of Philadelphia; and Edward went to Kimberley South Africa. Arthur, a lay reader to his father, Amy and Lucy stayed at home in Ireland.

A Priest

Henry Irwin, or Father Pat as he was affectionately known all his life, was born on 2nd August 1859 at Prospect House, Newtownmountkennedy. As mentioned above, he was the eldest son of Henry Irwin. His grandfather was chaplain to the primate, Lord John Beresford. At the age of 12 young Henry went to St Colomba's College at Rathfarnham. The Warden of St Colomba's said of him:

"From the very first Henry showed high and strong principle, ever ready with his work, ever near the front in the playing field, ever attentive and devout in Chapel". It is reported by some of his peers of those days that on one occasion "a ball from Henry's cricket bat just missed striking the head of Mrs Parnell who was mother of Charles Stuart Parnell and also of Henry Tudor Parnell, a student with Henry at the time in St Colomba's".

In 1878 he entered Keble College, Oxford where he kept up his reputation as an athlete, rowing in the Torpids and Eights, and playing football and rugby. When he graduated from Oxford he went to Ely Theological College and in 1883 was appointed Curate of Rugby. Just 120 years ago, he followed a long-felt call and crossed the Atlantic to British Columbia. His parish there was almost as big as the whole of Ireland, 300 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. In the tradition of many another from Co. Wicklow, he was a good horseman and travelled the whole of his parish on horseback. There, as a missionary priest, he ministered to the miners, railroad builders and scattered settlers and pioneers of this rough country. They all knew him as "Father Pat", friend and messenger of God.

Many stories are told of his bravery in rescuing men in that wild country and of his love and compassion for all men. In 1887 the Revd. Henry Irwin was moved from the rolling foothills of the Kamloops area to the railway town of Donald between the Colombia River and the towering Rocky Mountains. The railroad workmen in the winter were in constant peril from avalanches of snow, rock and trees. On one occasion 6 of 16 men were buried in a snow-slide and their bodies recovered and carried back to Donald. Father Pat Irwin was in the rescue party.



Father Pat

On another occasion an engine and snowplough were engulfed and with them a conductor, Mr Green. Father Pat heard of the accident and hurried to the spot. The conductor's body was recovered and placed on a toboggan, and alone and single handed Father Pat hauled the sleigh from the pass over the desolate and dangerous trail to Donald. The journey took two days.

- He built a number of small wooden churches where services were held on Sundays. It sounds amusing now but at the time it was far from amusing when one of his churches was literally stolen and used elsewhere!
- In 1890 Father Pat met and married Frances Innes at St Paul's Church, Esquimalt on Vancouver Island. Her father was the superintendent of H.M. Naval establishment. His bride was described as a charming lady, soft curling brown hair, expressive blue eyes and a sweet childlike smile. They were very happy for just eleven months until both Frances and their only baby died within a few days of each other.

Father Pat was left to labour on alone once more. At Rossland he opened a free library and reading room for miners and rail road workers. He built churches and called to one and all to come and worship God. For a short period he returned to Ireland and helped his father at St Matthew's, but he was restless and returned once more to British Columbia. He died at the young age of 43 in 1902. In Rossland today there stands a monumental lamp and drinking fountain. It tells symbolically of the "*Light*" this man of God from Newtownmountkennedy had followed and of the "*Water of Light*" which he gave men to drink. On the stone fountain are written the words:

"His home was known to all the vagrant train; he chid their wandering and relieved their pain". On the east side of the fountain is the inscription: "I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink". On the west side: "I was hungered and ye gave me to eat". On the north side: "In Memoriam. Father Pat".

On the south side: "*A man he was to all the country dear. Requiescat in Pace*". Close by is another memorial, perhaps as eloquent and even more touching: a cairn erected to Father Pat's memory by the miners themselves, consisting of specimens of all the rich and valued ores produced by the mines of Rossland, each labelled with the name of the mine.

In a corner of the beautiful little cemetery at Sapperton near Montreal above the Frazer River there is a semi-circular headstone, very low and small. In its centre is the Cross enclosed in a circle. It is the grave of the nameless little one who never saw light; and beneath the symbol are these touching lines:

"No name had I, O Christ, to offer thee, nor from thy font received thy sacred sign, yet in thy book of life remember me, I plead my Saviour's name instead of mine. Child of H and F S Irwin."

Not far off lie the parents in one grave with two white marble crosses at head and foot. In 1907 a beautiful east window was erected in St Matthew's Church, Newtownmountkennedy in memory of Father Pat. There is another memorial window in St Colomba's College Chapel, Rathfarnham.

Father Pat's dedicated life and work is still so revered in Canada that he is commemorated and named in the Canadian Church Calendar every January 14, the date of his death. A verse from a poem by a Rossland miner pays this tribute to Father Pat:

He wore the Church of England brand, but didn't bank on creeds.
His way to hearts was not with words, but helpful, loving deeds.
Though we were hard to work upon not readily enticed
We called him the first Christian that ever lived - since Christ.

An Altar

In the sanctuary of St Matthew's Church Newtownmountkennedy is a black oak and extensively carved altar known as Ridley's altar on which Holy Communion has been celebrated for hundreds of years. I cannot fully vouch for its authenticity, but if true, it must be a most valuable and historic possession.

Nicholas Ridley, 1500 - 1555, an English bishop, reformer and martyr was educated at the Universities of Cambridge, Paris and Leuven. In 1537, having shown leanings towards the Reformation he was made chaplain to Cambridge University, later chaplain to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was appointed chaplain to King Henry VIII in 1541. Ridley helped Cranmer to complete the Book of Common Prayer and the 39 Articles of Religion. On the death of Edward VI Ridley supported Lady Jane Grey's claim to the throne but was arrested by Mary, a Roman Catholic, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Here he wrote statements defending his religious opinions. In 1554, refusing to recant, he was declared a heretic and excommunicated. He was tried under the penal laws instituted by the

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Catholic Queen, which provided for the execution of heretics. Ridley was burned at the stake in Oxford with fellow Bishop, Hugh Latimer in 1555.

At the Reformation and as Bishop of London, and elsewhere, Ridley encouraged the abandonment of the existing high stone altars remote and screened from the people and to be replaced by wooden tables or altars situated in the body of the church so that worshippers could stand or kneel around it to receive the sacrament. Such destruction of high altars appear today to be acts of vandalism, but its purpose in part helped the church to discover how the congregation could take their part in the Eucharist which is still being explored and implemented today in so many realistic ways.



Ridley's Altar and memorial window to Father Pat

The altar in St Matthew's conforms in a remarkable way to this significant alteration in the position of the altar. Instead of just being ornamentally carved at the front, where it could be seen by the congregation as is usual, it is also carved at the north and south ends and each side of the four legs are also carved. This suggests that worshippers standing or kneeling all around the wooden altar could view the carved decorations.

An extract from the *"Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship"* in describing altars in England and Ireland says:

"The Church of Newtownmountkennedy, Co. Wicklow, possesses a communion table known as Ridley's altar, which is said to have been used by him in celebrating the Holy Communion. The table was brought from England by William Sewells, one of the founders of St Colomba's College, Rathfarnham in the middle of the 19th century and used as an altar in the College Chapel. Later it was purchased by a Rector of Newtownmountkennedy for his church. No evidence is forthcoming as to the history of the table before it came to Ireland, or how it became

connected with Ridley's Name. The table might be 16th century. It is 5ft 2 in long, 2ft 4in wide and 2ft 8in high".

On measuring it I find that this is exactly so. It has elaborate carving to the front and sides with Latin and Jerusalem carved crosses, crowns, and significantly, Bishop's mitres etc.

In retirement, with more time to spare, my daughter Katie and I have made extensive research into the history of Ridley's altar.

Rev. William Sewell and others in 1843 established the Eton type College of St Colomba's College at Stackallan, Co. Meath. It was however Irish orientated and the prayer book used in the College Chapel had English on one side and Irish on the other so that the boys might more easily learn their native language. A Chapel was converted from an old coach house and various pieces of church and school furnishings were bought or acquired by Sewell in England to help furnish the new Chapel and school. Most of these can still be seen in the present College. These pieces are mentioned by name except for what is called *"a valuable gift"* from Magdalene College, Oxford, where William Sewell's brother Richard was a Fellow and Vice Principal. One may speculate if this was the altar. In 1848 the College moved to a new site at Rathfarnham where a wooden Chapel was built. This was replaced in 1880 and the old furnishings listed as stalls, Pulpit, organ and lectern were moved to the new Chapel. There is

no mention of the altar because it was at this time the latter was acquired by the Rev Henry Irwin for St Matthew's. A stone cross inset on the terrace at St Colomba's marks the spot where the altar stood.

Last year I asked the local well-known archaeologist Christian Corlett to examine it. He was very interested and said it could well be 16th century. He advised contacting the National Museum for their opinion. They sent three specialists who advised dating it by dendrochronology. However in order to perform the procedure, a licence to alter an archaeological object must be sought from the Irish antiquities division. On further advice it seems this would not be possible through lack of sufficient tree rings in the wood of the altar.

In parallel with local Irish information we sought to find something of the altar's previous history from the historians of Cambridge and Oxford universities. They were extremely interested and provided us with additional information about Ridley and furnishings in university Chapels with which Ridley was associated. They will inform us of any developments. The endeavour and excitement is in the chase, not the kill. Although the final history and origin of this altar has not yet been concluded in spite of a research file two inches thick the chase still continues for the history of Ridley's altar which is still used every Sunday and Wednesday in St Matthew's Church, Newtownmountkennedy.

A Window



Grimshaw's window in
St Matthew's Church

In St Matthew's Church, Newtownmountkennedy, there is a lovely stained glass window which we call the Grimshaw's window. It depicts the healing of the lame man by our Lord at the Pool of Bethesda (St John, Ch 5). The inscription on the window is as follows:

"In memory of Elizabeth Dorothea Grimshaw who worshipped in this church for nine years. Died August 17 1906. Also her husband Wrigley Grimshaw F.R.C.S.I. died June 1878".

Wrigley Grimshaw was Dental Surgeon to Steeven's and St Mark's Hospital and the Pitt St Institution for Diseases of Children in Dublin. The history of the Grimshaw family from the 13th century is given in Whittaker's *"History of Whorley"* and in *"Lancashire's Worthies"*. Dr Thomas Grimshaw, who erected this window, was born near Belfast in 1839. His great-grandfather had come from Lancashire and founded the Calico printing industry in Ireland using machinery for the spinners. He studied medicine and many other related disciplines at Trinity College Dublin, gaining many distinctions and honours. He was visiting physician to Steeven's Hospital, Cork St. Fever Hospital,

National Hospital for Consumption at Newcastle, Co. Wicklow, Sir Patrick Dun's and was also a lecturer and writer of medical journals. In 1879 he was appointed Registrar-General for Ireland, which included overseeing the Census of 1881 and 1891. He was a member of two committees of enquiry:

1. The Dietary of Irish Prisons
2. The Sanitary conditions of the Royal Barracks.

Nothing new here in Irish Society except the costs involved!!

A PRIEST, AN ALTAR AND A WINDOW

In 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, Thomas was awarded Companionship of the Bath. He married Sarah, daughter of Rev Thomas and they had a family of seven sons and two daughters. Some died at an early age while the others distinguished themselves in colonial service and three as officers in the Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

Perhaps Dr. Thomas Grimshaw's greatest achievement was in persuading the city authorities to install underground sewerage. With his close association with hospitals and widespread disease he was the ideal person to instigate a whole new system for the disposal of sewage. Before his intervention household waste and sewage was thrown into open surface drains that ran down to the Liffey. With his wide knowledge and research he found that cholera, typhoid and enteric fever were prevalent in the houses that adjoined open drains. He called them "*fever nests*". Around this time clean water, replacing old water pumps, was available from the Vartry reservoir. A clean water supply and underground piped sewage made a vast improvement in the health and well-being of the citizens of Dublin.

In recognition of his many talents and achievements the Tourist Board placed a plaque on 13 Molesworth St. in 1990 where he and his family lived for many years. The plaque says:

"Doctor Thomas Wrigley Grimshaw 1839 - 1900 Physician and Philanthropist Lived on this site 1861 - 1881".

In the early nineteen eighties his great grandson Nicholas Thomas Grimshaw came to Dublin to lecture at University College on "*Architecture, my life and Times*". "*There were traffic jams*", he said, "*because they were replacing some of the old sewage pipes from my great grandfather's time*". Digging up the roads and traffic jams is still with us in 2004!

A few years ago while on holiday in Cornwall I visited the now famous Eden Project described by many as the 8th Wonder of the World. It is a vast construction of three domes, the largest 200m long, 100m wide, and 57m high. It is the largest greenhouse in the world, hidden from view in china clay craters the area of 35 football pitches. Just like bees make their honeycombs, the domes are made of hexagons 625 in number and covered in 3 layers of transparent foil. Inside in controlled temperatures you can experience the life, climate and plants of seven contrasting countries, from a South American tropical rainforest to South Africa. Here you can see many growing plants that changed the world, fascinating plants that look after themselves, plants that make plastic and rubber, plants that make chocolate tea and chewing gum, and plants that move.

I was impressed, and looking at the literature I read that the architect was Nicholas Grimshaw. The name struck a chord with me and returning home made some enquiries and discovered that he was a great grandson of Dr Thomas Wrigley who had erected the stained glass window in St Matthew's. I wrote to him and sent him a photograph of the window, which he did not know existed. He replied saying that he was greatly interested to hear about his great grandfather's connection with St Matthew's church. Last year, he and his daughter, who is a student at Trinity College Dublin, visited St Matthew's and saw the window for themselves.

Earlier this year there was a photograph of Nicholas Grimshaw in the Daily Telegraph and other papers as he had been knighted for his design of the Eden project. It cost Sterling £80 million, has attracted over 2 million visitors and generated Sterling £120 million for the local economy. Sir Nicholas Grimshaw was also the architect of the Eurostar Terminal in London, which won Building of the Year award in 1994. He has also recently completed the new glass box development of the historic Spas in Bath. "*We deliberately try to keep a low profile. Buildings ought to speak for themselves*", he modestly said. For the Grimshaw family, who, among other achievements introduced the first cotton spinners by machinery to Ireland, underground sewage to the city of Dublin and designed the Eden project in Cornwall it must be difficult to keep a low profile. Their achievements speak for themselves.

In Conclusion

So as I have very briefly outlined to you St Matthew's may have direct links with Ridley, Bishop and Martyr, and contributor to Cranmer's revision of the Book of Common Prayer and the 39 articles of religion. There are links also with the nationally renowned Dr Thomas Grimshaw who at the end of the 19th century was responsible for introducing underground sewage to Dublin resulting in a massive reduction in deaths from cholera, typhus and other diseases. His great grandson also gives St Matthew's links with a world famous architect Sir Nicholas Grimshaw who was responsible for the design of what is known as the 8th Wonder of the World - the Eden Project in Cornwall. But perhaps our most loved person is Father Pat who as a missionary priest brought the Gospel to mine workers and railway workers in British Colombia and built the first church in the Rockies. He has his special day January 14 in the Canadian Church Prayer book. If it was the custom to nominate saints in our church Bishop Ridley and Father Pat would be among them.

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Lead, Kindly Light? Education and the La Touche Family

By Judith Flannery

Introduction

The word education derives from the Latin *dux*, a leader, the verb *educare* meaning to lead on, to lead out, to lead forward. In context of the La Touche family it is worth contemplating the original meaning as well as the more modern interpretation of training or development.

Lead; kindly Light? No, it is not the text for a sermon, although these words do make up part of the first line of a well-known hymn:

*Lead; kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead thou me on.*

The hymn was written by John Henry Newman (1801-1890, a Cardinal from 1879), the first rector of the Catholic University of Ireland. And the building chosen to house the new university, which opened with twenty students in 1854, was 85 St Stephen's Green. I mention this because, in the 1820s, 85 St Stephen's Green had been the elegant town house of George La Touche. George was the unmarried son of the first Governor of the Bank of Ireland, the Rt Hon David La Touche and it is, of course, the La Touche family which is the focus of this paper. Or, to be more precise, the La Touche family in relation to education.

Background

The first La Touche to arrive in Ireland, David Digges de la Rompières La Touche, was a leader in the military sense: a lieutenant in General Caillomotte's division fighting for William of Orange and Protestantism in the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 against the Catholic James II. It is worth noting that the La Touche actions over the years were coloured, in part at least, by the family's Huguenot background and experiences in France before David ever set foot outside that country. Another factor was the situation first encountered by him in Ireland and subsequent developments in the course of the following 200 years or so (by which time the fortunes of the La Touche family had waxed and virtually waned). Religion and politics, the two inextricably linked, have had a direct bearing on the development of education in Ireland.



David La Touche

The first David had lived in France until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, a ruling which ended nearly a hundred years of relative freedom for and tolerance of Protestants in that country. Thousands fled. Faced with a choice of having to change their religion if they wanted to hold on to their land, or suffer certain persecution, they preferred exile. In Ireland it was the Catholics who suffered.

Cromwell's plantation and transplantation more than forty or so years before the Battle of the Boyne had effectively driven most of the Catholic Irish owners off the most productive land. As Maire and Conor Cruise O'Brien once commented:

"The most important effect of the transplantation was not a movement of population, but a great change in the ownership of land, and in the distribution of political power. What had been established over most of the island was in fact a landed ruling class, mainly of English and Scottish origin, professing some form of Protestantism and dominating a native Roman Catholic and still Gaelic-speaking peasantry. This was the Protestant Ascendancy which lasted, in its essentials, into the last quarter of the nineteenth century."

Only land-owning Protestants were allowed to sit in Parliament. Penal Laws prevented Catholics from owning land, from holding office, from keeping a school, from attending school or university, from sending children abroad to be educated, even from speaking their own language. What the Penal Code did was "*to perfect and maintain a system of class domination*". Might the refugee David La Touche have concurred that Protestants in Ireland were going about things in the right way because of his experience of the way Huguenots had been treated at the hands of Catholics in France? It is possible, but there is no evidence of this even though it is known that many first-generation Huguenots in this country in the late 17th and early 18th centuries were very bitter and anti-Catholic as a result of their own experiences.

In 1703 David was granted citizenship. He went into the silk weaving business in Dublin and in 1716 into partnership with Nathaniel Kane, with whom he opened one of the earliest and certainly the most successful and respected of private banks in Ireland. At its height most of the Irish nobility, gentry and statesmen banked there, among them several earls including those of Antrim, Cork, Leitrim, Meath and Wicklow. David was certainly a leader in banking and an elder of the French Church group in Dublin, many of whom used to meet in what is now the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral. David I died in 1745, providing for his sons by leaving his interest in the bank to his elder son David (II) who was already a partner, and the silk weaving business to James who kept the family name of Digges. Where Digges is seen as part of the family name in later years it usually refers to James' descendants.

David II (1703-1785) and his brother James, whose mother was of Dutch extraction, were educated in Holland, their father having been free to make a choice regarding their schooling. But it was a very different story for the majority in Ireland.

Seventeenth Century

Bardic Schools

The ancient, respected, secular Bardic Schools dated back to pre-Christian times. Instruction was given, in the native tongue, on Irish language, history and the Brehon law. According to a statement prefacing the Clanrickarde Memoirs (published in 1722), the Bardic Schools survived "*till the Beginnings of the Trouble in 1641*". These "*truly National Schools*", as O'Curry called them, closed down for good only when their patrons had become landless, penniless or exiles. The decline of the Bardic Schools had probably started in Tudor times, but it was Cromwell's distinctive campaigns that finally brought about their closure (Dowling).

Parish Schools

Of course, measures had already been introduced to educate Catholics to the liking of the English Parliament. Henry VIII decreed that Parish Schools should be set up to introduce the English language to the Irish-speaking natives. Then in 1570 Elizabeth I's Parliament passed a law requiring there to be a Free School in every diocese, all schoolmasters to be English and with the education being along Grammar School lines. In Charles I's time there were new schools of Royal Foundation, again of the Grammar School type and privately

endowed Classical Schools. It had been the intention for these latter to have been free schools, and all of them expected to admit free scholars, but by the early nineteenth century, the Board of Education reported that nearly all of them were pay-schools. (The Board condemned the majority of Parish and Diocesan schools as failures and the Royal Schools as not much better.)

What system there had been in the mid seventeenth century fell into disarray under Cromwell's leadership with the forced migration of very many people. The situation was made more difficult with the accession of William III and the introduction, by successive Parliaments, of the Penal Laws which forbade any education whatsoever for Catholics. By now the state of native learning had probably reached its lowest depths.

However it is worth digressing here to mention that "out of the ashes", so to speak, some of the land confiscated from Catholics after the Rising of 1641 had been bought from Parliament for a "modest price" by a charitable London merchant named Erasmus Smith. From accrued revenues he was able to fund the building, in 1669, of three free Grammar Schools. The value of the revenues increased so much in the eighteenth century that, by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Erasmus Smith Foundation had been able to endow more than a hundred English-type schools in Ireland. One of those was the school at Windgates, near the top of the hill between Greystones and Bray. Opening in 1820, it received an annual Erasmus Smith grant of £20 (equivalent to about £1,000 today), with additional financial support from local benefactors. No doubt it was well known to, and visited by, Elizabeth La Touche who had a great interest in education. It ceased being a school as recently as 1954 because of falling numbers and is now a private residence: Ampang Lodge.



Hedge School

The passing of the Penal Laws did not stop the schooling of Irish-speaking Catholics. "The suppression of all the ordinary legitimate means of education" brought Hedge Schools into being (Dowling). The first Hedge Schoolmasters were probably those referred to in the middle of the seventeenth century as "the Popish Schoole Mastrs who taught the Irish youth trayning them up in Supersticion, Idolatry and the

Evil Customs of the Nacion". And the numbers of Hedge Schools grew rapidly with the increased enforcement of the laws against education in the early part of the eighteenth century. This was partly due to a huge increase in the population and the gradual relaxation of the failed Penal Laws after 1782. But their overriding success was really due to the Catholics themselves who were determined to have their children instructed. There was a Hedge School at Kilmashogue near Marlay, Rathfarnham, the country seat of David III.

Eighteenth Century

While the Penal Laws were still in force, elementary education for poor Protestants was organised and provided by benevolent individuals in some parts of the country. In eighteenth century Dublin there was a climate of growing economic prosperity and a fashion for philanthropy among the rich. There was much effort but mostly little real sympathy for the

poorest (i.e. the majority) in society, who were expected to accept their lot just as the rich accepted their pre-eminence.

Charity Schools

An advertisement published on behalf of various philanthropic institutions in 1752 requested support for Charity Schools. Such schools helped children “at present a Nuisance and Burden to their country, to become a Treasure and Blessing to it; that will make honest and industrious men of those who have been bred up in Thievery and Rags ... that will multiply obedient and peaceable Subjects to the King and render the Protestants of Ireland safe in their Lives and Possessions”.

The finances of some of the Charity Schools were looked after by the La Touche Bank, which was considered safe with its proven financial record. Its senior partner, the banker David II, was an extremely wealthy man, acquiring land in Dublin, Carlow, Leitrim, Kildare, Tipperary and Wicklow. At the time of his death in 1785, his rental income was £25,000 and the bank's profit was £25,000-£30,000. (These figures may be multiplied by 50 to give today's equivalent.) His three sons who survived him: David III (the first Governor of the Bank of Ireland), John and Peter were partners in the Bank. Later, they took in their cousin William Digges La Touche as a Partner, following his distinguished service as Britain's representative in Basra in the Persian Gulf.



David La Touche III

The Marine School

David III acted as Treasurer for the Marine (later the Hibernian Marine) School which catered for the orphaned children of seafaring men. It opened at Ringsend in the autumn of 1766 to “lodge, diet, clothe and instruct” up to twenty boys aged seven to ten years. They were to be “apprenticed at thirteen or fourteen or sooner (according to the constitution and fitness of the Boys) to Masters of Ships”. The Opening was attended by the Governors, including three members of the La Touche family, who saw seventeen of “those poor Children's appearance (sic) in their new Clothing”. The children's mothers, mostly widows, it was reported, were also present. In 1773, the school moved to Sir John Rogerson's Quay, and 2 years later was granted a charter.

Charter Schools

The first Charter Schools had been set up in 1733, targetting the very poor native Irish. It has to be said that the parents who let their children attend these Protestant establishments saw it mainly as an alternative to near starvation. Although the schools were administered officially by the Incorporated Society, the fate of the children depended on individual teachers. Too often children were poorly fed, clothed and housed and received hardly any instruction but were forced to labour in factories or farms attached to the schools. The Methodist minister, John Wesley, described such a school at Ballinrobe as a picture of “slothfulness, nastiness and desolation”. An examination of the general situation found that children in the Hedge Schools were “much forwarder than those of the same age in Charter Schools”, as well as being clean and wholesome.

Charter Schools came under the scrutiny of the Lord Lieutenant in 1788. He appointed commissioners to inquire into the administration of the several funds and revenues for the purpose of education. One Commissioner commented “the State of most of the *Schools ... I*

visited was so deplorable as to disgrace Protestantism". However, the otherwise damning report found the Hibernian Marine School "*which is managed with due economy, highly useful to the public and the funds should be increased to enable as many children as the building will accommodate*". About one hundred and fifty boys were being maintained in 1788, at an average cost of 10s 3/4d a day (£11 9s 6 3/4d yearly).

The King's Hospital

David III was also known to be interested in one of Dublin's oldest schools, the King's Hospital or Blue-coat School and his son John served on the governing committee. Founded in 1670, for the sons of Redeemed Freemen, a competition to design new buildings was held in the 1770s. The winner Thomas Ivory designed the new premises for the school to be located at Blackhall Place. The building is now occupied by the Incorporated Law Society.



Original front facade plan of the King's Hospital School, circa 1780

David had taken up the reins as head of the La Touche Bank after his father's death in 1785. He and his brothers, John and Peter, had a vast monument erected to David II in Christ Church, Delgany, the village where the reputedly very charitable man had died in his favourite country home, Bellevue.

The year Charter Schools came under scrutiny, 1788, saw the marriage of Peter La Touche to Elizabeth Vicars, a cousin of his first wife Rebecca Vicars who had died two years previously. They chose Bellevue, left to Peter by his father, for their home in the country. There were no children from either marriage. But Elizabeth was a formidable woman who channelled her energies into providing support and schooling, not only for causes that interested her or her husband in Dublin, but also for poor, often orphaned children in Delgany as well.

Kirwan House (Female Orphanage)

Peter and his brother John, whose country house was at Harristown in Kildare, were governors of the Female Orphanage for which the La Touche Bank acted as Treasurers. The Home was opened, to receive destitute girls aged between five to ten years, early in 1791.

One year later Elizabeth took up the reins as Chief Custodian. She supervised the move to new specially-built buildings on the North Circular Road, which were set in three acres. A further fourteen acres were provided in the Phoenix Park for cattle grazing to supply milk for the girls. The girls were to be "lodged, clothed and taught reading, writing and common

Accounts, carefully instructed in the Christian Religion and habituated to cleanliness and industry in proportion to their age and strength, to spin, knot and, when able, to make their own clothes". They were also to learn "every part of household work to qualify them for useful servants". They would be kept on until sixteen when they were to be apprenticed or put out to service. This pattern of education continued until 1931, by which time the girls' preparation for life would have been very limited as the only openings for the girls, suitable to their training and experience, were in domestic work or caring for children. Thereafter the girls attended national school.

In his history of Kirwan House, the name given to the orphanage in honour of Dr Walter Blake Kirwan, who preached annually at its fundraising service, the Reverend Charles Carter pointed out that "qualified domestic servants had no difficulty in finding employment when the Orphanage was founded. In deciding to give the girls a sound training for such work the Governors were fulfilling a double purpose: a) girls would be assured of finding work in homes chosen by the Governors at a minimum rate of wages and b) the girls so placed would fulfil a genuine need in Society". This would seem to confirm an observation about



William Blake Kirwan

Society's habit of balancing the needs of the needy with those of benefactors' own needs and motives. The La Touche family contact with Kirwan House continued unbroken until 1942, on the death of Miss Mary La Touche, a governor.

The third generation La Touches married non-Huguenots. By the end of the century they had reached the peak of their success:

- in their family connections, they moved in the same Society circle as their clients, the landed gentry
- in business, the La Touche Bank was Ireland's leading private bank
- in politics, five of the family sat in the last Irish Parliament right up to the Union and many others sat in Westminster in the first half of the nineteenth century

Elizabeth La Touche's School at Bellevue, Delgany

In 1793, just seven years before the legislation that brought about the Union, some Catholics were given the vote, although they were not yet allowed to sit in Parliament. That same year, 1793, the death was noted in the burial register of Christ Church, Delgany of a Margaret MacKenzie. Her address was given as Mrs La Touche's School. It is thought the school was located at Bellevue near to the present back entrance to Delgany Golf Club. John Ferrar, the tourist writer, described the school in 1796: "The lower storey contains the kitchen and school where Mrs La Touche passes much of her time, the upper storey containing the dormitories where everything is comfortable, neat and regular. The schoolmistress 'McDonald' ... discharges her duties with diligence and tenderness". There were up to twenty-four children at any one time. Mrs La Touche took them to church herself and they all sat together beside the railings in front of the La Touche monument. Ferrar watched them one Sunday and noted they walked happily back to school with their benefactress.

LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT? EDUCATION AND THE LA TOUCHE FAMILY

Another travel writer of the day, de La Tocnaye, noted that when the girls left the school, Mrs La Touche would give them a dowry and marry them off to labourers of good character. She hoped this would ensure the cottages in the village and on the estate were kept neat and tidy. And her husband Peter's Will revealed that he had bequeathed "...£10 each to such girls as shall be in the school at Bellevue at the time of my death on their respective marriages", as long as his wife agreed!

One of the girls at Mrs La Touche's school was the daughter of a well-known rebel, Joseph Holt. He had been captured in the Wicklow hills after the 1798 Rising and brought before Lord Powerscourt. Holt's wife pleaded with both Mr and Mrs La Touche for them to intervene on his behalf. They did and the death penalty was changed to transportation to Australia. The La Touches paid for his wife and son to accompany the rebel while Marianne Holt, then aged only seven years, was left in Mrs La Touche's care. The good lady declared she would take good care of Marianne's education, health and morals. It was highly unusual for a transportee to return. But when Holt's twelve-year sentence was over, he and his family did manage to travel back to Ireland and, in 1812, were reunited with Marianne.

At some stage boys were admitted to the school. "The means of domestic industry are supplied and the females and children of both sexes, carefully instructed by masters and mistresses appointed for that purpose and the progress of their education constantly examined by their worthy patrons". We are told that the La Touche policy was to encourage the diligent by "rewards and commendations".

A Village School in Delgany

Elizabeth opened a day school in the village of Delgany in 1801. There she had "proper mistresses to teach any of the young children and young women of the parish who choose to attend all manner of plain work and spinning in addition to ... reading, and writing". Mrs La Touche's schools were not, however, the first in Delgany. There had been a school in the parish as far back at least as 1665, in which year the school master, Richard Card, being paid £1 5s 8d (£1.28) per quarter.

Although it is certainly not the intention to downgrade the splendid and caring achievements of Elizabeth La Touche, it has to be said that her efforts mirrored the effects of social and religious movements among the nobility and gentry in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1822 the Sunday School Society issued a book of Hints advising the nobility and gentry that Protestant intervention in the lives of their tenants and dependents through instruction "would improve the habits and manners of the poor" and an awakening and "reclaiming of parents" by the example of their offspring. Inevitably there were accusations of proselytism. Even in Delgany there were suspicions which Bishop Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin highlighted after a visit to Bellevue. He suspected most of the children had Catholic parents who, "driven by temporal wants", had exposed their offspring to "the danger of losing their souls" by allowing their children to be educated there. He did temper his rebuke, however, by remarking that at least he knew the children's morals were "being guarded with the strictest care" by their benefactress.

Nineteenth Century

The start of the new century brought Ireland under the direct control of the Parliament at Westminster. While four La Touche Members in the Irish Parliament had voted against the Union, the Rt Hon David III (Marlay) had voted for it, even though he feared that business in general and his family's bank in particular might suffer if MPs moved to London. The bank's fortunes declined in the nineteenth century without the lead of a really fine banker in the family. It was finally closed in 1870, when its assets were merged with the Munster Bank.

Whatever their interest in and ability for banking, some of the La Touche family were directly involved in what turned out to be a very important period in the history of Irish education: the development of the Sunday School movement, the foundation of the National School system and, later in the century, secondary education for girls and their admittance to University.

The general level and standard of education at the start of the new century was poor. It was also haphazard. Wealthy Protestants generally chose to have their children tutored, although older boys were sometimes sent on to boarding school, Eton or Harrow being the favoured choices for the La Touche family. Children of prominent Roman Catholics, such as Daniel O'Connell, were sent to colleges on the Continent to be educated by monks. Most Protestant children attended the local parish schools, set up as part of English policy in Ireland to give instruction in the Protestant Religion as well as the 3 Rs. Not surprisingly, however, most Catholic parents found these schools unacceptable and, anyway, were forbidden by priests to send their children to them. So many Catholic children attended hedge schools, a legacy of penal times. However, the majority of youngsters across the country received no education at all.

The Established Church thought it had a special position and a right to government support in promoting Protestantism, while the Catholic Church, emerging from suppression, felt it was being unfairly treated in not getting financial support for its massive job of educating the Catholic people. Presbyterians too, who had suffered under penal legislation, sought state support for schools of their own tradition.

Lack of education and the discipline that went with it, increasing urbanisation and a rising population, led to lawlessness. There was general concern and agreement that something would have to be done to address the situation. A Government Commission was set up in 1806 to examine the state of education. It recommended that any new system must unite the denominations and protect children against the danger of proselytism. This view and other proposals greatly influenced a group of professional and business men, including Samuel Bewley, a quaker, Arthur Guinness and several La Touches who formed a group and, in 1811, established the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland. It aimed to set up schools providing elementary education to all Christians without distinction. As the group's meetings were generally held in Kildare Place, Dublin, the organisation became known as the Kildare Place Society.

The Kildare Place Society

The Kildare Place Society, chaired by John David La Touche (Marlay) in 1816, encouraged more than the setting up of new schools and provision of grants to help finance them. Members resolved to make information available and give assistance by way of grants for building school-houses and to provide guidelines as to having properly qualified teachers. The Society was much influenced by Pestalozzi's educational ideas i.e. learning to read by syllables, writing and drawing lines and curves to train the eye and hand, and headline copies. (The first Pestalozzi-method reading and arithmetic charts in Ireland were printed by John Synge. He had been so inspired by Pestalozzi's ideas when on a holiday in Switzerland that, on his return, he set up a special press on his father's estate in Roundwood, Co Wicklow.) Later Kildare Place went on to pioneer teacher training, the publication of text books and the cheap and efficient monitorial system for schools all over the country.

The Sunday School Movement (i)

After the Union, the established church had retained its special position and a right to continued government support in promoting Protestantism. Several members of the La Touche family were among the sixteen "friends of the education of the lower classes", who in 1806 attended a meeting in the La Touche Bank and decided that it would be beneficial

to encourage the growth of weekly schools (Sunday Schools) - first set up in School Street in the latter part of the eighteenth century - and thereby a "wider circulation of the Scriptures".

From this grew the Hibernian Sunday School Society, later the Sunday School Society of Ireland, among the first guardians of which were Mrs Peter La Touche, John David La Touche and Peter La Touche (junior). The La Touche Bank acted as Treasurers and James Digges La Touche of Sans Souci was appointed its first Secretary in 1809. He was just twenty-one. James' biographer, William Urwick, suggested that the appointment may have been made after James, a gold medallist in Trinity College, Dublin (1808), had written to a cousin in the La Touche Bank where they both worked, for advice as to how he might spend his "vacant hours" from three to five o'clock in the afternoon. Urwick's life of James Digges, published in 1868, made him out to be an ordinary, undistinguished man in both looks and height who just wanted to be good in life and do the best he could. It also rather painted him as being on the road to sainthood. James was also once described "that short little man in the blue coat, his small dark eyes illuminating his pale face" by an observer attending a Sunday School meeting with him.

Education in the family life of James Digges La Touche of Sans Souci, Booterstown

James Digges La Touche (1788-1828) was the son of William Digges - at one time Britain's Representative in Basra - and Grace Puget, the daughter of a Huguenot London banker. According to Urwick, Grace used to say that James was, from the first "*a child of great promise. When very young, on coming to say his lessons to his mother, he would not unfrequently bring prepared double the quantity she had prescribed. After repeating the whole, he would put his finger at the end of the former portion, and, looking up to her, would say 'Mamma, I learnt down to that because you desired me'; and then removing his finger to the end of what he had learnt besides, he would add, 'and, Mamma, I learnt this to please you'.*"

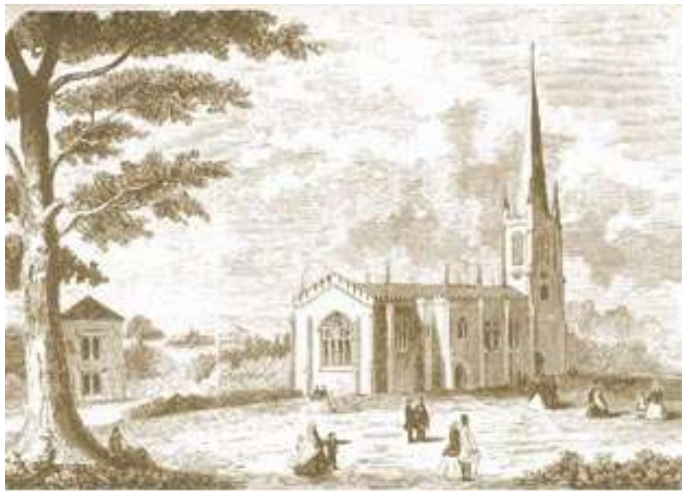
He attended a boy's day-school from the age of seven. Later he was "*placed as a boarder at a then celebrated seminary at Rathmines*", which prepared young gentlemen for entrance to College. When the time came for him to leave, "*his mother requested that her son should be allowed to entertain his fellow-pupils at a farewell breakfast. The Doctor at first gravely hesitated, but after a while yielded, saying that, although such a request had never been granted before, Master Digges La Touche had conducted himself so much to his satisfaction, that he was induced to make his case an exception. He let it be known, however, that this was not to be taken as a precedent for others*". Nor was it ever granted to others apparently!

James entered Trinity College, Dublin, on 2nd October 1803 as a Fellow-Commoner at "*four minutes past twelve o'clock*". That meant he had won fourth place at the Entrance examination. His father died during his first term there, after which, in addition to his studies, James was "*daily doing duty as a banker's clerk*". He paid frequent visits to Bellevue: "*It is the best place in the world, I believe, to live at; for amusement blended with religion elevates the soul*". Urwick commented that Bellevue was then the frequent gathering place for those "*of educated intelligence and piety from all quarters*".

Apart from James's commitment to religious matters, he seems to have made education the main study of his life. In addition to his work as Secretary of the Weekly Schools, held first in Digges and then in School Street, James associated "*as a fellow worker*" there as well. His interpretation of education, however, was not so much concerned with the three Rs or exterior polish and accomplishments as with "*the substance of what is excellent*", setting a higher value upon "*a good conscience than upon great acuteness*". To James, education was "*not only incomplete but defective*" if it did not embrace "*Religion*" or "*Godliness*".

James, who married Isabella, the daughter of Sir James Cotter, took a keen interest in his children's education. After his work at the Bank was completed for the day, he would visit his mother in St Stephen's Green before arriving home to Sans Souci, Booterstown, by "half-six". Then he looked around the house and garden while "*lessons in French, Irish etcetera were got ready for Papa*" to hear. James learnt the Irish language and taught it to his children at the same time. "*My family circle is still entire*", he wrote to a friend in Scotland, "*as I have not been able to prevail upon myself to send my boy to a distance. In truth, my children have not had more than a part of Pestalozzi's plan, the greater part of their instruction having been constructed on the old plan*".

Urwick tells us that he was in favour of the study of languages rather than geometry. James declared "so much of our English is grafted on the stock of the learned languages, that their attainment is of vast importance"; of rules – "a rule of grammar committed to the memory is highly useful"; the use of books – "more than Pestalozzi would prescribe, and have found that the young mind which has been disciplined by a judicious use of grammar and of questioning can and does grasp very vigorously the information contained in books. One advantage of this is that should death call away the parents the child has an independent source of improvement". However he had to admit that it was difficult to procure teachers "capable and willing to take their stand" in the above arrangements and agreed that his experience was confined to the "infant course", to which the views of Pestalozzi "give very great advantage". Pestalozzi, an eighteenth century Swiss educator, believed "school should recreate the atmosphere of a loving home, and that the basis of learning was a knowledge of the general mental development of the child. The teacher's task was to foster and direct his development with the aid of carefully graded and concrete learning experiences" (Parkes).



St Philip and St James' Church, Booterstown

James received letters from parents asking for advice as to the best method of education. To one mother he wrote concerning suggestions for the earliest stage: "*Do not aim at more than to lead him to most that occurs around him and what he sees in nature, and he will soon be prepared for a more advanced stage of instruction ... The first stage leads him to observe. The second should have for its object to teach him attention*". But in the end "*the mother's discretion must point out how soon he shall begin, and to what point it is safe to go. It is*

desirable to command attention, but it is also needful to keep up the interest ..." all to be done with "*a smiling countenance and a loving heart*". James' interest in education was passed on to two of his children: James John, knighted for his work in India, and Louisa who championed higher education for girls as a career.

James Digges La Touche was buried at St James' Church, Booterstown. A plaque to his memory acknowledges his contribution to the Sunday School movement.

The Sunday School Movement (ii)

In 1822, The Sunday School Society had claimed to have 1,395 schools attended by nearly 145,000 people. Almost all of them were children and among them many Catholics in spite of "*fierce opposition from their clergy*". But the Emancipation of Catholics in 1829, and the

introduction of a National state-supported system of non-denominational education two years later, increased their independence and served to deprive the “*education provided by the bible schools of whatever appeal it may have had for Catholic families*” (Coolahan). The Sunday Schools had offered free education and food at a time when there were 4,000 - 8,000 fee-paying hedge schools, including the one near Marlay.

Marlay near Rathfarnham



Marlay House

The Marlay branch of the La Touche family was involved with education in their own parish in the 1820s. The Rt Hon David III, the first Governor of the Bank of Ireland, had bought Taylor's Grange in the parish of Whitechurch in the 1760s. He renamed it Marlay, after his wife Elizabeth Marlay, daughter of the Bishop of Down and Dromore, and carried out extensive renovations to the house, making it his country home. Marlay was mentioned in Archer's Statistical Survey of Co Dublin in 1801,

which remarked on the quality of the ploughing there and reported its owner to be “*ranked among the foremost of the potatoe (sic) cultivators*”. David III and his sons, partners in the private La Touche Bank, acted as Treasurers of many charitable organisations including schools in Dublin, as mentioned already.

The “Whitechurch Schools”

David III's son, John David La Touche (1772-1838) inherited Marlay on the death of his father in 1817. In September 1823 John David chaired a management committee meeting for the new local school in their parish. The new building had been made necessary by the influx of people to the parish, probably brought about by the opening of several paper and cloth mills in the area along the Owendoher river. £100 of the building costs had been met by the Kildare Place Society (see above) and a further £125 granted via the Lord Lieutenant, the Rt Hon Henry Goulbourn, on condition that the total cost would be not less than £250 and that the La Touches gave the necessary land for the project. They did. John David provided a corner on the edge of the Marley estate, sited conveniently near the church.

It was resolved that the building would be called The Whitechurch Free School and that lessons would be held from Monday to Friday each week, from ten o'clock until half-past three. The school was to be for the “*general instruction of children of all religious persuasions*” and the New Testament was to be read, without comment, by all those who had a sufficient proficiency in reading. On Saturday mornings the school would be open for religious instruction by local Protestants. In addition to the 3 Rs, for which instruction the fee would be 1d a week, the committee recommended that parents should be offered “*higher branches*” including history, geography, geometry, navigation and mensuration. It was suggested that fees for pupils taking these subjects should be in the range of 2d - 6d weekly.

John David acted as Treasurer to the building project for the new school which opened in the autumn of 1823. The earliest ledgers noted:

21st October 1823 John Digges La Touche Esqr applies for Requisites -
Granted £2 10s 3d

4th August 1824

John Digges La Touche Esqr sends Cert of Expenditure for building the School house, amount £430 - there are from 80 to 90 Scholars in attendance

£430 was more than four times the recommended average cost of a parish school at that time! But then, the exterior of this school-house (now put to other use by the parish) has a look of elegance about it that is clearly above average. Facing the road was the teacher's residence, on either side of which were gracefully-curving walls. There was a door set into each, being the boys' and girls' entrances respectively. The large schoolroom was at the back. The boys sat in one half of the long room, the girls in the other, facing in the opposite direction (hence the words "*Whitechurch Schools*" on the wall above the teacher's residence). At each end there was a reading "*shelf*" on the wall, around which pupils would gather in a semi-circle for lessons, "*toeing the line*" painted on the floor. One of the shelves has survived intact on the wall.

The school-house's very attractive facade was designed by John Semple. He was the architect of the Round Room (created for George IV's visit in 1821) in the Mansion House, Dublin, and of many churches including the one at Whitechurch, also built in the 1820s. Again John David granted the required land. It was part of a worked-out quarry, amounting to "*1 rood and 26 perches*" from that part of the Marlay estate which bordered Whitechurch Road. But research by a local historian, Ernie Shepherd, found that a William Caldbeck had paid the price of it! In return, Caldbeck was given the free use of a pew in the new church. Whatever the reason for John David not donating the land free, he was one of the two churchwardens when the new church opened. The building was in use as a school, on and off, until the late 1980s. Then new housing estates resulted in increasing numbers of children to be educated and a new school was built in the parish to meet their needs.

The National School system

In 1831 a National School system, meant to be non-denominational, was set up by the Board of Commissioners of National Education appointed by the Whig government of the day. For the first time, the State was to provide free education for the poor. There was much opposition at first because religious instruction was to be separate from the secular and to be confined to specific times. To begin with many Church of Ireland clergy opted out of the new plans and maintained a voluntary school system in their parishes as was the case in Delgany.

Delgany: a "new" parish school

The "old" school-house (as it is called today) in Delgany dates from 1839, built on land ceded by Peter David La Touche for a period of 999 years for a yearly rent of one shilling "if asked". The school-room, still used for parish activities, was then considered large enough to accommodate 156 pupils, presumably possible only because a similar way of placing the children was used as that already described at Whitechurch. But the daily attendance was lower than estimated, averaging only thirty boys and twenty-five girls in the first year. An inspector's report for the same year made it clear that instruction at the new school was "not satisfactory".

The school was categorised as endowed because Mr La Touche gave a yearly grant towards running costs. So most children were educated free but, if parents could afford to pay a fee, an annual charge of four to five shillings was made. The school was not put into the hands of the National Board until the 1880s.

Greystones: St David's

In 1906, two years after the death of Peter La Touche, the last in the male line at Bellevue, his sisters provided land for a school in Greystones to meet the needs of an increasing

number of Catholic people moving to the district. The transaction had its price. The Holy Faith Sisters proposed opening a "*Private School for Young Ladies*" and "*Junior School for Boys and Girls*". The land was sold to them on the condition that the school, St David's, was fee-paying, so as not to "*lower the tone of the locality*" (Seery).

Brannockstown: a Baptist school

The village of Brannockstown lies beyond one of the entrances to the estate of Harristown in Co Kildare. Harristown was the country home of John La Touche (1734-1805) grandson of the Huguenot and brother of David III, and his descendants. At Harristown's other entrance lies the hamlet of Carnalway, with its old Church of Ireland church and La Touche vault in the adjoining cemetery.



Brannockstown Baptist Church

John's grandson, also called John, but known as The Master (1814-1904), was Harristown's owner for sixty years. Father of Rose who was much admired by Ruskin, he himself was much influenced by Spurgeon's writings. The Master was received into the Baptist Church and soon set about trying to convert others to the Baptist way of thinking. He opened a day-school at Brannockstown for his

tenants in 1880. Being in favour of the National system of elementary schools, he organised the building of a new school-house with the aid of a State grant, near "*his*" Baptist church in Brannockstown in 1884. To help cut down costs, he gave permission for the old Portlester Castle opposite Harristown station to be pulled down for recycling as building materials for the new building. Not everyone agreed with his actions. One man wrote objecting to the destruction of the castle: "*In this way many a historic relic of the past has been destroyed by those who should have thought less of their pockets and more of their country's history*". A year later, the school was placed under the National Board. The Master, keenly interested, visited frequently and described the teachers, Mr and Mrs Hilton, as "*thoroughly efficient*". The school prospered and quickly acquired a good reputation. Each summer, the annual school fete was held jointly with Carnalway Church School in the grounds of Harristown. The two schools had a fine reputation for their singing: at one stage they could put up a combined choir of 146 children.

Brannockstown School, attended mostly by the children of Harristown's tenants, who had been persuaded to convert to the Baptist faith, functioned for twenty years. Then in 1904, Percy (1846-1921), inherited Harristown on the death of his father. Not interested in the Baptist way of thinking, he refused to appoint a new manager to the school and was instrumental in having the pupils and grants transferred to the private church school at Carnalway, the Trustees not being prepared to "*cross him*" (Dunlop). The Baptist minister was concerned that the religious needs of the children in his congregation would not be met in the Church of Ireland. The matter was investigated, an inspector reporting the necessity for only one school in the district and Carnalway had the more pupils while the numbers on the Brannockstown register had dwindled. So that school was closed down. It did reopen in 1968, however, this time under Roman Catholic management.

Secondary Education

By the time Brannockstown School first opened its doors, the structure of the National School system and employment conditions for National School teachers had improved overall from the early days. Salary scales were being provided, together with contracts of employment. Teachers had also achieved pension rights and teacher-training facilities.

It was a different picture on the Secondary School scene. Reports in 1838 and 1858 urged support for secondary education, on the basis of an extension of the mixed denominational schooling principle in the National School system. But the various churches were opposed to it (e.g. Catholic diocesan schools were seen as formative for future clergy). So schools just continued on a private basis until the State agreed to fund denominational second-level education. That did not happen until 1878, with the passing of the Intermediate Education Act. The Act permitted the State to give indirect funding to denominational secondary schools by establishing an examination board which disbursed funds to school managers on the basis of success rates of their students at public examinations (Coolahan).

Teaching at secondary level, however, remained a largely amateur and unattractive occupation for most of the nineteenth century. There were neither regulations concerning teacher qualifications nor formal training availability. There was no inspection system, no structured salary scale, and no security of tenure or pension rights. Education was not seen as a means of achieving social equality and anyway, secondary schooling was considered very much the preserve of the professional and merchant classes. For most people, the main concerns were still about survival. All in all, the situation reflected a general lack of concern about secondary education in Ireland. This, then, was the scenario when, in 1880, the Council of Alexandra College, Dublin, appointed Miss Louisa La Touche as Principal.

Alexandra College, Dublin

In 1880, when women's role in society was considered very much to be that of wife and mother, Louisa Digges La Touche was appointed Lady Principal of Alexandra College. She was the daughter of William Digges and Louisa L'Estrange-Carlton and granddaughter of James of Sans Souci. Louisa Digges was the first to hold the position of Lady Principal, for which she was chosen from among thirty-nine applicants, eight of whom had been selected for interview. She succeeded the Lady Superintendent, Ann Jellicoe, who had been given the task of remedying *"defects in the existing education of women, and to afford an education more sound and solid ... and better tested, than is at present easily to be obtained by women of the middle and upper classes in this country"*. Sound principles from the College Council, but Louisa inherited a College that was deeply in debt and losing money on its university courses, one of the main reasons for Alexandra's existence in the first place. By 1884, a very successful year in terms of examination results, there was a deficit of £438 11s 8d. Miss La Touche explained one of the problems in her evidence before the Educational Endowment (Ireland) Commission two years later. An agricultural depression had meant fewer pupils from the country. Parents were telling her, that with money running low, they had to educate the boys and had no money left for the girls whom they had to take away from the College.

Given the serious financial constraints, Louisa's term of office was considered a remarkable time in the history of the school, according to the school's historians, O'Connor and Parkes. Certainly the list of developments achieved during her time at Alexandra (1880 - 1890) was impressive, including playing a major role in establishing university education for girls in Ireland, first-class academic results at both intermediate and university level and, at the other end of the scale, in 1889, a Froebel-inspired kindergarten class for the very young which admitted boys. Louisa was also responsible for the first Students Day and starting up the Shakespeare, Choral, Art, History and Music societies. She introduced cookery courses and even a Callisthenics class in 1886. O'Connor and Parkes acknowledge that she

LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT? EDUCATION AND THE LA TOUCHE FAMILY

recognised the handicaps and difficulties faced by girls seeking to prepare themselves for a changing world and left no stone unturned to enable them to obtain equality of opportunity.

Miss La Touche was one of the founder members and Vice-President of the Central Association of Irish School Mistresses. Seventy ladies, representing most of the Protestant schools for girls, attended the first meeting in 1882, held in the Provost's house at Trinity College, Dublin. The Association was set up to improve communication and standards and to promote the interests of girls regarding the intermediate and university examinations.



Alexandra College, Earlsfort Terrace

Louisa's leadership has been described as "*quiet, determined and supportive*", possibly a reflection on her own character. She was, like her grandfather, full of religious and missionary zeal, once encouraging her pupils to contribute towards the education of a local child attending a mission school in Zanzibar. £5 was raised and the child renamed Alexandra in gratitude. This was the start of the Missionary Society at Alexandra College. And when Miss La Touche had completed ten years as Lady Principal, for which she had received an annual salary of £150, she left Ireland to work at the Delhi Mission in India. After a few years there she was taken ill and returned to Ireland.

Twentieth Century

Sir James J D La Touche, Lieutenant Governor of Agra and Oudh Louisa's elder brother Sir James John Digges La Touche KCSI (1844 - 1921) was Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1901 - 1906. Selections of the many speeches he made were published at the end of his appointment, including those delivered at:

- The prize distribution at La Martiniere College, Lucknow (1902)*

- The opening of the Brass Foundry attached to the workshops of the S P G Mission at Cawnpore (1903)
- The Convocation of the Allahabad University (1903 & 1904)
- The laying of the foundation stone of the Mumtaz Boarding House at the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh (1905)
- The meeting of the Central Committee of the proposed Medical College for the United Provinces (1905)
- Government House, Lucknow, when a deputation called on him "to enlist his sympathy on behalf of the scheme for commemorating the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales by the establishment of a medical college in these provinces" (1905)

*La Martiniere College, Lucknow, still in existence, was the subject of a television programme in 1997. Apparently the school continues very much in the English tradition, with students studying for British examinations. English is the first language, spoken at all times by the pupils who are mostly from privileged Indian families. The text of the Lieutenant Governor's speech delivered there in 1902 is reproduced below.

Conclusion

In his speech encouraging non-academics at La Martiniere, Sir James J Digges La Touche, quoted the school's motto *Labore et Constantia*. He said "...the work of the world is carried on not so much by men of genius as by honorable and hardworking men. It is our duty to work and do it with all our might". In a way, he could have been summing up the work of the many La Touche men and women mentioned in this paper. Genius? Maybe not, but they did their duty, worked hard, got involved, and certainly made a difference, made things happen.

Let's go back to the beginning. Education, *educare* - to lead on, to lead out, to lead forward. The La Touches took a lead, were involved with the education of others in one way or another, at one time or another over two hundred years, at every stage from kindergarten to adult. They were, of course, governed by the social, religious and political prejudices of the day. But I believe this is a fine family which has left its mark in many ways, on its adopted country. Ireland has cause to be grateful for their dedicated input.

Speech delivered by Sir James John Digges La Touche at the prize distribution at La Martinière College, Lucknow, on the 20th February 1902

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,-First of all, I may express on behalf of the visitors the pleasure which it has been to be present at another prize day of the Martinière and to hear Mr. Sykes telling us again of the continued prosperity of the school. Though the institution is one of the oldest of its kind in India, yet, far from showing any signs of decrepitude, it is in the fullest enjoyment of a vigorous and healthy life. Time does not stand still, the old order must change, giving place to the new, but the changes, like those of time itself, must be made quietly and by degrees. The governing body has learnt the secret, without revolution and without breaking with the past, of meeting the requirements of the age. The Martinière School commands the confidence of the public. I found here on a recent visit paying boarders from every province of India, from Baluchistan to Burma, from Simla to Madras; even the residents of the presidency towns, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are glad to send their sons for education to this school. I was led then to consider the causes of this extraordinary popularity. There is first the great success of the school in imparting knowledge and preparing students for responsible positions in life. At the provincial examinations both boys and girls have done extremely well,

and education at the Martinière is almost a certain passport to the Roorkee College of Engineering. There is, secondly, the excellent moral tone of the school, of which there is ample evidence in the last report. You will remember that in the poem "Oenone" Tennyson in the person of the Goddess of Wisdom sums up the qualities which alone bring live to sovereign power; they are self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control. Self-knowledge teaches us to be modest and to walk humbly with God; self-control enables our better and higher nature to keep our passions in due subjection; self-reverence helps us to dislike anything that is base and unworthy. It is a great aid to self-respect to belong to a school with the high traditions of the Martinière, for what Martinière boy is there, whether an old boy or a new boy, who is not proud of his school, and who would not be miserable at the thought of doing anything unworthy of its reputation? Again, the school is situated in wholesome surroundings and in pure air, and in respect of health it compares favourably with many hill schools. I am specially pleased to note the remarks made by Colonel Pope on the pluck, keenness and intelligence shown by the boys in their work as volunteers. A genuine volunteer increases his self-respect, while at the same time he acquires habits of discipline, order and obedience, and in Lucknow the heart of every Martinière boy must warm within him as he thinks of the memories of the defence of the Residency, with which the names of his predecessors are imperishably connected, not only by the record on the ground of the post then gallantly held, but by the unwritten memorial of the school traditions. I also congratulate Mr. Pope and the boys on the high standard of excellence attained in singing, of which we have had proof this afternoon. At the conclusion of his address Mr Sykes says genius may be quite beyond us, and in organizing school affairs we must leave it out of the reckoning. This is no doubt true, but the work of the world is carried on not so much by men of genius as by honorable and hardworking men. Genius has been somewhere defined as an infinite capacity for taking pains, and this perhaps is but another way of expressing the motto of your school "Labore et Constantia". Our duty is to work and to do it with all our might. On behalf of the visitors I desire to congratulate the Principal, the Lady Superintendent, and the other masters of the college and teachers of the girls' school, and all who during the year have interested themselves in the working of the school, on the very successful record of progress which we have heard."

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