Greystones Archaeological & Historical Society

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Acknowledgements

Cover photograph of Averil Deverell, late1920s, early 1930s (by kind permission of Peter & Melanie Boyle, of CBW Boyle, Solicitors, Dublin).

Table of Contents

Chairperson's Introduction 6
Creating a New State 8
The Death of Colonel Fred Burnaby 13
Introduction 13
Background 14
Battle of Abu Klea 16
The Night of the Battle 19
Advance of the Arabs 19
Colonel Burnaby's Death 20
Sources 20
County Wicklow's 'Hidden' Heritage Park 22
References 28
Early Bronze Age Burials in Wicklow 29
Introduction 29
Carrig cairn 29
Ballyremon Commons barrow 31
Ceremonial circles 31
Athgreany ('The Piper's Stones') ceremonial circle 32
Castleruddery Lower Ceremonial circle 33
'It is the Home Rule Bill that has done that': 35
Background 35
Campaign against 3rd Home Rule Bill 35
Women's Declaration 36
The Signatories 39
The aftermath 43
Conclusion 43
Wicklow's Industrial History 44
Introduction 44
History 44
Boundaries 45
The geology and topography 45
Early workings 46
Modern methods 46
Communications 47
The industrial revolution 48
Cloth 48

Fishing 48
Exporting 48
Factories 49
Labour 50
Population 50
Education 51
Poor Laws and the Famine 51
Energy sources 51
Peat 51
Water Mills 51
Timber 52
Steam 52
Wind 52
Coal importation 52
Gas Generation 52
Water and hydraulic power 52
Vartry Reservoir 53
Blessington Lakes or Poulaphouca Dam 53
Turlough Hill 53
21st century 54
References 54
A Quiet Woman? 56
Introduction 56
Family and friends 56
Suffrage 60
University 61
The First World War 61
Post war 63
Conclusion 65
Acknowledgements and notes 66
Biography 66
To Clon and Back 67

The Society's website at www.greystonesahs.org has material from earlier volumes of our journals, details of our activities and much, much more. Pay us a visit!

Chairperson's Introduction

I am delighted to introduce the latest volume of the Greystones Archaeological & Historical Society Journal. This is our ninth journal, published in our thirtieth anniversary year, and it is appropriate therefore that the various contributions should mirror in different ways several of the Society's recent involvements, as well as its achievement in recovering and celebrating aspects of local Greystones and wider, both county and national, history.

In his masterly opening contribution, Dr Martin Mansergh surveys the emergence of national identity and the development of the new Irish state through the prism of La Touche - and indeed Mansergh - family history. This essay had its origin in Dr Mansergh's stimulating address to the official dinner of the 2017 La Touche Legacy seminar, the closing event in our annual (and once more highly successful) History Festival weekend, which is a collaboration between our own Society and the La Touche Legacy Committee.

James Scannell's informative and action-packed account of the death of imperialist hero, and very occasional local visitor, Colonel Fred Burnaby, was originally delivered at the presentation by the Society of a volume of Burnaby's writings to Greystones Library, while GAHS member Colin Short's examination of Wicklow's industrial history was prompted by a paper on the subject delivered in the course of the Society's winter lecture series.

The 'archaeological' element of the Society's mission is generously represented in this particular volume by Canon Robert Jennings's account of a walk which he led (and which some of us may well be tempted to follow on our own account) from Calary church towards the Sugarloaf, by way of Ballyreamon Common. Canon Jennings is one of our most venerable and distinguished members, and we are particularly pleased to have his work represented here. Other aspects of the county's archaeological heritage are discussed in an extract, dealing with Bronze Age burials, from Dr Eoin Grogan and Dr Tom Hillery's *A guide to the archaeology of Co Wicklow*. We are pleased to be able to make this valuable, and regrettably out- of-print work available once more, and indeed I am happy to confirm that the full text of the 1993 publication will shortly be available on our website.

One of my personal concerns throughout my involvement in the Society has been to raise the profile of women, both as subjects and as practitioners of local history. 'It is the Home Rule Bill that has done that' discusses the role of Wicklow women in the campaign against the 3rd Home Rule Bill, and in particular their response to the Ulster Declaration of 1912. Meanwhile, Liz Goldthorpe's essay on Averil Deverell offers an insight into the local connections of a pioneering figure in Irish legal history - one of the first females to be called to the Bar, and the first woman to practice as a barrister in independent Ireland. Liz's depiction of the private woman behind the formidable public face whets the appetite for the full-length biography of Deverell on which she is currently working.

Finally, we return to the present-day activities of our own Society. 'To Clon and back' describes our 2018 three-day spring trip, in which we visited Youghal, toured Michael Collins country and Cork city, before returning home via Roscrea Castle and Damer House. The account, like the event itself and the well-attended lectures and outings which we run throughout the year, serves as a reminder of the continuing vitality of our Society and of the loyalty and commitment of members throughout the thirty years of its existence.

I wish to thank all our contributors, who gave so generously and patiently of their time and expertise: we are honoured to be able to present work of such high quality to our readers. Our editor, Frank Deignan, has as ever displayed outstanding commitment and efficiency in

bringing this collection to fruition, and has been supported in his labours by an enthusiastic and proactive committee.

Finally, the Society has been fortunate in securing financial support for this Journal from Wicklow County Council under the Creative Wicklow Grant Scheme 2018/Creative Ireland Programme 2017-2022, and we express our heartfelt appreciation of this assistance.

Rosemary Raughter - Chairperson

Greystones Archaeological &

Historical Society

Creating a New State

Dr Martin Mansergh

The following paper was presented by Dr Martin Mansergh at the Seminar Dinner for the 4th Festival of History - 29th La Touche Legacy Weekend in association with Greystones Archaeological and Historical Society, Greystones Golf Club, Saturday, 30 September 2017, at 8 pm

A most distinguished and influential Huguenot family, the La Touches, and the branch based in Bellevue in Delgany that played a big part with others in the development of Greystones, is annually commemorated. The roads up to the Golf Club, Whitshed Road and Burnaby Road, remember other families involved.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 involved the tearing up of the promise of toleration made a century previously by King Henry IV of France, himself a Huguenot till he allowed himself to be persuaded that Paris was worth a mass. It was probably the worst political decision made by Louis XIV aggravated by the indefensible forcible conversion pursued by the dragonnades, one with long-lasting negative consequences, but that benefited the countries that took in Huguenot refugees. It boosted the rise of Prussia under the Great Elector, and would have been more of an asset to Ireland, if the Jacobite elite, the Wild Geese, had not been forced shortly after in the opposite direction.

I came across the Rt. Hon. David La Touche in many contexts; in the history of the Bank of Ireland founded in 1784, of which he was the first Governor; through several fine portraits of him and his family by Hugh Douglas-Hamilton, the exhibition of whose works I launched in the National Gallery in 2008; and because he was the principal resident of Rathfarnham in Marlay House, where he lived not far away from papermills along the Dodder, one of which owned by the Mansergh family made the paper on which Journals of the Irish House of Commons in the 1780s were printed. David La Touche was an MP in that body known as Grattan's Parliament, and all the La Touches except for him voted against the Act of Union, which was injurious to the capital's banking interest. Notwithstanding that, half a dozen family members served as MPs for all or part of the first 30 years of the Union Parliament.

Jacqueline O' Brien, the wife of Vincent, in her magnificent book on the capital's Georgian architecture co-authored with Desmond Guinness, Dublin: A Grand Tour, records a wonderful verse that served as a bank cheque drawn in favour of his wife by Richard Whaley, who was the then owner of 86, St. Stephen's Green, now Newman House, once the headquarters of the Catholic University, the precursor of UCD. The versified cheque reads:

'Mr La Touche,

Open your pouch,

And give unto my darling

Five hundred pounds sterling:

For which this will be your bailey,

Signed, Richard Chapell Whaley'.

The most important connection that I had with the legacy of David La Touche is that as a public official I twice worked in his former town house, No. 52, St. Stephen's Green, first of all on an upper floor when I was a First Secretary in the Economic/EEC Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs in the late 1970s, and then between 2008 and early 2011 as Minister of State with special responsibility for OPW. The ministerial office and outer office

were in two of the fine high ceiling first floor reception rooms attributed to Angelika Kaufmann, a pioneering Swiss woman artist, who worked in Ireland in 1771, and a friend of David La Touche. He would have figured in the famous print of Grattan's Parliament that the OPW art adviser Jacquie Moore recommended for my office walls, representing the beginnings of a constitutional nationalist tradition and honoured by '82 men up to the time of Arthur Griffith. We also put up a picture from the 1830s of the Obelisk marking the Williamite victory at the battle of the Boyne, primarily because of my involvement in the project to restore and open the battlefield site, where then Taoiseach Bertie Ahern met twice with Dr Ian Paisley, but it is also the case that the founder of the La Touche dynasty in Ireland, the Huguenot refugee, David Digues La Touche, fought at the Boyne. The largest painting in the room was one by Sean Keating, 1921. An IRA Column, probably based like Men of the South on a Cork flying column led by Sean Moylan. If only for geographical reasons, they were unlikely to have been the unit which blew up the Boyne Obelisk on the opposite wall. So there was something for every Northern visitor, regardless of tradition.

I came across an 1801 letter in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, today an enviably fine facility in Belfast's Titanic Quarter, relating to the election of Robert La Touche as member for Kildare, from one Lewis Mansergh in Athy, which throws light on how electoral politics was conducted in other days. It is an apology for not being able to fulfil a voting pledge to Colonel John Wolfe, nephew of the Lord Chief Justice Lord Kilwarden, two years later hapless victim of the Emmet rebellion. Colonel Wolfe voted against the Union, and was dismissed from his offices. It was said he could not be purchased. The letter read as follows:

> *'Dear Sir,*
>
> *Shortly after I had the pleasure of conversing with you at Athy, I wrote to the Duke of Leinster expressing my intention to support Lord Robert FitzGerald at the next Election for this County, and intimating a wish that I were left at liberty in respect of my second vote. The Duke informed me that a delicacy he had entertained prevented him from disclosing his sentiments at an earlier period, but that he now informed his friends that Mr. Robert Latouche had his sincere good wishes. The Duke did me the honour of calling on me, last Friday; and shortly after him came Mr. Latouche accompanied by Mr. Hamilton. I candidly told these gentlemen that Col. Wolfe was the gentleman of whom my judgment approved, and that if ever I had the opportunity of giving an uninfluenced vote that it would be given to him. Mr. Hamilton and the Duke of Leinster expected that his friends would support Mr. Latouche. I replied by saying that if I were to give my vote from you it would be contrary to my inclination as well as judgment.*
>
> *I must fear from the decided party which the Duke takes in support of Mr. Latouche, that I shall be prevented from serving you as I wish. 'Tis true I am not dependent upon him for any part of my property, but I feel that if I were to oppose myself to his wishes, it would be doing an unbecoming, and perhaps, an ungrateful act. I shall now forebear to register the four freeholds I had intended. Excuse me for troubling you with this letter I felt it right to communicate its contents to you.*
>
> *I have the honour to be, Dear Sir, with great Respect & Truth your most humble servant.*
>
> *Athy, 16 November 1801, Lewis Mansergh'.*

The letter shows that even those who had the franchise, before the days of Catholic Emancipation and before the secret ballot, were not in practice always free in the exercise of it. It can only be speculated upon whether there were any financial reasons for the penurious Duke of Leinster, as he is described by Edith Johnston-Liik in her biographical dictionary The Irish Parliament 1692-1800, to back a La Touche, whose father had purchased the borough of Harristown in Co. Kildare off the duke in 1792 for £14,000, and who had succeeded to his father's partnership in the La Touche Bank. The Hamilton referred to could have been the MP for Dublin County before and after the Union. Robert was the successor to his uncle Peter La Touche of Bellevue in ownership of 9, St. Stephen's Green, subsequently the St. Stephen's Green Club. The Rt. Hon David La Touche had been first Treasurer of the Kildare Street Club, when it was located in premises now the Royal College of Physicians. In a later generation, Percy La Touche was involved in the management of the Punchestown Race Course. His mother Maria was not in the vanguard of those pushing for what she called 'Home Ruin' or for democratic local government. Bellevue was demolished in the 1950s. *Ainsi passe la gloire de ce monde*.

It is appropriate that the sweeping democratic mandate for an independent Irish state secured in the December 1918 General Election coincided with the virtual introduction of a universal franchise, with women over 30 voting for the first time. The 1922 Irish Free State Constitution completed the process by lowering the voting age for women to 21, the same as for men. In that respect, the promise of the 1916 Proclamation was fulfilled, though further progress towards gender equality then stalled for half a century.

As I am sure has been said already, the political achievement of an independent Ireland over the past 100 years has been considerable. If one were to ask the question why has the Irish revolution, which inspired and encouraged many liberation movements round the British Empire beginning with the Indian National Congress, been more enduring than the internationally much more famous Russian one of October 1917, part of the answer has to be that Ireland forged a strong parliamentary tradition under the Union, albeit in opposition to it. Tsarist Russia left only a weak parliamentary tradition, and Lenin simply scrapped the Constituent Assembly, when the Bolsheviks won less than a quarter of the popular vote.

One of the fallacies of public discourse today is the notion that clientelism is rife in independent Ireland, because of our PR electoral system, which the people have no desire to change. Has no one heard of 'pork-barrelling' in the US Congress, a regular or rather irregular add-on to the legislative process? According to a book by James McConnel, Irish Parliamentary Party MPs in the early 20th century drove the Imperial Parliament to distraction by their habit of asking a multitude of questions about local issues, details of land purchase, the drainage of rivers in South Galway, and the provision of roads and piers. James O' Mara MP for South Kilkenny even received a request forwarded by a local priest in 1906 to put down a parliamentary question on behalf of a woman who was complaining about a neighbour's cow that was trespassing on her land. Putting down a question 'could provide tangible evidence of an MP's efforts on behalf of his constituents', even though some MPs came back by boat and train nearly every weekend, a journey that took nine hours just to Dublin. As Alexis de Tocqueville noted in his famous book The Ancien Regime and the Revolution, there was a lot more continuity pre- and post-revolution in Ireland as well as in France. Irish politicians stay close to the people, perhaps one reason that extremism is kept in check.

The Union was initially promoted by the British as akin to a marriage, but as the perceptive writer and guardedly pro-Union Maria Edgeworth, who like Jane Austen avoided marriage, was aware, a married woman in 1800 had no rights, and if a union lacked passion or affection it could be disastrous. So it proved. Most British statesmen and commentators were scornful of the very idea of an Irish nation; it did not mean that they embraced the Irish as part of any

British nation. While Napoleon successfully pulled out all the stops to prevent famine in France at the beginning of the 19th century, Britain in the 1840s was more concerned to put on the brakes, for fear of creating permanent dependency. National solidarity across the two islands was completely absent. The UK remains a very lopsided state in terms of English dominance. Isaac Butt, initially a unionist, later first leader of the Home Rule party, noted at the time: 'When calamity falls upon us, we then recover our separate existence as a nation'.

The potentially historic compromise of Home Rule was given the run-around for half a century. The notion of a peaceful evolution of even 26-county Home Rule evolving into independence has no historical basis, or, as Garret FitzGerald once described it, it is 'alternative history gone mad'. In a pro- Home Rule speech in Belfast in 1912, Churchill stated that 'the separation of Ireland from Great Britain is quite impossible'. Prime Minister Lloyd George stated in 1917 in the House of Commons:

> *'It is not a question whether it is to be in the form of a republic ... The point is there is a demand for sovereign independence in Ireland ... It is better that we should say that under no circumstances can this country possibly permit anything of the kind'.*

In 2014, there was no force involved, but politically the British Government did everything in their power to prevent the Scottish people voting for dominion independence as something quite distinct from devolution.

The foreseeable reshaping of Europe in line with the principle of national self-determination provided a unique moment of opportunity to achieve independence, at least for the greater part of Ireland. In a later interview in 1916 by a member of Cumann na mBan who was in the GPO, Moira Regan from Wexford, it was about having a national life of our own. In that regard, from the 1920s till today, that has been an emphatic success, provided it is not defined unrealistically as shutting out external influences, and even if the quality of national life can endlessly be argued about.

In the war of independence, the Irish people were on their own. Not a single foreign government, not the US, not France, not Germany, nor even the Soviet Union, could afford to alienate or offend the British Government, one of the key peace-making powers at Versailles. What support Ireland could garner was from public opinion, and, though victorious, Britain post-war faced a lot of problems: domestic industrial peace, colonial unrest, and above all heavy indebtedness towards America. In the last resort, with Northern Ireland secure, the rest of Ireland was expendable.

A lot of new countries experience civil war. Lee Kuan Yew, long-time Prime Minister of Singapore explained the phenomenon as the lack of long-standing legitimacy attached to a new form of government, which has to meet the challenge to its authority. There was a cost to independence, short- and long- term, the long-term one having been the propensity of self-perpetuating paramilitary groups to take the law into their own hands on the basis of a spuriously concocted legitimacy. One of the objects of the decade of centenaries, as defined by the Government-appointed Expert Advisory Group, chaired by Dr Maurice Manning, is to hear the different narratives and to extend our sympathies, without having to abandon our loyalties. It is to the credit of the State and the Government that last year the centenary of the Rising was commemorated in a dignified, sympathetic and inclusive manner, and hopefully the sequel will be treated similarly.

The main achievement of the Irish Free State was to build solid civil institutions, to which nearly all political groupings came to adhere, and to retain public support for them. Extending

independence and gaining respect for it abroad was a slow process, but it was successfully achieved through some intense periods of pressure.

Modern opinion, while sympathetic to and admiring of those involved in the struggle for independence, is much more critical of the efforts in the founding generation to build up the State and run a viable economy. Yet they did it in adverse circumstances without the possibility of recourse to outside aid. Travelling across England under escort by train on transfer from Dartmoor to Lewes Jail, Thomas Ashe, writing to his sister, wondered 'will we ever see any tall chimney stacks in Ireland except those of the distilleries and breweries'. It was necessary to create a small and protected manufacturing industry for the domestic market. But the Sinn Fein economic model could only take the country so far. It did not have the answer to falling population and continuing emigration or the difficulty post-Second World War of meeting rising expectations. Too much social responsibility was outsourced to the Church.

We know the sequel, the progress and the stumbles, after a new strategy that involved an about-turn was adopted. We had to cope with and find some solution to the Northern Ireland conflict that did not involve the domination of one community over the other. Our commitment to the European Union transformed our relative position. National sovereignty today has less the absolute and indefeasible character claimed for it in the Proclamation, and is more about, in Emmet's words, taking our place amongst the nations of the world. Unexpectedly, as a result of Brexit, we find ourselves likely to be further separated from our British neighbours. Probably while the process of negotiation and the politics will be bumpy, at the end of it all there will be a new modus vivendi which will be reasonably satisfactory, as Britain enters a form of external association with the EU. Ireland can hold its own in the EU, being well able to network, and there will be opportunities.

The La Touche family in the late 18th and early 19th centuries played a significant part in the economic, social and urban development of this country as well as creating an important financial institution, the Bank of Ireland, that survives to this day. Their contemporaries attributed to them an honesty and integrity that allowed them to make an important contribution to the Ireland of their time. Ireland today needs plenty of people willing and able to serve the public today in the same spirit.

The Death of Colonel Fred Burnaby

at the Battle of Abu Klea, January 17th 1885

James Scannell

Introduction

Colonel Frederick Burnaby was killed on January 17th 1885 at the Battle of Abu Klea during the Sudan Campaign to rescue General Charles Gordon who was besieged in Khartoum by followers of the Mahdi.

Frederick Gustavus Burnaby was born in Bedford, England, son of the Rev. Gustavus Andrew

Colonel Frederick Burnaby

Burnaby, of Somerby Hall, Leicestershire, and canon of Middleham, Yorkshire, and Harriet Villebois of Marham House, Norfolk. Educated at Bedford School, Harrow, Oswestry School, and in Germany, he entered the Royal Horse Guards in 1859 but finding no chance for active service, his adventurous spirit saw him take part in balloon ascents and travels through Spain and Russia. During the summer of 1874 he accompanied Carlist forces in Spain as a correspondent for The Times (London) newspaper but before that campaign ended, was transferred to Africa to report on General Gordon's expedition to the Sudan.

Returning to England in early 1875, he completed his plans to make a journey on horseback to the Khanate of Khiva through Russian Asia, which had been closed to travellers, which he accomplished during the winter of 1875 - 1876, and later described in his book A Ride to Khiva which was a great success and brought him widespread fame. He subsequently made another horseback journey through Asia Minor from Scutari to Erzerum with the object of observing the Russian frontier, which he Horseback Through Asia Minor. During the 1877


Elizabeth Hawkins-Whitshed

Russo-Turkish War he acted as travelling agent for the Stafford House (Red Cross) Committee but had to return to England before the conflict ended.

In 1879 he married Elizabeth Hawkins-Whitshed who had inherited her father's lands in Greystones, Co. Wicklow. In 1880 he decided to try his hand at politics and unsuccessfully contested Birmingham as a Tory-Democrat. In 1882 he was disappointed at not seeing active service in the Egyptian Campaign but participated in the Suakin Campaign in 1884 and was wounded at El Teb while serving as an intelligence officer under General Valentine Baker. When the force to relieve General Gordon was established, he was given a post by Lord Wolseley and met his death at the Battle of Abu Klea.

Background

In 1881 Muhammed Ahmad bin Abd Allah, an apprentice boat builder, declared himself to be the Mahdi ('Guided One' or 'Saviour of the people of Sudan') and he initiated a Jihad or Muslim Holy War against the Khedive of Egypt, then the ruler of Sudan, and his Egyptian garrisons across the country. The Khedive resolved to evacuate his garrisons from Sudan and leave it to the Mahdi but his problem was finding someone who could carry out this difficult operation.


Muhammad Ahmad

In 1883, acting on the advice of the British Government of William Gladstone, the Khedive had appointed General Charles Gordon, to conduct the withdrawal from Sudan but he was not provided with exact terms of reference. General Gordon had acted successfully as governor of Sudan in the early 1880s and had left office with a high reputation and it was the belief of the British Government that General Gordon would arrange the evacuation of the Egyptian forces and then leave Sudan without endangering himself.

Late in 1883 a force of 4,000 Egyptians, armed with single shot rifles, was overwhelmed near El Obeid (present day Al Ubayyid) by the Mahdi's followers armed only with spears and swords who seized their arms and ammunition after which they besieged El Obeid and over a period of four months starved it into submission. A force of 40,000 of the Mahdi's followers then defeated a force of 8,000/10,000 poorly trained Egyptian soldiers commanded by Colonel William Hicks who were lured into the Sudanese desert and then massacred at the battle of El Obeid. Other supporters of the Mahdi wiped out a smaller force of Egyptians commanded by Colonel Valentine Baker near the Red Sea port of Suakin. However, these Mahdi forces were defeated by Major General Graham on 29th February 1884 at the battle of El Teb during which Colonel Burnaby was wounded while acting as an intelligence officer under General Valentine Baker. General Graham conducted his successful campaign from Suakin between February and April 1884, winning


General Charles Gordon

the battles of El Teb and Tamai, and was then withdrawn to Egypt leaving General Gordon to depend upon his own resources.

General Gordon had reached Khartoum on the Nile, the capital of Sudan, on 18th February 1884 where his arrival was greeted with great jubilation as many of the inhabitants were opposed to the Mahdi. Initially transport routes to the north of Khartoum remained open but shortly afterwards telegraph lines were cut with communications to and from Egypt reduced to messages carried by overland runners. General Gordon's intention to use an old Arab military adversary to counter the Mahdi's forces was vetoed by London leaving him with no option but to prepare for military operations. He immediately put the city into a state of readiness to withstand a siege while at the same time

commencing the evacuation of the foreign civilians. General Gordon made it clear that he had only sufficient resources for forty days once Khartoum came under siege. (This siege has been the subject of the epic film Khartoum (1966, directed by Basil Dearden) which starred Charlton Heston as General Gordon and Sir Laurence Olivier as the Mahdi, and is screened on TV from time to time.)

In April 1884 the Mahdi captured Berber, a town on the Nile, north of Khartoum cutting General Gordon's sole communication route with Egypt. He sent his second-in-command Colonel Stewart with a message for Sir Evelyn Baring, the British Commissioner in Cairo. Although the steamer carrying him made it past Berber, it then ran around, Stewart was taken prisoner and then executed by one of the Mahdi's lieutenants.

The Siege of Khartoum, 1884

As news of the unfolding situation in Khartoum reached Britain, Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone resolved that there would be no further British intervention in Sudan but public opinion was outraged by this idea and insisted that General Gordon must be rescued, a view also expressed by Queen Victoria. As the result of all this pressure, Gladstone was finally


General Lord Wolseley

forced to send an expeditionary force to relieve General Gordon after Lord Hartington, the Secretary of State for War, threatened to resign if this was not done.

Britain's most eminent general, General Lord Wolseley, was given command of the Sudan expeditionary force and opted to reach General Gordon by sailing up the River Nile but this route posed certain logistical problems for the British Army as it had no department that could provide the transport for such a journey. Boats had to be built, crews recruited, and then transported from Canada and South Africa using steamers provided by Sir Thomas Cook's travel company.

The force allocated to Lord Wolseley consisted of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, with guns and engineers drawn from British forces already in Egypt. In preparing his plans for the campaign, Lord Wolseley realised that he needed a flying column that would move overland while the bulk of his forces moved up the Nile in boats from Wadi Halfa to reach Khartoum in time. The force was divided into two columns: a River Column which would travel by river from Korti to Khartoum led by Lord Wolseley, and a flying column, the Desert Column, which would march across the desert from Korti to capture Metemmeh, fifty miles north of Khartoum. This part of the operation was assigned to Major General Sir Herbert Stewart who had commanded the cavalry in the Suakin campaign the previous year.


Major General
Sir Herbert Stewart

Major General Stewart's Desert Column, numbering 1,100 troops in all, consisted of the Camel Corps, additional troops from the Sussex Regiment, the 19th Royal Hussars on horseback, and a Royal Navy detachment with a Gardner gun, an early type of manually cranked machine gun. The Desert Column encountered problems immediately as there were insufficient camels available to carry all of their supplies so Major General Stewart had to take half of it across the desert to the Jakdul Wells, midway between Korti and Metemmeh, leave the troops there and send the camels back to bring up the remainder of his force. Finally, on 14th January 1885 the Desert Column left Jakdul Wells leaving a small garrison behind to guard it.

Battle of Abu Klea

It was intended that Major General Stewart's crossing of the desert would give him the element of surprise and that Metemmeh could be taken easily with minimum casualties. However, scouts moving ahead of the main body of the Desert Column encountered parties of Mahdists but eventually part of the Column arrived close to the wells at Abu Klea on 16th January 1885 where scouts observed that these were held by a large force of Mahdists and that it would be necessary to attack them the next day in order to seize them.

Major General Stewart opted to camp overnight two miles short of Abu Klea and although under constant sniper fire, a thorn bush barrier known as a zariba, was constructed to protect the Column compound. At daylight a strong force of Mahdists could be seen formed up to the

left of the zariba. Several unsuccessful attempts were made by the British to lure this force into attacking them by sending a strong force forward which then retreated into the zariba. As this ploy had no effect, Major General Stewart resolved to advance to the wells at Abu Klea in a square formation which provided all round defence.

Battle of Abu Klea (picture by: Stanley Berkeley)

At 7.30 a.m. the square began its difficult and cumbersome advance, the aim being to pass the flank of the Mahdist position and force them to attack it. Forward skirmishers moved ahead and engaged the Mahdist riflemen with fire, but after a while, the square began to become distorted in shape due to the uneven ground with gaps opening up towards the rear caused by the movements of the camels. Those wounded by Mahdist snipers, after receiving first aid, had to be loaded on camels, further distorting the integrity of the square. The officers at the front, who controlled the movement of the square, did not give insufficient consideration to the difficulties being experienced at the rear with the result that gaps opened up at crucial points in the corners and rear of it. Two hours later it became clear that the Mahdist army was about to attack the front left corner of the square. The square was wheeled to the right to move onto higher ground. A large force of probably around 3,000 Mahdists, armed with spears and swords, appeared from a nearby gully, charged the square and managed to break into it. During the engagement, the Gardner Gun jammed after seventy shots, due to sand in the mechanism but before it was cleared the Royal Navy detachment manning it were overcome by Mahdist spearmen and all except two were killed.

Colonel Burnaby was injured, brought down from his horse and killed by a spear to the throat while going to the rescue of the naval party. Corporal Mclntosh, a soldier from Colonel Burnaby's regiment, the Royal Horse Guards, rushed forward to assist him, but together the two were overcome and killed. Eventually the square, through volley fire and artillery firing shrapnel shells, overwhelmed the Mahdist forces and drove them back.

British casualties in this battle, which lasted fifteen minutes, were 11 officers and 71 other ranks killed, and over 60 wounded. There were about 1,500 Mahdist casualties.

In the afternoon the march on Metemmeh resumed, continuing overnight with the Column being four miles from Metemmeh at dawn. A position was adopted on which the Mahdist forces opened fire but after an interval the Column formed square and advanced to the Nile at Gubat, still under heavy fire. During this operation Major General Stewart sustained injuries, that later proved fatal, and command of the Column passed to Brigadier Wilson. The Times (London) of January 22nd 1885 published a report on the British Battle of Abu Klea from its correspondent, who in the fourth paragraph, informed readers of the death of Colonel Burnaby thus -*'Colonel Burnaby, fighting hard, was killed with a spear thrust*.'

Death of Colonel Burnaby at the Battle of Abu Klea

On January 21st 1885 four Nile steamers arrived from Khartoum at Gubat where two days later Brigadier Wilson embarked with soldiers of the Sussex Regiment and headed for Khartoum, arriving there on January 28th 1885 only to learn that the Mahdi's forces had taken the city two days earlier, massacring the defenders, with General Gordon being killed on the steps of his palace. Under intense fire from Mahdist forces, they withdrew once it was realized that there were no survivors.

The British then withdrew from Sudan leaving it to be ruled by Mahdi forces for the next thirteen years. The public blamed Gladstone for the death of General Gordon and for the delay in arranging a rescue mission and he was forced to resign within two months.

Muhammed Ahmad bin Abd Allah died from typhus six months after his capture of Khartoum.

Report of Colonel Burnaby's death

A comprehensive account of Colonel Burnaby's death, written by Bennet Burleigh, was published in the Aberdeen Journal of 5th March 1885. Bennet Burleigh was one of the most celebrated war correspondents of the period. He was the first to report the failure of the Gordon relief expedition, which led to the slaughter of the Khartoum garrison and apparently asked the telegraph operator to keep the line busy for the next twenty-four hours by sending

passages from the Bible so that no rival correspondents could send reports home! (There's a house called Burleigh Lodge in the Burnaby Estate, presumably named after him.)

Some extracts from Bennet Burleigh's description of the battle of Abu Klea follow.

Aberdeen Journal, 5th March 1885

The Night of the Battle

> *All lights were put out after dark, and talking and smoking even were forbidden. A silence broken only by the whiz, ping, or thud of the enemy's lead hung over the square, even the tired camels grunting far less than customary. During the earlier part of the night I had a long chat with Colonel Fred Burnaby, who expressed his delight at having arrived in time for the coming battle. He had been appointed, he said, by General Stewart to the command of the left face and rear of the square, and on the morrow would be virtually discharging the duties of a brigadier- general. He had got to that stage of life, he continued, when the two things that interested him most were war and politics; and, whether it was "slating" an unworthy politician or fighting against his country's foes, he expressed himself equally exhilarated and happy. Much more he confided to me, but neither time nor the occasion now avail for the repetition of that chat, destined to be the "last words" of a noble and fearless gentleman.*

Advance of the Arabs

> *At 9.50 a.m. just as the front of the square had crossed a narrow depression and gained the top of the little crest on the opposite side, we saw a force of 4,000 or 5,000 of the enemy echeloned in two lines on our left, or opposite the side of the square maintained by part of the mounted infantry and the heavy cavalry regiments. They were 400 or 500 yards distant, and looked like coming on. Dervishes on horseback and on foot marshalled them, standing a few paces in front of the fanatic host. With fluttering of banners, clamour of "tom-toms", and shoutings, they began to move towards our square. Our skirmishers' fire appeared to have little or no effect upon them, and the whole left face of the square, which now halted upon the high ground, turned their rifles upon the Arabs, with, however, not much better results. Very few of the Mahdi's force fell, their lines were scarcely marred. They were soon within three hundred and fifty yards of the square, and now they commenced to run toward us, coming over the rolling ground like a vast wave of black surf. In wild excitement, their white teeth glistening, and the sheen of their brandished weapons flashing like thousands of mirrors, onward they came against us. By twos and threes our skirmishers had now reached our lines, and, the left face being nearly clear, a volley was sent into the enemy at 150 yards as they rose over the last crest towards our opposing lines. A hundred or more Arabs dropped, and for a moment I saw their force waver and halt, as a man stops to gasp for breath or at any sudden surprise. Had that volley been promptly repeated there would have been little more of the battle of Abu Klea to tell except the rout and slaughter of the Mahdi's troops. But, somehow, the firing that followed from our ranks was irregular, wild, without visible effect; and the Arabs, who had barely checked their run, leaped over their falling brethren and came charging straight into our ranks.*

I was at that instant inside the square, not far from the Gardner gun, when I saw our men beginning to shuffle a little backwards. Some say Colonel Burnaby issued an order for the men to "fall back", but - I can speak confidently on this point - though near him, I never heard it. That, however, is a small matter, and it may have been issued all the same. At any rate, the left face moved somewhat backwards.

Colonel Burnaby himself, whose every action at this time I saw from a distance of about thirty yards, rode out in front of the rear of the left face, apparently to assist two or three of the skirmishers, who were running in hard pressed. I think all but one man of them succeeded in reaching our lines. Burnaby went forward to the men's assistance, sword in hand. He told me he had given to his servant to carry that double-barrelled shotgun which he had used so well at El Teb, in deference to the noise made in England by so-called humanitarians against its use. Had it been in his hands, Burnaby would easily have saved other lives as well as his own. As the dauntless colonel rode forward on a borrowed nag - for his own had been shot that morning - he put himself in the way of a sheikh charging down on horseback. Ere the Arab closed with him, a bullet from someone in our ranks, and not Burnaby's sword-thrust, brought the sheikh headlong to the ground. The enemy's spear-men were close behind, and one of them suddenly dashed at Colonel Burnaby, pointing the long blade of his spear at his throat. Checking his horse and slowly pulling it backward, Burnaby leant forward in his saddle and parried the rapid and ferocious thrusts; but the length of the man's weapon, eight feet, put it out of his power to return with interest the Arab's murderous intent. The affray was the work of three or four seconds only, for the savage horde were fast closing in upon our square. Burnaby fenced smartly, just as if he were playing an assault at arms, and there was a smile on his features as he drove off the man's awkward points. The scene was taken in at a glance - with that lightning instinct which I have seen the desert warriors before now display in battle whilst coming to one another's aid - by an Arab who, pursuing a soldier, had passed five paces to Burnaby's right and rear. Turning with a sudden spring, this second Arab ran his spear- point into the colonel's right shoulder. It was but a slight wound - enough, though, to cause Burnaby to twist around in his saddle to defend himself from this unexpected attack. Before the savage could repeat his unlooked-for blow, a soldier ran out and drove his sword-bayonet through the second assailant, and the rebel reeled and fell. Brief as was Burnaby's glance backward at this fatal episode, it was long enough to enable the first Arab to deliver his spear-point full in the brave officer's throat. The blow drove Burnaby out of the saddle, but it required a second one before he let go his grip of the reins and tumbled upon the ground. Half a dozen Arabs were now about him. With the blood gushing in streams from his gashed throat, the dauntless Guardsman leapt to his feet, sword in hand, and slashed at the ferocious group. They were the wild strokes of a proud, brave man dying hard, and he was quickly overborne, and left helpless and dying. The heroic soldier who sprung to his rescue was, I fear, also slain in the melee, for - though I watched for him - I never saw him get back to his place in the ranks.

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County Wicklow's 'Hidden' Heritage Park

Canon Robert Jennings

Many readers will be very familiar with the excellent Heritage Park at Ferrycarrig, Co Wexford, where how our ancestors lived in ancient times can be seen and explored. We can visit dolmens, cist burials, stone circles, horizontal water mills, fulacht fiadh (ancient cooking places), a round tower, and so on. Many of these have been constructed quite recently as they are mere replicas of the past. Yet here in Co Wicklow, on our own doorstep, we have many original sites, not replicas. I refer to the unique and historical landscape of the Sugarloaf Mountain, and especially Ballyreamon Common and parts of Glassnamullen, between the old and 'new' long hills. In this comparatively small area of four to five square kilometres there is a unique memorial to the inhabitants of bygone centuries, going back at least 2,000 years.

In this area alone there are eleven fulacht fiadh, four ring forts, a bowl barrow, hut sites, earthworks, cairns, crop marks, St Kevin's Holy Well, St Molin's ruined church of the fifth to sixth century, and ancient trackways. Even in more recent times, it includes the former Calary point-to-point racecourse, and an old flat racecourse. Tributaries of two well-known Wicklow rivers, the Dargle and the Vartry, spring from here - the former flowing north to Bray and the latter south to Wicklow. Brooding over all of this, the Sugarloaf Mountain, which the well-known archaeologist Christiaan Corlett maintains may have been a sacred mountain, with many ancient burial places so positioned to have a view of the mountain. (In a similar vein, the Muslims, as we know, face Mecca three times a day to say their prayers, and all animals slaughtered for Muslim consumption must face Mecca.) There is no doubt that in the future, by careful observation and the use of modern geophysical instruments, archaeologists and others will discover much more about this special area, provided it is recognised and protected. It was only as recently as 1993 that the only horizontal water mill so far identified in Co Wicklow was discovered at Newcastle.

Every year new and interesting discoveries are being made. As a member of the countrywide Hillwalkers' Association, I sometimes lead walks around this historic area, and a while ago I did so on behalf of the Roundwood and District Historical and Folklore Society. As a result, they asked me if I would write an article on the walk, describing what we saw and experienced so that it might be of interest to a wider public.

Calary Church (National Inventory of Architectural Heritage)

We met in Calary Church, which was built in 1834 to serve the Church of Ireland people of the area. The parish boundaries were carved out of four surrounding parishes, i.e. Delgany, Derralossery, Powerscourt and Newcastle. Within the church there was an opportunity to point out some famous people associated with the parish. Calary has two pulpits. The one situated at the back of the church is Darby's pulpit. Rev John Nelson Darby (1800-1882) of Leap Castle, Co Laois, was educated at Westminster School and TCD, graduating as a Classical Medallist. He was ordained deacon in Raphoe and priested in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. He was appointed as curate of Calary in 1826. Before the present church was built, services were held in the school on the long hill. The pulpit which had been used by Darby was moved to the newly-built church in 1834. Darby resigned from the Church of Ireland in 1827, and joined a sect called the 'Brethren'. A quarrel within this body led to a local schism at Plymouth in 1845. Darby became the leader of the stricter Brethren, who were organised as a separate body known as the Darbyites. Recently three coaches of Chinese came to visit Darby's church.

Pulpit of John Nelson Darby
(Mary Hargaden)

Dr Cecil King and his wife are both buried in Calary. Cecil King was chairman of the English National Coal Board, and also chairman of the National Children's Society. He retired to Ireland in 1974 and died in 1987. Both he and his wife, Ruth, worshipped in Calary Church.

Dame Ruth King (1913-2004) devoted her whole life to music. She received a CBE in 1954 and was made a Dame of the British Empire for founding the National Youth Orchestra of Great Britain. The first of many musical evenings in Calary church was arranged by Dame Ruth and friends in 1984. It has been restored to become an annual event for Calary.

Dame Ruth's father, Rev David Railton, was a chaplain in the First World War, and was responsible for bringing the body of the Unknown Soldier for burial in Westminster Abbey.

Two memorial plaques in the church recall Hilda Bisset, one of the first women veterinary surgeons to qualify in Ireland, and a former organist in Calary church. The other is dedicated to Dr Bob Collins (1900-1975) who, among his many other talents and achievements, was the first Irish doctor to enter Belsen concentration camp after the Second World War. In the adjacent churchyard are buried such diverse character as Dr Tony Farrington, who in 1928 was appointed Resident-over-Secretary to the Royal Irish Academy and devoted his life to the study of the glacial geology and geomorphology of the Wicklow mountains.

Outside the church we saw two ancient stiles that led through the churchyard which children used years ago to walk to the school in Myers' field. Looking south-east, we could trace part of the original Calary point-to-point races, and beside us could see the 'Church Bank', one of the jumps. The races were founded in 1898 by the Bray Harriers, who still hunt regularly in North Wicklow.

We walked up the short Church Road to the main Roundwood Road. If we had turned left here, then first right, we could have visited the ruins of St Molin's church and St Kevin's holy well nearby. Both saints are connected with this ancient site. St Molin ruled over the monastery of Glendalough for a time, and the townland of Glassnamullen is no doubt called after him. However, as time was limited, we turned right for 150m to visit the impressive remains of the hillfort on our right. As we stood on the mound and surveyed the surrounding countryside, we could realise that this site dominated the whole area of the Vartry. What is now called Vartry was originally called Feartry. Liam Price says the word 'feartry' means fort or fortress. In the sixth century one of the named places in the land of Feartry was Dunmore, or the big fort. In documents of the ninth century the area around this fort was a centre of importance long before Roundwood or Leitrim is even mentioned. As we could see, it was very large and well-fortified. The outer bank and moat has been largely filled in over the years, and originally was much higher and deeper. The river Vartry close by also formed part of its outer defences.

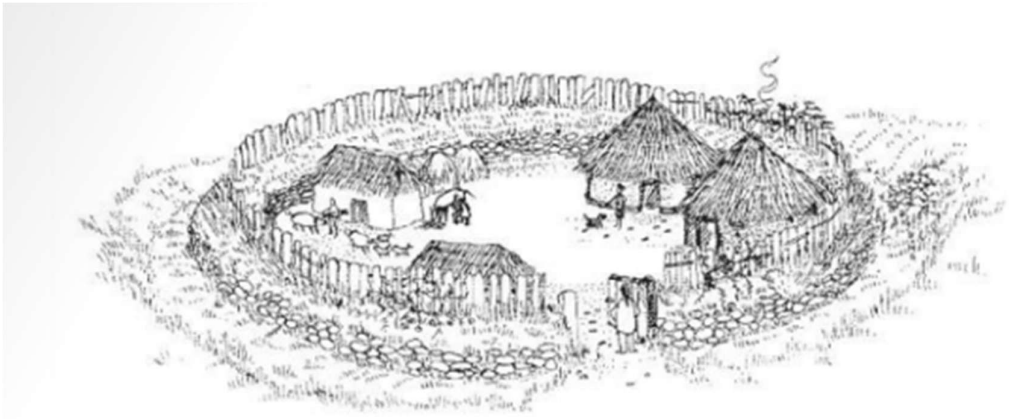
We continued our walk along the main road to the next T- junction. On the left was a famous public house named The Tavern, but it is now a private residence. It was here the members of the Bray Harriers frequently met after a day's hunt over Calary Bog. Up the side road from here are the remains of an old house where it is said that Rev John Darby lived when he was in charge of Calary parish. Incidentally, he left the parish after a riding accident.

There is a bridge over the river at this point, and along the left-hand bank the remains of an old road, which led past Calary Church and was the original way to the church before the existing road was built. This road is probably a continuation of the old road that led up from Bray. Mullinreamon was the old name of Hollybrook, and the name Mullinreamon Bridge was still used for the bridge at Ballywaltrim in the 1830s. This old road came up from this bridge through Glencormac to Kilmacanoge, and it can still be followed through Glencap Common and high up over the ridge of the Big Sugarloaf, through Killough and Ballinteskin to

Ballyreamon Common. This was known as Ballaghreamon or Raemond's Pass. This is a name that goes back to Anglo- Norman times.

We continued our walk along the present road to the first little road on the left, which leads on to Ballyreamon Common. The Common has been largely undisturbed for thousands of years except for a few houses and farmlands. Shallow cultivation took place in some areas before and up to Famine times, and the ridges and crop marks of failed potato crops are still very visible. They are a sad reminder of the Great Famine that either killed or dispersed abroad half the population of this island. However, the older dwellings and burial sites of thousands of years ago are still visible.

One needs a map or guide as well as strong walking boots to visit some of these sites, but we took in a limited sample of some of them on our two-hour walk. After a short walk, we visited two ringforts close by. These are so named because of their circular construction. They are also known as raths, or fairy circles, a name that usually led to their preservation because of the bad luck that might be visited upon anyone disturbing a fairies' dwelling place. There are approximately 186 ringforts or sites in Co Wicklow, but many more have been lost through ploughing or levelling of the land. Ringforts were enclosed farmstead dwellings, dating from early Christian times to the medieval period. The enclosure was constructed by earth and stones to form a ditch and a bank. The bank was surmounted by a fence of local timber. The extended family lived in round huts within the enclosure, and at night domestic animals were brought inside for protection from raiders or wild animals. On our walk we made a point of walking around the ringforts and hut sites in order to assess their extent and gain an appreciation of how people lived here many years ago.



Conjectural reconstruction of a ringfort (Annaba Kilfeather)

From this spot one can point out the remains of two Fulacht Fiadh (cooking places) as well as a long, wide grass roadway between the gorse and ferns that was once used for flat racing before Leopardstown and other courses existed. Also, an old abandoned farmhouse where nearby two rotary quern stones were discovered during excavation. They were given to me and can now be seen inserted into the Millennium Seat beside Hill's Garage in Kilcoole.

Walking on for about 1.2km along the wall that divides the Common from farmland, we came to a very large ringfort. It is on farmland that has been cultivated for many years, and its outline has now almost disappeared, but can be quite clearly seen from aerial photography. There are the remains of two banks and ditches. It must at least have been occupied by a local chieftain and his extended family. As it covered such a wide area, only a few of us walked around it as others looked on. Close by are the remains of two more Fulacht Fiadh.

A Fulacht Fiadh in use (Northern Ireland Environment Agency)

Continuing our walk for another 1.2km in the direction of the Sugarloaf, we arrived at the best-preserved Fulacht Fiadh on the Common. It is beside a stream and partly obscured by gorse bushes. 'Fulacht' means a cooking place or pit, and the word 'fia' means deer, or perhaps 'Fianna', who were early inhabitants of Ireland. Twelve of these cooking pits have so far been identified in Co Wicklow, seven of which can be seen on Ballyreamon Common and adjoining the townland of Glassnamullen. It is remarkable that any still exist, as they date from the Bronze Age, 2,000-500 BC. They consisted of a pit lined with wood, stone slabs or just non-porous clay. This was then filled with water. Close by, stones were heated in a fire, and then rolled into the pit to heat the water. Meat from hunting parties was wrapped in straw and cooked in the boiling water. The burnt stones were then thrown out to form a horseshoe around the pit. It is these burnt stone mounds which today leave their mark on the landscape.

Although this is the generally-accepted use of the Fulacht Fiadh, it is significant that no bones have been found around these 'cooking places', as one would expect. It is my opinion that they were used to generate steam for some religious or tribal ritual as yet unknown. Some have post-holes around them, suggesting the retention of the steam. Some even suggest they were the first sauna baths!

Walking on from here over long-forgotten cultivated ridges, we soon come to the most remarkable monument on the Common, a Bowl Barrow, also dating from the Bronze Age. It is a large mound like an inverted bowl, under which was buried single or multiple cremated human remains. The remains were placed in an urn, and nearby personal belongings and a bowl for food for the journey into the afterlife were also included. This Barrow is surrounded by a fosse and an external ditch and is approximately 25m in diameter. Close by, and from the more recent years of the eighteenth century, can be identified three rectangular houses surrounded by small garden-like enclosures.

Within 200m of the Bowl Barrow is the last of the ringforts with its hut site that we visited before joining the lane that leads back onto the main road. Along the lane we cross a tributary of the Dargle which flows north to Bray, and across the main road is a tributary of the Vartry which flows south to Wicklow. In primitive parts of the world water flowing out of a mountain gave a particular significance to that mountain. Two large rivers beginning their journey from the base of the Sugarloaf may in ancient times have added to its sacredness as a life-giving force.[1] Four cairns, usually the burial place of important people, can be seen on the side of the Sugarloaf, and add to the importance of this mountain in ancient times. There is also the existence of at least eleven 'cooking places' in such a small area, which needs explaining.

Cairns on the shoulder of the Sugarloaf (C Corlett)

The first mountain that Chris Bonington ever climbed was the Sugarloaf. This is what he wrote:

> *My grandfather retired to Mount Merrion in the 1950s and I came over to visit him when I was 16. I thought the Sugarloaf was such a lovely shape. I didn't have a map - I didn't know how to read one then. Anyway, I got a bus out there and walked up and walked down again.*

Christ Bonington climbed Mount Everest in 1985.

Many climb the Sugarloaf, but do they realise its significance, and the historical and archaeological heritage of the surrounding area? When one mentions something sacred, the Devil is not far away. So as we continued our walk to the main road, on the left we paused to observe Knocknadiabh, meaning 'the hill of the Devil'. It is a large clay and gravel mound, largely surrounded by water. It is as yet not known whether it is a natural landscape feature or man-made.

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[1] Two important Wicklow rivers have their source from this area: the Vartry, flowing south to Wicklow town, and the Dargle, to Bray.

As we waited for transport to take us back to Calary Church, many who have lived in the locality for years were surprised that this small area held such significant secrets. This area, without great expense, could and should be made known and available to many more people in Wicklow and Dublin. To preserve and indicate the ringforts, perhaps some of the large white quartz stones that lie around could be placed on the mounds. In addition, some of the wet areas would require wooden walkways and a stile or two, and the entire route way-marked. In consultation with one or two local farmers, the area would then be protected from the impact of human and animals for generations to come.

As suggested earlier, such a Heritage Park, largely on common land and marked, and with an appropriate brochure to accompany it, would ensure its preservation and would be an immense asset to Co Wicklow. Close to the capital city and just off the N11, one would expect it to be used by many interested in our historical past, as well as tourists, walkers, school children, university students, and all who value and enjoy a varied landscape of mountains, valleys, rivers, forest and an historical memorial of past cultures, all within a small region of the Garden of Ireland.

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Early Bronze Age Burials in Wicklow

Dr Eoin Grogan and Dr Tom Hillery

The following is an extract from a booklet, produced by the above authors, with illustrations by Sarah Cross, entitled 'A Guide to the Archaeology of County Wicklow'. Published in 1993, it has not been widely available for some time and, as it contains a wealth of information on many of the archaeological sites in County Wicklow which are of interest, the Society plans to provide an un-abridged copy of the Guide on its website in the near future.

Introduction

A Initially the remains of the dead were placed, either unburnt (with the body placed in a crouched position on its side) or cremated, into a small cist[2] and accompanied by a pottery vessel (Food Vessel) which stood up right beside the body on the floor of the grave. Gradually the practice of burying unburnt bodies was discontinued and by circa 1800 BC the vast majority of burials were cremations. Around this time larger pottery vessels (cinerary urns[3]) were placed in the graves and were used as containers for the bone, usually turned upside-down over the remains. At this stage the custom of lining the graves with stone slabs to form cists began to die out and the burials were placed wide variety of practices were developed in the Early Bronze Age (circa 2200-1600 BC) with regard to formal burial. into simple pits. Other grave goods were occasionally deposited and these included bronze knives and daggers, flint tools, stone maceheads[4] and ornaments of pottery, stone or faience (a glass- like substance).

Bronze age graves often occur singly, i.e. in isolation from the next nearest burial, and while most graves contain the remains of only one person 30-40% of the burials were of two or more (including some of five or more) individuals. Many burials were, however, put into cemeteries which contained between three and sixty or more graves. The cemeteries were either unmarked, i.e. there was apparently no above ground marker for the graves, or in mounds [5] (or cairns[6]). In the latter cases it is often possible to determine which are the earliest and which are the later graves.

Carrig cairn

At Carrig, Co. Wicklow (see illustration below) a circular cairn (17m in diameter) was excavated (by Eoin Grogan and Eamon Kelly of the National Museum of Ireland) following its discovery by the owner in the course of land improvement work. The cairn had become denuded before the beginning of this century but the essential elements and the burials which it covered remained largely undisturbed. The cairn covered several burials which were deposited in the period between 2000 and 1000 BC and the evidence suggests that the same community or family lived in the area during this period and this was their burial ground. Other cairns or mounds may have been used by the same group.

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2 Slab lined, usually rectangular, pit in which the remains of the dead were deposited in the Bronze Age. The cist usually had a capstone and was floored using a single slab or rough paving.

3 Larger pottery vessels placed in graves and used as containers for bone usually turned upside down over the remains.

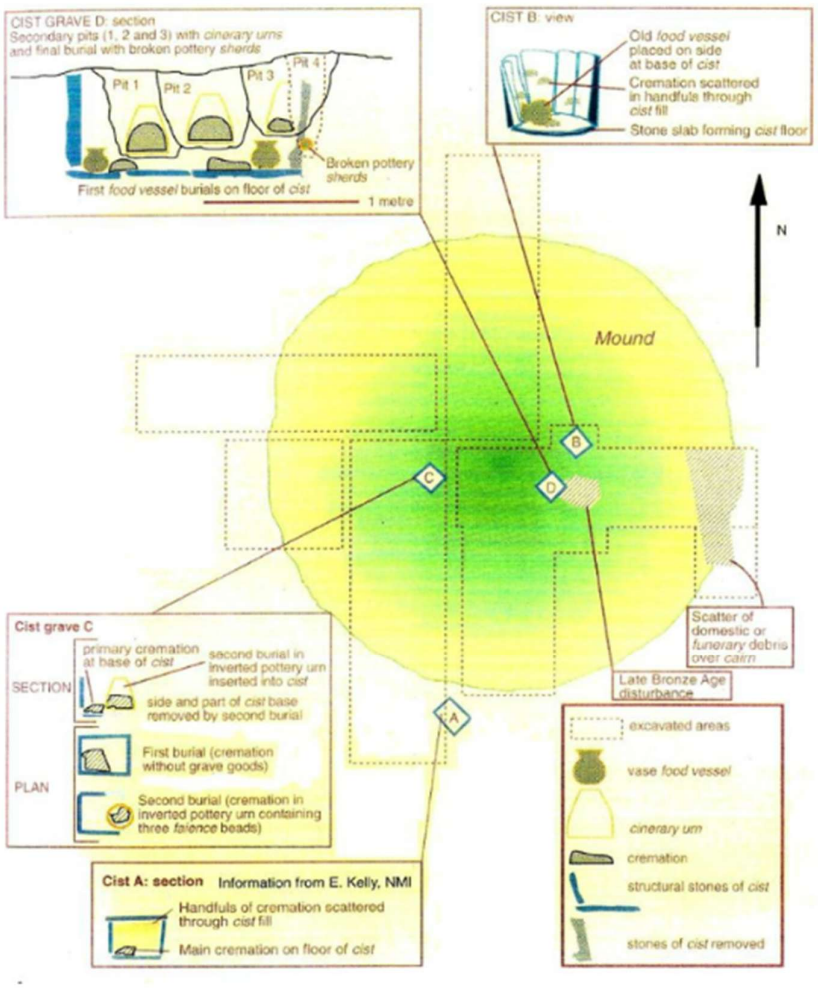
4 Elaborate stone hammer used as a weapon.

5 Pile of earth, or earth and stones, usually circular in shape, used, for example, to cover prehistoric burials.

6 Mounds of stone.

The earliest burials were in cists but later on simple pits or graves were used. The bodies were all cremated; at first a considerable effort was made to extract the burnt bones from the funerary[67] pyre but later on part of the pyre was deliberately placed in the grave with the remains of the dead. Some of the burials were of individual people, a custom which was common in the Bronze Age, but others contain the remains of two or more individuals indicating the possibility that funerals took place at special times of the year and that closely related people who had died in the period since the last funerary occasion were buried together. On the other hand, graves, such as one in Cist D (in illustration below) at Carrig, suggest tragedies where several members of the same family died at the same time, through accident or more probably disease, and were interred in a single ceremony. Two of the cists (C and D) contained several separate burials some of them consisting of the remains of more than one individual. It appears that the early burials were carefully placed into the cists which must have been marked in some manner on the surface of the cairn; some of the later burials caused damage to the cists indicating that their exact location under the cairn was no longer known. The latest burials, belonging to the Late Bronze Age, were contained in coarse domestic pots or were simply accompanied by fragments of pottery.

On the next page there is a ground plan and sections of the early bronze age cemetery cairn at Carrig.



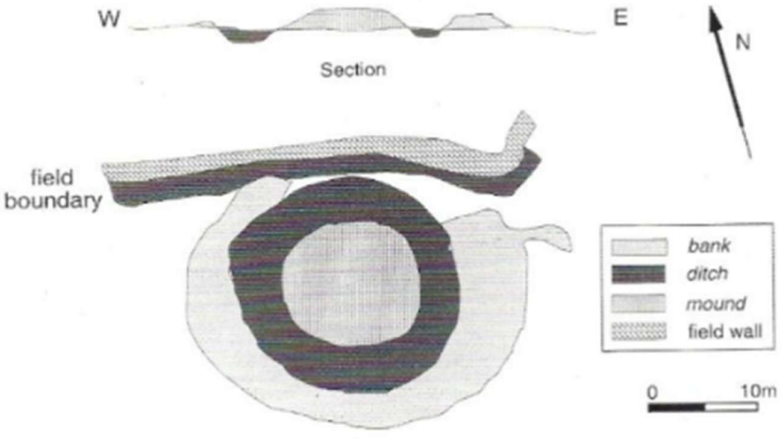
[7] Activity associated with a burial.

Ballyremon Commons barrow

The site is located at Calary, Kilmacanogue on the Round- wood / Kilmacanogue road. Access is adjacent to Calary School on the opposite side of the road.

The burial monument at Ballyremon Commons is called a Bowl Barrow and is of Bronze Age date (circa 2100-1500 BC). A roughly circular mound (diameter c 12m and about 1.50m high) is surrounded by a ditch (2.50-5m wide and 1m deep) and an external bank (2.50 - 4m wide and 0.20 - 0.95m high). The site has been truncated on the northern side by a field boundary. The barrow is about 25m in maximum diameter. It is on a gentle east facing slope at an altitude of about 300m.

Immediately to the north-east of the barrow is a deserted eighteenth-century AD settlement consisting of three rectangular houses, small fields and enclosure (the access track cuts across the centre of the complex). Prominent cultivation ridges survive both in the small fields and on open land on the hillslope above (i.e. to the west).



Ground plan of Ballyremon barrow (Sarah Cross)

Ceremonial circles

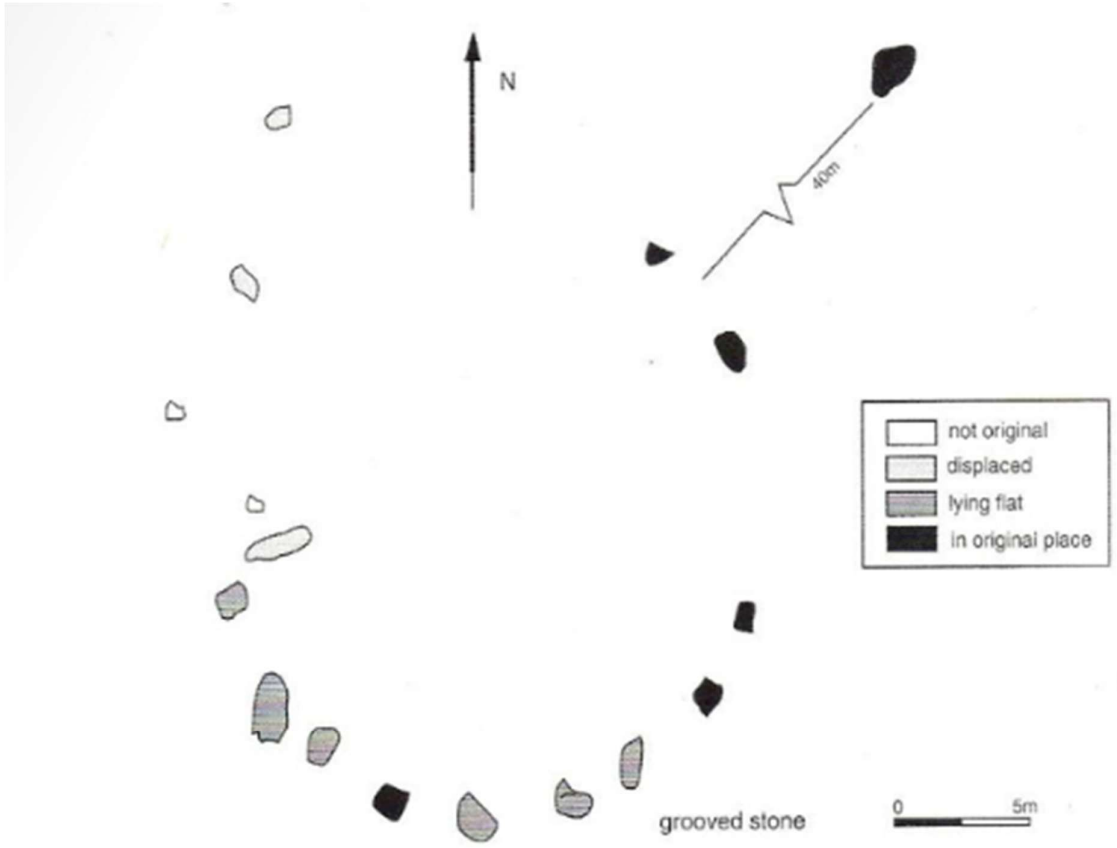
Ceremonial circle sites were built in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (circa 2600-1800 BC). Only a small number of sites are known of which three (Athgreany, Castleruddery Lower and Booleycarrigeen - none of which have been excavated) are in Wicklow. The sites generally consist of a continuous ring of large stones with an earthen bank outside the ring and resting against it. A well-defined entrance, usually facing east or west, sometimes also lined with large stones is a prominent feature. Occasionally, as at Athgreany, there is a single standing stone associated with the circle but situated outside the monument itself.

The ceremonial circles (or embanked stone circles as they are sometimes called), are closely related to free standing stone circles, such as those that occur in Cork and Kerry, as well as the very large enclosures defined by earthen banks (a major group of these occur in the Boyne Valley, Co Meath). The sites were used for community ceremonies whose timing may have been guided by specific solar events (such as the rising or setting sun on particular days of the year) - hence the orientation of the entrances. Other activity may have been associated with burial - fragmentary human bone is sometimes found on these sites suggesting that the dead were exposed on the ground within the circle for some time before they were provided with a final formal burial.

Athgreany ('The Piper's Stones') ceremonial circle

The site is located off the Blessington/Baltinglass Road, 13 km from Blessington (signposted). Through the gate from the road and up a rough path to top of small ridge (circa 300m).

Disturbed remains of a circle of granite blocks (internal diameter 23m) at the high north end of a small steep-sided ridge. There are sixteen stones in the area of the site of which only five are in situ; of the others five are lying flat but probably close to their original position, three are clearly displaced while the remaining two are too small to have been original components. The in-situ stones vary in height from 1.30m to 1.92m and while the pair on the north-east side are not the highest stones in the circle their position, facing the outlier7[8] ('The Piper') 40m further to the north-east, suggests that they may mark the entrance. The low bank visible between the stones on the south-east side may not be an original feature.



Ground plan of the ceremonial circle at Athgreany (Sarah Cross)

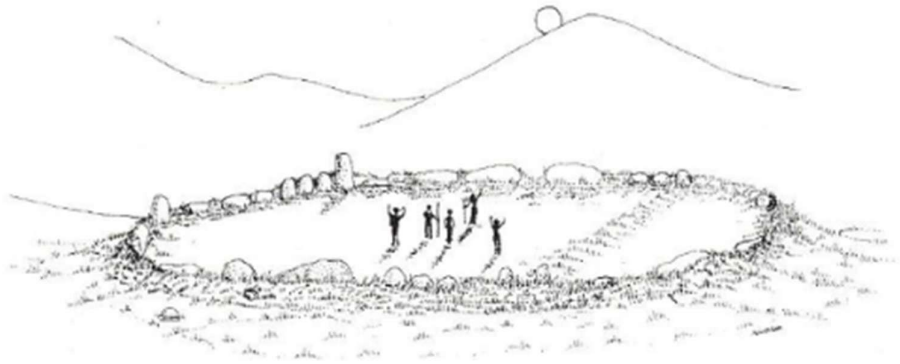
The outlier occurs downslope of the site and is a large glacial erratic (1.95m high, circa 2.90m wide). While it is a natural feature there is no reason to believe that it did not form an integral part of the site. Running across the top of the stone at right-angles are two well-defined grooves and a similar curved groove occurs on what was the top of a prostrate (lying flat) stone on the south-east side of the circle. It is clear that these are not entirely natural. Evidence of the effort put into the destruction of the site occurs in the form of deep wedge marks across the upper surface of two of the stones.

[8] An associated standing stone that is situated away from the main circle.

Castleruddery Lower Ceremonial circle

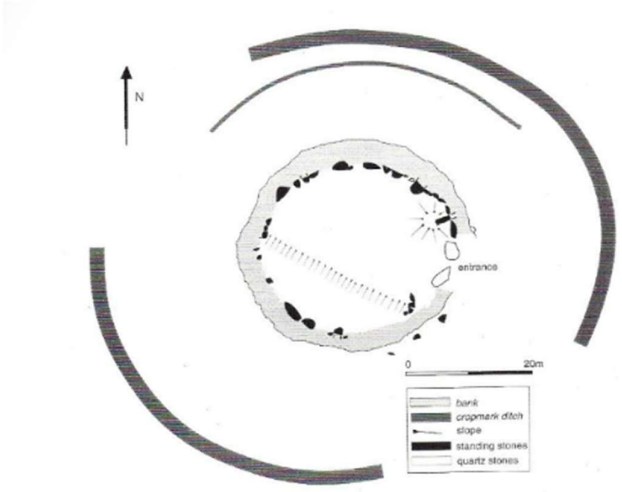
The location of the Castleruddery Lower ceremonial circle site can be found at:

http://www.megalithomania.com/show/youtube/o1i2xzbgWN4/castleruddery_lower_stone_circle.htm.



Conceptual reconstruction of the ceremonial circle at Castleruddery (Annaba Kilfeather)

The site consists of an inner circle which was originally a contiguous circle (diameter 30m) of large boulders some standing upright and others erected on their long axis. The circle is largely intact on the northern side but is less well preserved to the south. It consists of 29 substantial stones and a number of smaller fragments while some loose boulders occur in the interior which is otherwise featureless. Wedge marks and bore holes in several stones indicate an attempt to deliberately destroy the site, probably in the nineteenth century. The entrance (1.30m wide) appears to be between two exceptionally large quartz boulders on the eastern side. Abutting onto the outer face of the circle is an earthen bank (diameter 40m) the terminals or ends of which encompass the quartz boulders of the entrance. Some boulders along the outer edge of the bank may indicate an outer revetment or retaining wall. To the east (15.80m) of the entrance is a single upright stone. A field bank cuts across the outer edge of the bank on the south side.



Ground plan of the ceremonial circle at Castleruddery Lower (Sarah Cross)

The site occurs centrally within a well-defined cropmark enclosure (identified from aerial photography and not visible on the ground) defined by a ditch (circa 4-5m wide). Between this and the earthen bank is a narrower cropmark indicating a trench or narrow ditch (diameter circa 50m). The site is on a natural rise with gentle slopes to south, west and east and overlooking the River Slaney (250m to the south).

'It is the Home Rule Bill that has done that':

Wicklow women, unionism, and the Women's Declaration of 1912

Rosemary Raughter

Background

In September 1912, as over half a million Irish men and women signed their names to a pledge to resist at all costs the imposition of home rule, Rathdown (No 2) Rural District Council met to consider the no less vital question of sewage provision, and found the two issues unexpectedly converging. A letter had been received, the meeting was informed, from Mrs Le Blond, owner of much of the land around Greystones, declaring that 'in the present state of Ireland', she did not feel justified in continuing the development of her property, and was, therefore, unwilling to co-operate with the Council in carrying out the necessary work. As one councillor commented bitterly, 'It is the Home Rule bill that has done that.'[9] The Wicklow Newsletter saw in this purely local episode an indication of a wider malaise, concluding that:

> *'A spirit of unrest and uncertainty is one of the ugly shadows cast by the Home Rule Bogeyman, and until it is removed the progress of Ireland must remain at a standstill, or, at most, make but little progress.*[10]

Although this seems to have been Mrs Le Blond's most high- profile intervention in the debate[11], she was far from alone among

Wicklow women in her opposition to Home Rule. From the 1880s on, unionist women throughout Ireland involved themselves in successive anti-Home Rule campaigns. Prior to the general election of 1885 the chairman of an 'enthusiastic meeting of the loyalists of West Wicklow' at Knockenarrigan in the Glen of Imaal proposed that a demonstration be held in the district 'in protest against any measure that would involve repeal of the Union', to be attended by 'men, women, and children too.'[12] Eight years later, as Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill made its way through Parliament, 'many ladies' were among the 'crowded attendance' at a protest meeting in the Assembly Hall in Wicklow town[13], and a hostile account in The Wicklow People of a Unionist meeting at the Parochial School in Shillelagh in April 1893 noted the presence of 'a supply of the scullery and chamber-maids' from Coollattin House, as well as the wives of local notables and estate dependents, imported 'to swell the ranks of coercionism'.[14]

Campaign against 3rd Home Rule Bill

From 1911 on, with Home Rule now a very real possibility, opponents reactivated their campaign, and women were more than ever prominently involved. At a meeting held at Woodbrook, Bray in November 1912 the chairman, Sir Edward Verner, declared that 'he was

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9 Aberdeen Press and Journal, 26 September 1912.

10 The Wicklow Newsletter, 28 September 1912.

11 However, she is listed in The Times, 2 April 1914, as one of the signatories of a Women's Covenant 'in aid of Ulster'.

12 Wicklow Newsletter, 31 October 1885. The meeting was chaired by Mr Hume Dick, and was called at the behest of Rev T C O'Connor, rector of Donaghmore and Donard. Rev O'Connor, who was rector of the parish from 1874 until his death in 1913, was described in his obituary as 'an uncompromising opponent of Home Rule' and a leading Orangeman. See Church of Ireland Gazette, 13 June 1913.

13 Dublin Daily Express, 9 March 1893.

14 Wicklow People, 22 April 1893.

glad to see so many ladies present there ... as it was they who would ... bring the men out.' That was the only phase of Home Rule he believed in.'[15] At the same time, with an eye to women's mobilisation in Ulster[16], unionist women began to organise on their own account. A Wicklow branch of the Women's Unionist Association was established which sent representatives to meetings of the Women's Central Committee of the Irish Unionist Alliance in Dublin, and local groups were formed at a number of locations. The inaugural meeting of the Arklow branch, held in the Marlborough Hall, was chaired by the Countess of Wicklow, and featured talks from a Miss Harrison, who had 'been delivering addresses in England in support of the Union', and from Captain Bryan Cooper, who urged members to 'make the Arklow branch of the Women's Unionist Committee a strong and potent force in the battle against Home Rule.'[17]

A Greystones branch was formed in February 1914 under the chairmanship of Miss M Tottenham, described as 'an active lady Unionist worker in the county', and addresses were delivered by a Miss Ffolliott and Miss Conner as well as by local male unionist dignitaries.10[18] Some 'ladies resident in West Wicklow' were also among the attendance at a meeting of the South Kildare branch of the Women's Unionist Association, held in February 1912 at Barretstown Castle.[19] The chairperson, Lady Borrowes, welcoming the large number in attendance, said that 'it showed that women took a great and real interest in the question of Home Rule, and meant to do all in their power to oppose it'[20], while Lord Mayo, in his address (dismissed by one hostile observer as 'the usual claptrap') extolled the benefits of the Union, urged Unionists to enlist the support of English and Scots voters, and cited the example of Ulster, 'which had begun to fight, and meant to go on in earnest.'[21]

And indeed it was from Ulster that the act of opposition on which I want to focus for the rest of this paper emanated.

Women's Declaration

In September 1912 the Ulster Unionist Council announced the text of a Covenant to be signed on a specified date - 28 September 1912 - by the men of Ulster, in which they pledged to combine in 'using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland.' On the initiative of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council, a corresponding Women's Declaration was subsequently introduced, declaring the 'desire to associate ourselves with the men ... in their uncompromising opposition to ... Home Rule'.[22] 'Only Ulster women or women domiciled in Ulster' were eligible to sign, and signatories were required to have reached the age of sixteen[23], although an examination of the

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15 Dublin Daily Express, 8 November 1912.

16 The Ulster Women's Unionist Council was formed in January 1911. See Diane Urquhart ed, The minutes of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council and Executive Committee, 1911-40 (2001).

17 Wicklow Newsletter, 30 March 1912.

18 Belfast Newsletter, 10 February 1914.

19 Wicklow People, 17 February 1912.

20 Dublin Daily Express, 8 February 1912.

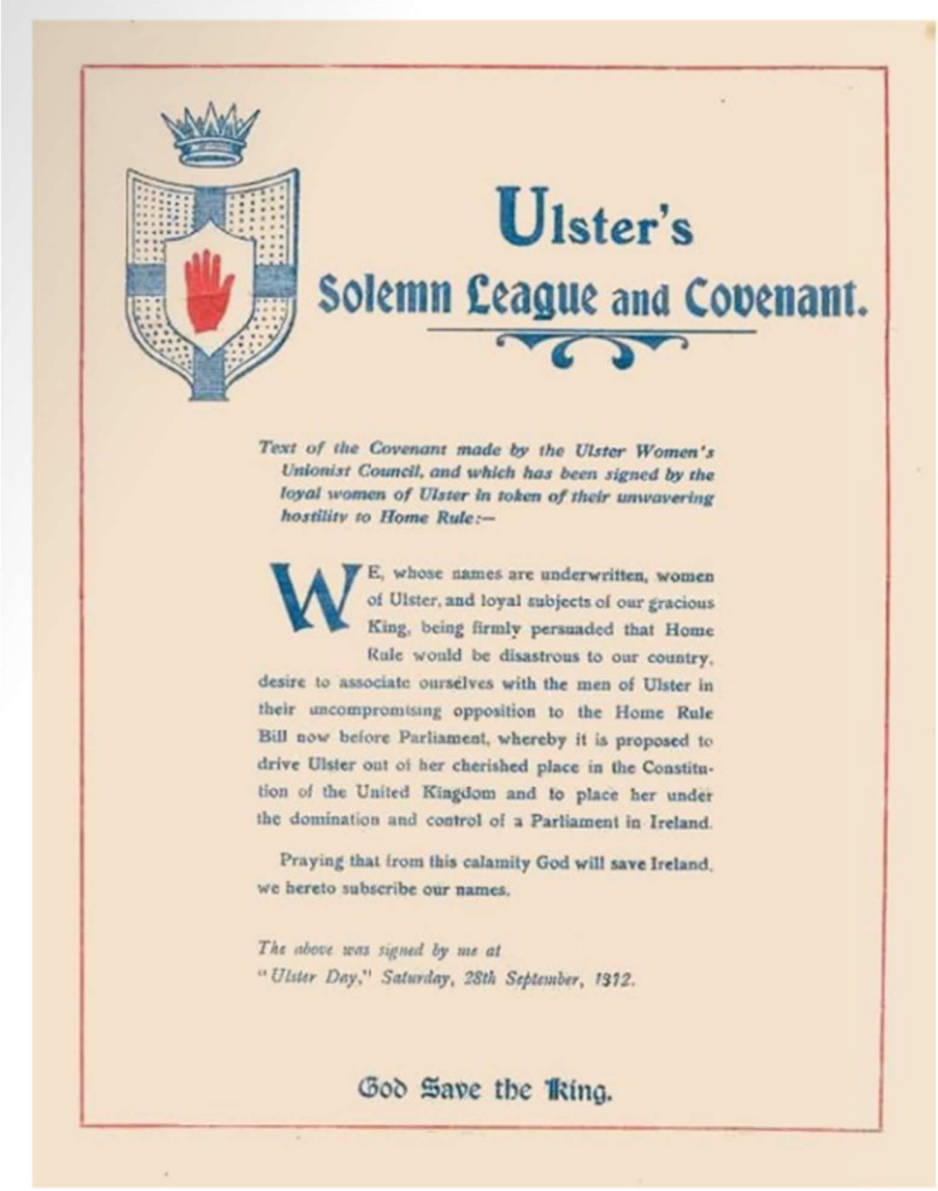
21 Ibid; Wicklow People, 17 February 1912.

22 Joseph E A Connell Jr, The 1912 Ulster Covenant', History Ireland, 5, Sept/Oct 2012, vol 20, http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century- contemporary-history/the-1912-ulster-covenant-by-joseph-e-a-connell-jr/; Urquhart, Minutes UWUC, p. 60

23 Joseph E A Connell Jr, The 1912 Ulster Covenant', History Ireland, 5, Sept/Oct 2012, vol 20, http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century- contemporary-history/the-1912-ulster-covenant-by-joseph-e-a-connell-jr/; Urquhart, Minutes UWUC, p. 60; David Fitzpatrick, Descendancy: Irish Protestant histories since 1795 (2014), p. 108.

back-grounds of Wicklow signatories of both the Covenant and the Declaration indicates that some slipped through those particular nets. [24]

The main venue used - at which Carson himself was the first signatory - was Belfast City Hall,



Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant.

Text of the Covenant made by the Ulster Women's Unionist Council, and which has been signed by the loyal women of Ulster in token of their unwavering hostility to Home Rule:—

WE, whose names are underwritten, women of Ulster, and loyal subjects of our gracious King, being firmly persuaded that Home Rule would be disastrous to our country, desire to associate ourselves with the men of Ulster in their uncompromising opposition to the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament, whereby it is proposed to drive Ulster out of her cherished place in the Constitution of the United Kingdom and to place her under the domination and control of a Parliament in Ireland.

Praying that from this calamity God will save Ireland, we hereto subscribe our names.

The above was signed by me at "Ulster Day," Saturday, 28th September, 1912.

God Save the King.

Ulster Declaration (quincey.info)

but other locations included town halls, court houses and Unionist Club premises, as well as school, church, temperance, mission and Orange halls. In Dublin the offices of the Irish Unionist Alliance and its Women's Central Committee at 109 Grafton Street remained open all day for those who wished to sign. Some people signed at home, and signatures were also collected on a house-to-house basis in certain areas.[25]

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[24] Cecil Burleigh of Ardmore, Bray appears to have been only thirteen years old when he signed the Covenant, while I have been unable to trace any link with Ulster in the case of a number of the women signatories discussed in this paper.

[25] Diane Urquhart, Ulster Covenant: women's signature role in the fight against Home Rule, Belfast Telegraph, 25 September 2012; Dublin Daily Express, 28 September 1912.

For women, still lacking the parliamentary vote, this was an opportunity to make their voices heard, and it was one they seized on with alacrity. In total, 234,046 women signed the Declaration, as against 237,368 men who signed the Covenant. In Ulster itself, however, nearly 11,000 more women than men signed.[26] The highest number of female signatories was in Belfast. Down and Derry also produced high numbers, with smaller but still considerable numbers in the border counties.[27] Further south the situation was more fragmented: while ere were no female signatories at all in some areas[28], 768 women signed in Dublin, 26 in Waterford and 21 in Wicklow, with smaller numbers in Kildare and Kilkenny.[29]

And it is, of course, with the impact of the Declaration on Wicklow women and women in Wicklow that this paper is primarily concerned. Having searched the signature sheets of he

The illustration is from Diane Urquhart ed, The Minutes of The Ulster Women's Unionist Council and Executive Committee 1911-40 (IMC, 2001)

[26] In Ulster 228,991 women and 218,206 men signed.

[27] 61,500 women signed in Belfast, 35,000 and over 20,000 respectively in Down and Derry; 3,722 women signed in Cavan.

[28] Counties which produced no female signatories included Leitrim, Limerick, Meath, Mayo, Sligo or Westmeath.

[29] Urquhart, Ulster Covenant: women's signature role in the fight against Home Rule.

Declaration, which are available online at www.nidirect.gov.uk/services/search-ulster-covenant , I have identified forty-six female signatories with Wicklow connections.

Of those, three women signed in the parliamentary division of Wicklow, all at Tinahely.[30] In Wicklow East there were eighteen female signatories[31], all signing in Greystones, eight of whom gave Greystones addresses, the other ten with Dublin addresses. That makes up the twenty-one women coming officially under the heading of Co Wicklow signatories. However, a further twenty-five women giving Co Wicklow addresses signed outside the county, eighteen in Dublin, two in Liverpool, two in Lisburn and one each in Hillsborough, in Larne and in Gilford, Co Down. Of those twenty-five, one came from Redcross, three from Delgany, nine from Greystones, while twelve had addresses in Bray.[32] One of the latter, although included in the Dublin folder, is in a slightly different category to the others: Mary Moore, born in Co Londonderry in about 1855, had been living in Bray since at least 1901 as 'servant maid' in the household of widower, retired RIC officer and Unionist activist, Bernard George Shaw, at 1 Florence Terrace.[33] For whatever reason, Mary was unable to add her name to the Declaration in the standard way. What survives, therefore, is not her signature on the standard form, but her own handwritten copy of the text, carefully transcribed and signed, which must have been submitted separately and later appended to the official signature sheets.

The Signatories

So now, having set the scene, let's take a look at the individuals themselves. Using a variety of online sources - chiefly the 1911 and 1901 census returns, but also the civil records of births, marriages and deaths and the church records at www.irishgenealogy.ie, the calendars of wills and administration, 1858-1920 from www.nationalarchives.ie/, and the will calendars from PRONI (www.nidirect.gov.uk/proni) as well as contemporary newspapers - I've been able to find out something, often quite a lot, about all forty-six Wicklow signatories.

First, the features in common - all were Protestant, the great majority[34] Church of Ireland. A much smaller number were Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist, while a small cohort - all from Greystones and all related - were Plymouth Brethren.[35] Only five of the forty-six had been born in Co Wicklow[36], and most had Ulster connections, although some were closer than others: Emily and Georgina Tottenham, for instance, had lived in Co Fermanagh until 1901, when their clergyman father retired to Belmont in Bray, Margaret Montgomery, of 1 Sidmonton

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30 At the same time, ten men from the same constituency signed the Covenant.

31 There were no male signatories in Wicklow East.

32 This information is extracted from the digitised version of the Ulster Covenant and Declaration, online at https://apps.proni.gov.uk/ulstercovenant/Search.aspx The figure of forty-six women with Wicklow connections is certainly an under-estimate, including only those women who signed in Wicklow or who signed elsewhere giving a Wicklow address. For instance, Gwen Savage Armstrong, daughter of George Francis Savage Armstrong, known as 'the poet of Wicklow', was born and spent much of her early life in Bray. However, on the Declaration her address and place of signing is given as Strangford, Co Down, and on that basis she must be excluded from this study.

33 Bernard George Shaw had the distinction of being 'the sole survivor [in 1903] of the 400 men and 10 officers who formed the guard' for Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort during their visit to Killarney in 1861. Wicklow Newsletter, 10 December 1910 and Tyrone Courier, 30 July 1903.

34 Thirty-six were Church of Ireland, although two of those were probably born Presbyterian. Only one was Church of England. On contemporary reports of Catholic signatories, see Fitzpatrick, Descendancy, p. 109.

35 Three were Presbyterian, two were Methodist, and one Baptist. All those described as Plymouth Brethren were members of the Evans family of Greystones.

36 The Wicklow-born signatories were Annie Jane Evans of West View, Emily Evans and her sister, Mary Storey of Hillside (all of Greystones), Lucy Loftus Mates, Redcross, and Georgina Isabella Tottenham, who had, however, spent most of her early life in Co Fermanagh, where her father was rector of Inishmacsaint

Square, Bray, was the widow of Rev Robert Montgomery, minister of Great Victoria Street Presbyterian church in Belfast, and had been associated with him for many years in his educational work in the city[37], while Bessie McSeveney, wife of a post-office clerk stationed in Bray, had been born in Co Antrim and returned home to Larne to sign. Helen Clement, born in Glenageary, whose family subsequently emigrated to Australia, signed in Liverpool, giving a Bray address, but her mother, who also signed, had been born in Dungannon, and the parents of Dublin-born Helen Scott of Fairholme, Greystones, were both born in Co Londonderry.

In a small number of cases - I'm thinking particularly of five or possibly six women from Greystones - no connection whatsoever with Ulster comes to light, which is not to say, of course, that one didn't exist, especially given that this was a town with a majority Protestant population, and one which also boasted a flourishing Orange Lodge.[38] In the case of Lucy Loftus Mates, the sole signatory from Redcross and Wicklow born and bred, the link with Ulster must be similarly uncertain. In 1911 Lucy was in her mid-thirties and one of three unmarried sisters, living with her brother, William, a farmer and sub-agent for the Salkeld estate, at Oakwood, Redcross. In the following year she signed the Declaration at Lisburn, where she may have been working - she had otherwise no discernible connection with Ulster.[39] Two years later, in 1914, she sailed for America, settling in Baltimore, but at some point she returned to the family home in Redcross, where she died in 1944.[40]

Signatories included single women (who were in the majority), wives and widows34[41], and ranged in age from seventeen-year old Gwendoline Lindsay, living in Tinahely with her school-teacher sister and still a scholar, to eighty-one year old Anna Maclean, of Belmont, Bray.[42] In terms of social background, too, this was a varied group: they included ladies of the landowning elite and professional classes, who accounted for about half of the total, but also shop assistants, shopkeepers' wives, a boarding-house keeper, farmers' daughters, a cook, a parlour maid and a lady's maid, and (representing a new type of educated, professional woman) two teachers.

The first of these, Florence Lindsay, aged 27 in 1912, was the daughter of a Co Armagh schoolmaster.[43] Sent south to Co Kildare for her education, she went on to teach in Tinahely,

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37 Mrs Montgomery had probably moved to Bray to be close to her daughter and son-in-law, Mr and Mrs Albert Dobbs, who lived at Galtrim Road.

38 See account in Belfast Weekly News, 3 July 1913 of the planned visit by Greystones LOL to the Twelfth celebrations in Belfast. 'That these brethren are ready to go so far, and to incur so much expense, is proof sufficient that another Ulster is developing South of the Boyne, no less true, no less sturdy, and no less determined to resist Popish domination in any shape or form.'

39 Of the twenty-nine individuals with the surname Mates living in Co Wicklow listed in the 1911 census, all but one had been born in the county. The exception was Lucy's sister-in-law, Rosa Maria, who was born in Guernsey.

40 http://www.rootschat.com/forum/index.php?topic-521032.9

41 Twenty-seven were single, eleven married and eight widows.

42 The youngest signatory may have been Annie Dunne, aged 15, working as a shop-assistant at The Arcade, Greystones, but this identification is uncertain. Four signatories were aged 20 or under, fifteen 21-40, eighteen 41-60 and nine were aged 61-80.

43 The Lindsay family was a large and talented one. The thirteen children (nine sons and four daughters) included 'two medical men, two solicitors, two engineers, one a principal of Sherbourne College, Dorset, while another is a captain in the Indian army. The youngest daughter, Miss Cecilia P Lindsay, recently graduated with honours at Trinity College, Dublin.' Capt. H N Lindsay later became asst solicitor, Ministry of Finance, NI, James Lindsay became Chief Probate Registrar for NI; Dr E M Lindsay became Director of Armagh Observatory; Frederick Richard Lindsay taught, and later became headmaster of Sherborne Preparatory School. Ballymena Observer, 29 June 1928 and Fitzpatrick, Descendancy, note 47, p. 70.

and while there took a degree course at TCD, where she won a number of prizes. In 1918 she married the local curate, moved north with him, and thereafter her outstanding talents were devoted to family and parish work.[44] The second teacher, Maud Steuart Jackson, also the daughter of a schoolmaster, took a BA at the Royal University before going home to assist her father in his school at Macosquin near Coleraine. A few years later she and her father established Ballycastle High School, still in existence today.[45] Maud actually signed the Declaration twice, first in Ballycastle and secondly in Greystones, where she was probably on holiday - thereby, incidentally, giving the lie to the subsequent claim that 'it is certain that the numbers as eventually published included no duplicate signatures' in either the Declaration or the Covenant![46]

An examination of the list of signatories reveals the existence of networks, based on family, on friendship and on association - for instance, in the workplace or at church. Of the eighteen women who signed in Greystones, for example, three - Annie Jane Evans, Emily Evans and

Mary Storey - were members of a long-established and very numerous local family. Mary Storey and Emily Evans were actually sisters, while Mary Storey and another woman, Agnes Storey, were sisters-in-law. There were other links: Annie Jane and Emily Evans and Mary Storey were all members of the Plymouth Brethren, and Agnes Storey and yet another signatory, Deborah Webster, were the wives of shopkeepers in the village. Three more of the Greystones signatories, Sarah Ebbitt, Annie Dunne and Ena James, were workmates - all were employed as assistants in McDonogh's drapery shop at The Arcade.

Perhaps the most interesting example of the role of relationships, however, is provided by the Cowan/Harrison family, several of whose members, giving their address as 65 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin, signed their names at Greystones. Agnes Cowan's association with the anti-Home Rule movement went back to the 1880s: her first husband, Sir Edward Porter Cowan, had been a Belfast business magnate, sometime Lord Mayor of the city, and resolute opponent of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill. Following his death in 1890, Agnes married widower and aspiring politician, Thomas Harrison, who went on to establish himself as a barrister in Dublin and became a leading figure in southern unionist circles. While Harrison himself travelled to Belfast to sign the Covenant, his wife, together with her sister-in-law, Minna Cowan, and three of her daughters, Annie, Maude and Daisy, and her step-daughter, Florence Harrison, signed the Declaration in Greystones. Signing at the same time and place were Kate Adeline Booth, described as a companion' in the Cowan household, widow Sidney Blanche Moore, who lived next door to the Cowans at 67 Fitzwilliam Square, and Isabella D'Alton of 19 Lower Pembroke Street, whom press reports of the time reveal to have been part of the Cowan/Harrison social circle. Thus, of the eighteen women who signed at Greystones, seventeen were certainly connected in some way with one or more other signatories.[47]

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[44] Florence Conner (nee Lindsay) died 12 March 1932: according to her obituary, 'by the death of Mrs Conner the Church of Ireland in the Diocese of Derry has lost a gifted daughter, who devoted her powers of intellect, scholarship, and leadership to its interests. To say that Mrs Conner was a Senior Moderator and gold medallist of Trinity College, Dublin is but to mention one of her many attainments. Not only did she easily absorb knowledge, but she reproduced it, and wielded it with grace and skill. Her services were largely sought for and freely given far beyond the bounds of the parish in which she lived and worked.' Northern Whig, 18 March 1934.

[45] On Maud Steuart (or Stewart) Jackson see Dublin Daily Express, 30 Oct 1883 and 16 October 1885; Irish Times, 23 October 1884, Northern Whig, 6 February 1935.

[46] Ronald McNeill, Ulster's stand for Union (1922), p. 123.

[47] It is possible that the eighteenth Greystones signatory, Maud Steuart Jackson, was also part of the Cowan/Harrison group: her brother, James, who worked in the Irish Land Commission and was

Headstone of Declaration signatory Lettice Theodosia McCausland, Rathdrum Cemetery, Co Wicklow

Moving on to those who signed elsewhere, we find a mother and two daughters (Laura, Octavia and Lettice McCausland, of Holyfield, Delgany), two sisters and an aunt (Emily Millicent and Georgina Isabella Totten- ham, and Anna Maclean, of Belmont, Bray), the two Lindsay sisters (Florence and Gwendoline), of Cool- roe, Tinahely, a mother and daughter (Lucie and Helen Clement, who gave their address as Rynnville, Bray), and sisters Fanny Digby and Elizabeth Sandars of Dromore, Greystones, who signed in Dublin, as indeed did Mrs Digby's parlour maid, Margaret Hamilton, and her cook, Lilian Hill, from Co Tyrone and Co Down respectively. There were also connections between some of the Wicklow signatories and prominent Unionist and Ulster political figures: Sidney Blanche Moore's son, William Moore, a barrister, was currently MP for North Armagh, and would ultimately be appointed the first Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland, while Isabella D'Alton's brother, Wood Gibson Jefferson, also a barrister, was 'an uncompromising Unionist' and party activist in Dublin, prior to his sudden death just a couple of weeks before Ulster Day.[48] Louisa Meriel Head of Thornhill, Bray, who signed at Hillsborough, Co Down, was related by marriage to Edward Saunderson MP, former leader of the Irish Unionist Party42[49]; Conolly Thomas McCausland, husband of Laura and father of Octavia and Lettice McCausland, was adamantly opposed to the first home rule measures and a leading light in the Ulster Defence Union, while his son, Maurice, was involved in the Larne gunrunning and hosted a rally in 1914 on his estate, Drenagh, near Limavady, at which Edward Carson inspected 4,000 men of the North Derry contingent of the UVF. Laura herself had established the Limavady branch of the Women's Unionist Association, which at its first meeting unanimously condemned the 1893 bill as 'subversive of all the best interests of this country', and vowed to 'thwart the designs of selfish and wicked men.'[50]

Florence and Gwendoline Lindsay, originally from Portadown, were the nieces of Richard Best, MP for Armagh and Attorney General for Northern Ireland, 1921-25 and Lord Justice of Appeal, 1925-39; their brother, Frederick, who signed the Covenant in Waterford while a teacher at

currently studying for the Bar, was a longtime close friend of William E Wylie, then a barrister, later prosecuting counsel at the trials of the 1916 insurgents, and subsequently a judge of the High Court in the Irish Free State, 1924-1936.

48 Northern Whig, 10 September 1912. Wood Gibson Jefferson died on 8 September 1912.

49 Louisa Head's brother was married to Edward Saunderson's daughter.

50 Macrory, One family, pp 33, 46-47.

Bishop Foy's School there, went on to teach Louis McNeice at Sherborne Preparatory School, and was remembered by him as the archetypal grassroots Ulster loyalist. [51]

In a few other cases, it has been possible to ascertain that members of the Wicklow signatories' families also signed the Declaration or Covenant: Isaac Hill, Lilian Hill's father, signed at Dromore, Co Down, as did Fanny Digby's nieces, Lucette and Olive Brush. Maurice and Eileen McCausland, son and daughter-in-law of Laura McCausland, signed at the Market Place, Limavady, and Thomas Steuart Jackson, Maud Steuart Jackson's father, added his name at Ballycastle. Oddly, perhaps, Thomas Harrison appears to be the only one of eleven husbands of Wicklow signatories who signed the Covenant, and this despite the fact that three - the husbands of Hannah Geddis Porter, Bessie McSeveney and Mary Peatt, all of Bray - were born in Ulster. [52]

The aftermath

As we know, the Home Rule Bill did progress through Parliament, and its implementation was prevented only by the outbreak of war in 1914. With southern unionism diverting its energies to cope with this new crisis, it is not surprising to find a number of the women who signed the Declaration involving themselves in war work. Mrs and Miss McCausland, for example, are reported as contributing to the Rathdrum Soldiers' Christmas Present Fund in 1915, while Mrs McCausland was a member of a committee established in September 1916 by Wicklow County Council 'to look after the interests of soldiers and sailors and their dependents.' Meanwhile, Florence Lindsay is mentioned as one of the organisers of a 'cinema entertainment' in Tinahely, in aid of the work of the Red Cross for the wartime sick and wounded. [53]

During the 1918 general election unionism - by now a lost cause in the southern part of the country - continued to have some vitality in a few areas, including Wicklow, where the Unionist candidate attracted some quarter of the total votes. With women over thirty now in possession of the parliamentary franchise, it was reported that a 'surprisingly large' number of female voters cast their ballot in the strongly unionist Delgany/Greystones area of the constituency.[54]

Conclusion

I would like to stress that this is a work in progress. Much research remains to be done on unionist women's activism in Wicklow, and indeed on the female role within southern unionism generally. I have been struck during the course of this Decade of Centenaries at the contrast between the attention lavished by both academic and local historians on nationalist and republican women and the almost total lack of interest in the part played by their southern Unionist and loyalist counterparts. This examination of the response of Wicklow women to the Declaration of 1912 is intended as a reminder of their existence, and an entry point into a wider study of Wicklow women's response to the successive crises which threatened and ultimately overwhelmed unionism in the decades between the 1880s and Independence.

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[51] Fitzpatrick, Descendancy, pp 70-71.

45 William Porter, carriage builder, Main Street, Bray, was born in Co Armagh; James McSeveney's birthplace is given as Co Antrim, and Edward Peatt as Co Cavan.

[52] William Porter, carriage builder, Main Street, Bray, was born in Co Armagh; James McSeveney's birthplace is given as Co Antrim, and Edward Peatt as Co Cavan.

[53] Wicklow Newsletter, 29 January 1916, 23 September 1916, 16 March 1918.

[54] Ibid, 21 December 1918.

Wicklow's Industrial History

Colin Short

Introduction

Industry is the provision of a product to suit the current economic environment. This basic concept has not changed in historical times. We never make something that is not needed by someone some- where. We start by finding food and preparing it for eating[55]1. We make shelters for ourselves and we make implements to make our life easier or more convenient. When we have time, we begin to make things for other people and start to trade our fine products with others who have items that would be beneficial to our way of life. We look to what we have and others want or desire.

In this article, we will look at what Wicklow had through history and the ways in which that changed through time.

Figure 1: Land division in 1450

History

We know that Palladius, Ireland's first bishop, landed at Hy-Garchon, now Wicklow, in 431AD [1]. Local history records the town of Wicklow being founded by the Vikings circa 795AD [2]. At the end of the Anglo- Spanish war and the Tudor/ Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland, County Wicklow was created as a shire by Elizabeth I. Plans to shire Wicklow had been in place since 1578 but rebellious clans stalled them. Thadeus, O'Byrne's, agreed to sign a treaty with the King in 1535 in which he swore to be a loyal subject. He requested that his territory be called Wicklow. However, this move was rejected by his clan and a new chief was elected. During the mid-1500s there was a time of relative peace and the authorities in Dublin were led to remark on the good behaviour of the O'Byrne's. [3]

Figure 2: The Pale per the Statute of 1488

By 1578 the authorities were preparing to shire Wicklow to create a new county of Wicklow and Ferns. The army of the Lord Deputy, Lord Grey, was sent to subdue the county but was destroyed by Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne and his ally Lord Baltinglass at the battle of Glenmalure in 1580. The plans for a new county had to be scrapped in the face of open rebellion.

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[55] Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, (1943, 1954)

Hostilities continued through to the turn of the century and by the end of the 1500's the O'Byrne's were experiencing great hardship. The defeat of the Irish in Kinsale signalled the beginning of the end for the Gaelic chieftains' old way of life. The final bell tolled for them with the Flight of the Earls from Rathmullan, from County Donegal on 14 September 1607.

Figure 3: County Wicklow in Ireland

Boundaries

The division of land in 1450 is shown in Figure 1 and a detail of the Pale is shown in Figure 3: County Wicklow in Ireland Figure 2. The County Wicklow boundaries were drawn up to reflect the stated ownership of land by the O'Byrne's and O'Tooles circa 1578; and after slight modification were adopted by the Shire Act in 1606.

These were, much later, added to by an adjustment made in 1957 by a Local Government Act when County Dublin land was ceded to County Wicklow to the north of the County on the Western side of Bray. [2]

The geology and topography

The geological structure of Ireland in the County Wicklow area has had a fundamental effect on the development of the County. The complex nature of the geology, is described in more

Figure 4: County Wicklow in 2016

detail in 'The Geological Heritage of Wicklow' [4], and the glaciers of the Ice Age have shaped the topography as we know it today.

Early workings

As early as 2500BC it is believed that Bronze age mining for copper was in hand around the Avoca area. Then about 1000AD corn was being milled using a horizontal water mill in a valley in Timore townland.

The principal activity was agriculture, mainly grazing, using the Booley system described in the Brehon Laws. Cattle and sheep were grazed in high pasture land during the summer period, then the flocks and herds brought down to lower milder pastures in the more severe winter months.

The herdsmen and women would move with the animals, but the young children and older or infirm adults would dwell in family or clan groups centred around lowland Clachan. This persisted until the Act of Union and the beginning of the plantation when groups, from Scotland, Wales, and England, were given land and displaced the native Irish. The settlers were encouraged to clear and plant their land, to grow crops for the expanding markets in the cities both in Ireland and elsewhere. Fences and field boundaries became common and nomadic animals were confined to the higher ground all season. Repeated planting and intensification of demand on the land depleted the soils of nutrients.

Modern methods

When Arthur Young [5] wrote about Ireland [6] in 1776-9 he was not impressed with much of the agriculture in the countryside, but there were some notable exceptions where land was improving. Later in Samuel Lewis's publication [7] of 1837 most land was improving with the use of crop rotation, and lime was used as fertilizer or soil improver.

The Ice age left a significant number of 'Erratic' boulders of Granite and other rocks of large size. The towns and cities were beginning to grow so the first signs of industry in Wicklow came from the land improvement. The Erratic boulders too large to move were cut down where they set, and the resulting rock was trimmed by stone cutters to suit building construction locally, and for transport into the towns and cities.

Limestone was being imported from Sutton via Howth into Bray, Wicklow and Arklow harbours. Stone was transported over slightly improved roads to the harbours for improvement and local construction, or transported to other venues, by sea.

Lime stone was burnt in local kilns for distribution on the land and the remaining smaller pieces from the Erratics were used for field boundaries. Mention is made of an agricultural society formed by Earl Fitzwilliam in Tinahely for the advancement of knowledge and improvement of agricultural methods.

Noted produce was butter from some areas, and strangely, the milk was otherwise used to feed lambs for the Dublin market, leading to our well-known Wicklow Lamb.

In 1824 much of the Erratic boulders must have been used up because the stone cutters set up in quarries near Ballyknockan. Other small quarries were

Figure 5 Ballyknockan Quarry 2016

opened in all parts of County Wicklow for single purposes and then fell into disuse. Some produced products such as roofing slate from slate out- crops but the principal granite quarry remained in Ballyknockan.

A little earlier, in 1795, gold was discovered near Glendalough, and there was a brief but significant gold rush until taken over by the government. In 1798 the works were destroyed by the insurrection but in 1801 it was reworked systematically and then eventually abandoned after the mountain in the area was carefully searched for traces of gold in the rock. None was found, and the works were finally vacated.

Copper and lead were mined in several places in the east of the county.

Communications

From earliest times County Wicklow was difficult to traverse because of the rough terrain, mountains, bogs and forested areas; travel was forbidding. Much of the travelling that was done was by sea and by river.

Verbal communication was quoted as being unreliable because of the poor education of the population.

Early roads were dreadful. County Wicklow does not appear to have evidence of ancient road ways, and Ireland did not have the benefit of Roman road makers, although 'An Tóchar' [Roundwood] may refer to an ancient road or track way constructed across a bog in the area.

It is not known if the five trackways listed in the annals of the four masters ever reached as far as County Wicklow. However, Slighe Cualann may have been extended south from Bray to form the basis for the N11 or R761 today. As mentioned above, most long-distance travel was by water in Medieval times.

In 1614 the Irish Parliament passed the Highways Act which enabled the Parishes to maintain roads within their boundaries with emphasis on those serving Market towns. The parishes were encouraged to maintain existing roads and to build new ones. In 1634 a new act allowed the levying of taxes' ... to ensure the repair, maintenance or reconstruction of bridges, fords or causeways.'

Herman Moll's map, dated 1714, shows the familiar routes, approximately, of the N11, N81, and the coast road R761 through Redford. [Radfoard]

In 1765 the County Grand Juries were empowered to raise funds for road repairs, maintenance, and construction of new routes; thereby taking over the function of the parishes until 1898.

In1800 the Military Road was started and finished in 1809 to secure military access into remote areas of the countryside.

Considerable improvement took place in Blessington after the construction of a new turnpike road from Dublin to Carlow, by way of Baltinglass, in 1829, by which the Waterford mail, the Kilkenny day mail, several coaches and cars to the counties of Wexford and Carlow, travelled through it. [7]

Arklow ' ... Macadamised the principle street and laid down foot pavements ... ' before 1832 [7]

In 1831 the Irish Board of Works took over the responsibility of managing the road network.

In 1898 the Local Government (Ireland) Act required democratically elected County Councils to take over the administrative functions of the Grand Juries.

Market Towns began to form important transition points for trade and exchange of ideas. Markets and/or fairs were held in Arklow, Ballymore-Eustace, Ashford, Ballinacor, Baltinglass, Blessington, Bray, Carnew, Dunlavin, Rathdrum, Roundwood, Stratford-upon-Slaney, Tinahely, and Wicklow Town.

The produce list is also surprising which includes Butchers' meat, Cattle, Corn, Flannels[56], Friezes[57], Horses, Pigs, Potatoes, Poultry, Sheep, Vegetables, and Woollen cloth.

Many of the market towns were also post towns that would have been connected by the mail coaches on the improved road system. Those that were not post towns had a penny post system that took the collected mail to the nearest post town for delivery to various destinations.

In 1834 the railway was constructed between Kingstown [Dun Laoghaire], and Dublin City, with extensions into the interior of the island. Eventually reaching Bray in 1855 and then through to Wexford very soon afterwards.

Horse buses, and tramways as public services to feed the railways developed rapidly to serve the expanding populations in the towns. The Dublin and Blessington Steam Tramway (DBST), later the Blessington and Poulaphouca Steam Tramway, operated steam-powered trams between Terenure in Dublin and Blessington in Co. Wicklow from 1888 until 1932. [8]

The industrial revolution

The industrial revolution started in the middle of England and the ideas spread by the communications mentioned above, generated a desire to move away from cottage industry to collective industry by setting up factories to produce large quantities of product at a lower price. Some prospered but many failed through lack of resources, market volume, or changes in market taste. Examples to be found in County Wicklow are:

Cloth

The flannel and frieze manufactures were formerly of considerable extent, the chief market for their produce being Rathdrum, where a handsome flannel-hall was erected by the late Earl Fitzwilliam, but they had, by 1837, entirely declined, and their only vestige was the manufacture of a little frieze for domestic use.

Fishing

In 1837 the principal fishery was that for herrings at Arklow, which had much declined. They were also taken by a few fishermen at different places along the coast, but the extension of this branch of industry was checked by the lack of safe harbours for the boats. Oysters were also taken at Arklow and carried to Liverpool and Dublin.

Exporting

From Samuel Lewis's 1837 description:

> *"The trade of the county consisted chiefly in the exportation of its agricultural and mineral produce, and in the importation of the various supplies of foreign articles and manufactured goods necessary for its inhabitants. Although Dublin is a*

[56] Flannel is a soft woven fabric of various fineness. Flannel was originally made from carded wool or worsted yarn, but is now often made from either wool, cotton or synthetic fibre. Vegetable flannel is made from Scots pine fibre.

[57] Frieze (French: frisé) is a Middle English term for a coarse woollen, plain weave cloth with a nap on one side. The nap was raised by scrubbing it to raise curls of fibre, and was not shorn after being raised, leaving an uneven surface.

principal market for the northern part of the county, Wicklow is a very improving port, where there are several stores; and grain and cattle are sent from the southern part of the county to New Ross. This branch of the trade is entirely carried on by ordinary land carriage, as the county is devoid of river or canal navigation, or rail-road communication.

The rivers are numerous, but their courses rapid and short, except some that flow westward: the principal are the Liffey, the Slaney, the Ovoca, the Vartrey, and the Derry, Daragh, or Aughrim …

Factories

From Samuel Lewis's description of 1837 [7], the factories were quite numerous.

Christopher Dromgoole erected a factory in 1802 near **Ballymore Eustace** that produced many different types of cloth and, when in full production, provided employment for 700 persons.

In **Baltinglass** they manufactured linen, woollen and diaper[58] cloth. There were two bleaching greens for improving the linen and an extensive flour mill. In **Stratford on Slaney** there were also some extensive cotton and calico[59]-printing works. Adjoining the town, on the bank of the river, the extensive works, established in 1792, by Messrs. Orr and Co; in 1837 they employed from 800 to 1000 persons: the machinery was worked by water power, and the average number of pieces printed and finished weekly was about 2000. The history of Calico printing is fascinating, relating to trade wars, import tariffs, and social demand.

Bray had established a very extensive brewery (possibly H. Christie 1824), with a malting store capable of producing 300 barrels a week. Nearby was a large flour mill.

Carnew had a malt house, two snuff and tobacco manufactories, and a small brewery.

Delgany had a small manufacturing business of straw plat and nets; and about three miles to the south of Bray Head, on a low rocky point, was the small fishing hamlet called the **Greystones**.

Near Donoughmore, at **Knocknamunion**, was a factory for making blankets and frieze.

At **Rathdrum**, the manufacture of flannel was carried on to such an extent that the Irish government deemed it necessary to appoint a seller of flannels to superintend it, under whom were a deputy and eight sworn meters, who resided in the town. A flannel-hall was erected in 1793, at an expense of £3,500, by the late Earl Fitzwilliam, who received a toll of 2d on every piece of 120 yards, which produced on an average about £300 per annum: the trade continued to flourish so long as the protecting duties on Irish woollens were maintained, but on their repeal, it declined rapidly and was, in 1837, nearly extinct. The few pieces then made were purchased by the shopkeepers in the town.

The manufacture of woollen cloth also flourished there but owing to the same causes had declined from 1825 and was also extinct.

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58 Diaper cloth made of repeated looped cotton fabric used for adult or baby napkins.

59 Calico unbleached cotton cloth sometimes rough in texture.

A large factory at **Greenane**, on the Avonbeg, was burnt down during the disturbances in 1798. There were two breweries in the town.

In **Shillelagh**, adjoining the village, were extensive flour, carding, and bone mills, and a bleaching green. At **Tinahely** soap-boiling was carried on, there was also an extensive flour-mill and a tan-yard.

Then in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we remember the factories like **Kynoch** in **Arklow** that grow rapidly to support multiple wars in various regions of the world only to disappear just as quickly following accident and rationalisation on a world-wide scale.

Labour

Population

Ptolemy has intimated that the inhabitants of this part of the island were the *Cauci*, supposed to have been of Belgic-Gaulish extraction. However locally, it is chiefly celebrated as the country of the Byrnes and the O'Tooles, the former of whom occupied the northern and eastern parts, and the latter the south-western.

The Central Statistics Office holds population figures back to the census of 1841 and the figures for County Wicklow are shown in [9].

In 1841 the population of Ireland was taken as 6,528,799. In County Wicklow there is a clear decrease in the numbers from 126,143 in 1841 to 60,824 in 1901, probably due to the famine,

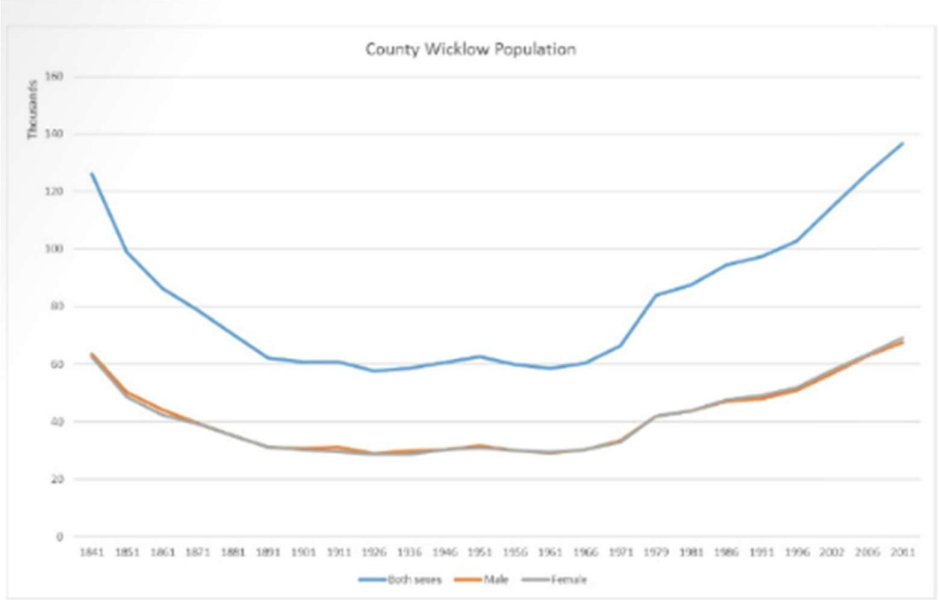

Figure 6 Population changes in County Wicklow

land clearance, and emigration. The effect of the first and second world wars are just noticeable from 1914 to 1942 with a bounce back soon afterwards. Then again, a decline as many left through lack of work. There is an exponential rise in numbers from 1966 to 1979 then a slightly less rapid growth to the latest figure of 136,640 in the census of 2011. The female and male numbers have remained equal for the period since the census was taken on a ten- year basis beginning in 1841.The latest estimated figures are a total of 142,332 in the census of 2016 with 2,060 more females than males in the county.

The total population for Ireland has been estimated at 4,757,976 for 2016.

This shape is repeated in the national figures so it does not appear to be influenced by the county's rural nature and the general move to the cities associated with the industrial revolution. We could infer that County Wicklow has not been unduly affected by the Industrialization of Ireland. Unless of course when we look at the rapid rise in population again from 1966 and consider that since that date the county has become one of the dormitories of Dublin City.

Education

Samuel Lewis mentions schools in several towns and villages on his survey of County Wicklow dated 1835.

Poor Laws and the Famine

In 1703 the Irish Parliament passed an act 'Providing the erection of a workhouse and for the maintenance and apprenticing out of foundling children'. These known 'Houses of Industry', then in 1838 came the Irish Poor Law Act following on from a Royal Commission on the Poorer Classes in Ireland 1833. The Poor Law act provided work-house or outdoor relief administered by Poor Law Unions in Ireland.

Figure 7 Poor Law Division of Leinster 1897

There were three work- houses in County Wicklow; Baltinglass, Shillelagh, and Rathdrum. During the Great Famine, work-houses became so overwhelmed that large numbers of paupers were assisted to emigrate, or encouraged to work on the famine roads where a form of outdoor relief was given by low wages to purchase food for themselves and the family. This had the effect of permitting more to enter the workhouse in the hope of escaping starvation and disease. In response, Guardian- assisted emigration was reserved only for those who had received indoor relief for over two years.

Energy sources

The industrial development has relied on a suitable energy source to drive the machines that mechanise and increase production capabilities.

Peat

Peat or turf from the bog was one of the primary fuel sources generally procured within the parish. Samuel Lewis mentions some parishes where the local bog was worked out and he also mentions that the turf along the coastal region was impregnated with salt that made the flame very blue and of low heat value until it had been liquefied with fresh water and allowed to dry when it became a superior fuel.

Water Mills

In Prehistoric times grinding was done with hand tools, initially by pounding with stones, then by grinding as with quern stones. In later historic times, I understand, the earliest European water mill was made to a design brought from China in about 1AD. I have mentioned the

remains of a horizontal mill in Timore townland, this is presumed to date from 1000AD and details are included in Canon Robert Jennings article in the second edition of this journal. [10]

Later vertical water driven mills were used where the head of water was available, and several sites have been identified by the Office of Public Works in the confines of County Wicklow. One of which is the mill close to Mill Road in Greystones, that was served by a water from the Three Trout stream; referred to by Samuel Lewis in 1837 [7] and in Freeman's Journal, 26 August 1871. Also, mentioned by Sean Daly in historical detail. [11]

Timber

Wood had been extensively used in the County from ancient forests and a lot of this was felled and exported for ship building over many generations. Shillelagh once the most celebrated forest in Ireland for the excellence of its oak, which was exported to different parts of Europe; and hence it is also said that Turlogh, king of Leinster, sent the oak for the roof of Westminster Hall to William Rufus.

Coillte are using vast areas of the County to grow soft woods and hardwoods in commercial forests; monitored and managed by that state-run body.

Steam

Steam power was the eventual end for both water powered, and wind powered mills, but few of them are mentioned in the county. This is possibly due to the lack of a local supply of coal. Peat did not provide enough energy without special processing to generate high enough temperatures. However, steam pumps were used to remove water from some of the mining operations.

It was noted during a visit to Craanford Mill, Gorey in Wexford that steam driven mills had been the downfall of that mills production.

Wind

There does not appear to be any mention of wind mills within County Wicklow but electricity is now being generated by wind mills at several sites in the County and feeding into the national grid.

Coal importation

Coal was not found in the County and had to be imported. Most imports were through Arklow, Bray and Wicklow harbours. Greystones had local imports to the harbour for some time. We understand that was transhipped from imported coal to Bray or Wicklow by a purpose built sailing coaster owned by the local coal merchant.

Gas Generation

Gas technology dates from the mid 1850's. Town gas may have been generated locally but latterly has been piped from Dublin and now is natural gas from the national network. Where this is not available it is possible to use bottled or bulk gas for commercial or domestic installations.

Water and hydraulic power

County Wicklow because of its situation and topographical profile has an adequate supply of water from the prevalent westerly and easterly winds. Being in the Eastern half of Ireland it receives between 750 and 1000mm of rain per annum; in mountainous regions, this could reach 2000mm per year. [12]

The mountainous terrain, relative altitude, and in general sparse population lends itself to an ideal area for water storage. The proximity to large population with a need for clean water makes it a region of national importance.

Figure 8 Sir John Gray

Vartry Reservoir

Dr John Gray, proprietor of the Freeman's Journal and active politician, chaired the Dublin Public Health Committee, that was instrumental in advocating and constructing the Vartry Scheme.

It consisted of two reservoirs, a water treatment plant, a 4km tunnel under Callowhill and 60km trunk main.

The Vartry reservoir with associated filtration and pipe work were opened on 30 June 1863 to supply potable water from behind an earth dam on the Vartry River to a stilling reservoir in Stillorgan supplying Dublin with clean water supplies at a time when the public health of Dublin residents was in poor condition.

Dublin's population had increased rapidly because of the famine moving people from the countryside into the cities, and the effect of the Industrial Revolution peaking at the same time. Sanitation and water supplies were severely stressed.

The first works now referred to as the Lower basin had a capacity of 11.3 billion litres and a maximum depth of 18.3 metres. A second embankment, 3.5 km upstream, was completed in 1923 to form the upper reservoir. This has a capacity of 5.6 billion litres and a maximum depth of 13.4 metres

In 2016 the National Government is contemplating spending €200 million on an upgrade of the treatment works to increase throughput and the quality of the outgoing water.

Blessington Lakes or Poulaphouca Dam

As demand increased in Dublin a larger source of water was sought and the decision was made to construct a dam at Poulaphouca [the Púca's hole] in 1937. This was a joint project with the Electricity Supply Board [ESB] and Dublin City Council to supply potable water and electrical power. The 30MW power station would be the second hydroelectric power station in Ireland after that at Ardnacrusha. Built during the second world war construction was slow and no German technology could be used.

Turlough Hill

In 1974 the pumped storage scheme was started at Turlough Hill. This now forms an essential part of the electricity network for Ireland. The power station enables the electrical grid to maintain power at or near 50 cycles per second by being able to bring on line considerable electrical power within 15 seconds of the demand. The station can generate 290MW of power for 4.5 hours by using water stored at the top of the hill to discharge into a lower lake through hydro - electric generators. The same units are used in reverse to pump the water back up the hill when demand has diminished and less expensive electrical power is available. It takes six hours to fill the top lake from the bottom lake.

21st century

By the end of the 20th century Ireland had initially severed connections with the United Kingdom and then grew closer with filial and trade links as part of the European Union. Money from the regional development fund had brought the roads, communication, and transport systems up to international standards. County Wicklow remained an essential part of the overall development.

Today County Wicklow has many areas dedicated to start-up companies and continues with its agricultural business; now run using up to date scientific methods but controlled very much by regulations formulated in Europe.

Tourism is one aspect of industry that is growing in County Wicklow as part of Irelands Ancient East initiative. This capitalises on the historic buildings and sites that have been maintained as a national heritage. The industry, possibly started in the early 1800's, has grown with the development of the railway and better road access into the countryside. This has included Powerscourt House & Gardens, Wicklow Gaol, Glendalough, many religious sites, stately homes, and estates. County Wicklow appears to be short of places to stay overnight so most travellers are obliged to move on into adjacent Counties for accommodation.

Weekend recreation has increased with hill walkers, mountain bikers, cyclists, small aircraft, and parapont flying very popular at present. This is taking advantage of the great countryside facilities and proximity to areas of large population.

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A Quiet Woman?

Liz Goldthorpe

Introduction

Elizabeth Le Blond's pioneering exploits give Greystones a particular status in the current reassessment of women's contribution to history. But the town can claim another woman 'first', hidden in plain sight for the last 40 odd years.

Few may remember Averil Katherine Statter Deverell, who lived for most of her life at Ellesmere, Church Road. She is buried in Redford (The Grove) Cemetery, with her family and many of her contemporaries; indeed the cemetery provides many clues to the identity and history of the first woman to sustain a practice at the Bar.

Strangely, given her status and achievements, her death in 1979 was not marked with any particular commemoration and her gravestone, merely marked 'barrister at law', is an understatement in itself. The only mark of her importance is a rather unflattering portrait of her that hangs in the Law Library by an unknown artist (anonymity rather sensible perhaps) and the Averil Deverell Fellowship (which her bequest funded).

On 1 November 1921, before the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed, two Irish born women were called to the Dublin Bar, the first, Frances 'Fay' Christian Kyle from Belfast, and Averil the second. When talking about women's legal milestones, few English appear to grasp the relevance of this date, which is before the first women were called in London in 1922. The Anglo- Irish Treaty was signed in December and ratified the following year, so Fay and Averil achieved their firsts when they were both British citizens.

Fay returned to Belfast but gave up practice after a few probationary appearances. Averil went on to chalk up several more milestones: in 1922 the first woman to write a law report in Ireland and the first secretary of the Dublin University Women Graduates' Association ('DUGWA'), and then first 'Mother of the Bar' (an unofficial title given to the longest serving barrister). That alone would be significant enough for most people, but she sustained a long and successful career in challenging circumstances, only retiring in 1969 when she was 76. Life for the early female pioneers in the legal profession was difficult enough, but this Anglo-Irish Protestant negotiated a path from the privileges of her birth through two world wars, civil war, constitutional upheaval and Ireland's transition to nation state. Her long career led to a professional status in which she commanded respect and affection in equal measure but her death went largely unremarked.

So Greystones has good cause to be grateful to Osborne "Ossie" Spurling and his wife Betty, the couple who bought her house in 1975. Ossie's capacity for hoarding memorabilia has undoubtedly driven his family to distraction over the years, but he rescued a large collection of the Deverell personal effects "just because they looked interesting", carefully preserving them for over 40 years. This rich archive[1] contains items that provide innumerable clues to her family, personal and professional life, and valuable information about the history of Greystones itself.

Family and friends

Born at 26 Leeson Road, Dublin in 1893, Averil, her twin brother William and parents William and Ada Kate, moved permanently to Greystones in 1910, a town with which they already had

[1] Kindly donated by the Spurlings to Kings Inns Library in 2017.

connections. Ada Kate Statter Deverell was the only daughter of Edward Statter Carr, a wealthy London solicitor and property owner. He died in his 70th year in September 1898 at Inniskeen, Killincarrig Road, apparently the house of his son in law, William.[2] Edward's estate, worth £98,000, was divided between his five children, and included his house called Rockmount, Dromartin Avenue, Dundrum, which was left to Ada Kate.

It is not certain when the Deverell's moved to Inniskeen, but in 1903, wanting to buy a house in Greystones, the family were reported to have swopped houses with Judge Brereton Barry: he moved into Rockmount, and they moved into his 'pretty house'.[3] It seems this was Inniskeen. Ada Kate, visiting relatives in England in June 1903, sent a postcard to her daughter to that address confirming (in mildly irritated tones) the date of her return.[4] Furthermore, in April 1904 she was presiding over the Ice Cream Stall at the Mirus Bazaar in Rathmines: 'Mrs. William Deverell, of Inniskeen, Greystones, whose husband is such a prominent worker in the Unionist cause'.[5]

But in 1905 the family moved briefly to Rahan, Killarney Road, Bray, no doubt to facilitate Averil's attendance as a day pupil at The French School in Sidmonton Place,[6] a largely Protestant school for young ladies. The names on the cast lists, and the photographs, for school productions of Shakespeare tell their own story: Mecredy, Odlum, Jameson, D'Olier, Acton, Archer, Dowse, Jeffcott, many the daughters of well-known merchants and figures in the political life of Dublin. The school was one of the better ones of its type then: it certainly enabled Averil and her schoolfriend Nina Joyce Moore to get straight into Trinity College Dublin. Others, such as Judge Morphy's daughters, Enid Noel and Edith Armorel of Church view, Greystones, had to 'top up' their education by prior attendance at Alexandra College.

The French School's very longstanding, and fearsomely able head, Caroline Reilly, saw the school through an unequalled period of social change and was not regarded as an overt radical. But it inculcated a particular ethos, which went beyond the usual middle-class expectations of a suitable husband.

Following a familiar practice, Averil's twin brother William Berenger Statter Deverell was sent off to boarding school - Portora Royal School, Enniskillen - a pattern of separation that was to continue throughout their lives, mainly due to William's subsequent military career. The list of Portora past pupils included Oscar Wilde and Samuel Beckett, Richard James Mecredy, the sons of Judge Morphy, and members of the Figgis and Featherstonhaugh families, as well as the twins' cousin Colville Montgomery Deverell.

In 1910, shortly before Averil and William became undergraduates at Trinity, the Deverells bought Ellesmere from the Furlongs and moved into the house that was to remain the family home until 1975. William senior had been Clerk of the Crown and Peace for County Wicklow since 1902 and was to remain in post until 1926. According to the 1911 Census there were 6 people in the house, including two servants, Winifred Young the cook aged 23, and the

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2 Irish Times

3 Irish Times

4 Postcard of the Old Church, Rottingdean, Sussex dated June 26 1903, postmarked Hampstead, author's archive thanks to Colin Love.

5 Weekly Irish Times, Saturday 02 April 1904.

6 This school closed in 1960 - for further information see The French School, Jennifer Flegg 2004. Rahan was burnt down in 1983.

housemaid Kate Young aged 19, both Roman Catholics from Kings County, William senior's birthplace.

Careful restoration by the current owner, Philip Flynn, has ensured it is still possible to read the Edwardian grandeur in the bones of Ellesmere, complete with its large pantry and array of servants' bells. Most of the surrounding ample grounds, in which there was a tennis court, and a fruit and vegetable garden, have gone, bar the coach house, (now a separate residence). But in 1911 it was a spacious 12 roomed residence with double fronted doors, a library and a dining room with a table for at least 20 guests. Judging by the inventory for the Deverells' previous house in Bray, the 1975 auctioneers' advertisement and items in the archive, there was plenty of Sevres, Spode and Worcester china and linen and an abundance of mahogany, brass and glass.

But it is an 18th century Russian candle in the archive and the family names that contain clues to Averil's rich family history. The Carrs from Yorkshire and the Statters from Northumberland were British merchants in Russia from the late 1790s, many lured to St Petersburg and its lucrative trade. William Statter, Averil's great-great-great grandfather became Steward to Count Razumovsky, managing his vast estates and 90,000 serfs in the Ukraine. In 1792 the two families were joined by the marriage of his daughter Mary, born in St Petersburg, to George Carr, a branch agent for the Bank of England there. William Statter occupied an important place in the family's memory as is clear from use of his surname down through the generations. One branch of the Statter Carr family, a line of London lawyers, ended up in Brighton, Sussex, and another group fled Russia in 1919 to end up in Australia and New Zealand. The family tree also contains a talented woman artist cousin, an MI5 officer, and a colonial Governor who became the international head of Planned Parenthood. The stories and objects passed down from family members illuminate the lives of the expatriate community in St Petersburg, whose family, cultural and religious practices in some ways echoed the patterns of Anglo-Irish social behaviour in Dublin.

To that mix must be added merchants, brewers and bankers from her father's birthplace of Tullamore, and some more lawyers, the legal family of Whelans, related to the Deverells by marriage.

Much of Tullamore's history provides the connections to other familiar Greystones names such as Featherstonhaugh and Morphy. They were part of the family's social life: in January 1897 and February 1900, for example, the Deverells were at Viceregal events at Dublin Castle with Herbert Featherstonhaugh (a Gentleman in Waiting), Mr & Mrs Edward Morphy, Alexander Blood, and the Brereton Barrys. Judge Edward Morphy and his family had a house at Churchview, off Church Road, and their links with the Deverells were particularly strong. At the 1888 inquest into the death in Tullamore gaol of a nationalist prisoner, John Mandeville, Dr Morphy, then a barrister, appeared on behalf of the Crown. Dr James Ridley, a Deverell relative, was the prison's medical officer and his suicide during the inquest gave rise to a huge scandal. The extensive press coverage of the scandal covered the death and ensuing heated political debate on both sides of the Irish sea in considerable detail.

Audrey Warnock (nee Moore) was the rector's daughter who lived next door to the Deverell twins in Greystones for some years as a child in the 1940s and 50s. She remembers the elderly Morphy sisters, but her only recollection of Churchview was watching the coronation on their television - she says she was very bored!

There are signatures and contributions in Averil's photograph album, autograph book, and extensive scrapbook that are redolent with Greystones names such as the Morphy sisters, the Mecredys, and the Bewleys. Many are entangled by the habit of marrying those from the immediate social and family circle: Tobin to Jameson with links to Blood and

Featherstonhaugh, Cherry to Mecredy with links to Ross, the maze is seemingly endlessly looped.

Childhood and early adolescence appears to have been typical of her class and era, but much of the evidence points to a family who enjoyed having fun. In April 1909, for example, there were competitive games at Craan, Whitshed Road, the home of Dublin stockbroker Richard Manifold and uncle of Alfred and Frederick, who were Bank of Ireland officers and would have known Averil's paternal uncle George Robert who was by then Assistant Secretary. A faded scrap of paper shows her fellow players included Jessie and Charles Manifold, Neville Johnston Figgis, and Frederick Gibson Heuston.

Greystones Golf Club featured prominently too, its history littered with names that resonate throughout Averil's professional and social life. The twins and their father regularly played competitive golf with members of all the previously mentioned families: George Newcomen Morphy waxed particularly lyrical about his passion for golf.[7] His father Judge Morphy was a founder member of Greystones Golf Club in 1895 and in 1900 his brother Edward presented a cup to an EK Figgis playing with a handicap of 3. A Miss Figgis was also playing that day, confirming the club's early support of women golfers. The club also boasted Sheila Tobin (later Jameson) who became Irish champion. Averil was ladies captain of Greystones Golf Club in 1927, but it was the male Deverells who were committee members, including legal figures such as Judge Wylie, and Alexander F Blood QC. Another active member was William D'Argaville Carr of The Tunnel, St Vincent Road, son of James Anderson Carr, Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant's Household. In 1919 he gave a wedding reception here for Colonel Massy-Westropp and Gabrielle Evelyn Montgomery, daughter of Colonel and Mrs Montgomery of Greystones. A journalist and former partner in Carr and Co with the publisher Alfred, the future Lord Harmsworth, and married to Mabel Alexandrina Gordon, daughter of Sarah Montgomery, he was possibly related to Averil's family by marriage and/or blood.

Averil's brother William also played for Greystones Cricket Club: August 1913 saw them on the pitch in beautiful weather, with one of the Morphy brothers as steward. Athletics and swimming also featured. Averil's love of dogs, particularly cairn terriers, is evident from her photographs and she was to open a dog kennels at Ellesmere, initially to supplement her Bar earnings. Her passion won her show prizes and was shared with Muriel Bewley late into their old age - Judith Crowe recalls Averil regularly visiting Muriel at her home, Rossinver, accompanied by her dogs.

The family were well connected - charity events and picnics with Lady Powerscourt were on the agenda, and the men reinforced their links through Freemasonry lodges. It was a typical Anglo-Irish pattern, apparently safe, rooted, and predictable. And firmly underlined in July 1911 when Averil was presented at a Court in Dublin Castle. Suitably gowned in regulation white with plumes, gloves and lappets, mother and daughter had patronised Mrs Moore of Dawson St for their attire. In Averil's case for floor length white marquisette and satin, with diamante embroidery and silver tissue court train edged with white sateen. Aquamarines adorned Ada Kate's blue charmeuse gown draped with old Brussels rose point lace and set off with a court train of cloth of silver brocade. Mrs Featherstonhaugh was in blue brocade, with a toning lace and chiffon draped corsage and lace train. All that for a hot crowded walk up the stairs into St Patrick's Hall, a brief introduction in the Throne Room, a quick cup of tea and out again - they were not to know that it would be the very last of these events.

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[7] See 1906 Echoes from Kottabos, written as a Trinity undergraduate.

Suffrage

The French School nurtured self-confidence through music and drama but some radical elements lurked. One teacher later confessed she was a suffragette who had smashed windows in London. She may well have known the Jeffcotts' elder daughter (Elizabeth) Olivia who was force fed during her imprisonment in Holloway for a similar offence. Olivia was also active in Dublin with her relatives Charlotte and Nora Stack, so Averil did not need Hanna Sheehy Skeffington starting the Irish end of the militant stage of the suffragette campaign protest at Greystones harbour in 1910 to make her aware of events.

There is ample evidence of Averil's love of theatre, which remained a lifelong passion and theatrical skills may well have assisted her performance as a barrister. She regularly provided her talent in charity events, acting, for example, with Judge Brereton Barry in 1919 in a skit on nursing homes. But one has to wonder whether he knew that the author was a leading member of the Actresses' Franchise League.

And that provides a clue: it is possible to discern Averil's sympathies when you look closely at the archive. Two events in January 1911 appear innocuous but are significant. Firstly, an amateur production of 'How the Vote Was Won' a play in which Averil and her life-long friend (Alice) Muriel Bewley appeared with friends and neighbours including William Stewart Ross's family at Clonsilla. Secondly, a two-page suffragette poem 'Woman This and Woman That' by Laurence Housman written by Muriel into the autograph book. Averil went to plays in London in which members of the cast were active in the suffrage movement - including one Mary Elise Deverell, a member of the Actresses' Franchise League (AFL), relationship as yet unknown!

Marion Duggan, who also went to Trinity and was to follow Averil to the Bar in 1925, shared a similar background and social circle. The local Duggan family in Greystones included Marion's first cousin the civil servant George Chester Duggan (1887- 1967) of Ferney East (now Carrig Eden). But she was a member of the Irishwomen's Reform League (IWRL), an outspoken and openly active suffrage campaigner, penning regular columns for the Irish Citizen, writing court reports highlighting contentious issues such as child abuse and sexual assault and delivering speeches and pamphlets on the need for women lawyers. She made clear her disagreement with the confrontational methods favoured by Mrs Pankhurst and her colleagues and one imagines Averil felt similarly.

Averil, perhaps motivated by a combination of family politics and personality, preferred to persuade by performance. 'How the Vote Was Won', was a suffragette one act piece about an all- woman general strike. Written by Cicely Hamilton, and originally directed by Edith Craig, the daughter of the well-known English actress Ellen Terry, they were all colleagues of Housman's and all members of the Actresses' Franchise League (AFL). First performed in April 1909 in London, the play had toured to resounding success in England, proving to be a very effective propaganda tool to persuade the hesitant. By April 1910 it had already been performed at the Molesworth Hall.[8]

The 1911 venue is not known, but since the play was easy to stage in small spaces an obvious candidate is Mount Offaly, Killincarrig Road, the home of Mrs Caroline Lydia Beauchamp ('Colie') West and her husband, Langley Arthur West, the Grafton Street jeweller. Colie lent her drawing room to the IWRL for their meetings, and hosted Housman on his Irish tour in 1912 to discuss 'The Woman Question'. Her neighbour Mrs Deverell was not averse to the occasional measure of support either, arranging a tennis tournament in June 1914 to raise funds.

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[8] Dublin Daily Express, Thursday 14 April 1910.

The Wests were typical of the ruling Anglo Irish class: Langley's brother Henry was a QC and County Court judge who married into the Le Poer Trench family and whose daughter Frances married Henry Guinness, a Colonel with service in the second Boer War. But Colie was no stranger to hardship: in 1873 aged 12 her father, Dr William Beauchamp Clayton died after being thrown from his vehicle when it hit a manure heap, leaving his widow and 8 children having to rely on funds raised by friends because he had been unable to obtain insurance. Most of Colie's siblings emigrated to Australia.

University

Averil and William were reunited as undergraduates at Trinity College Dublin. For her, this meant being part of a very small group of women students and subject to a set of strict rules, since the university had only opened its doors to women in 1904 after a long 30-year struggle. Those doing law were in an even smaller minority, including Fay Kyle and her sister Kathleen and Marion Duggan. Averil's friends Kathleen Burgess and Ida May Coffin Duncan also did law, and both were to be called to the Bar in London.

Familiar friends were there too - Nina Moore, Evelyn Ross, Ralph Jack Mecredy and William Featherstonhaugh, (both medical students).

And it meant more drama - the University Players put on regular productions of a high standard at the Gaiety Theatre, in which she took leading roles. Moreover, the author of two of the plays was Madeline Lucette Ryley, a founder member of the AFL.

Dublin University Women Graduates' Association (DUWGA), set up in 1922, continued to provide close links between the small group of women graduates. It was affiliated to the International Federation of University Women. Averil's friend Kathleen Burgess attended the 1926 IFUW conference in Amsterdam as DUWGA delegate, and Averil was due to follow suit as a delegate to the 1929 Geneva conference. However, Kathleen, who had become engaged to Averil's brother William in May 1929, committed suicide in the following October for reasons that remain a mystery.

Averil's mother Ada, 1921
(The Spurling Archive,
with kind permission of Kings Inns)

The First World War

The outbreak of war in 1914 saw male Trinity undergraduates enlist, many already OTC members, and by early 1915, there were few, if any, students for some classes. This served to increase the visibility of women: one professor noted his history classes were reduced to 'four girls and a callow youth.'

In late October 1914 the first convoy of 726 wounded soldiers arrived in Cobh and two special ambulance trains carried 296 to Kingsbridge Railway Station, Dublin. A further 650 arrived the following week. Despite some pre-war readiness, the pressure forced the creation of voluntary hospitals9[9] funded by public subscription and endowment. Several St John Ambulance Divisions were already in place and many more created. Averil's mother, a busy first aid volunteer, set

[9] War Record St John Ambulance Brigade & British Red Cross Society in Leinster, Munster and Connaught 1914-1918 (Dublin, c.1919).

up and managed the Greystones War Supply Depot from 1916, where Averil put in a total of 338½hours. The VAD nursing corps also benefited from the Morphy sisters, the twins' longstanding friend and fellow law graduate, Kathleen Burgess, and other friends.

Studying for a law degree did not prevent Averil playing her part in the war effort. She was a VAD Nursing Sister at the Trinity D.U.V.A.D Hospital from March 1915 to February 1917 and again from June 1917 to June 1918. Like many others, she also appeared in various charity events in aid of causes such as the Belgian soldiers. But she wanted to do more, so, having graduated in 1915, she pushed to get into the frontline as an ambulance driver: her father, one of the first men to own a car in Greystones, had already taught her to drive.

Averil's 1918 military passport (Image courtesy of The Honorable Society of King's Inns, from the Averil Deverell Spurling archive)

She applied to the Queen Alexandra Yeomanry, travelling to London for the requisite test. Initially rejected on the grounds that she could not reassemble a dismantled engine, a subsequent rule change eventually enabled her to serve from July to December 1918 in France and Flanders. She was based at the Hopital de La Mothe, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, France, with the French Red Cross. Her brother William, commissioned in August 1914, was already

away serving with the Royal Army Supply Corps and had been mentioned in dispatches in 1918.

By the beginning of 1919 Averil was home facing, like others, the devastation wreaked on once familiar social structures in such a close community. The World War I memorial at Woodenbridge stands as a silent granite testament to the high death toll. Each slab bearing the names of individual places, the immeasurable grief is etched into the stone - friends, relatives, perhaps even lovers, swept away.

Of three thousand undergraduates, graduates, and staff of Trinity in service, 471 died, 54 of them in the Dardanelles. Gallipoli resonates: the terrible casualties at Suvla Bay took the lives of twenty Trinity men, including Everard Digges la Touche, killed on 7 August 1915. William survived that carnage, but Neville Johnston Figgis and Frederick Gibson Heuston, the two boys who had played those games with Averil at Craan in 1909 did not, nor did both of Marion Duggan's cousins, George and Jack - killed on the same day within hours of each other.

And the women were not untouched: Kathleen Burgess' cousin Meta, a VAD in Le Havre, was invalided back to London where she died in January 1919.[10] The aftermath must have been rendered all the more difficult by the return of shattered bodies and minds, and further exacerbated by the huge loss of life in the influenza epidemic.

In January 1919 Averil's mother presided over the meeting of the Irish War Hospital Supplies Depot at the West's Mount Offaly home. Mrs West's money, work, entertainments and fund-raising events were praised and Irene Bewley, Hon. Secretary, received much thanks for her 'great organising ability and wonderful tact'. Mrs Featherstonhaugh, Dr Jameson, Miss Lydia Figgis and the Girl Guides, as well as the Grand Hotel and the Golf Club, also received recognition.

Post war

The social columns blithely returned to their detailed reporting of dances and outfits. Averil's cream silk frock with a cobalt blue net sash was duly noted at the Trinity Week Ball in June 1919, but she was also on the organising committee. There was rather more coverage of two visitors to Dublin that week in whom she would have taken a great interest. Alcock and Brown were being lavishly feted for having flown the Atlantic, and flights of 20 or 30 passengers in the near future were being gaily predicted. Her status as a new barrister was no doubt celebrated when, on 30 December 1921, she danced from 9 to 3 at a Fancy Dress Ball at the Grand Hotel with the Morphy siblings, Kathleen Burgess, Enid Mecredy, and Hilda Dudgeon.

But, post war, life had changed irrevocably and new opportunities were at last opening up. The granting of a partial franchise to women over 30 in 1918 made little difference to Averil and many of her women friends: most were not old enough and/or were barred from

Averil in the late 1920s early 1930s

[10] A memorial with her name is in St. Stephen's Church Upper Mount St, Dublin.

voting by lack of status as property owners. Another piece of legislation held out far more promise: the advent of the Sex Discrimination (Removal) Act in December 1919 at last made it possible for them to pursue professional qualifications and careers. Somewhat inconsistently, they had long been 'allowed' to be doctors and teachers, but little else, so many now seized the chance to enter domains previously occupied exclusively by men.

According to Averil, it was her father support who encouraged her to train as a barrister. It must also have been good to have her twin brother alongside her for part of the way, even if he never went into practice. But it seems hard to believe that she did not derive and, possibly, inspiration from other male relatives, and the numerous lawyers in Greystones. Most significantly, she had a close relationship with her paternal uncle George Wallace, an English barrister in London. In an extra- ordinary genetic double first, his daughter Naomi Constance was to become one of the first women at the English Bar in 1922.

Her war service stood her in good stead as King's Inns gave her exemptions from part of the qualifying training, (just as they did for the returning men). Lectures, dining requirements and exams over, by January 1922 she was in the cramped confines of the Law Library, the place of work for all barristers.

In 1928 she scored another notable milestone - the first woman barrister to get a much coveted 'red bag' to carry her papers in. Traditionally given by senior counsel to a junior barrister appearing in an appeal before the Privy Council in London, Averil received hers from Alfred Dickie KC in a leading constitutional case concerning the rights of civil servants transferred from British service to the new Irish Free State. Since such appeals were abolished by 1934 she is probably the last, and the only woman to get one.

Ireland's metamorphosis necessitated many adjustments, and none more so than at work. Averil managed to survive being the first, and only, woman in the cramped, close and competitive quarters of the Law Library from January 1922 until June 1923 when she was joined by Mollie Dillon-Leetch. There was a very slow trickle thereafter. She ploughed on in the face of her workplace being blown up in April 1922, with the loss of most of the legal records and possessions, followed by civil war and another world war.

Negotiating her way through the new Irish Free State must have brought its challenges, but she thrived, pursuing a successful practice in property, probate and personal injury for many years. This dusty sounding work provided plenty of interest. In March 1923 she appeared in the Probate Court regarding Thomas Mitchell, late manager of the Ulster Bank, Tullamore, shot dead in a bank raid on 3 July 1922. Family memories must also have been stirred when she appeared with Overend KC in 1941 in a case involving Russian shipping.

Averil mentored many, men and women alike, regardless of religion, politics and belief. One local Greystones resident, a Catholic, recalls her advising him in very difficult circumstances and providing guidance that he carried with him for the rest of his (extremely successful) life. Averil's small band of Bar contemporaries included women from very diverse backgrounds - the daughters of an IRA Commandant, and an American Cherokee Indian and the niece of Jenny Wyse-Power (Kathleen Phelan). The women's robing room was a place of refuge and interesting conversations, and it was hardly surprising that she led them in a campaign to get it back, insisting on the sign reading 'Women', not 'Lady' Barristers.

Her family circumstances were not as easy as they had been - her father died in 1934 and her brother never followed her into the Bar. He spent long periods away pursuing a distinguished military career in the Royal Army Supply Corps. Effectively the main breadwinner and de facto head of the household, her responsibility was for her mother who died in 1952 well into her

late 80s. Her beloved twin retired as a Brigadier with an OBE and eventually returned home, dying in 1966.

Averil chose to continue driving in from Greystones to the Law Library in Dublin in her 'souped up' Triumph Herald until she retired. Commanding respect and affection in equal measure amongst her colleagues, anyone who commandeered her parking space was likely to suffer retribution.

Conclusion

Back home in Greystones, she was remembered rather more for her slightly acerbic tongue, adherence to the old manners, and an ability to create motoring chaos. But she was also remembered for her kindness to those who did not share her religion or her class and to children who lived nearby. Audrey Warnock recalls the Deverells as very nice, easy going, and very tolerant, allowing them to use the tennis court and to roam as they pleased over the back garden with only the occasional sanction for extreme transgressions.

Averil with companions (kingsinns.ie)

Eventually, most if not all of Averil's relatives, friends and colleagues had died, including her Greystones connections, among them both Morphy sisters, dead in 1964 and 1973 respectively, and in 1963 Muriel Bewley at Portland House.

Greystones had changed and few remembered who or what she had been. In 1975, an elderly, vulnerable Anglo-Irish resident living in a large, cold, echoing home was persuaded to leave everything behind and be cared for by her longstanding daily housekeeper. The care she received at Mrs Bourke's home at 98 Applewood Heights must have been beneficial for it was to be another 4 years before she died. Her funeral at St Patrick's Church was a low-key affair, her passing marked by a small congregation, familiar with the devout attendance of a small, hunched, frail old lady, the only sign of her rich history evident in one or two lovely rings on her

fingers. She is buried in Redford (The Grove) Cemetery in a grave with her twin brother, her parents' grave nearby, and surrounded by all those friends and relatives who had shared her life for so many decades. Going up there is akin to attending a ghostly party with a long guest list of familiar names.

Thanks to Ossie and Betty Spurling, and aided and abetted by the Flynns and other Greystones residents, Averil's story is finally emerging into the light. The possessions that tell so rich a life story are now part of a permanent repository in the Kings Inns Library, the James Gandon building on Constitution Hill Place where she did her training and ate her regulation dinners. The Spurlings' choice of the place she loved and where she started her milestone career was absolutely the right one for such an important national archive where the more fragile items can be carefully preserved for future generations. But it is also right that the town she loved should now possess her story and own her as one of their pioneers.

Acknowledgements and notes

In my research for my forthcoming biography of Averil, I am indebted to two members of Greystones Historical Society, Rosemary Raughter and Colin Love: without Colin's help this journey would never have started or progressed, and without Rosemary's guidance I would have stumbled along the way. They made possible the initial contact with the Flynn family and thus my relationship with Ossie and Betty Spurling. I am forever in the debt of John and Rosa Flynn and the Spurlings (including their redoubtable daughter Ruth who facilitated communication between Greystones and England), whose endless kindness, hospitality and patience has enriched every visit to Ireland and all the links in between. Greystones is fortunate indeed to have such residents.

I have dis/uncovered a great deal with their help and there is more than could be included here, but I am sure there must be even more - if anyone's memories have been jogged by this article or there is anyone tempted to throw away the contents of that attic/trunk/house, please do get in touch. I have almost no family or personal correspondence and anything, however small or insignificant, would be of value.

Biography

The first person (and woman) in my family to go to university or to become a lawyer, let alone a judge, I am the product of the second wave of feminism in England. Born of a Yorkshire mining family who became poor law guardians, I have maternal and paternal grandmothers descended from Huguenots and Co Fermanagh, and the Highland Scottish clan Cameron. Happily therefore, my DNA contains very few English genes - 67% Irish/Scottish suits me just fine, although sadly I doubt it will get me a post Brexit Irish passport!

It also helps that I chose to marry an Irishman (from Cobh, Co Cork). Without him I doubt I would have realised the significance of Averil's call date or have managed to get this far.

When I retired in March 2015 after a long career beginning with family law and child protection and ending with a small portfolio of judicial posts, I little suspected that life would require repeated visits to Ireland. Serendipity has led me here, with plenty of coincidences along the way, and the fact that I lived in Shropshire for 13 years in a house owned by the Reverend Digges La Touche is but one.

To Clon and Back

GAHS Spring Outing, 2018

Rosemary Raughter

'Half past nine', we said, 'and not a second later.' And sure enough, by ten past nine on a cloudy Monday morning, 16 April, an impressive group of early birds were already waiting on the pavement in front of the AIB, loaded down with the paraphernalia essential to any Irish short break - umbrellas, sunglasses, sun cream, fleeces, brogues and sandals, macs and wellies, walking sticks and sunhats. As Doyle's bus, piloted by Patrick and guided by Aileen and Colin, hove into view, they prepared to brave the rigours of our annual four-day trip - an expedition devoted as ever to historical exploration, but also to a certain amount of high living and lively conversation.

Following a coffee break at New Ross, we hurtled on through a south-east from which the sun had unaccountably vanished to ancient Youghal. A friendly reception and a good lunch at Ahern's set us up for a spot of local sightseeing, and while half the group headed for the recently-opened Clock Tower, the rest of us trudged, through what was now a steady downpour, to the medieval Collegiate Church of St Mary. Once under cover, and in the company of our delightful and extremely well-informed guide, we quickly became engrossed

Monument to Richard Boyle, the Great Earl of Cork

in the story of the church and, indeed, of the town itself. A favourite sight for many of us was the spectacular memorial to the Great Earl of Cork, early seventeenth-century entrepreneur and founder of the Boyle dynasty, which showed him in a languid pose, flanked by his two wives and numerous offspring, while on the way out we glimpsed Myrtle Grove, once home to Sir Walter Raleigh, and portions of the town walls. With the rain now coming down in torrents, we pressed on to Clonakilty ('Clon' to aficionados) and to Fernhill House Hotel, our base for the next couple of days. Scurrying for shelter, we had little time for titivation before heading for the bar and the traditional welcome drink, followed by dinner and (in the case of the wise virgins among us at least) an early night.

After breakfast on Tuesday morning we gathered in the hotel lobby to meet our leader for the day. Tim Crowley is a hugely- experienced guide and an expert on the history of Clonakilty and locality, but particularly on all things Michael Collins related - indeed, he's actually a distant relative of the great man. He brought us first to the Michael Collins Centre a few miles from Clonakilty, set in the heart of countryside which Collins and his ancestors would have known intimately. There we viewed artefacts and photographs associated with the family and with the War of Independence and Civil War in the area, and heard an in-depth presentation from Tim which set the scene for the tour we would take that afternoon to a number of the places most closely linked with the Collins legend.

Tojo (J Behal/PA)

The first such place, as it happened, was our stop for lunch. O'Donovan's Hotel in Clonakilty was one of Collins's favourite haunts, used on his flying visits and speaking tours in the area. After lunch in O'Donovan's atmospheric and welcoming bar, Tim retrieved his scattered flock for a short tour of more Collins- associated sites in the town. But first our attention was diverted from Irish revolutionary history by the story of another local hero - Tojo, the spider monkey mascot of the crew of a US Flying Fortress which crashed nearby in April 1943. Following their rescue, Tojo and his human companions were feted in O'Donovan's Hotel for two days, before Tojo suddenly died. The cause of death was never ascertained - could the two days' roistering have had anything to do with it? - but Tojo was treated in death with all the respect due to a visiting celebrity. His body was laid out in the hotel for public viewing, he was buried in the hotel grounds, and is now commemorated by a plaque and a statue nearby.

That's the postcards sorted!

All this was very affecting, but it was now time to return to 'proper' history. Our next stop was Woodfield, and the ruins of the cottage where Michael Collins was born in 1890 as the youngest of eight children of Marianna and Michael John Collins, and the adjoining remains of the larger house subsequently occupied by the family, burned by Crown forces in 1921. Tranquil and silent, shaded by trees which must have grown up in the intervening century, but bordered by the

fields, hills and homesteads which were at the heart of Michael Collins's personal geography, this site above all was a reminder of the elements which made and drove him.

On then via Sam's Cross, another Collins landmark, to Beal na mBlath, where the undistinguished stone cross with its few wilting floral tributes might have come as an anti-climax without Tim's vivid account of the ambush itself. His earlier description of the events of 22 August 1922 came alive as he pointed out the site of the ambush, the bends in the road, the boreen along which the attackers escaped and the farmhouse from which the alleged killer himself emerged. It was a sobering but satisfying end to a day in the company of a guide steeped in the history of the locality, who was able to set Collins's story, from boisterous boyhood to guerrilla leader to statesman, in the context of the countryside of which he was to the end so much a part.

Nano Nagle

It's always a bonus on these trips to stay in a place which values its own historic associations, and that evening back at the hotel we were happy to gather for a short pre-dinner talk by proprietor Michael O'Neill on the evolution of Fernhill over three quarters of a century and four generations of the O'Neill family. In the process we gained an insight into the development of tourism in West Cork – and incidentally discovered that Clonakilty is home to more than one brand of black pudding!

Wednesday morning saw us heading out of West Cork and onto the road for Cork city. At Nano Nagle Place, our first stop of the day, we visited the heritage centre developed in the original complex of buildings where Nano Nagle, daughter of a prosperous Catholic family, carried on her charitable and educational work in the eighteenth-century. Highlights of the tour were the small room known as 'Miss Nagle's parlour', in which Nano transacted much of the business of the project, the walled garden behind, and off it the Sisters' Graveyard, which contains Nano's own tomb. Imaginative displays and the welcoming, enthusiastic and knowledgeable staff here left us with a vivid impression of the pioneering significance of Nagle's work, and the extent to which the establishment which she founded remains a centre for both the local and the wider community.

Our next outing, unfortunately, turned out to be something of a contrast. Having decided to choose Cork as this year's destination, there was general agreement that Spike Island had to be on our programme - it had, after all, been the winner of a couple of high-profile tourist industry awards last year and hopes were high for an entertaining and illuminating afternoon.

Spike Island (archaeological.org)

Having travelled out to Cobh, we took the ferry over and were met on the quayside by our guide. It was cold, we were hungry, the walk uphill to the barracks itself was longer than expected, and we were in no mood for our guide's lengthy dissertation on infant candidate for sainthood, Nellie Organ, whose family home was on our route.

After lunch, efficiently and pleasantly served in what had been the prison gymnasium, we managed to locate our guide for what turned out to be a very brief description of the site, and were then effectively dismissed to wander on our own around an extensive, sparsely occupied and inadequately signed site - some exhibits to which we were directed, indeed, were not

The simpler pleasures of life after a hard day's touring

even operational. Even allowing for the fact that the site was not yet officially open to the public for the season, this was a thoroughly disappointing experience, and the mood on the boat heading back to Cobh was, in the words of P G Wodehouse, 'if not actually disgruntled … far from being gruntled.' Fortunately, once back at the hotel, spirits were restored with a warm shower, a pre-dinner drink, and dinner, followed by ceoil agus craic, ably provided by Leo (on piano) and Liam (on guitar), with assorted (in terms of quality, very assorted) voices.

On Thursday morning we found ourselves with a new driver, Martin, Patrick having been granted early release in order to attend his daughter's confirmation. Taking our leave of the Fernhill, with promises to ourselves to return before too long, we set off on the long road out of Clon. By one thirty we were enjoying lunch in Roscrea Golf Club, just outside the town. Later, as our final excursion, we embarked on a tour of thirteenth- century Roscrea Castle and Damer House, constructed in the eighteenth century in the castle courtyard, formerly a private residence, later a barracks, and now home to a museum housing exhibits of local interest. Once more we found ourselves in the hands of expert and enthusiastic guides, adding immeasurably to the pleasure of the whole experience. Before leaving, a few of us grabbed the opportunity to detour to the castle gardens to revel in some unexpected sunshine, before setting off on the final stage of our journey, back to Wicklow. Thanks are due to Joan and Aileen for their sterling work in organizing this tour, as indeed they do every year, to

our two drivers, Patrick and Martin, to our various guides at the several sites visited, and to our hosts at the Fernhill for their hospitality. If the weather on this particular tour failed to exceed

Time to pose on a break from our busy schedule

our expectations, it certainly didn't hold us back - we covered plenty of ground, received (and digested) a great deal of information, ate and drank well, and (unlike poor Tojo) arrived back home safely, agog with plans for further events and excursions.

The Society welcomes New Members.
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