

# Wicklow Gaol Comrades:

A Civil War Autograph Book

## Part two

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Author: Aaron Ó Maonaigh

Design: A Worthy Cause

Editor: Ciarán Deane

Project co-ordinators: Catherine Wright, Wicklow County Archives; Gráinne Doran,  
Wexford County Archive

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← overleaf

## Transcript (left)

*I paid a visit to the following 8 jails:  
Waterford, Richmond Barracks, Lewes,  
Wandsworth, Wormwood Scrubs, Frongoch in 1916  
Waterford 1917  
Cork 1918 to 1919  
Cork, Belfast, Wormwood Scrubs early in 1920.*

*Stayed on the hills until the Truce [in] 1921, 11th  
day of July. Having loved the hills I went back to  
them [in] July 1922 and was captured by “Staters”  
on January 8th 1923. I now live in Wicklow Jail,  
this day the 31st of May 1923. Tintown July ‘23 -  
May ‘24 released. Philip P. Lennon\**

\* Lennon’s choice of wording in the latter portion of this entry portrays his decision to take the anti-Treaty side during the Civil War as a logical extension of the previous conflict in the fight for Irish independence.

## Transcript (right)

*Bealtaine 31ú 1923 (May 31 1923)  
Beidh Éire fós ag Cáit Ní Dhuibhir (Ireland still  
belongs to Kate O’Dwyer)  
Pilib Ó Lonáin (Philip Lennon)  
Ireland cannot be sold by Irish, English or Scotch,  
Whilst her sons and daughters are so true to her.  
God bless the brave and true\**

*Phil Lennon*

\* This entry contains the then popular Irish separatist phrase ‘Beidh Éire fós ag Cáit Ní Dhuibhir’. In the symbology of the Celtic Revival. Cáit Ní Dhuibhir, like Róisín Dubh/Dark Rosaleen, is the personification of Ireland as a dark-haired woman.

release under the general amnesty.<sup>12</sup> While in Tintown, he undertook a forty-day hunger strike in protest against his imprisonment.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to his military roles, Lennon also served on the New Ross District Council and Board of Guardians, having been co-opted to the former following his release from Wormwood Scrubs prison in the spring of 1920.<sup>14</sup> A former colleague recalled that Lennon ‘when a member of the council, always took a very sane, impartial view on all matters relating to the affairs of the council’. He also served as president of the New Ross O’Hanrahan’s GAA

club, and as secretary of the local Sinn Féin cumann in New Ross.<sup>15</sup> Philip Lennon died prematurely, of cardiac failure, at the age of forty-two at his home in Mylerspark, New Ross, on 11 August 1934. Wexford County Council adjourned its meeting of 18 August in sympathy with the Lennon family.<sup>16</sup> His coffin, draped in the tricolour, was borne on the shoulders of his comrades in the old IRA to its final resting place at Carnagh cemetery. When the burial was completed, in accordance with military honours, three volleys of rifle fire were fired over the grave by members of the pre-Treaty Wexford Brigade IRA.

12 Alphabetical Index — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/14); *Éire: The Irish Nation*, 10 Nov. 1923; Kieran Costello, ‘Prisoners in Enniscorthy Castle during the Civil War period’, *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society*, 25 (2014–2015), pp 87–104 (98).

13 *Daily Sheet*, 19 November 1923.

14 *New Ross Standard*, 18 June 1920.

15 Minute book of New Ross, Co. Wexford branch of Sinn Féin (NLI, POS 9699); *Thom’s Directory* (Dublin, 1921), p. 1,356.

16 *An Phoblacht*, 18 Aug. 1934.

## **MURPHY**, Patrick (1896–1962)

Patrick Murphy was born 11 July 1896 at Brideswell, Co. Wexford, to Thomas Murphy, a stonemason from Co. Wexford, and Mary Murphy (*née* Kinsella).<sup>1</sup> He joined the IRA in 1917 and was a member of B Company, 4th Battalion, North Wexford Brigade.<sup>2</sup> On the night of 1 October 1922, Murphy was arrested in connection with the destruction of two temporary bridges at Mine and Money and subsequently detained at Wellington Barracks in Dublin and at the Curragh until his release on 27 November 1923.<sup>3</sup> He died aged sixty-five on 6 January 1962, at his home in Brideswell, Co. Wexford.<sup>4</sup>

- 
- 1 Birth of Patrick Murphy in 1896 (ICRI, GRO, SR District/Reg. Area — Gorey, Group Registration ID: 9322800, entry no. 215).
  - 2 Patrick Murphy, service medal application (IMA, MSPC, MD/10365); information from Marcella Byrne, Brideswell.
  - 3 Operations report, Eastern Command, 4 Oct. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/01).
  - 4 Death of Patrick Murphy in 1962 (ICRI, GRO, SR District/Reg. Area — Gorey, Group Registration ID: 2944279, entry no. 16).



## Transcript overleaf →

*The light that lies in womans (sic) eyes  
Whether grey or brown or blue  
Will shine as bright as noon-day light  
And you'll think it's all for you  
But my friend beware and have a care  
And list to no maids sighs  
For the light that lies in womans (sic) eyes  
Is the only light that lies*

*P. Murphy*

Patrick Murphy, c. 1920s pictured at the  
Franco-British Portrait Studio, Dublin —  
Courtesy of Marcella Byrne, Brideswell



I'm leaving here and I  
didn't want  
to do it



*Samson Obacian*



The light that lies in woman's

eyes.

Whether grey or brown or blue

Will shine as bright as noon-

day light-

And you'll think it's all for you

But my friend beware and

have a care

And list to no words sighs

For the light that lies in

Woman's eyes

Is the only light that lies

P. W. Murphy

**O'NEILL**, John (Seán)  
(1893–1966)

John O'Neill of Irish Street, Enniscorthy, was a member of G Company (Enniscorthy), 1st Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA.<sup>1</sup> He was arrested in late November 1922 by National Army troops operating in the Enniscorthy district and detained at Enniscorthy Castle, Carlow Gaol, Wicklow Gaol, and Newbridge Camp until his release on 11 January 1924.<sup>2</sup>

**Transcript** opposite →

*Wicklow Jail*  
25. 5. 23

*Think of me when this you see,  
And don't forget the afternoon tea we had  
In Wicklow jail together.*

*Seán O'Neill*  
*Wexford*

1 1st Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO 551 (47)).

2 *Enniscorthy Guardian*, 2 December 1922; Copy of document captured at Newbridge Prison, 7 July 1923 (IMA, CAPT/Lot 35 (6)); Alphabetical list of prisoners interned in Newbridge, Tintown A and B, Mountjoy and Hare Park towards the end of 1923 (IMA, CW/P/02/02/21); *Éire: The Irish Nation*, 10 Nov. 1923.



Wicklow Jail

25. 5. 23

Think of me when this you see

And dont forget the Afternoon Tea we had

In Wicklow Jail together



Desm O'Neill

Wexford

## **SINNOTT**, Michael (1896–1963)

Michael Sinnott was born 10 September 1896 to John Sinnott, a farmer, and Annie Sinnott (*née* Sinnott), at Ballyelland, Davidstown, Co. Wexford.<sup>1</sup> He was a member of B Company (Enniscorthy), 1st Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA.<sup>2</sup> His elder brother, Thomas David, was Commandant of the Wexford Brigade. Michael was arrested, along with several other Wexford Volunteers, on 17 October 1918 for wearing the uniform of the Irish Volunteers at the funeral of Seamus Rafter the previous month and imprisoned at Waterford for six months.<sup>3</sup> In April 1920, he was appointed to the staff of the Wexford Brigade as a whole-time officer with the rank of captain and responsible for transport and communications.<sup>4</sup> During the IRA's operation to assassinate Percival Lea Wilson on 15 June 1920 at Gorey, Sinnott was

responsible for transport.<sup>5</sup> He was arrested in December 1920 and interned at Enniscorthy courthouse on 8 January 1921 but was removed to hospital six days later, from where he was removed to Waterford on 13/14 March.<sup>6</sup> On 17 May 1921, he was transferred from Kilworth Army Camp to Spike Island internment compound.<sup>7</sup> Following his release, he was reappointed O/C Transport to the North Wexford Brigade, and he retained this rank following the IRA split. Sinnott took the Republican side during the Civil War and was active until his arrest at Courtown Harbour on 15 August 1922. He was detained at Wellington Barracks, Dublin, and transferred first to Maryborough, Co. Laois, and later Tintown, the Curragh, where he took part in the mass hunger strike. He was president of the Irish Clay Pigeon Shooting

- 
- 1 Birth of Michael Sinnott in 1896 (ICRI, GRO, SR District/Reg. Area — Enniscorthy, Group Registration ID: 10847309, entry no. 317).
  - 2 1st Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO 551 (45)).
  - 3 *New Ross Standard*, 25 Oct. 1921; Courts martial case registers, 1918 (NAUK, WO 35/132); Thomas Doyle, statement (IMA, BMH WS 1,041 (59)).
  - 4 Micheál Ó Ciardubháin to Secretary, Military Service Pensions Board, 16 Mar. 1937 (IMA, MSPC, RO 550 (71)).
  - 5 Liam O'Leary, statement (IMA, BMH WS 1,276 (7)); Thomas Doyle, statement (IMA, BMH WS 1,041 (62)).
  - 6 Kieran Costello, 'Enniscorthy Courthouse Trials 1919', *The Past: Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, 33 (2019), pp 23–48 (42).
  - 7 Prisoners and internees — cases and nominal rolls (NAUK, WO 35/144); Tom O'Neill, *Spike Island's republican prisoners, 1921* (Gloucestershire, 2021), pp 307–308.

Association and a member of the Irish clay pigeon shooting team from 1939 to 1960.<sup>8</sup> During the Emergency, he was Company Commander, E Company, LDF at Shankill. He died 20 August 1963 at his residence in Cornelscourt, Co. Dublin, and was interred at Deansgrange Cemetery.<sup>9</sup>



Michael Sinnott, fourth from the left, to the rear, pictured at the funeral of Seamus Rafter in 1918 — Photo: Wexford County Archive

<sup>8</sup> *Irish Independent*, 22 Aug. 1922.

<sup>9</sup> *New Ross Standard*, 23 Aug. 1923.



Mó Graic

ts muniú a cuála zaprúin óz' á raó  
Zupó fada leo go mbeoif mof  
Dú y fada lom-pa féin an bá  
Go mbead: paop ón uibe eazcōp  
A tmipizeap opm pa. Ppōpūn. Fin  
Dā zapmzēap Capēap Cille Marmzēin  
y fada lom zo paorifēap mē  
y zo mbead-pa paop ó pēnz na bplēap  
Dob féap lom-pa beiz .pa epē  
Sead!

**Transcript** opposite →

*Tintown Camp No. 3  
The Curragh  
July 1923*

*'Two things greater than all things are,  
The first is love, the second is war.'  
(Kipling) (sic)\**

*Mick Sinnott  
Ballyelland  
Davidstown  
Enniscorthy*

\* Quotation from the penultimate couplet  
of 'The ballad of the king's jest' by Rudyard  
Kipling (1865-1936).

Tintown Camp No 3  
The Curragh  
July 19/23.

"Two things greater than all things are.  
The first is love. The second is War."

(Kipling)

Wm. K. Funnell  
Ballyelland  
Dundstown  
Carriscorthy

## WALSH, James (1892-1955)

James J. Walsh was born 13 July 1892 at Williamsroe, Enniscorthy, the fourth of six children of Samuel J. Walsh, a house painter from Wexford, and Rosanna Walsh (*née* Furlong).<sup>1</sup> James Walsh was a member of the Irish Volunteers prior to 1916 and took an active part in the Easter Rising at Enniscorthy. His elder brothers Patrick and Joseph also took part.<sup>2</sup> Following the Volunteer surrender, he evaded arrest by going on the run for several months. He rejoined the Volunteers upon their reorganisation in 1917 and was an active member of his company throughout the War of Independence. At the time of the Truce, he held the rank of Captain, G Company, 1st Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA.<sup>3</sup> In June 1922, he was appointed Brigade Quartermaster and was involved in the fighting in Enniscorthy the following

month, during which he fought on the Republican side. He later joined Robert Lambert's flying column and was involved in attacks on National Army troops at Whitefort and Killurin (July 1922). Walsh was arrested, along with John Dundon (qv), at Killealy on 19 January 1923 following an attack on a mail train from Dublin to Wexford.<sup>4</sup> He was detained at Carlow, Wicklow, and later at Tintown (No. 2) until his release on 22 December 1923. During his internment, he took part in two hunger strikes to protest his imprisonment, one at Wicklow Gaol and another at Tintown. He died at St. Vincent's Hospital, Dublin, on 30 September 1955. The following week, before Wexford's opening game of the National Football League against Kildare, two minutes' silence was observed in memory of Walsh, who was a former Wexford inter-county footballer.<sup>5</sup>

- 
- 1 Residents of a house 11 in Court Street [Enniscorthy Urban, Wexford] (NAI, 1911 Census of Ireland returns); Birth of James Walsh in 1892 (ICRI, GRO, SR District/Reg. Area — Enniscorthy, Group Registration ID: 10486649, entry no. 201).
  - 2 Pat Doran, *Enniscorthy: The forgotten republic* (Enniscorthy, 2021), pp 246-47.
  - 3 James Walsh, MSPA (IMA, MSPC, WMSP/34/REF/24572).
  - 4 *New Ross Standard*, 26 Jan. 1923; *Free Press*, 27 Jan. 1923.
  - 5 *New Ross Standard*, 7 Oct. 1955.





Image of the wrecked train at Killurin showing linesmen clearing the way, July 1922 —  
Nicholas Furlong (Alice Kinsella) collection at Wexford County Archive

That man is great and he alone,  
Who serves a greatness not his own,  
Got neither praise nor help.

## Transcript opposite →

*True Culture\**  
June 1923

*The highest culture is to speak no ill;  
The best reformer is the man whose eyes  
Are quick to see all beauty and all worth;  
And by his own-discreet- well-ordered life,  
Alone reproveth the erring,  
When thy gaze,*

*Turns it on thy own soul, be most severe.  
But when it falls on a fellow man,  
Let kindness control it; and refrain  
From that belittling censure that springs  
forth,  
From common lips like weeds from marshy  
soil.*

Wilcox  
J. Walsh  
Wicklow Jail

\* Walsh's inscription is the poem 'True Culture' by American poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1850-1919). This is the second entry to quote this poem, following on from an unsigned quotation earlier in the autograph book. The poetry of Wheeler Wilcox, as evidenced by the numerous quotations of her work, was quite popular among the internees at Wicklow Gaol.

(Wilcox)



The highest-culture is to speak no ill;

The best-reformer is the man whose eyes

Are quick to see all beauty & all worth;

And by his own discreet-well-ordered lip

Alone reforms the evening,

When they gaze

Down on a man whose soul, he must perceive

That when it falls on a fellow-man,

Let-kindliness control it; and refrain

From that belittling censure that <sup>is</sup> so often

From common lips like weeds from nearby

MILTON.

Truth

WICKLOW 1841



# Wicklow Prisoners

Prisoner cell, Wicklow Gaol –  
© Wicklow County Council

## **BRENNAN**, James ‘The Sneezer’ (1900–1975)

James Brennan was born 29 April 1900 to Patrick Brennan, a stone mason, and Elizabeth Brennan (*née* Travers), at Carnew, Co. Wicklow. He was 2nd Lieutenant of A Company, 4th Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA.<sup>1</sup> Brennan’s family was heavily involved in the struggle for independence in the south Wicklow and north Wexford areas. His brother, Patrick (‘Patsy’), held the rank of Adjutant, 4th Battalion, North Wexford Brigade, and a cousin, Thomas Brennan, was O/C North Wexford Brigade during the Civil War.<sup>2</sup> James was arrested by National Army troops at Carnew on 28 July 1922 and interned at Wicklow

Gaol. From there, he was transferred to Tintown Camp, the Curragh, on 10 January 1923 until his release later that year on 14 November.<sup>3</sup> He was very well-known in the business life of Carnew having spent his entire career there with the firm Stephen Geraghty Ltd. James Brennan died at his home, ‘Weslyann’, Carnew, on 3 February 1975.<sup>4</sup>

- 
- 1 4th Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO 553A (10)).
  - 2 Patrick Brennan, statement (IMA, BMH WS 1,120).
  - 3 *Wicklow People*, 29 July 1922; Alphabetical Index – No. 3 Camp – Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/14).
  - 4 *Wicklow People*, 7 Feb. 1975.





Above: Carnew Company IRA, Truce period — Wexford County Archive (courtesy of Terry McCann).  
Right: James 'Sneezer' Brennan of Carnew pictured in later life — Courtesy of Éilis Madden



We live like hermits <sup>this</sup> in place  
we never see a woman face  
Strange it is though good or ill  
We don't forget the lassies still

Wicklow Jail

### Transcript opposite →

The lovely months of summer time,  
Are passing slowly by,  
Whilst still through Wicklow Jail we roam,  
Beneath the azure sky,  
Thinking on our friends and home,  
'Mid shady bower and glen,  
The friends we know, who love to see us,  
Coming home again.

J. Brennan  
Carnew

Wicklow Jail June 1923

The lovely months of summer time  
Are passing slowly by.

Whilst still through Wicklow fairs we roam,  
Beneath the azure sky,

Thinking on our friends and home,

Mid shady bowers & glen,

The friends we know, who love to see us,  
Coming home again.

J. Brennan

Larne

Wicklow fairs June 1823

## CONWAY, Patrick Joseph (1905–80)

Patrick Joseph Conway was born 18 March 1905 to John Conway, a sailor, and Maryanne Conway (*née* Cullen), at Castle Street, Wicklow.<sup>1</sup> In April 1917, at the age of twelve, Patrick joined the local sluagh of Na Fianna Éireann in Wicklow and was involved in a fatal attack on two RIC men which took place at Rathdrum in July 1921 and the sniping of the coastguard station at Wicklow using shotguns and homemade ammunition.<sup>2</sup> Upon the dissolution of the sluagh, Conway transferred to the 3rd Battalion, Wicklow

IRA. He took the Republican side during the Civil War and was arrested at a military picket in Wicklow on 2 March 1923.<sup>3</sup> Found in possession of a small quantity of ‘cholorite’ (chlorite) and internal IRA communications, he was interned at Wicklow Gaol until his release on 22 December 1923.<sup>4</sup> In later life, he lived in Moydrum, Co. Westmeath, where he worked as a radio technician.<sup>5</sup> He died at Blanchardstown Hospital, Co. Dublin, on 25 August 1980, and is buried at Rathnew Cemetery, Co. Wicklow.<sup>6</sup>

- 
- 1 Birth of Patrick Joseph Conway in 1905 (ICRI, GRO, SR District/Reg. Area — Rathdrum, Group Registration ID: 150473, entry no. 89); Residents of a house 21 in Castle Street [Wicklow Urban, Wicklow] (NAI, 1911 Census of Ireland returns).
  - 2 Patrick Conway to Runai An Roinn Cosanta, 27 Mar. 1963 (2) in Patrick Joseph Conway, service medal application (IMA, MSPC, MD/39523); Frederick J. Comer, an English-born RIC constable was fatally wounded in the attack. See Daithí Ó Corráin and Eunan O’Halpin, *The dead of the Irish Revolution* (Yale, 2020), p. 512.
  - 3 Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 5 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).
  - 4 Newbridge numerical list of prisoners (IMA, CW/P/10/15).
  - 5 *Wicklow People*, 12 Sept. 1980.
  - 6 *Irish Press*, 26 Aug. 1980.



**Transcript** overleaf →

*Man's love is like snuff,  
One pinch is quite enough,  
Woman's love is like pepper,  
The less of it you get  
The better*

*P. Conway  
Wicklowl Jail*

Nautical star on cell wall, signed by  
Patrick Conway, Wicklow Gaol —  
© Wicklow County Council

Mans love is like snuff  
One pinch is quite enough  
Womans love is like pepper  
The less of it you get  
the better

---

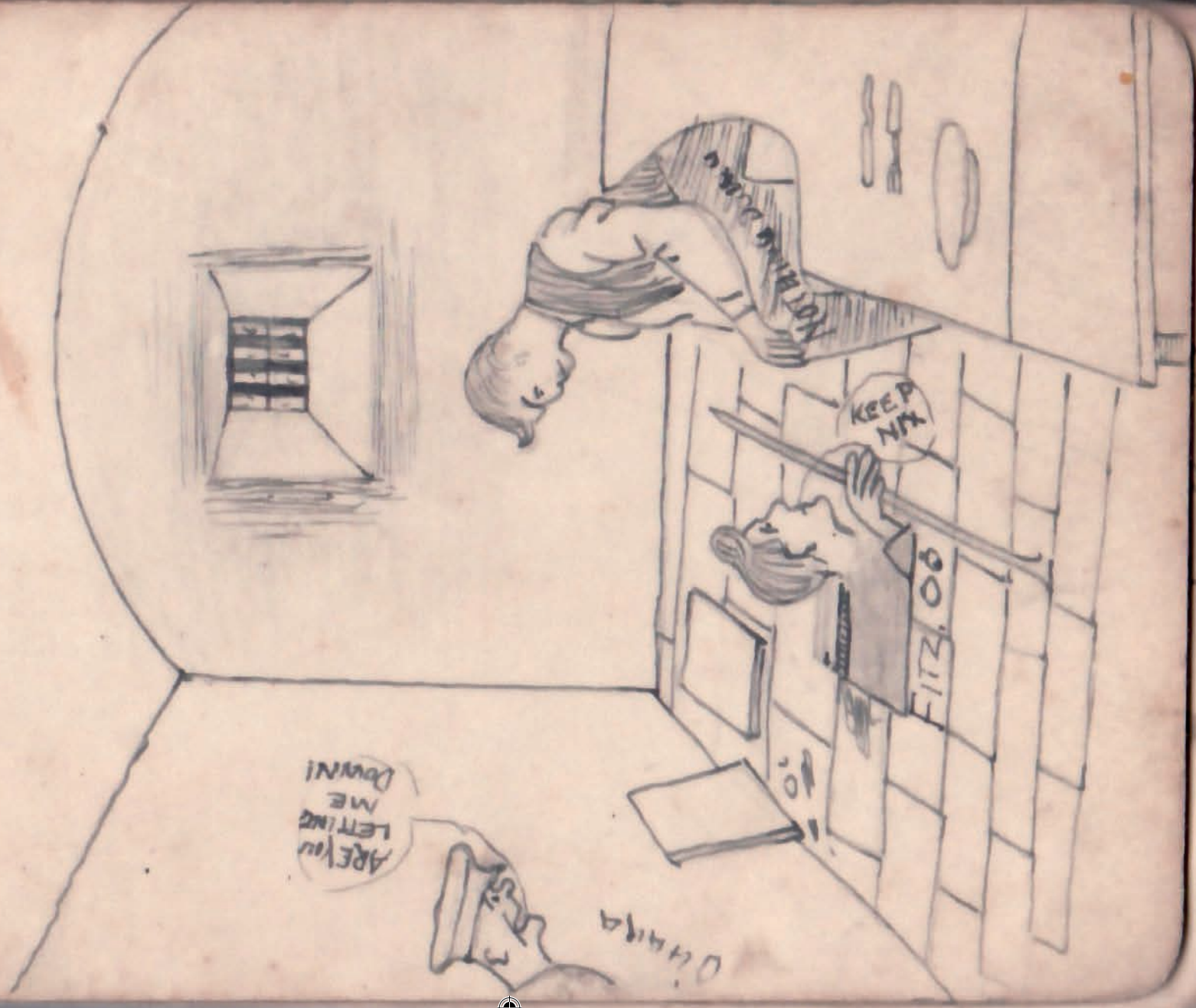
P. Conway

---

Wichlow Jail



CAUGHT IN THE ACT  
O'HARA DISCOVERS TUNNEL



## **GREGAN**, Michael (1896–1970)

Michael Gregan was born 20 July 1896 at Tombreane, Co. Wicklow, the son of farmers John and Anne (*née* Breen) Gregan.<sup>1</sup> He joined the Carnew Company of the Irish Volunteers when the organisation formed in the locality in 1914. When the split occurred in the Volunteer movement in September 1914, the vast majority of the Carnew Company followed John Redmond, leaving behind a small number of men, including Gregan, who remained loyal to the Volunteer Executive.<sup>2</sup> The local company did not take part in the 1916 Rising, and remained largely inactive until 1917, when it was reorganised and revitalised. For organisational as well as geographical reasons, Volunteer companies in Aughrim, Carnew, Shillelagh and Tinahely came under the

remit of the North Wexford Brigade.<sup>3</sup> Michael was one of five Gregan siblings, including brothers James and Thomas and sisters Anne and Elizabeth, who took an active part in the fight for Irish freedom as members of the 4th Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA.<sup>4</sup> In April 1920, Gregan was chosen to take part in the attack on Clonroche barracks, but owing to a lack of transport, he could not travel to Wexford. In September of that year, he was appointed Captain of 'A' (Carnew) Company, a rank he held until his arrest during the Civil War.<sup>5</sup> He was an able and highly regarded officer, whose control of the company and knowledge of drill was noted by GHQ training officers.<sup>6</sup> When the Civil War broke out, he took the anti-Treaty side and was active in the

- 
- 1 Michael Gregan, Service Medal application (IMA, MSPC, MD/9646); Birth of Michael Gregan in 1896 (ICRI, GRO, SR District/Reg. Area — Shillelagh, Group Registration ID: 9315719, entry no. 305).
  - 2 Patrick Brennan, statement (IMA, BMH WS 1,120 (1)).
  - 3 Matt Kavanagh, 'Wicklow — 1920' in *Capuchin Annual* (1970), p. 590.
  - 4 Thomas Gregan, Service Medal application (IMA, MSPC, MD/12298); Anne Gregan, *ibid* (IMA, MSPC MD/35779); Elizabeth Gregan, *ibid* (IMA, MSPC, MD/35746); 4th Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO 553A (5)).
  - 5 Patrick Brennan, statement (IMA, BMH WS 1,120 (4)); 4th Battalion, North Wexford Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO 553A (5)).
  - 6 North Wexford Brigade IRA training camp report, Nov. 1921 (IMA, Collins papers, CP/04/25/xxxv).



Michael Gregan and Ann O'Dowd  
on their wedding day - Courtesy of the  
Gregan family, Ballyellis





I am Dying darling dying

I can here the water splash

I am Dying darling dying

Dying my moustache

Michael Gnegy

Wichlow Gap

June 1923

← overleaf

## Transcript

*I am dying darling, dying,  
I can here (sic) the water splash,  
I am dying darling, dying,  
Dyeing\* my moustache*

*Michael Gregan  
Carnew  
Wicklow Gaol  
June 1923*

\* Gregan's lighthearted entry plays on the homophonic qualities of the words dying and dyeing.

border region of Wicklow and Wexford. While operating in the Brideswell Little area of Wexford in October 1922, Gregan was arrested under arms by Free State troops from Carnew, and consequently interned at Enniscorthy Castle, from where he was removed to Wicklow Gaol.<sup>7</sup> During his internment at Wicklow, Gregan took part in two escapes. In the first, he was among seven men who broke out on the night of 21 February 1923.<sup>8</sup> They used bedding to climb down to one of the exercise grounds from the cells, breached the external wall and escaped into a laneway which bordered the prison.<sup>9</sup> However, while the men were escaping, Michael Keyes of Riverchapel, Co. Wexford, fell from a height of about thirty feet and was seriously injured. Keyes pleaded with Gregan to leave him, but Gregan instead hoisted him over his shoulders and carried him away. Gregan was recaptured, alongside his brother James and James Brennan (qv) (who had escaped from custody at

7 *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Oct. 1922; Costello, 'Prisoners in Enniscorthy Castle during the Civil War period', p.93.

8 Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 22 Feb. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).

9 *Freeman's Journal*, 23 Feb. 1923.



Carnew barracks the previous August), at a farmhouse near Castlewhite, by the National Army on 18 May 1923, and returned to Wicklow Gaol.<sup>10</sup> With Wicklow Gaol then condemned to closure, Gregan was among the five remaining prisoners awaiting transfer to the Curragh. On the morning of 23 July 1923, he once again made a dash for freedom, accompanied by the four other prisoners.<sup>11</sup> Between 4 and 6 a.m. that morning, at the changing of the guard, a sympathetic sentry gained possession of a master key for the cells and released the prisoners.<sup>12</sup> They reached the exercise yard, where the hole in the outer wall, made during the previous attempt at escape, provided a way out. The men walked for miles until they located the house of a sympathetic farmer who hid them for a day.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately

for the men, such was the lack of Republican sympathy in the area that the group were soon tracked down to a small farm near Barndarrig and surrounded by the Free State Army.<sup>14</sup> During the attempted roundup, a civilian, Andrew Staunton, who had been observed bringing food and clothing to the escapees, was shot and wounded in the jaw. In the confusion, the prisoners fled through the nearby woods and on to liberty.

Upon returning to civilian life, Gregan settled in his native south Wicklow, where he farmed extensively. He died at his residence at Umrigar, near Carnew, on 31 October 1970.<sup>15</sup> His remains were interred at Askamore Cemetery, Co. Wexford.<sup>16</sup> A guard of honour, composed of his old IRA comrades, attended the coffin, which was draped in the tricolour.

<sup>10</sup> Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 22 May 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).

<sup>11</sup> Some 107 prisoners had been removed to the Curragh the previous Friday, 20 July 1923.

<sup>12</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 24 July 1923. The guard was named as Connors.

<sup>13</sup> 'Wicklow, jail of sad but glorious history', *Irish Press*, 17 July 1946; Michael Gregan, MSPA (IMA, MSPC, DP/43278).

<sup>14</sup> *Wicklow People*, 28 July 1923.

<sup>15</sup> *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 6 Nov. 1970.

<sup>16</sup> *Sunday Independent*, 1 Nov. 1970; *Wicklow People*, 7 and 14 Nov. 1970.

## KEOGH, Robert (1908)

Robert Keogh was born 8 May 1908 to James Keogh, an agricultural labourer, and Bridget Keogh (née White), at Eadestown, Co. Wicklow.<sup>1</sup> Keogh joined D Company (Donard), of the Carlow Brigade's 2nd Battalion during the Truce.<sup>2</sup> He was arrested on 4 March 1923 on suspicion of aiding the local IRA. It was alleged in the Dáil by Labour TD James Everett (Kildare-Wicklow) that during his arrest, Keogh was ill-treated by his captors and kept in a cattle wagon at Baltinglass Station for three days. In response, Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, Richard Mulcahy replied: '[Keogh was] struck by an officer who was labouring under excitement consequent on recognising Keogh as one of the principal Irregulars in the district in which he and others were wounded and four men killed.'<sup>3</sup> Keogh was interned at Baltinglass Union, Carlow Barracks, Wicklow Gaol, and subsequently at the Curragh, until his release on 7 September 1923.<sup>4</sup>

### Transcript opposite →

*Would you fight beneath the flag  
Of murder shame and woe  
There is not one drop of Irish blood  
For England's cause we'll show  
We'll fight for our own dear country boys  
We'll fight we'll (sic) won't deny,  
We'll raise the green, white and gold  
A republic live or die*

*Robert Keogh  
Eadstown (sic)  
Stratford*

- 1 Residents of a house 3 in Eadestown North [Eadestown, Wicklow] (NAI, 1911 Census of Ireland returns).
- 2 2nd Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC RO 556 (17)).
- 3 Dáil Éireann Debate [written answers] — a County Wicklow arrest, 9 May 1923, vol. 3 no. 11.
- 4 Register of parcels received by prisoners (IMA, CW/P/08/13).

Would you fight beneath the Flag  
Of Murder Shame + Woe

There is not one drop of Irish blood  
For Englands Cause we'll show  
We'll fight for our own dear Country Boys  
We'll fight we'll wont deny  
We'll rise the green white + Gold  
A Republic live or die

Robert Keogh  
Eadstawn  
Stratford



## **POWNALL**, Edward (Eamon) (c. 1898–1964)

Edward Pownall was born in England c. 1898 to Edmund Pownall, a labourer, and Margaret Pownall (*née* MacDonald), a servant, both of whom were from Arklow, Co. Wicklow. At a very young age, he moved to Co. Wicklow and is recorded in the returns of the 1901 Census as living in Arklow with his maternal grandparents.<sup>1</sup> Pownall was a member of ‘A’ (Arklow) Company of the East Wicklow Brigade and the North Wexford Active Service Unit, with whom he served throughout the War of Independence and Civil War.<sup>2</sup> He was transferred from Wicklow Gaol to Tintown (No. 3), where he was grouped with many of the other Wicklow Gaol prisoners in ‘E’ Company’s hut, until his release on 8 November 1923.<sup>3</sup> In later life, he lived in the Ringsend area of Dublin and worked as a postman. He died of a cerebral haemorrhage at St. Kevin’s Hospital, Dublin, on 29 July 1964.<sup>4</sup>

- 
- 1 Residents of a house 14 in Wexford Road [Arklow Urban, Wicklow] (NAI, 1901 Census of Ireland returns); Pownall’s internment records give his address as Scarnagh, Inch, Co. Wexford.
  - 2 Wicklow Independent Battalion IRA, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/25 (34)).
  - 3 Register of parcels received by prisoners (IMA, CW/P/04/04); Alphabetical register of prisoners — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13); *Éire: the Irish Nation*, 10 Nov. 1923.
  - 4 Death of Edward Pownall in 1964 (ICRI, GRO, SR District/Reg. Area — Dublin South, Group Registration ID: 2833555, entry no. 201).



Edward Pownall

North Wexford Flying Column during the Truce —  
Courtesy of the Michael Fitzpatrick Collection

Though rocks and hills divide us  
And you nor I cannot see

Remember it is

Who always thinks

**Transcript** opposite →

*A house without a window  
a ship without a sail  
Is not half so uncomfortable  
As a shirt without a tail*

*Eamon Pownall  
Scarnagh  
Arklow  
Co. Wicklow*

*Wicklow Jail  
June 1923*



A house without a window  
a ship without a sail  
Is not half so uncomfortable  
As a shirt without a tail

Eamon Pownall

Scarnagh

Arklow

Wicklow Jail

June 1923

Co Wicklow

## CARLOW PRISONERS

**Joseph Bermingham** of Kellistown, Co. Carlow, was a member of A Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. He was arrested during the Civil War and interned at Wicklow Gaol and the Curragh until his release on 11 October 1923.<sup>1</sup>

**Patrick Bermingham** of Kellistown, Co. Carlow, was a member of A Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA and brother of Joseph Bermingham. He was shot and seriously wounded by E. S. Maffett, solicitor, during an IRA raid for arms on Maffett's home at Thornville, Palatine, Co. Carlow, on 5 January 1923. During the raid, Bermingham's commanding officer, Edward Snoddy, was mortally wounded and died at the scene. Bermingham was conveyed to a local hospital, where he received medical

treatment. Upon his discharge, he was interned at Wicklow Gaol, Tintown Camp A and Hare Park until his release on 30 June 1924.<sup>2</sup>

**Peter Byrne:** Identity uncertain. Probably Peter Byrne of Clonmore, Co. Carlow.<sup>3</sup>

**Edward Dowling** of Castleview, Graiguecullen, Co. Carlow, was a member of A Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. Dowling was arrested at Wicklow and interned at Tintown Camp B until his release on 4 September 1923.<sup>4</sup>

**Joseph Doyle** of Ballinacarey, Carlow, was arrested along with Patrick Kane (qv) and John Dillon, Palatine, Co. Carlow, in Tullow Street, Carlow. At the time of their arrest, the three men were travelling in a motor car which was stopped by Civic Guards under the command of Commandant W.

- 
- 1 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (14)); Alphabetical register of prisoners – No. 3 Camp – Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13).
  - 2 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (14)); Adjutant, Carlow Brigade to O/C 3rd Eastern Division, 16 Jan. 1923 (IMA, CW/CAPT/ Lot 12); Legal document 'In the matter of Coroner's inquest on the death of Edward Snoddy. Brief on behalf of Edward S. Maffett', 22 Feb. 1923 (NLI, Edward Sinclair Maffett papers, MS 49,621/1); *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 6 Jan. 1923; *Wicklow People*, 20 Jan. 1923; Séamus Murphy, 'Carlow Brigade IRA Roll of Honour. 1916-1924', *Carloviana*, 52 (2003), p. 39.
  - 3 A Company, 3rd Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (25)). Information kindly supplied by Dr Shay Kinsella.
  - 4 Edward Dowling, Service Medal application (IMA, MD/42121); Alphabetical register of prisoners – No. 3 Camp – Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13).

J. Brennan-Whitmore. Kane was found in possession of IRA documents and the car was discovered to have been requisitioned at an earlier date from a Mr. R. Byrne, of Tullow Street, Carlow. Doyle was interned at Wicklow Gaol, from where he was transferred to Tintown A on 10 January 1923. He was released on 18 September 1923.<sup>5</sup>

**Thomas Fitzpatrick** of Cronaleigh, Co. Carlow, was a member of D Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. He was arrested during the Civil War and interned at Wicklow Gaol.<sup>6</sup>

**Eugene ‘Hugh’ Kane** of Rathcrogue, Tinryland, Co. Carlow, was arrested at the Station House, Great Southern & Western Railway, Athy, Co. Kildare, on 9 March 1923 for alleged collusion with the IRA. He was interned at Wicklow

Gaol and Tintown B until his release on 24 November 1923.<sup>7</sup>

**Patrick Kane / Pádraig Ó Catháin** of Rathcrogue, Tinryland, Co. Carlow, joined the Irish Volunteers at their inception. The elder brother of Hugh Kane, he rose to the rank of Adjutant, Carlow Brigade, which he held at the outbreak of the Civil War. Although he declined to play an active part in the Civil War, Kane’s sympathies lay with the anti-Treaty side. He was arrested along with Joe Doyle (qv) and John Dillon, Palatine, Co. Carlow, in Tullow Street, Carlow. He was interned at Carlow workhouse, Wicklow Gaol and Tintown B until his release in 1924. Upon his release, Kane emigrated to England where he worked for about ten years. While there, he qualified as a factory cost accountant and later worked in a number of Irish factories, the last being Padmore & Barnes

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- 5 Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 30 Jan. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09); Alphabetical Index — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/14).
- 6 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (25)).
- 7 *Leinster Leader*, 17 Mar. 1923; Daily report, prisoners captured on 9 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/P/02/02/03); Weekly return of prisoners released (IMA, CW/P/02/02/33).



Shoe Manufacturers, Kilkenny, from which he retired in 1956. He died in Kilkenny in April 1966.<sup>8</sup>

**James Kelly:** Identity uncertain. There was a James Kelly of Tomard, Milford, a member of E Company, 1st Battalion, who can be seen on the nominal rolls as of 1 July 1922, but he was not on the roll for that date a year previously. Another possibility is James Kelly, A Company, 4th Battalion, of Bridge House, Ballyine, Borris, who was on the nominal roll for 11 July 1921.<sup>9</sup>

**J. Mara:** Probably James Mara of Monalow, Grangeford, Co. Carlow, who was interned at Wicklow Gaol and Tintown

B until his release on 16 October 1923. His brother Charles was arrested (with Samuel Walshe (qv)) on 25 March 1923 by a National Army patrol at Grangeford, Co. Carlow, on suspicion of destroying the Halfway Ford Bridge.<sup>10</sup>

**Laurence McEvoy** of Rossmore, Co. Carlow, was the O/C of H Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. He was arrested during the Civil War and interned at Wicklow Gaol and Tintown B until his release on 6 October 1923.<sup>11</sup>

**Peter McGuill** of Bennekerry, Co. Carlow, was a member of A Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. He was arrested during a National Army round up at a house in

8 Pádraig Ó Catháin, statement (IMA, BMH WS 1,572); A. Burns, 'Paddy Kane and the fight for Independence', *Carloviana: Journal of the Old Carlow Society*, 19 (1970), pp 17-20; *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 10 Feb. 1923; Carlow Brigade IRA Staff [GHQ], nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (1)); Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 30 Jan. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09); Alphabetical list of prisoners interned in Newbridge, Tintown A and B, Mountjoy and Hare Park towards the end of 1923 (IMA, CW/P/02/02/21); Alphabetical Index — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/ 08/13); Alphabetical Index — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/14).

9 Information kindly supplied by Dr Shay Kinsella.

10 Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 26 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09); Alphabetical register of prisoners — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13); Daily and Weekly Returns of Prisoners in Custody (IMA, CW/P/02/02/31).

11 Report on Carlow Brigade IRA [n.d.] c. 1923 (IMA, CW/CAPT/ Lot 12).

Staplestown, Co. Carlow, on the night of 14 March 1923.<sup>12</sup>

**Mogue Murphy** of Kellistown, Co. Carlow, was a member of A Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. He was arrested at his home in Kellistown during a National Army round up in the early hours of 15 March 1923.<sup>13</sup>

**Henry Kitching Norman** was born in 1880 at Hutton, Cumbria, England, to John Norman, a mole trapper, and Sarah Norman. He came to Ireland with his wife and young family in the early 1900s, residing at Clonshire Beg, Co. Limerick, where he was employed as hunt servant with the Limerick Hunt. He returned to England and enlisted in the British Army on 13 June 1916, serving in the 552nd Home Service Employment Company of the Labour Corps during the First World War until he was discharged on 26 March 1919. Norman came back to Ireland once again, this time to Little Moyle House, Co. Carlow, where he secured employment as a hunt servant for the renowned Carlow

Hounds. As an English-born Anglican, ex-serviceman and hunt servant, Norman was an unlikely political prisoner. However, contemporary documents confirm that he was arrested on 5 February 1923, along with a man named Hayden, ‘on a charge of attempting to set fire to a house belonging to a man named Byrne’ and interned at Carlow Military Barracks. Norman sought to disassociate himself from the IRA prisoners. IRA intelligence believed that he was responsible for alerting authorities to the existence of a prisoners’ tunnel. In May 1923, he was removed to Wicklow Gaol, where he was detained until his release on 1 December 1923. Norman was adamant that he had committed no political crime and claimed that the whole affair had been concocted as a means of evicting him and his family from their lodgings at Little Moyle House. To this end, he initiated legal proceedings against his former employers in 1925, but he died on 16 June that year of

<sup>12</sup> 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (14)); Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 15 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).

<sup>13</sup> 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (14)); Mogue Murphy, Service Medal application (IMA, MSPC, MD/38494); Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 15 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).

pernicious anaemia before the case could be heard.<sup>14</sup>

**James Reddy** of Fighting Cocks, Co. Carlow, was a member of F Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. He was interned at Wicklow Gaol and later Tintown A until his release on 24 August 1923.<sup>15</sup>

**John Rochford** of High Street, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow, was a member of C Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. He was interned at Wicklow Gaol and Tintown A until his release on 1 Sept. 1923.<sup>16</sup>

**Michael Walsh** of Ballymogue, Ballon, was a member of F Company, 3rd Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division. He was arrested during the Civil War and interned

at Wicklow Gaol and Tintown Camp until his release on 14 September 1923. On October 20, a letter from Walsh and fellow prisoner Gerald O'Toole appeared in the *Nationalist and Leinster Times* in which they denied rumours that they had signed the 'form of declaration'. (During the Civil War, prisoners were offered release in return for signing a form of undertaking not to take up arms against the Free State. It was frowned upon by IRA leadership and those who signed the form risked court-martial.)<sup>17</sup>

**Samuel Walshe:** On 25 March 1923, Walshe and Charles Mara were arrested by a National Army patrol at Grangeford on suspicion of destroying the Halfway Ford

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14 Residents of a house High Bridge, Haithwaite Lane, Castle Sowerby, Penrith, Cumberland, England (GRO, 1891 England, Wales & Scotland Census returns); Residents of a house 9 in Clonshire Beg [Croagh, Limerick] (NAI, 1911 Census of Ireland returns); Henry Kitching Norman, British Army pension claim (NAUK, WO/364/38305); John J. Duggan papers (private collection); *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 16 June 1923; Carlow Brigade I/O to Adjutant, Carlow Brigade, 16 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/CAPT/ Lot 12/4/14). I am greatly indebted to Dr Shay Kinsella whose expert sleuthing revealed Norman's identity.

15 James Reddy, Service Medal application (IMA, MSPC, MD/25829); Alphabetical register of prisoners — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13).

16 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (23)); Alphabetical register of prisoners — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13); Daily and Weekly Returns of Prisoners in Custody (IMA, CW/P/02/02/31).

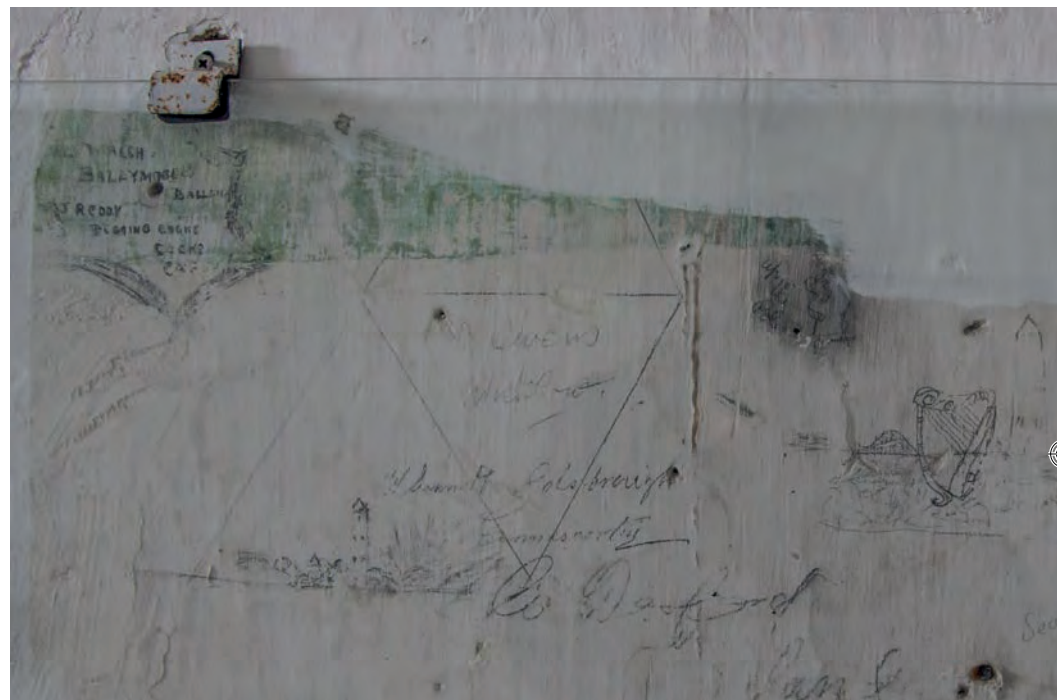
17 3rd Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/557 (14)); Alphabetical Index — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13); *Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 20 Oct. 1923.

18 Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 26 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).



Bridge. Neither man features in the nominal rolls of the local IRA.<sup>18</sup>

**Patrick Woods**, of Lower Seskin, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow, was a member of C Company, 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade, 3rd Eastern Division. Woods was arrested on 17 July 1922 and interned in Dublin at Wellington Barracks and Mountjoy Gaol, and then at Newbridge, Co. Kildare, from where he escaped on 15 October 1922. He was rearrested following a National Army raid on the home of the Nolan family at Rathmore, Co. Carlow, and interned at Wicklow Gaol and Tintown Camp.<sup>19</sup>



Detail of graffiti by prisoner James Reddy, Wicklow Gaol –  
© Wicklow County Council

<sup>18</sup> Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 26 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).

<sup>19</sup> 1st Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/555 (23)); Alphabetical list of prisoners interned in Newbridge, Tintown A and B, Mountjoy and Hare Park towards the end of 1923 (IMA, CW/P/02/02/21); Operations report, 3rd Eastern Division, 14 Dec. 1922 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/01); Newbridge numerical list of prisoners (IMA, CW/P/10/15).

Life is chiefly froth and bubble  
Two things stand like stone  
Kindness in anothers trouble  
Courage in your own.

Hugh Kane,  
The Prison,  
Wicklow.

May 1973.

Α βυθὸς τοῦ θῆρα να τῆσαστε σο βίφειαν.  
Μυνα μβίνιό βεὸ να-διαιδὸ ἀοὸ  
ρεσίναν,

Σπάρτη Μαδ νν μίτε γαυσιδίαε,  
αὶ πῆσαστε ἀρ να γαλλὰβι.  
(Πόρην μαρ Πόρην)

Πόρην Κλαίην,  
γα Λαρεντ.  
Cell man κῆν,  
Belzanne 29. 1923.



Though the path is dark but ever sunward  
In faith and love and hope we journey on  
We may pause in the desert passing onward  
Lay our weary heads to rest upon the stone  
But ever in our visions low and faintly  
Come the voices of the far off angel band  
To earnest souls, in prophecy all saintly  
That the good cause will yet triumph

Joseph Birmingham in the Land  
Kellistown Carlow 20.6.1923



SEASIDE RESORT



Scene in the "Spike". Jim Walsh finds a fag-end.

HARLETT

## KILDARE, DUBLIN, WESTMEATH PRISONERS

**Edward Behan / Eamonn Ó Béachain** of Chapel Street, Athy, Co. Kildare, was a member of A Company, 1st Battalion, Fianna Éireann, Kildare Brigade. He was arrested in Athy, along with Michael Cunningham, on suspicion of burning the railway goods store at Athy, by a National Army raiding party on 12 March 1923 and detained at Carlow Barracks. During Behan's internment, Hugh Coholan (Labour TD Kildare-Wicklow) twice made inquiries in the Dáil regarding the nature of Behan's arrest. Coholan alleged that on the night in question, Behan had been unwell and laid up in bed with a poultice on his neck. He further alleged that Behan was cut over the eye by a blow with a rifle. Calls for his release were denied. Behan was interned

at Carlow Barracks, Wicklow Gaol, and later Tintown Camp, the Curragh, until his release on 31 October 1923.<sup>1</sup>

**Martin Byrne** of 18 Duke Street, Athy, was arrested by National Army troops on suspicion of taking part in an attack on Athy post office on 25 April 1923. He was interned at Wicklow Gaol before being sent to Tintown, the Curragh, Hut 12, Camp 3 on 10 July 1923. He was released on 19 December 1923.<sup>2</sup>

**Leo Davis / León Mac Dáimhín** was a pre-Truce member of A Company (Athy), 5th Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA. Davis was arrested on suspicion of taking part in an attack on Athy post office on 25 April 1923. He was interned at Wicklow Gaol and Tintown 'B' until

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- 1 Edward Behan, Service Medal application (IMA, MSPC, MD/6596); *Kildare Observer*, 10 Mar. 1923; Daily report, prisoners captured on 12 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/P/02/02/03); Weekly return of prisoners released (IMA, CW/P/02/02/33); Prisoners particulars from reports (IMA, CW/P/03/04); Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 14 Mar. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09); Alphabetical Index — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/14); *Dáil Éireann debates*, [written answers — boy's arrest at Athy], 27 Mar. 1923, vol. 2 no. 46; *ibid*, 1 June 1923, vol. 3 no. 21.
  - 2 *Leinster Leader*, 5 May 1923; Location of prisoners' books (IMA, CW/P/01/01); Prisoners' lists for various camps and jails (IMA, CW/P/02/02/29); Weekly return of prisoners released (IMA, CW/P/02/02/32); *ibid.*, (IMA, CW/P/02/02/33); Alphabetical register of prisoners — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13); Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 27 Apr. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).

his release on 17 December 1923. Davis was sentenced to five months' imprisonment, along with Denis O'Rourke, for the armed robbery of a Kildare County Health Board official near Athy on 26 February 1925. In February 1928, he emigrated to the United States and settled at Fairfield, Connecticut. Leo Davis never returned to Ireland. He died aged seventy-six at Charlottesville, Virginia.<sup>3</sup>

**Frank Lawler** was Adjutant 5th Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA at the time of the Truce. He was succeeded by Michael Teehan in July 1922. Lawler was captured during the Civil War and interned at Wicklow Gaol.<sup>4</sup>

**Patrick MacDonnell** of Church Place, Rathmines, Dublin, was a member of E Company, 3rd Battalion, Dublin

I Brigade IRA. MacDonnell was captured on 16 February 1923 while waiting to meet the remaining members of the IRA's 'Plunkett Column' which operated in the hills of west Wicklow during the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>

**Thomas McKenna / Tomás Mac Cionnaith** of Barberstown, Straffan, Co. Kildare, was arrested during the Civil War and detained at Gormanston Camp on 8 September 1922. He was transferred to Newbridge on 30 November 1923 and released on 17 December 1923.<sup>6</sup>

**'Paddy'**: Identity uncertain. Possibly Patrick McGee of Hillview, Athy, Co. Kildare, who was arrested with Martin Byrne (qv), Leo Davis (qv), and Michael Teehan (qv) on 25 Apr. 1923.<sup>7</sup>

3 *Leinster Leader*, 5 May 1923; *Kildare Observer*, 7 Mar. 1925; 5th Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/559 (6)); Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 27 Apr. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09); Alphabetical list of prisoners interned in Newbridge, Tintown A and B, Mountjoy and Hare Park towards the end of 1923 (IMA, CW/P/02/02/21); Alphabetical register of prisoners — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13); Alphabetical Index — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/14). Information kindly supplied by James Durney, historian in residence, Kildare County Libraries.

4 5th Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/559 (5)).

5 Patrick McDonnell, MSPA (IMA, MSP/34/REF/23357).

6 Prisoners' Location Book (IMA, CW/P/01/02); Alphabetical list of prisoners interned in Newbridge, Tintown A and B, Mountjoy and Hare Park towards the end of 1923 (IMA, CW/P/02/02/21); Newbridge numerical list of prisoners (IMA, CW/P/10/15).

7 *Leinster Leader*, 5 May 1923; Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 27 Apr. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09).



**Michael Teehan**, a native of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, was a member of Kilbeggan Company, 1st Battalion, Offaly I Brigade IRA. He transferred to the Carlow Brigade, where he succeeded Frank Lawler as Adjutant, 5th Battalion. Teehan was arrested on suspicion of taking part in an attack on Athy post office, on 25 April 1923, and interned at Wicklow Gaol and then at Tintown until his release on 22 November 1923.<sup>8</sup>

Opposite →

## Transcript

*When you are washing at the tub  
Think of me between each rub  
Though the water be ever so hot  
Lather away + forget me not*

*Léon MacDáimhín  
Átha Í*

<sup>8</sup> *Leinster Leader*, 5 May 1923; *Éire: The Irish Nation*, 10 Nov. 1923; 1st Battalion, Offaly I Brigade IRA, 3rd Southern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/173 (60)); 5th Battalion, Carlow Brigade IRA, 3rd Eastern Division, nominal rolls (IMA, MSPC, RO/559 (5)); Operations report, Carlow District [Dublin Command], 27 Apr. 1923 (IMA, CW/OPS/07/09); Alphabetical register of prisoners — No. 3 Camp — Tintown A (IMA, CW/P/08/13); Daily and weekly returns of prisoners in custody (IMA, CW/P/02/02/31).

When you are washing at the tub  
Think of me between each tub  
Though the water be ever so hot  
Lather away & forget me not

Teo mso dsunin  
iti

28/11/23

"This too I know, and well it were that you  
should know the same.

That every prison that men build, is built with  
bricks of shame  
And bound with bars, lest Christ should see  
How men, their brothers main,

Patrick MacDonnell.

E. III Batt. 1st D. B.

'Our deeds shall travel with us from afar,  
And what we have been makes us what we are.'

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"Visitors"



E. Bahan



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##### *Dublin*

#### **General Records Office**

Irish Civil Registration Index

#### **Military Archives**

Brigade activity reports

Bureau of Military History Witness Statements and  
contemporary documents

Civil War Captured Documents

Civil War Operations and Intelligence reports, Carlow  
and Dublin Commands

Civil War intelligence reports

Civil War prisoners internment collection

IRA nominal rolls

The Collins Papers

Military Service Pensions Collection and medal files

Military Statistics reports [Civil War]

#### **National Archives of Ireland**

Dáil Éireann papers

Department of the Taoiseach files

Petty Sessions Court Registers

#### **National Library of Ireland**

Dulcibella Barton papers

Ernie O'Malley papers

Erskine Childers papers

Edward Sinclair Maffett papers

Minute book of the New Ross, Co. Wexford, branch of Sinn Féin

J. J. O'Connell papers

Seán M. O'Duffy papers

#### **University College Dublin Archives**

Éamon de Valera papers

Ernie O'Malley papers and notebooks

Moss Twomey papers

Sighle Humphreys papers

##### *London*

#### **National Archives**

Colonial Office papers

Royal Irish Constabulary service records

War Office papers

##### *Southport*

#### **General Records Office (UK)**

British Civil Registration Index

*Wexford*

**Wexford County Archive**

Edward Roe archive  
Patrick Fitzpatrick autograph book  
Stephen Hayes memoir  
Gorey Rural District Council minute books  
Wexford County Council minute books

*Wicklow*

**Wicklow County Archives**

Wicklow County Council minute books

**B. OFFICIAL RECORDS**

Census of Ireland, 1901, 1911  
Dáil Éireann debates

**C. NEWSPAPERS**

*An Phoblacht*  
*Daily Sheet*  
*Éire: the Irish Nation*  
*Enniscorthy Guardian*  
*Evening Herald*  
[Dublin] *Evening Telegraph*  
*Freeman's Journal*

*Free Press*

*Irish Bulletin*  
*Irish Examiner*  
*Irish Independent*  
*Irish Press*  
*Irish Times*  
*Irish Volunteer*  
*Leinster Express*  
*Leinster Leader*  
*Leinster Reporter*  
*Nationalist and Leinster Times*  
*New Ross Standard*  
*Poblacht na hÉireann War News*  
*Poblacht na hÉireann* [Wexford edn.]  
*Sunday Independent*  
*The Echo*  
*Wicklow News-Letter*  
*Wicklow People*

**D. PRIMARY PRINTED MATERIAL**

*Appendix to fifty-fourth report of the Inspectors-General  
on the prisons of Ireland, 1875, part ii: separate reports  
on county and city gaols and bridewells [Cmd. 14971.1]  
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**Wicklow Gaol Comrades:**  
A Civil War Autograph Book



Group outside Wicklow Gaol (including William O'Grady, back left), 1922. Photo: Courtesy of John Finlay.