

FURTHER NOTES ON THE
GENEALOGY AND SOCIAL HISTORY
OF THE CARLOW FAMILY OF
JOHN TYNDALL
(1820-1893)

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A Tyndall legend

The fragmentary biographies of John Tyndall currently available have focused their attention on some of his very prominent friends,¹ whom he met through his work; Huxley, Hooker, Hirst, Spencer, and the rest of the X Club. Attention has also focused recently on his wife Louisa Hamilton,² who came from a distinguished family that was to join the British Royal family tree in recent decades when Diana Spencer married Prince Charles. John also boasted of his descent from William Tyndale,³ possibly the most famous of the 16 century translators of the Greek and Latin books of the Bible into English during the reign of Henry VIII, when doing any such thing was regarded as heretical and treasonable, and thus deserving an ugly death, which came in due course in

search of the Renaissance scholar and which enabled John to claim descent from a martyr who died as a dissident, a figure into which John appeared to cast himself before the religious establishment of his time. We are aware of only one local effort to investigate John Tyndall’s Carlow roots,⁴ and to this we can now add new findings on the genealogy and social history of his Carlow family.

Parents

Little is known about his parents⁵ John Tyndall (1792-1847) and Sarah McCassey (d.1867). All of Tyndall’s biographical notes mention that his father joined the Irish Constabulary in 1828, but Jim Herlihy’s⁶ Index of RIC officers and men (1816-1922), which purports to include all the men that ever joined the force, does not list any John Tyndall

around that time. The family moved to the police station in nearby Nurney where they spent five years until 1833, when John was thirteen years of age. The period in Nurney did not mean a change of school, because Leighlin, Nurney and the school are roughly equidistant. From 1833 to 1836 the family moved again, this time to more distant Castlebellingham (Co. Louth), returning to Leighlinbridge when John was sixteen. In his spare time Mr Tyndall worked as a cobbler. Eve and Creasy tell us also⁷ that while in Carlow both his father and grandfather were land agents for the (William) Steuart estate, and as agents their job it was to collect rent, oversee the necessary maintenance required for the production that was expected from each letting, etc. The salary paid by other landlords to their local agents was £25 per annum.⁸ According to local historian

Michael Purcell⁹ “The Steuarts were Scottish Presbyterians that were banished from Scotland in 1638. The main house in the estate, where William Stuart lived (1752), was Stuart’s Lodge, and was joined by marriage to the larger Duckett estate of Duckett’s Grove fame. In 1843, William’s son, William Richard Stuart, High Sheriff of County Carlow in 1821, married Elizabeth Dawson-Duckett of Duckett’s Grove. The Steuarts did not enjoy the prosperity of the Duckett’s because by the middle of the nineteenth century, Elizabeth Dawson Stuart, then a widow, owned a much reduced estate of 650 acres. When she died in March 1893, she left the property to her nephew, Major Charles Edward Henry Duckett (1850 – 1904) who adopted the Stuart name, and he married the London actress, Annie Seymore. Their only son, William Stuart Duckett Stuart, died in 1930.” In the 1840s landlords wielded tremendous power over their tenants, and a delay of a few days in paying the rent could see the tenant brought to court by the agent. In attempting to work out where John Tyndall (sr) stood among his peers, we ought to bear in mind that the Ducketts (and presumably their employee, Mr Tyndall) were highly principled and fervent Protestants who avoided employing Catholics in their estate, considering them incapable of governing themselves. Locally, the late 1840s cover potato famines, rural revolts on the issue of rent, and massive emigration. John (jr) took the boat early, and was not at home to see the events, but followed them closely. His father was a member of the Orange Order, which at the time had two lodges operating in Carlow, Nos. 846 and 1005, which at present contain no relevant information.¹⁰ We know that at some point community relations in Carlow turned nasty, certainly between the Brennan and the Purcell families, with the murder of Matthew Brennan allegedly by the Purcells as the grimmest episode, due to land disputes. Matthew had offended the Purcells by buying the farm from which one of the Purcells had been evicted.¹¹ Although we know that the local police were involved in trying to keep the sides apart, we do not know Mr. Tyndall’s views or role, if any. We must be content with keeping Mr. Tyndall’s Orange Order sash in the County Council Museum,¹² and to document his activities turning to the father-son corre-

spondence (see below).

His mother was of Quaker farming stock, and the common opinion that she was from Ballynabranna, also in the County, has been challenged,¹³ in favour of Ballybrommell, the property of William Malone, her father, since the 1780s. She was well read and had been a companion to one of the sisters in the Lecky household that produced the Trinity College historian William Edward Hartpole Lecky (1838-1903). She had a brother called Jonathan, or John for short, born in Co. Carlow in 1778, where he married and had seven children. Leaving the family behind, he emigrated to the US, being buried in Ripon, Fond du Lac County, Wisconsin, in 1861. In a letter to her son, Mrs Sarah Tyndall clarified her own local origin and fortunes:¹⁴

"My grandmother's family were people of wealth and property; their name was Malone. But my grandmother marrying out of meeting she was denied by them. Her father left three townlands one each to her brothers: Ballybrommell to William, Ballintrain to Thomas, and Killkay to Pim—I believe that is Nehemiah—and to my grandmother one shilling. This however never altered the affection of her husband for her, and they had abundance while they lived. They had one son, and that was my father, and she reared him as she was herself reared as a Quaker, and I went along with him to a meeting where Mrs. Leckie, first saw me."

All these circumstances have combined to produce a mythology about John growing up as the son of a poor rural Irish family, a story that in his more successful days, having penetrated through enormous personal efforts into the London scientific elite, he relished to recall. The romantic story of little John going to school barefoot, and bringing home sods of turf gathered from the fields on the way back, could very well be true, but this was something that many Irish country folk of a good age remember fondly even to this day as quite normal and enjoyable, hardly a symbol of a disadvantaged situation in life.

Garrison House

The volume for Carlow of the *Griffith's Valuation of Ireland*,¹⁵ printed in 1852, shows that John Tyndall lived in house No. 22 of Bridge Street, in the Town of Leighlinbridge, Parish of Agha, in the Barony of Idrone. The house and yard were rented from William R. Stewart at £1 s5 per year, similar to many other properties in the street. Since there is only one such valuation, we do not know when the Tyndalls first moved to Garrison House in Leighlinbridge, or if this is the same house they occupied before and after moving to Castlebellingham. The footprint of this house where the Tyndall family are said to have lived in Carlow is a substantial space where, even allowing enough room for an archway on the right leading to the entrance to the yard before the headquarters of the local Irish Constabulary—a building that is today quite intact—leaves generous space for a house at least as good as any of the other houses in what is now Main Street in Leighlinbridge. We contend that no beggars lived in Main Street Leighlinbridge. With John (senior) a member of the Orange order, and Sarah coming from a formerly Quaker household, their own roots reveal them as industrious, keen on self-education and well connected locally, at least to the Protestant sector of the community, the minority where power and influence resided. The legend of “poor Johnny” may not be sustainable when local circumstances are considered.

Father-son correspondence

Friday’s microfiche edition of John Tyndall’s Catalogue of Correspondence¹⁶ lists and summarises 74 letters passed between father and son from 6 May 1840, when John began to work away from home in Youghal Co. Cork, until 18 November 1843, when he was about to leave Preston. In these letters we see a mostly unhappy young man, politically alert, disgusted with the progress the Catholics were making, keen on writing and even trying his hand at poetry, religiously inclined but at the same time, dissatisfied and controversial. He attempted to go to America but the requisite credentials from local people did not materialise.

His father’s financial position throughout

this period was poor, and on 23 March 1841¹⁷ writing from Youghal, John told his father that he had asked a “Wm. Haydon” to send money to his father. On 3 August 1841¹⁸ writing from his new posting with the Ordnance Survey in Kinsale Co. Cork, we learn that things at home were not going well, as the family had to move to uncle Bill’s house to prevent a possible outrage on their home, and from his letter of 10 August¹⁹ we learn that Catholics were boycotting his father’s business, and that he offered his father money. On 24 September²⁰ he tells his father how he would dearly like to make him independent. On 20 November²¹ he announces that he will not be able to go home for Christmas, and he mentions his surprise at Emma’s intended marriage. In July²² and August²³ 1843 John mentions that he would be glad to see Emma in Preston, but that finding accommodation there was difficult. By 12 September, he reported Emma’s arrival and that she was in good health.²⁴

Uncle Bill

Uncle Bill, William Tyndall (1800- ?) must have been a formidable presence in the life of the Tyndall family of Leighlinbridge, representing the paternal, doctrinaire, hard core Protestant tradition, who were also highly principled and religiously strict. He was able to provide alternative accommodation for the family in the times when their business was boycotted by Catholics²⁵ and they feared an outrage against their home.²⁶

Sister Emma

John’s sister Emma is mentioned several times in Eve and Creasey’s biography,²⁷ saying that she was three years his senior (p1), which would indicate her birth occurred in 1817. In the absence of a birth or baptism certificate to verify this date, we have tried to pin down her dates through other events. We found that the assumed date of her birth is probably incorrect.

There is a marriage certificate from the Church of Ireland parish at Slyguff, where Emma Tyndall married a Mr George Young,²⁸ from the parish of Lorum, on 22 November 1841, which tallies exactly with the transcripts mentioned above, and she became Emma

Young. Herlihy lists a George Young in the RIC with badge No. 6148. George died aged 47 on 14 November 1860,²⁹ thus having been born in 1813, and married to Emma for 19 years. Current local memory would have it that there were no children from this marriage, but see below for evidence against this. On 13 December 1865 there is another marriage record for Emma Young,³⁰ widow, to Mr (George?) William Hargrave, a sergeant of the police, (badge No.4763³¹) also living in Slyguff, but born in Monaghan in 1822, where his father Francis had a farm. Thus Emma Young became Emma Hargrave. The name Hargrave or any of its variants does not feature in any other Church of Ireland (COI) record of births, marriages or deaths in the County of Carlow before or after that date, or in Griffiths Valuation, suggesting that this was a name imported into Carlow through the RIC. It was a common practice in the Force to bring to every station many agents that were not local. The Census of Ireland for 1901³² mentions Emma Hargrave as living with the family of her daughter Dorothea (Dorah, aged 58 then), her son-in-law, John Holmes (aged 70 at the time?), and their children Dorah (aged 26) and James (aged 1), all living in the same house in Vicarstown, Co. Laoise. The older Dorah’s birth occurred therefore in 1843, within one year of Emma’s marriage to George Young (see above). We will see how this appears to have been an interesting year for Emma. The age given for Emma in this document is 75, which makes her birth to have occurred in 1826. Lastly, her death certificate³³ states that Emma Hargrave, a widow, had died of cerebral apoplexy on 7 September 1904, at her home in No. 42 Hardwicke St (Dublin 1W). Emma’s age at her death is stated to be 80, with the corresponding birth date in 1824. Her 1904 address would have been very some decades earlier but this part of the city was already then decaying into a slum³⁴ and in any case she did not own the house but was a tenant, sharing the room with a Mrs. Handy. Other people living in the house had Carlow connections, and this plus the cheap rent must have been what brought the widowed Emma to that address. An additional factor making this address suitable for Emma being the proximity of two Protestant churches within sight of

her home. Searches of death notices or gravestones have proved fruitless.³⁵

The above would suggest that the estimate of Emma’s birth date given by Eve and Creasey was the local recollection collected by Louisa Tyndall in her visit to Carlow in 1894, but that Emma was most likely younger than John, having been born around 1826.

In the record of her marriage to William Hargrave, Emma’s father is said to be Caleb Tyndall, but since her father had died in 1847 and her brother John was abroad, uncle Caleb would have been the one on hand to give her away on behalf of the family. The husband’s marital status is said to be a bachelor, and the wife (Emma) is noted as a widow. Witnesses were exchanged between bride and groom. Caleb Tyndall is witness for the husband, and a James Gregory is the witness for the wife.

In the 1901 Census form the religion of the Holmes is noted as Roman Catholic, and of Emma, Irish Church. From Dorah onwards, all her female descendants leading to the McGing (2013) have married wealthy Catholics, some of the men, ironically, having had active Republican allegiance. Taking the ages given in the 1901 Census at face value (which requires a little stretching of the imagination), we are confirmed that Emma was born around 1826.

Eve and Creasey mention a letter from Hirst to Tyndall dated 17 February 1891³⁶ where at a dinner party, Lecky, a Carlow man who had known John’s mother many years before (see above), was sitting close to Herbert Spencer talking about Tyndall’s sister Emma, saying that she was “out of her mind,” and the biographers mention some form of “religious hysteria” that possessed her from time to time. According to family tradition, Emma was indeed very religious, and had her Holmes Catholic grandchildren re-baptised in the Church of Ireland.

Some state of poor mental health could explain the observation that Emma had an encounter with the local police in Carlow on 5 March 1866,³⁷ when she was detained for trespassing and damage to property in Slyguff (it seems she broke

a large glass window). She was fined £1 and costs of 6/6 or a month in the Carlow Gaol. It is reasonable to think that the family tried to see if a change of environment would help her, hence sending her to relations or acquaintances in Dublin. Family tradition indicates that she and her two daughters moved to Vicarstown where they ran a pub, and this is where the 1901 census found her. She returned to Dublin to die there in 1904.

Emma's correspondence

There are currently two different catalogues to the collection of John Tyndall's correspondence, one by Frank James at the Royal Institution,³⁸ and another in microfiche form by Friday, McLeod and Shepherd.³⁹ Both mention the same three letters; JT/1/T/82, dated 22 May 1876 passed between Hector Tyndale and his Carlow cousin Emma Tyndall. Hector who had joined the US Cavalry just before the American Civil War, was by then a national hero living in Philadelphia. In the 1840s, both Emma and John had considered going to America, but he dissuaded them.

Letter JT/1/T/1483 is dated 23 January 1876 (the date on the transcript is 1870 but this is obviously an error), and in it John announced his engagement to Louisa Hamilton whom he married shortly afterwards. The first announcement had gone to Hirst just the day before. John tells his sister;

"I talked to her (Louisa's) father and I was pleased to find one of his first remarks to be that the care of you must remain sacred. Of course I would not do anything that could impair my power of maintaining you in comfort. Give my regards to Mrs. Tyndall and the girls."

Several questions arise from these lines. By 1876 both Tyndall parents were deceased, Emma was aged around 50, married to an RIC man and with her own children grown up. In these circumstances we can question whether Emma was in need of her brother's "maintenance," or if the concept had been just a nicety mentioned between the two gentlemen and picked up later by John with his usual *maladroit* manner. Since by then Emma's incident with the

police had already taken place, it became clear that Emma needed some supervision and that her daughters would undertake this, thus incurring in some expense. It is possible that William Hargrave had already died. With regard to "Mrs. Tyndall," if she was not their mother (deceased 1867), she must have been their uncle Caleb's wife Mary Anne, married around the year 1876 (see below). "The girls" could refer to Emma's or Caleb's daughters (see below, Caleb had three little daughters between 1876 and 1881) or other female relatives.

The third letter is JT/1/T/1484 and is dated 23 January 1865, addressed to his mother who would die shortly afterwards. This is a very tender letter which reflects a sensitive young man who is also full of faith.

In addition to those, there are two typed transcripts made by Louisa, not listed in the catalogues mentioned above. One is dated 23 October 1840,⁴⁰ addressed to Emma—then aged thirteen, if we go by the Census reckoning—by her brother John while he was in Youghal (Cork). It is an amusing letter where he tells her the reason why he could not write before, as he had to look after the other five younger—and wilder—men who lived in his house.

This included the son of Captain Wright, the Chief Constable at Leighlinbridge at the time. The other dates from 18 August⁴¹ and was written by Emma to her father in Carlow, and sent from Preston.

The substance of the letter can be seen from the following lines;

"The interest which you have taken in my sufferings binds me to you more than ever, and I believe when it is worn away it is the best turn that ever crossed me through life. It will show me human character in its true light and my mind tells me that it is all for the better and that the Lord will work everything together for my good. I thought he was to become a sober man – at least he told me so. It is a bad beginning he has made to be drunk ever since. They thought that they would never have him sober when him and I fell out and perhaps they might be sorry longer than I would. Certainly, Father, if

it is a thing can be done I would wish to have him out of the town, but I believe it will be done if it is a thing that can, as far as Mrs Steuart's interest goes which I believe is very great.

The meaning of this text is not easy to understand, perhaps because she wanted to be oblique, warning her father "to keep this in the most secret manner." We are given to understand—but this is less than clear—that she had gone to Preston to forget the unwanted attentions of some local man, but we prefer not to speculate.

We mentioned that Emma had married George Young, policeman, in 1841, so she was married a few months when she went to Preston. The letter suggests in Emma a wisdom beyond her years (in our reckoning she was about sixteen at the time). Eve and Creasey—apparently unaware of Emma's sufferings at the time—say about her trip to Preston that it was "a visit," but this would not exclude Emma seeking refuge from local gossip. It seems that John was in Preston from 1842 to November 1843. Emma, writing to her father from Preston on 22 August 1843⁴² tells him of her progress, and that she is living, not in the same place as John, but with a lady friend of his who looks after her very well. Her new husband is not mentioned, giving the impression that she was there by herself.

The above mentioned letter has an undated note attached to it which again refers to her past troubles. It is addressed to an unknown lady:

"Dear Madam

I think it high time for me to redeem my pledge which I made to you previous to my leaving Leighlin Bridge. Being removed from scenes which only remind me of the treachery of pretended friends, and having other objects to occupy my attention, I find myself recruiting rapidly. My mind enjoys comparative ease, and I trust that ere long the remembrance of past mortifications will cause me very little pain. This is a sweet place the suburbs of Preston are very beautiful, a lovely river flows beside the town. I have taken many pleasant walks along its grassy banks. Indeed I feel much happier than I anticipated. I cannot lay down my pen without tendering my best thanks for the kind interest you have taken in me,

and with feelings of genuine gratitude I now subscribe myself.”

For the moment, the nature of Emma’s troubles in the early 1840s in Slyguff, their connection with her going to Preston and with her marriage, remain unknown. But clearly it was a traumatic experience for her.

There is a long postal silence between John and Emma from 1843 to the mid 1870s, but when correspondence is resumed, it does not go to Carlow but to Gorey. In a letter to Emma dated 1875,⁴³ John says: “I hope all continues well at Gorey,” and in 1878⁴⁴; “Greetings to all my Gorey friends.” In March 1875,⁴⁵ commenting on the weather, he wrote; “I dare say it is not quite so bitter in Gorey.” It would appear from this evidence that at least from March 1875 to September 1878 Emma lived in Gorey, presumably because her husband’s R.I.C. unit had been detailed there.

The next batch of letters date from the late 1880s and early 1890s. Eve and Creasy’s biography of Tyndall mention a letter from him to Emma⁴⁶ written when John and Louisa had moved to a small hut in the moors in Hind Head while they awaited for the completion of their more definitive residence bearing that name, describing John’s pleasure in the location.

In brief, the correspondence reveals a very united family and a caring and religiously inclined son and brother. In this family, living in difficult times economically and politically, and being ostracised (boycotted) by the majority Catholic population, perhaps not without reasonable motive, what was exceptional was John’s successful efforts, and not so much the relative misfortunes of his father and sister. It is these that put Tyndall’s success in perspective. The letters and our findings here also confirm that John was a man of stable dispositions who could maintain steady personal relationships for decades; about 65 years had elapsed between the first and the last of the letters to Emma mentioned above. They beg the question of the circumstances in which John lost the youthful practice of his religious faith, and whether Emma kept hers in working order, and if she was influenced by her

brother’s very public development of his religious views. The answer to the first question is most probably his readings after 1842 and his student days at Marburg, and to the second, that she probably did, surrounded as she was in later life by Roman Catholics of the rural Irish variety—the Holmes household were all Catholic—which probably was something of a challenge for her.

Caleb Tyndall

It would appear that the severe conservatism of local Carlow Protestants in the second half of the nineteenth century had a particular expression in the choice of forenames for their children, making the same name recur many times through several generations, which makes genealogical studies a historian’s minefield.

The forename Caleb occurred at least three times in three successive generations of the Tyndalls of Carlow. The first Caleb Tyndall was a brother of John (sr) and William, who had been born in the 1790s, and so the three of them were paternal uncles of John and Emma. William was a member of the Tullow masonic lodge. According to local Bagenalstown tradition, when Caleb married a Catholic girl from this town a certain Miss Elizabeth Robinson, the marriage being witnessed by a Roman Catholic priest, the father shut him out of the family and even refused him entry to his dying mother. Caleb later crept up the lane while the funeral of his mother was taking place and took a photograph of this ceremony.⁴⁷ He had a son who was the second Caleb in our reckoning, who was 64 at the time of the Census of 1901, indicating his year of birth as 1837. His wife was Mary Anne, who was aged 58 at the time of the Census, thus having been born in 1843. Their eldest child was Dorothea Rebecca, who was 24 in 1901, suggesting that this second Caleb married probably around 1876 or 1877, at the age of 40, when Mary Anne was 34. We ought to notice that Caleb’s daughter Dorothea, or Dorah Tyndall should not be confused with Emma’s daughter, nee Dorah Young, or Dora Holmes after her marriage to John Holmes. Other children living in the house were Emily Mary (aged 21) and John William (aged 19). The second

daughter, Jane Elizabeth (b. 1878) was not in the⁴⁸. The family home was in Rathellen, Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow. They were all in farming, literate and Church of Ireland. By the Census of 1911 the family were not registered there. Caleb is the only Tyndall buried in Slyguff Cemetery, and there are no Hargraves there either.

Caleb Tyndall had a successor named Caleb Wycliffe Tyndall, his parents adding up Protestant significance to his name. He died in Carlow in 1947, leaving a number of belongings and documents from his scientific ancestor to his caretaker, a Mrs. Breen, currently in the possession of Mr John Foley, of Bagenalstown Co. Carlow.

Concluding remarks

Having explored the immediate Carlow-based family of John Tyndall, as well as the family’s local circumstances, we find to our regret that in spite of the 160 years passed since the events narrated here, local sensitivities appear to be still alive to some issues regarding the family, which should remain veiled. This is understandable because in trying to do local history, issues of land or religion which are very personal cannot be separated easily from genealogy or individual motivation, which are their academic counterpart.

Revealing the tribal roots of John Tyndall is necessary to understand the man who left such copious legacy of influential texts and correspondence with so many public characters of his time. Whether through their own industry, or some attenuated form of social privilege, the rural Irish Protestant tenantry would appear to have been less abject in their poverty than their Catholic counterparts, and John Tyndall clearly had that edge, which started with an unusually prolonged schooling to which he was very receptive. Already among his male friends in Carlow, or later in Kinsale and Preston, he showed a gift for leadership and great capacity for learning, even when his conditions were poor.

It would not be fair to compare John to Emma in their intellectual capacity or achievements. Even if she had similar opportunities in her education, and

equally sympathetic teachers, Emma appears to have been a differently endowed or a less lucky scholar; she did not persevere with her History,⁵⁰ or later with her⁵¹, but from an early time her life was more difficult, as was usually the case with women, and she found herself tied to the ground in a rural setting, married to a common man and with a child, possibly before the age of twenty, while John had the liberty of roaming about Europe unattached. When John suggested to her, while she was in Preston, to learn French, she was pregnant with her first daughter.

But there was much in common between them. Both siblings came from a home where religion was taken seriously, and both were deeply religious throughout their life. Their religion did not take the form of collective piety. Although both were keen to hear sermons, it was often to criticise the preacher.⁵² Their religion was based on a free, individualistic reading of the Bible, which John was able to quote in his old age. He followed the father's very action-oriented strand of Protestantism, which would make him a fiery apostle of his causes and a fighter for the rest of his life, an attitude that contrasted with the higher social manners of many of his later colleagues. Emma followed with wholehearted conviction the milder, more pious ways of the Quaker in her mother. Religious doctrine was for both a lifelong concern, and both were seekers of the truth along their own and separate paths.

Excessive emphasis on the contrast between the famous man of science and his sister who died alone and a pauper, if it is made with a view to taint John in the discharge of his family duties, would appear to us to be unfair as well. We have seen that he was assiduous in his generosity to Emma until his final days, sending her £60 from Hind Head in 1891.⁵³ The cheque appears to be unsolicited, and John mentions that it should reach her before 28 May, suggesting that this was a significant date for Emma. Besides, there were Emma's daughters and in-laws who were closer to her and had their duty of care for her. The views of Louisa on the matter would have to be considered as well, and after John's resignation from the Royal Institution and the completion of Hind

Head House, their (and after his death in 1893, her own) income was greatly diminished,⁵⁴ consisting largely of royalties for his publications, which dwindled rapidly.

Lastly, we could only speculate as to whether the knowledge of the very humble origins of her husband, and of Emma's alleged mental disturbance, featured among the factors that caused Louisa to delay the publication of her husband's never completed volume of "Life and Letters," especially since her own side of the family was among the bluest British aristocracy.

Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to the John Tyndall Correspondence Project, from the University of Toronto in Canada, for having made available transcripts of the John – Emma letters.

¹ We include here from Eve, A. S. and Creasey, C. H. (1945) *Life and work of John Tyndall*, MacMillan (London) to Brock, W. S., McMillan, N. D. and Mullen, J. (1979) *John Tyndall Natural Philosopher*, Royal Dublin Society, as well as penetrating partial studies such as Barton, R. (1987) *John Tyndall Pantheist: A re-reading of the Belfast Address. Osiris*, series 2 1987, 3: 111-134, and Barton, R. (1990) An influential set of chaps: The X Club and Royal Society politics (1865-1880). *British Journal for the History of Science* 23:1 53-81.

² McGing, D. and O'Riordan, E. (unpublished).

³ This mention occurs in the foreword of Hector Tyndale (1882). *A memoir of Hector Tyndale*, Philadelphia US, and probably originated from discussion between Hector and John Tyndall in 1872. A copy of this book can be found in the Library of Carlow County Council.

⁴ McMillan N., and Nevin, M. (1978/79) *John Tyndall (1820-1893)*. Carloviana 2:27, 22-27.

⁵ Brock, W. H. *John Tyndall (1820-1893) In Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP, 2004. Online ed., edited by Lawrence Goldman, October 2006. [\[cle/27948\]\(http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27948\) \(accessed September 19, 2013\).](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/arti-</p>
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⁶ Herlihy, J. (1994) *Index of Royal Irish Constabulary officers and men (1816-1922)*. Four Courts Press.

⁷ Eve and Creasey (1945) See Ref 1 above, p1.

⁸ Norton, D., (2006) *Landlords, Tenants, Famine*. University College Dublin Press, p223.

⁹ Purcell, M. (undated) County Carlow IGP Website - RootsWeb - Ancestry.com

¹⁰ Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland (2013) Personal communication.

¹¹ Norton, D. op. cit. p224.

¹² Dermot Mulligan, Curator, Carlow County Council Museum, College St, Carlow.

¹³ McMillan N., and Nevin, M. (1978/79). See Ref 4 above, pp22-24.

¹⁴ Letter of J. Tyndall to Mrs. Tyndall, Gorey, September 8, 1863. Part of Mrs. Tyndall's Collected Biographic Papers at the Royal Institution. Code a 15. Quoted in ref. 13 above.

¹⁵ We have consulted an online copy, available for free at <http://www.ask-aboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation/>

¹⁶ Friday, James R., McLeod, Roy M. and Shepherd, Philippa 1974. *John Tyndall, Natural Philosopher 1829-1893. Catalogue of correspondence, journals and collected papers*. Mansell (microfiche edition). henceforth FMS No.) A copy of this catalogue is available in Carlow County Council Library.

¹⁷ RI MS JT/1/TYP10/3215-16. This form of reference to the Royal Institution Manuscripts of John Tyndall, typed manuscripts, will henceforth be compressed just to the last number.

¹⁸ 3234 (see Ref. 17)

¹⁹ 3235 (see Ref. 17)

²⁰ 3245 (see Ref. 17)

²¹ 3254-55 (see Ref. 17)

²² 3292 (see Ref. 17)

²³ 3293 (see Ref. 17)

²⁴ 3297 (see Ref. 17)

²⁵ FMS No. 26 dated 10 August 1841.. (See Ref. 16)

²⁶ FMS No. 25 dated 3 August 1841. (See Ref. 16)

²⁷ Eve and Creasey (1945) See Ref. 1.

²⁸ Church of Ireland CW-CI-MA-1937 p6, entry 16. Web record; <http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/details/a22d870023639>

²⁹ Church of Ireland entry number 135 record identifier CW-CI-BU-5515. Web

ewcord <http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/details/f741060019064>

³⁰ Church of Ireland entry number 44 record identifier CW-CI-MA-2498. Web record; <http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/details/e8b55c0024200>

³¹ Herlihy, J. (1994) *The Royal Irish Constabulary. Lists of officers and men, 1816-1922*. Four Courts Press, p194.

³² Census for Ireland 1901. Available on the web.

³³ See volume for Deaths corresponding to 1904, quarter 3, p323 in the Registry of Irish Births, Marriages and Deaths, Irish Life Building, Dublin 1.

³⁴ Thom's Dublin Directory for 1904 evaluated the house at £25. It was owned by a Mr. Richard Ellidge. We think the house still stands, as a disused funeral parlour. Already in 1904 most of the street was developed as tenements.

³⁵ We have searched the records of

Mount Jerome and Glasnevin cemeteries, as well as all the Quaker burials in Counties Dublin and Carlow, and the local cemeteries attached to St. George's Church and The Temple, both visible from Hardwicke Street. We also scanned the death notices of The Irish Times, The Independent and the Journal. We conclude that Emma probably died as a pauper and was buried in a communal grave.

³⁶ Eve and Creasey (1945) See Ref. 1, p271

³⁷ See Carlow R.I.C. records, entry for the date mentioned.

³⁸ See Ref. 17

³⁹ See Ref. 16

⁴⁰ 3192 (See Ref. 17)

⁴¹ 3294/2 (See Ref. 17)

⁴² 3295 (See Ref. 17)

⁴³ 3318 (See Ref. 17) Dated Brieg 24 September 1878

⁴⁴ 3318 (See Ref. 17) Dated London November 1875

⁴⁵ 3317 (See Ref. 17)

⁴⁶ Eve and Creasey (1945) See Ref. 1, p228

⁴⁷ Purcell, M. (undated) County Carlow IGP Website - RootsWeb - Ancestry.com

⁴⁸ Census of Ireland for 1901 and Church of Ireland records as can be seen at [http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/search.jsp?diocese=CARLOW+\(COI\)&parish=WELLS&submit=Sea](http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/search.jsp?diocese=CARLOW+(COI)&parish=WELLS&submit=Sea)

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⁵⁰ 3192 (See Ref. 17)

⁵¹ 3295 (See Ref. 17)

⁵² FMS letter 29, dated Kinsale 2 September 1841.

⁵³ 3321 (See Ref. 17)

⁵⁴ 3321 (See Ref. 17)



Where are they now?

The railings and gates that once formed the road boundary of the Carlow Poor Law Union Workhouse on the Kilkenny Road on the site now occupied by the Vocational School.

The site was cleared for the construction of the school in the 1960s.

Photo: Courtesy of Joe Rattigan

