

# THE JOURNAL OF THE

# Federation of Local History Societies

Vol. 25, 2020

FEDERATION OF LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETIES

Conascaö na 5Cumann Staire Áiciúla

LARRY BREEN, HON. EDITOR

## LOCAL HISTORY JOURNAL 2020

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# Federation of Local History Societies

#### WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT DOES

## HISTORY

The Federation of Local History Societies was established in 1981 to promote the interests of amateur historians and voluntary museums and to represent their views. In the intervening years the number of affiliated societies has grown significantly.

#### Aims

The aims of the Federation are:

- 1. To encourage research in the fields of history, archaeology, folk-life and folklore.
- 2. To exchange information among affiliated societies through the medium of newsletters, publications, seminars, etc.
- 3. To develop mutual support among affiliated societies.
- 4. To encourage the publication of information of historical interest and the better utilisation of Archives.

## MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the Federation is open to all Local History societies, Archaeological societies, Field Groups, Folklore and Folk-life societies, Family or Genealogical Societies and local museums. Other similar organisations which don't come within these categories can be linked with the Federation through Associated Membership.

# How the Federation Operates

The Federation has a voluntary secretariat by which societies can help one another and combine to achieve results which could not be achieved by individual effort.

The member societies come together twice yearly at different venues around the country.

The Annual General Meeting and Seminars, Lectures and Workshops provide an exciting exchange of ideas from all over the country.

The Federation's Journal is a source of information on the activities of the member societies and its contents indicate the widespread and growing interest in local history, which highlights the need for such an organisation as the Federation.

## Individuals

When you join your local history group you are joining a lively group of enthusiastic people who share a common interest in local history, archaeology, folklore. You do not need to have any particular qualification or a high level of knowledge of the subjects outlined, but as a member, you will learn much about your heritage, in a most enjoyable way, by having access to the lectures and slide shows organised during the autumn, winter and spring.

Membership Application/Renewal Form is available for download on the Federation website:

WWW.LOCALHISTORY.IE

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# Editorial

The past year was certainly one not to be forgotten as it heralded the coming of the Covid-19 pandemic. This has caused havoc, not only in Ireland, but all around the world. Many people were vulnerable and many people lost their lives.

However it is often in times of trouble that the power of the human spirit manifests itself and this was no more evident than in the heroic response of the front line health workers, their support workers, emergency services and all those involved in looking after the sick. I think we can all be proud of their efforts and sacrifices as many lost their lives in the fight against the pandemic.

On behalf of the Federation I would like to express our sincere thanks to all those who worked so hard to help the sick and to extend our condolences to all those who lost loved ones.

For obvious reasons it has been a very quiet year on the history front for the Federation and all our member societies. Some societies were fortunate to be able and capable of using the internet and Zoom to communicate and make some presentations. However, for the majority of societies this was not a practical option.

Our executive committee were able to communicate through the use of Zoom and this proved both useful and successful in keeping us all in touch.

Before the lockdown we did manage a few federation related activities.

We travelled to Tralee, met the representatives of the Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society and organised the AGM which unfortunately we later had to cancel. We would like to thank the Kerry Archaeological Society for their very warm welcome and help in organising the programme.

Representatives travelled to Belfast to attend a most interesting lecture organised by the West Belfast Historical Society, delivered by Dr Eamonn Phoenix. It reviewed hitherto unreleased papers of social and political stories of the time.

I had the pleasure to visit a new Society, Bournea Reaching Out Historical Society, located in Tipperary and outlined the work and objectives of the federation.

We did manage one joint North/South committee meeting and plan to continue with sharing our common love of local history with our friends in the Ulster Federation

Undaunted, and in the absence of normal activities, we decided to look back into our archives and share a "Trip Down Memory Lane" by reeling back the years on visits we had made over the past ten or more years and sharing these memories with our members. This was achieved by weekly circulars to members and we were pleasently surprised and reminded how much the federation had managed to do over those years. Visits to Europe, the UK and on the island of Ireland were recalled with many fond memories and we had a very positive feedback from members.

For the future, next year we plan to revisit the UK trip to South East England, organise our AGM and seminars and hopefully return to some sort of normality, please God.

We extend a warm welcome to our new members and thank existing members for their continued support, thanks also to the executive committee for their help and support during the year.

Thanks to all those who contributed articles for the journal and special thanks to the production team, JJ Woods, Brendan Cullen and Larry Breen for their hard work and dedication.

We would ask our members to note that due to the absence of normal activities during the Covid-19 restrictions we were short of suitable illustrations for our colour section in the journal. Consequently we decided to look back into our archives and take our readers on a trip down memory lane with illustrations from our photographic library. We hope you enjoy the journey.

Mile buíochas diabh agus bain taitneamh as do chuid stair áitiúil.

LARRY BREEN, HON. EDITOR

# Sir Francis Bond Head's Fortnight in Ireland (1852)

BY DENIS G. MARNANE

#### Introduction

Sir Francis Bond Head was well named. Living to the age of eighty-two, as his photograph attests, he was very proud of his fine head of hair, which when he was younger was manifested in curly splendour. His family background with a Spanish-Jewish strain was a deal more exotic than his Home Counties



Sir Francis Bond Head

upbringing. His early career was in the army in the Royal Engineers, then as an administrator of the Poor Law in England. His big career opportunity came in 1835 when he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. However he presided over a rebellion by some settler interests and was replaced in 1838. Thereafter he travelled a lot, especially in South America where he earned the nickname 'Galloping Head' - not a restful man. He wrote a good deal and in 1852 arrived in Ireland for a very brief visit, to more or less sort the place out. His book was published that same year. Never slow to put ink to paper and in John Murray an agreeable publisher, that same year his wonderfully titled A Faggot of French Sticks, or Paris in 1851 appeared in book shops. In comparison A Fortnight in Ireland sounds very

It was Head's first time in Ireland. In a preface he explained his procedure. He spent a few days

in Dublin, then just five days actually travelling, not around the country like many travellers, but with a specific itinerary in the West of Ireland. He read reports. He met some people. He made notes. Back home in Northamptonshire he shut himself away with his thoughts and his notes and in a month or so produced his manuscript ready for sale in all good bookshops for Christmas 1852.

#### **DUBLIN**

Head arrived at Holyhead on the evening of Wednesday 11 August 1852 and contrary to reasonable seasonal expectations, there was a storm but after a late sailing, the rigors of which the author passed over silently, he arrived at his hotel just after midnight. In Dublin this first time visitor to Ireland stayed at Morrison's Hotel (at the corner of Dawson and Nassau Street and later in the century famously patronised by Parnell) and the following morning as he set off to explore the city, he was immediately importuned by an urchin who attached himself in pursuit of what he called a 'jarb' (job). Hired, not least in the hope of keeping others away, Head on horseback, his attendant on foot, the exploration began. Described as 'a plain, useful, brick city, with magnificent public buildings and here and there across its river fine bridges of

iron and stone'. Head was impressed by the amount of public spaces in Dublin, commenting that while the city might lack for trade and unity of sentiment, it would never be short of fresh air.

The perception today about taxi-drivers' conversation ticking predictable boxes obviously reaches back a long way and is a kind of universal stereotype. In Dublin, Head engaged a car, one of 1,500 that he claimed were for hire in the capital and immediately the driver enfolded him in a blanket of guff and gossip – opinions about events and facts about the passing sights, neither the facts nor the opinions having much to do with reality. For example Dublin took its name from 'Double-Inn, two houses stuck into one'. There were others, perhaps the best when they were crossing King's Bridge and he pointed to the inscription referencing George IV, inscribed as G IV R and explained it meant 'giver' because the crown gave the bridge. Apart from the cabbie having a wealth of opinions he was always pleased to share, there was a specific Irish stereotype that Sir Francis was happy to exploit, the Irish local as comic relief and with an effort to convey something of the accent. Describing the Royal Hospital and its purpose: 'It's for auld pinshiners, the same as Chalsea'. Oddly, when in the West of Ireland Head appeared to have no encounters with the Irish language.

On Sunday afternoon, a few days into his visit, Head was sitting comfortably at a window in a club on the north side of Stephen's Green enjoying the commotion as people returned from their visit to the famous Donnybrook held for centuries every year in August but now closer to its expiration date (1868),defeated



Donnybrook Fair

by Victorian values as demonstrated by the catholic church. Cab drivers are described going back and forth on fair days as many as twenty-five times in a day, work that engaged every public car in the city bringing people the mile and half to the Fair. As this writer described it, watching humanity in all its variety returning from their fun at Donnybrook was a spectator sport in which thousands participated. Head, a seasoned writer was well able to paint a scene with words; to sketch an atmosphere with pertinent details.

There were ladies with parasols and long, large, fashionable windy gowns – gentlemen in wide-awake hats – young tradesmen wearing flashy waistcoats and smart neckcloths – infants with their dear little eyes staring and almost starting out of their heads – children with bare legs, like wooden ones, sticking out – men with pipes in their mouths – babies suckling – I mean sucking – a little girl blowing a penny trumpet – a little boy trying, with a twopenny whip, to flog a grey horse sixteen hands high – all going to or coming from Donnybrook Fair.

When Sir Francis was being driven about the city on his tour on Saturday 14 August one of the buildings pointed out as of interest was Tyrone House in Marlborough Street, from where the national education system was administered. (The building is still part of the Dept. of Education.) Given Head's self-appointed mission to set Ireland to rights, education was of obvious interest. As he was in Ireland, the matter he had first to address was religion and the imperative need for every denomination to control what their adherents learned. He noted how the original government hopes about inclusivity had given way to this imperative. On the site was a model school and as ever with his passion for figures, the reader is told that in 1850 there were 1,400 children attending this school, each paying one penny a week.

Sir Francis was a man used to dealing with those in charge and met the Resident Commissioner who gave him a tour of Tyrone House and bringing him to the board room explained all about the system, then in existence some two decades. Next he was given a tour of the schools on the site and the methods of training teachers and he described the daunting scene of a lesson in spellings being conducted with a class of 180 girls. Control and instruction was by means of an elaborate system of monitors. Later, he was asked if he would like to hear the girls sing and he was entertained/edified with a rendition of *God Save the Queen*. For all his intelligence and enthusiasm for facts, Head may have not quite got the point that in this choral exuberance was represented the whole point of the national school system – to better assimilate Ireland within the United Kingdom. When and if those in charge of the system read Head's account, they must have been pleased and other than regret the confessional constraints on the system, his account was wholly laudatory.

Many visitors to Ireland in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries were attracted by its wild places, storied ruins and romantic history, not Sir Francis who had something of one of Dickens's characters about him: Mr Gradgrind in Hard Times (published two years after Head's book) for whom facts mattered. When it came to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, Sir Francis liked his facts and gave his readers plenty of them. A force of 1,099. A constable third class was paid eleven shillings and sixpence a week. A candidate for admission had to be five feet nine inches, shoeless. There were sixteen police stations. And so on. And a detail that if true indicates the degree of control exercised over the lives of these men, the fact that a Dublin policeman was not allowed to marry unless he had saved at least £40 - 'the first thing therefore that Cupid has to teach a Dublin policeman is to put by a sixpence and repeat the operation sixteen hundred times and then apply for his licence'. A reminder of our misleading tendency because of black and white illustrations of thinking that this was a world of subdued hues, which it was not, a Dublin policeman wore a blue coat with silver buttons, blue trousers, black leather belt and white gloves.

According to Head, religion and politics were of no consequence within the force and he could only voice his regret that the entire country did not follow suit. This was a theme he played again and again in the course of this book. In a throwaway remark the author mentions that in a storage room in police HQ in Dublin Castle he found the tricolour given in Paris in 1848 to Thomas Francis Meagher and an iconic piece of cloth in relation to the history of Irish republicanism. Not that Head noticed but this was a nice counterpoint to the choral work in Marlborough Street. G. A. Hayes-McCoy in his definitive work

on Irish flags mentioned that this was the last sighting of this insurrectionary relic.

#### MAYNOOTH

Unsurprisingly, there was a public car stand outside his hotel and he no sooner exited the next day of his stay (a Sunday) than he was inundated with offers of passage. As demonstrated, the primary interest of Sir Francis Bond Head in his few days touring around Dublin was institutional. In that context it was unlikely he would refrain from examining perhaps the most influential institution of all in the lives of people, the Roman Catholic church. After the usual banter, the cabbie deposited his fare at the GS&W railway station from where he was to catch his train to Maynooth. Arriving at the station too early (or perhaps the train was late - it happens) he took a stroll and soon came to a canal basin where small boys were diving for money. Being importuned to cast in a penny, he was astonished when an urchin of about eight dived in and emerged with the coin in his mouth. This is followed by an account more like Naples than Dublin of encouragement by others of an older boy to make a much more dramatic dive for a sixpence. Head proffered the money but departed the scene not at all sure he had not encouraged the boy to kill himself. Back at the station he caught his train, a glory to behold, dark rich blue carriages, the first class carriages 'handsomely lined with blue cloth'.

As expected, his cabbie in the short distance from the station to Maynooth 'village' was a fountain of eagerly flowing information. This writer's description echoes that of many others, that visitors were constantly surrounded/harassed by indigent locals offering services. Irish readers should never again be sniffy about their experiences in some hot countries with more people than jobs where the same practices are common. Such importuning may be how your ancestors survived so that you might be born. Like any good intelligent Protestant, Sir Francis is both fascinated and appalled by Roman Catholicism, in this instance the Irish variety and steeled himself to venture into the maw of the monster. From the outside he thought the college looked like a cross between an old fashioned English country house (and thus comforting) and a French chateau (not so much).

Typical of Head, when in Dublin he had called twice at the residence of the RC archbishop for a letter of introduction to ease his way into Maynooth. On both occasions the archbishop was 'from home'. Of interest is his reference to the archbishop being Dr Paul Cullen, who however he designates as archbishop of Armagh. Cullen was transferred to Dublin from Armagh on 1 May of that year and was even more suspicious of Protestants than his episcopal colleagues. No wonder he was not at home! Given the kind of book Sir Francis was going to write, nothing Cullen might say would make any difference. For all his protestations (apt word), on his central arguments Head had his mind made up before he set foot in Ireland.

Whatever about Cullen being disobliging, Sir Francis was not going to be stopped and, as noted, descended on Maynooth anyway. Up he marched to the front door and presenting his card asked to see the president. He was away and so his deputy would have to do. Asked to wait, one can only wonder at the visual impact of the designated parlour: a scarlet and black carpet, scarlet curtains edged with yellow lace and underneath white muslin curtains

and a scarlet and black table cloth. His role in Canada meant that Head was taken seriously and he made clear the investigative nature of the enterprise by showing the notes taken the previous day at Marlborough Street. The vice-president probably had little choice but to conduct the tour himself and after filling in the historic background, not least the parliamentary grant of around £8,000 p.a., he explained that the eighty acres site had three sets of buildings, one with 390 senior students and another with 130 juniors.

As always in these travellers' accounts there are encounters with the unexpected. In this instance an alcove with a statue of George III and beside it shelves with bibles in all languages, except as Head pointed out, the Irish language! In case you were wondering, the college on average consumed a bullock and sixty sheep per week. Students had breakfast at nine which was bread and butter, tea or cocoa; then dinner at three and finally supper, bread and cocoa at eight o'clock. As expected Head's account is full of facts and figures gleaned from his tour of around three hours.

Invited to remain for dinner, Head was very happy to agree and had an interval wandering about the complex on his own. The dinner menu was generous: 'a large joint of mutton, a great dish full of fowls, ham and vegetables of various sorts. We had then one immense fruit pie, with cheese, butter and a slight desert. (What was the fruit pie?) The wine consisted of super-excellent port and sherry and as soon as the cloth was removed, a large jug of hot water, a couple of small decanters of whiskey, a bowl of white sugar and a tray of tumblers, were placed on the table.'

In the conversation Head had a chance to give an airing to that old Protestant notion that Catholics do not value the bible. He was told that on entering the college each student was given a copy and that in fact Roman Catholics 'admitted' more books of the bible than Protestants. (According to the modern God of All Knowledge, these are seven books of the Old Testament accepted by Catholics and Orthodox churches but not by Protestant denominations.) This led Head to wonder, rather than actually speak about the controversy about bible use in national schools, thinking that from an R C perspective nothing would be omitted from an authorised text, rather missing the point that it was all in the translation. Dinner finished and his goodbyes uttered, Sir Francis departed, none too taken with the village of Maynooth, at which point he introduced that necessary trope in any travellers' account of Ireland, the pig in the parlour. Head described a 'wrinkled old woman with a long stick in her hand, driving an enormous fat sow' into her (the woman's not the sow's) home.

## HEADING WEST

While in Dublin, Head was told that he 'must' visit Cork, Killarney, Belfast - no shortage of suggestions. His response was to ask the location of the greatest amount of poverty and misery. 'Mayo and Galway' he was told and off he went. Bearing in mind that Ireland was part of the United Kingdom, Head, an experienced traveller did as he would do in a very foreign country, he went to the police headquarters at Phoenix Park and no doubt to some bemusement, procured what he called a 'firman', which if you were travelling in Albania would be a written instruction from someone in central government that minions in the provinces were to be helpful.

But then that was the point about travelling in Ireland, it was different and

not in a good way. Boarding his train at Broadstone and travelling first class, Head had a carriage to himself and noted the fertility of the fields but also a landscape almost devoid of people. Mullingar station was 'exceedingly clean' which pleasing reality prompted reflection on railways as bringers of 'habits of order, discipline and cleanliness'. Athlone station was busy with 'clean well-dressed people'. We learn that the railway porters were 'dressed in blue, with yellow worsted lace' and the station master wore a 'blue embroidered collar', which reinforces the point made earlier about the past being in technicolour rather than sepia. This station, built by the Midland Great Western Railway, opened just a year before Head's visit.

At this point Head continued his journey by coach and one can only admire the tart answer to his question to an old woman 'Is this the road to Tuam?' "It will be when you get there.' The 'public car' he engaged was drawn by three horses with passengers sitting back to back facing the ditch. Head does not say but this was probably one of Bianconi's cars. Head did not like the lay-out of the car and against protocol climbed up beside the driver, refusing as he said to take 'a one-sided view of the country'. Head's new best friend, like his Dublin confréres was only too pleased to expose and examine the entrails of the country. What was wrong and how it could be fixed. His personal story was part of his narrative. 1'd a beautiful girl and I buried her. Praise be to God.' There was a perception that Irish females were especially virtuous and the driver agreed, explaining that In this country a young woman has nothing to live on but her character, if you take that from her, ut's be the cause of murder.' What is meant by this is not unlike today's notion of an 'honour-killing' in certain societies. Throughout his few days in Ireland, Head rather goes on about this female virtue.

By now they were on the outskirts of Ballinasloe and as a misery tourist Head was beginning to get his money's worth. Lots of unroofed cabins, signs of Famine Clearances. Head knew about the Famine and of interest is the difference he saw in children with no memory of the experience and their parents with the emotional scars all too evident. Always in these travellers' accounts, it is the little details that enthral and intrigue. By the side of roads were 'enormous' heaps of what he called 'road-metal', broken stones left from Famine relief works when some labour had to be given in return for the possibility of staying alive. Tuam was a town of mixed messages: some fine buildings but with 'several wretched streets and very much poverty'. There, as everywhere else, the arrival of a coach was to signal the descent of the beggars, young and old. In describing this Head uses an extraordinarily apt image: 'men and boys through whose clothes little bits of skin were here and there peeping like the white meal of over-boiled potatoes'.

At Hollymount in County Mayo, having just about become used to his passage, he had to change for Ballinrobe. While waiting for his next 'public car' he went to the police station where on presenting his 'firman' the head constable was officiously civil and gave him a tour of the barracks. In the bedroom, five beds with straw mattresses with sheets and blankets 'wrapped in a reddish counterpane'. As the author made clear in his brief preface his trip to Ireland was to obtain the facts much more than view the scenery. And the organisation of his book reflected this. A narrative account of his few days touring and separate sections on such topics as policing and education. But like any good

English Protestant his particular focus was on the inequalities and iniquities of the Roman Catholic priesthood. As mentioned above, in Head's case, having come to Ireland to find out what was wrong – that was the answer. Regarding the constabulary his book has one map, a detailed showing of the constabulary stations which prompted the question: 'why so ubiquitous a force is necessary?' This was a force of 12,500 men scattered about the island in 1,590 police stations which was an average of forty eight stations per county and eight policemen in each station. A good deal fewer than today on the island. Not that it seems so because of a very different philosophy and pattern of deployment. (Note: the Irish Constabulary did not get the designation 'Royal' until 1867.)

Head was especially taken by the fact that Catholic (62%) and Protestant (38%) apparently worked together amicably. What he does not discuss is how the police was a colonial force with the natives brought in under controlled conditions, in order to subdue the natives, while making sure that each officer was 'one of us'. The writer approvingly provides details about the carrot and stick means of controlling the force and, having done his homework, Head obtained a copy of the *Standing Rules and Regulations* and tells us that there were an astonishing 558 rules and regulations guiding every aspect of a policeman's life, including

when he could scratch himself (that's made up but the policeman's legitimate sexual activity was controlled by regulations about marriage).

Remember that Head was on a factfinding mission and so he readily absorbed all that his host poured on him. Because of the evictions there was high emigration which continued and yet for drainage of the River Robe and for the harvest, labour was so scarce that men had to be 'imported' from Galway. At Ballinrobe he found well cultivated land and properly squared fields, all due to Lord Lucan. Given His Lordship's dire record during the Famine and his disastrous role during the Crimean War, praise for him was a rare commodity. In fact in keeping with Head's propensity to grasp facts



George Bingham, 3rd Earl of Lucan

that suit – in this case that landlords are not the problem – we later learn that Lucan employed former tenants as labourers, paying above the going rate and that these fortunate employees were vocal in proclaiming their good fortune. The  $D\ I\ B$  article on Lord Lucan states that, in the parish of Ballinrobe, he demolished 300 cabins and evicted 2,000 people. He then consolidated the holdings and leased them to wealthy 'ranchers'.

In part because of Head's previous work with the Poor Law in England, he was very interested in the town's workhouse, which we are told in January of that year (1852) had 1,670 inmates. Now it was 995 and falling. One can imagine this English baronet using his accent and innate authority to overawe the local workhouse officials and so casting rule and regulation aside he got

his tour. There were 194 boys under fifteen years of age who had just gone to bed but Head insisted on seeing every part of the house, leaving us with the disconcerting disconnect between his perception and the reality behind his words.

The boys had just gone to bed but, as I felt anxious to see all, I walked through several large rooms full of them. On the words "Sit up!", they all, two in a bed, as if from their graves, obeyed the order; and though often bordering on a state of nudity, they certainly appeared – as Irish boys always are – cheerful and sometimes even merry. As fast as I passed them they reclined backwards to lay their heads on their straw pillows.

Throughout his Tour, Head kept finding Irish people were happy in their misery and poverty, like some kind of innate characteristic, like cats with their independence or ducks with their waddle. Walking about Ballinrobe, Head considered it entirely reasonable that he should walk into a private house and take a look. Within the smoky interior was a young woman feeding a child and seemed not at all surprised by this intrusion. Keeping her company was a pig and for good measure, a donkey. The point of this stygian picture is the contrast that the writer draws between it and the bright modernity of the local police station.

## Day Two

The first day of his tour outside Dublin over, Sir Francis spent that night in a local inn (Monahan's Inn, in case you were wondering). Two shillings and sixpence for bed and breakfast (actually the bed was a shilling, breakfast accounted for the remainder). No pigs, just a 'nice little room'. The following morning was wet and the visitor spent some time looking at a group of men and boys loitering outside his lodgings. He commented at length on something other travel writers also noted but more usually in earlier accounts. This was the fact that many males young and old and in between, were not so much dressed in rags but that the variety of cloths that preserved decency had long since moved on from the condition of rags. Of course, 1852 was still very close to the Famine and through the '50s and after, with increased prosperity. Material conditions improved. Head did note that this condition of things was more usual in Kerry, Mayo and Galway.

Head hired a public car to take him the fourteen (today eighteen) miles to Castlebar for sixpence a mile. This meant a change in his original plan but having heard about the doings Lord Lucan he determined to meet the man and hear his account. As always his driver had a lot to say, including a great truth about the Famine: with less pressure on resources, bigger farms were possible. In other words, the ancestors of many people today in Ireland fattened on the dead and the departed. Everywhere Head went in the West of Ireland he was 'astonished' at the number of unroofed houses he saw. Arriving at Castlebar, Head was intrigued by the Revenue Police, a force new to him. He visited the workhouse with its 595 inmates, victims of clearances and as before the institution was presented as a model of official beneficence. Lucan lived in a house called 'The Lawn' and, as in Maynooth, Head knocked at the door, presented his card and asked to see His Lordship. (Castlebar House was burned in 1798 and 'The Lawn' was a lodge and later the agent's house.) Lucan, no doubt fed up of all the bad publicity arising from the rationalisation of his estate (as he saw the matter) was

pleased to humour his peremptory and uninvited visitor, knowing he would get an indulgent hearing. Lucan's agent and the key person on the estate was Scottish and the picture painted was that all the changes made, the huge clearance,



"The Lawn", Castlebar

the mass destruction of homes, was all for the good.

Head's hired car took him to Westport, along a quiet and wet road. Seeing a cabin, Head stopped his conveyance and as previously, without invitation or hesitation, barged in to somebody's home, as awful as it was. The usual scene: smoky peat fire; a woman with a child; a 'withered grandmother; bare-footed children'. This time no livestock. Sorry, attention distracted by 'four wet fowl', through the gloom there was an ass standing on a dungheap. The writer adds little to the scene other than the information from the woman that her husband was in England. However, remember that Sir Francis was a misery tourist and like a guide through a stately home telling visitors that the next room is even more splendid, this writer warns his reader that, if you think this is bad, wait until what I have for you next.

About a mile along the road and still on Lucan's property, 'a small village of unroofed cabins' but with smoke rising, evidence that while they may have been evicted, 'dreadful to say, they were still there!' Head entered some of these habitations and was greeted with no hostility, a point he makes, including the fact that he was on his own and obviously had money but felt absolutely safe. But as he makes very clear in this book, responsibility for all this misery lay not with the people or the economic system or the government. Blame emanated from Rome through Maynooth. Certainly not from London through Dublin. At this point in his narrative Sir Francis, with his experience of the world, sees events in Ireland as Providential and in a point we might not like to go along with (openly) argues that this was to the benefit of the Irish, prompting them to flood across the Atlantic and elsewhere and prosper.

Westport where he spent the second night of his provincial tour, at the Royal Hotel, Head inexplicably described as a 'sea-bathing town'. Because the town was 'overflowing' with English tourists, Head had difficulty getting single accommodation. As demonstrated by now, Sir Francis was used to having his way. After dinner he made his way to the police station and was told that men had been on duty the previous day at evictions on Clare Island. The head constable, in the town for five years, had been at many evictions and reassured his visitor that people offered no resistance. He admitted that 'considering their sufferings' he was sometimes surprised at this submissiveness. Head was reassured that there was no crime and no disputes over religion. On this matter Head knew that there were Evangelical campaigns in the West of Ireland to win Roman Catholics to the Truth and he was anxious to meet people involved in

this campaign which, in popular tradition, is now associated with soup. The Irish Church Missions, established by the Rev. Alexander Dallas, and with funding from British Evangelicals was, by the time of Head's visit, showing some real success, providing food and education to an eager population, but with bible based strings, lots of them. In part, the much vaunted long, long, long serving Archbishop MacHale was to blame for blocking the state national system within his region, refusing to acknowledge that in practice it was a denominational system. Long after Sir Francis had departed this conflict between neglect on one side and opportunism on the other, continued.

For Head of course, there was nothing odd or off about people turning towards Protestantism at a time of existential crisis and his attention centred not on the means used to turn these people from Catholicism but on the means used by priests and nuns (Sisters of Mercy) to win them back. For Head, to abandon Catholicism was to embrace modernity and civilization. A Westport shoemaker, lately turned Protestant, was offered two shillings a week by the nuns if he turned back. He refused.

## DAY THREE

On the third day of his tour, Head arose at six o'clock and to his mild surprise, it was not raining. Again one of those fascinating little details, his bag of halfpence depleted, he went to a nearby pub to get change. Westport did not detain him and, setting off early through rough countryside, one detail that engaged his attention (and ours) was the thatched roofs of cabins. At intervals of about a foot they were covered with straw ropes and at the end of each hung a stone weighing about twenty lbs. On asking, he was told it was to hold on to the roof

during the winds of winter. Along the road he happened to meet the Rev. Weldon Ashe, Archdeacon of Killala, married to a niece of the bishop Tuam, member of the Plunkett family, substantial landowners in the region. The Rev. Ashe was very much at the centre of the push for converts and in contrast to all the ruined homes that



Church of St John the Baptist, Church Missionary Society, Aasleagh

Head passed was the new protestant church being built 'with Gothic windows' near Ashley (Aasleagh) Lodge at the head of Killary Harbour (still there as the Church of St John the Baptist).

Continuing on his journey it is difficult not to think that Sir Francis Bond Head in his behaviour towards the natives, fellow United Kingdom subjects of Her Majesty, was no different than if he was in some African colony. With the height of Mweelrea dominating the landscape, on coming across a boy of about twelve on the road, Head stopped to interrogate him. Like all the natives encountered by this writer, the boy is bright and alert and had, according to Head, 'a pair of laughing eyes'. His father died in prison for poaching. The fact that the boy had never worn shoes fascinated the traveller and so he examined one of the boy's feet 'Excepting the heel and ball which felt hard and springy, like India-rubber, the rest of his little foot was apparently almost as soft as if he had lived in shoes on a Brussels carpet'. One might wonder what the boy made of the experience, the fancy gentleman pawing his foot.

One of the outside speculators to take advantage of land values in freefall was Thomas Eastwood from Liverpool, who leased around a thousand acres for a pittance, and built a house at Addergoole. Like most travellers to Ireland, even ones like Head who had a serious purpose, the picturesque, actual or added to, is never to be resisted. With reference to Eastwood's farm – 'we found fields of oats and close to the road a herd of thirty cows and a magnificent bull, all busily grazing.' So far, so pastoral. Then this – 'In the midst of them, intently knitting, there sat on the ground, in a madder-red petticoat and chequered shawl, Maureen O'Hara.' Actually not, but it could have been – 'a fine looking Connemara girl of about eighteen'. ('madder' is a red dye.)

By now our traveller is in Letterfrack and as it is 1852 he mentions but does not meet the English Quaker James Ellis who, during the Famine, was moved to do something practical and, as Head mentioned, opened a school and indeed much more. As ever, Head goes to the police station for local information. He never sees the paradox of his invariable breakdown of confessional identity, so many Catholic and so many Protestant policemen, while at the same time he keeps insisting that in the police force, religious identity did not matter. The writer's entire perspective can be summed up, once on his way again, he wrote: 'After trotting by six unroofed cabins, victims to the progress of the civilization that was striding around them....' Perhaps the inhabitants of those homes would think their sacrifice more than compensated by the progress of the Irish Church Mission!

That night, the third of his tour, Sir Francis spent in Clifden and he no sooner arrived, after six o'clock, than he was off to inspect the local workhouse. By this stage in his company, one longs for someone to tell Sir Francis to 'F\*\*k Off with himself and his notebooks back to England. He writes: 'as I only wanted to see its inmates, I requested the master to assemble them at once, in their respective yards....' There were 764 of them. As elsewhere, he noted that the children, under fifteen, were stunted in growth. Previously he mentioned the influx of British settlers in the West of Ireland, not all of whom arrived motivated by missionary zeal. Some were eager to take advantage of land for sale cheaply. At this point in his narrative, Head mentions the Encumbered Estates Court, set up in 1849 to facilitate the sale of debt-ridden Irish estates. It was quite the fashion to argue that the inflow of outside investment would be a boost to the region. Sir Francis subscribed to this notion and quotes the statistics over £7m worth of Irish land sold and so on. Much of the land through which Head was passing, including what had been the Martin estate, was purchased by the London Law Life Assurance Company. With nearly 200,000 acres, the man on the spot was Thomas Robinson from Scotland, mentioned by Head but not interrogated by him. Just like the Famine itself, all this was Providential, necessary shocks to modernise Ireland. It was 9.30 that night when the

indefatigable Sir Francis got round to visiting the police station and heard good news about two new protestant churches.

## Day Four

It what seems to the reader the fourth week of an exhausting tour, was in fact just the fourth day of our visitor's provincial tour. That morning, at seven o'clock, we are off again. A new driver and a new horse, called 'Ballinasloe' because purchased there. (For £11.) Head writes about it's more deserted landscapes with lots of lakes and some unroofed cabins. With so much water about, Head has a deal to say about drainage. Moving quickly on. His driver was enthusiastic about the new landlords and their modern techniques of drainage and tillage, not to mention (of more direct interest to the driver) increased tourism. In fact they passed some English tourists on the road. In Ireland for the fishing - don't you know. Along the way, the driver in his role as guide pointed out 'auld Dick Martin's' place. Richard Martin who died in 1834 was famous as an animal welfare campaigner. Amid this seemingly empty countryside, Head's heart must have leaped. Another constabulary station to visit. Spick and span as always. 'One constable (a Protestant) and four sub-constables (Catholics).' In case dear Reader, you were wondering! A valuable outpost of civilization. However he was taken aback when told that constables were not allowed to fish. While not expressing the matter thus, Head understood that this was part of the relentless discipline whereby, in best colonial practice, some of the natives were fashioned to control the rest.

Eventually Head arrived at Oughterard. While his transport was being refreshed, guess where Sir Francis headed? At the police station the story was as before. Lots of policemen but little crime. Several months previously evictions had been ordered by the London Company but there was no trouble. Evidence of this horror was available for him to see and count at the workhouse. On 1 January last, 972 inmates but on 29 June, a few weeks previously, 1,475 inmates. Head could only purr with satisfaction at the extent to which each of the 1,590 constabulary barracks was 'a moral example of cleanliness, order and obedience to the people among whom they were located'. There was more purring as Head was shown, yet another, school and/or church, their proliferation throughout the West clear evidence of God's work. As Head approached Galway city and the end of his tour, passing a convent allowed a remark, in the best traditions of Gothic fiction, that the sisters were incarcerated as part of a conspiracy between the institutional church and their parents. Entering Galway, our writer characterised the countryside through which he had travelled as 'little miserable fields, low tottering walls and here and there unroofed cabins'.

#### DAY FIVE

His fifth and last day was spent in Galway and he makes a series of obvious observations: its trade, the Spanish link; the new college; the public buildings; the Claddagh and lots of local colour and more words about feet and their unshod aspect. One might think Sir Francis had an unusual interest in feet. And then we learn about dogs in Galway which customarily had 'logs' fastened to their necks to slow them down. Who knew? His final query and observation related to the becoming modesty of the Irish female, superior even to that of her English sister. From a constable in Galway, there for nine years, he received the assurance that there were no children born out of wedlock. This extraordinary

phenomenon was confirmed by others in the force. Head was not long enough in Galway to test this phenomenon for himself. Tireless in pursuit of FACTS, he hired a boat to take him to an emigrant ship lying off-shore. Going on board *The Albion of Arbroath*, in his usual masterful fashion, Head demanded to see the captain who was too busy to deal with his uninvited visitor but allowed him look about the ship. The details the reader is given are of great interest. For example, through the length of the ship, two tiers of berths, 4 feet eight inches broad and 5 feet ten inches long. 'Each nominally for two people.' The fare for an adult was £3 ten shillings. Passengers had to be out of bed by seven a.m. and in bed by ten. While being returned to shore, Sir Francis at last could close his note book and ask his question. Who or what is responsible for the dreadful condition in which he found Ireland and its people?

In the second section of his book, after the details of his 'Tour', Head the social scientist examined with lots of 'facts' the state of Ireland or as he termed it 'the degraded condition of the Irish people'. As evidence he notes the amount of imperial funds lavished on the island, which were substantial; the calibre of the administrators, who were talented and the negative role of landlords, which he noted as 'not proven'. If these factors therefore are not to blame for the degradation, what is? Graciously, the writer absolves the Irish as a people of the blame. By now you may have figured out where Sir Francis is going with this. Ireland as part of the United Kingdom was backward. This was not the fault of successive British governments or indeed of the Irish people themselves. They are a wonderful people. No, the problem lies with the Roman Catholic church. In a book of 400 pages, nearly half was devoted to an assault on the role of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland. Leaving Sir Francis to his Gradgrindian polemic, his writing is much more interesting when he is out and about meeting people.

Sir Francis Bond Head does not appear to have visited Ireland again. He died in 1875. Presumably of exhaustion.



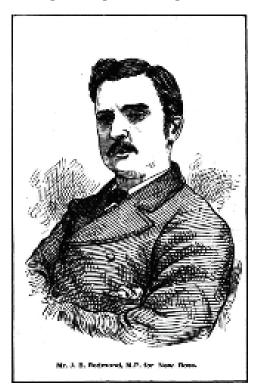
Claddagh Galway John\_Leech (1859)

# 'Itinerant Preachers of Sedition': the Redmond Brothers' Tour of Australia in 1883

BY DR JEFF KILDEA

#### Introduction

During the 19th century a quarter of immigrants to Australia came from Ireland. Although the Irish in Australia were a minority, they were a substantial one, in sufficient numbers to make a significant contribution to the political, economic and social life of the Australian colonies. They were also a rich source of funds for the Irish Parliamentary Party after its emergence in the 1870s as the main constitutional vehicle dedicated to agitating for Irish home rule. As a result, envoys of the party made frequent visits to the Antipodes to promote the cause, raising in the process large sums of money to take back home.



One of the first of such visits occurred in 1883, when John Redmond, the member for New Ross, County Wexford, and his brother William toured Australia and New Zealand from February to December to promote the Irish National League and to establish branches there. The timing of their visit could not have been worse. One week after their arrival, the colonial newspapers received news of the police court hearings in Dublin of the men accused of the Phoenix Park murders.

The sordid details of that ghastly crime by a gang of extreme Irish nationalists prompted a wave of anti-Irish sentiment in the colonies, resulting in acrimony both between the colonial Irish and their fellow colonists and within the Irish-Australian community itself. As representatives of nationalist Ireland, the Redmonds soon came to be characterised by elements of the colonial press as extremists, with one newspaper describing John Redmond as an 'itinerant preacher of sedition'. In the

end, however, the tour proved a success, not only in financial terms and in promoting the cause of Irish home rule in Australia, but also in netting each of the brothers an Australian wife.<sup>1</sup>

## A TORRID TOUR

The Redmond brothers began their tour of Australia when they landed at Glenelg, near Adelaide, in South Australia on Monday, 5 February, 1883. For the next ten months they travelled thousands of kilometres and addressed more than 200 meetings attended by tens of thousands of people in scores of towns and cities in all the Australian colonies except Western Australia and in New Zealand.

In Adelaide the Redmonds were welcomed with fanfare by their colonial compatriots. John gave a major address at the Adelaide Town Hall, attended by a large and enthusiastic crowd, including members of the South Australian parliament and the Catholic Bishop of Adelaide. In his speech he criticised

British rule in Ireland, attacked landlordism and outlined program of the Irish National League, which had recently superseded the Land League formed in 1879 to agitate for tenants' rights. William gave a shorter speech, but in more fiery terms, arguing that reform was only ever 'wrung from the Government of England by fierce and

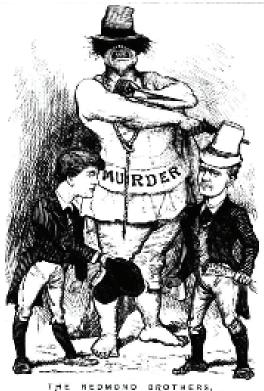


Inland Travel in 19C Australia

threatened agitation'. The forthright tone of both addresses, particularly that of William, at such an early stage of the tour served to arouse the immediate hostility of the press both in Adelaide and in the eastern colonies, which in the normal course needed little excuse to express disapproval of Irish nationalism and its proponents.

On 13 February the Redmonds left Adelaide for Sydney. They had originally planned to travel via Melbourne. However, the unexpected calling of parliamentary elections in Victoria to be held in late March led to the change of plan. The Irish Land War had made Irish issues contentious in the colony and the Irish-Catholic premier, Sir Bryan O'Loghlen, asked the tour organisers to keep the brothers away. His sensitivity was understandable. The previous April, five MPs of Irish heritage had signed an address commemorating the centenary of Henry Grattan's declaration of Irish legislative independence. The MPs were severely castigated in the press and in the parliament for having signed such a 'treasonable and seditious' document which had referred to the imperial government as 'a foreign despotism'. In the end keeping the Redmonds away did him no good. His government was defeated and many Irish members, including O'Loghlen himself, lost their seats.

The day the Redmonds left Adelaide the Australian press briefly reported that 13 men had been charged with the murder the previous year of the Chief Secretary of Ireland, Lord Cavendish, and his Undersecretary Thomas Burke. Cavendish and Burke had been walking through Phoenix Park on 6 May, 1882, when they were set upon by a group of extremist fenians known as the Invincibles and stabbed to death. In Australia, as elsewhere, news of the assassinations was received with shock and horror. Even at the best of times most of the metropolitan dailies and many local newspapers were ill-disposed towards the Irish. Cable reports from England of Irish 'lawlessness' arising from Land League activities had fed their prejudices. News of the Phoenix Park murders served to confirm them.



REDMOND OROTHERS,

By the time the Redmond brothers arrived in Sydney on 19 February the Australian papers were carrying sordid reports of the testimony of James Carey, one of the assassins, informant. who had turned According to the Sydney dailies there was 'strong reason to believe that the assassins implicated in the outrages at Dublin and elsewhere were provided with money from a "murder fund" raised and maintained by the Irish Land League'. And here were John and William Redmond freshly arrived in Sydney to promote the cause and to raise funds for the league's successor. The prejudicial effect of Carey's evidence on Redmond's mission was palpable, particularly the press reports included Carey's detailed descriptions of how the gruesome murders were carried out.

The Daily Telegraph was quick to

judge: '[W]e have the news ... of the discovery that the Phoenix Park and other murders were instigated by the Irish Land League, and that there was actually in that League a "murder fund" and an "assassins' committee". It described Redmond as 'an itinerant preacher of sedition'. The Echo claimed that the Land League 'according to last accounts, had devoted its funds to assassination', that it 'stinks in the nostrils of decent people all over the civilised world' and that it 'has devoted a portion of its funds to the hiring of assassins and the employment of miserable wretches who will participate in murder'. While most newspapers largely accepted that the Land League was not directly responsible for the murders, they nevertheless contended that the league had created the atmosphere in which the crimes occurred. The Echo went further, claiming, The connection between the organisation and the assassinations seems too clear even to admit a doubt'. The Echo became obsessed with Redmond, devoting many of its leading articles to him and his mission, usually in an offensive tone. In one editorial it claimed that Redmond's teachings 'should not be less dreaded than the implanting of germs of smallpox or cholera or any horrible disease'.

It was in this atmosphere that Redmond prepared to address the people of Sydney on Thursday 22 February. Redmond's meeting was packed out well before the advertised starting time. JG O'Connor, one of Sydney's leading Irish nationalists, took the chair and the platform was occupied by a number of private citizens and several Catholic priests - but no bishops and no members of parliament. The well-to-do Irish had stayed away. Undeterred by the attacks on him, Redmond came out swinging. He immediately accused the Sydney press of

extraordinary ignorance of the political situation in Ireland which caused them to make statements which, if they were not caused by ignorance, he would have to characterise as 'malicious and criminal falsehoods'. Redmond said he treated with disdain accusations of his disloyalty, saying that such accusations would not distract him from the main purpose of his visit to Sydney, to speak of the Irish cause. He then addressed the meeting on the Land League and its work before dealing with the recent allegations surrounding the Phoenix Park murders. The audience, composed largely of people whom *The Freeman's Journal* described as 'most appreciative and enthusiastic', applauded him loudly.

However, some of Redmond's supporters were to cause him embarrassment a fortnight later when their enthusiasm turned to violence. On the evening of 6 March a group of his supporters attempted to disrupt a meeting at the Protestant Hall in Castlereagh Street. The meeting had been convened by the Mayor of Sydney, Alderman Harris, at the request of a group of citizens of Sydney who wished to protest against the mission of the Redmond brothers. Chaired by the mayor, the meeting attracted a large audience both inside and outside the hall, including, according to the *Herald*, 'an organised body of dissentients'. These dissentients interrupted the speeches by howling and groaning, while fights broke out in the audience at regular intervals. At one point, chairs and sticks were used as weapons in a brawl that interrupted the meeting for about a quarter of an hour. The *Herald* claimed that Sir Henry Parkes, one of the main speakers at the meeting, had been threatened with violence and barely escaped intact. Parkes was a former premier well known for his anti-Irish and anti-Catholic attitudes.

At a meeting in Bathurst later in the week, Redmond expressed regret for what had taken place in Sydney. But the damage had been done, giving Redmond's opponents a free kick: 'It is evident,' opined *The Daily Telegraph*, 'that Mr Redmond is regarded in his true light as a public enemy, a disturber of the peace, a breeder of strife and faction, and a dangerous advocate of rebellion, if not of actual bloodshed. The sooner we are rid of such men as this the better'.

In Queensland the press was less aggressive than in Sydney. In Brisbane Redmond's main address was at the Theatre Royal on Friday 13 April attended by about 1000 people and chaired by Dr Kevin Izod O'Doherty, a veteran of the 1848 rising. In the lecture entitled 'Self-government', Redmond explained what he meant by home rule, namely, that Ireland wanted no more in the way of self-government than what the Australian colonies enjoyed. Although *The Brisbane Courier* made clear its opposition to Irish home rule and its belief that the Land League was responsible for much of the unrest in Ireland, it nevertheless spoke in generally favourable terms of Redmond himself and set out its arguments on the issues rationally and in a tone of moderation, distinguishing itself on both counts from much of the Sydney and Melbourne press.

Despite the rational way in which the *Courier* put its arguments, in contrast to the near hysteria of many of the southern dailies, its reasoning revealed that it shared with them an Anglo-centric perspective of the Irish question, viewing it through the lens of English self-interest. To them, what might be in the interests of the Irish people was not a relevant consideration. The *Courier*'s argument contained an implicit assumption (to paraphrase Henry Ford): 'what's good for England is good for Ireland'.



But in Victoria Redmond faced not only opposition to his ideas but also hostility to his audacity in daring Before express them. Redmond had even spoken publicly in Melbourne The Argus in its edition of 1 June fired a shot across Redmond's bow in response to an appeal he had made 'that he should not be condemned unheard and by prejudice'. In its leader, covering a full column and a quarter, the editor rejected Redmond's appeal, justifying his newspaper's pre-emptive approach by describing the Land League as a body against which the English government had been forced to wage a determined struggle. In the opinion of The Argus, Victorians who donated money to the League could not complain if their regarded fellow colonists them as 'men who, after warning, succour the Queen's

enemies'. From the outset *The Argus* made it clear; as far as it and any right-thinking loyal citizen was concerned, Redmond should not receive a fair hearing in Victoria. Rather than being apologetic about such an illiberal attitude, *The Argus* made a virtue of it, proclaiming self-righteously: 'Thus it is necessary to make a choice. We cannot serve God and Baal'.

The hostility of the press was matched by many local authorities who refused the Redmonds permission to hold meetings in their community halls, often after a bitter debate that split the local community. This was a problem they faced in many cities and towns throughout the tour. But the local Irish refused to be denied the opportunity to hear the envoys speak. In some cases they held meetings in the Catholic school or in an auction room, or they erected a tent or hung a large tarpaulin from the side of a building. In Goulburn they even built their own hall to accommodate the meeting.

Ironically, the pro- and anti-Redmond forces in Australia found common cause at the end of July when news reached the colony that a ship from London was carrying members of the Invincibles who had turned informants and that the British government intended to settle them in Melbourne. Both sides lined up against the imperial government, demanding that the colonial governments take steps to ensure that the three informants did not land in Australia. At Adelaide and Melbourne police boarded the ship and prevented the men from

disembarking. Before the ship moored in Sydney, the British government relented and returned the informants to England.

#### MIXED REACTION FROM THE IRISH COMMUNITY

Given the context of the tour and the hostility of the press's coverage of it, one can appreciate why some of the colonial Irish in Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne might have been reluctant to attend Redmond's meetings. Yet, their abstention clearly upset the brothers. On 5 June, at the first of a series of three meetings in Melbourne, many of the city's leading Irishmen were absent from what was otherwise a well-attended event. Giving vent to his feelings, William Redmond referred in his speech to 'cowardly Irishmen who hadn't the common manliness to stand by their side and adhere to the principles which they professed to hold'.

Two days later, at the second meeting of the series, Frank Gavan Duffy, son of Charles Gavan Duffy who had emigrated to Australia with his family in 1856, objected to William Redmond's reference to 'cowardly Irishmen'. Duffy said that in the light of Redmond's own sacrifices for the cause he might 'think little of the sacrifices colonial Irishmen had made, but he little knows what colonial Irishmen sacrifice in following their consciences in that matter'. Duffy had a point. Many who overtly supported the Redmonds paid the price in terms of loss of employment as well as social ostracism. But it was not only the fear of reprisals that dissuaded many from turning out. Some would have been repelled by the prejudicial reports emanating from Dublin during the Phoenix Park murder trials. After all, where there is smoke ... .

If the well-off Irish gave the Redmonds a wide berth, the less well-off were not so easily dissuaded. In cities, towns and villages their welcome was warm and enthusiastic. Today it is difficult to imagine two minor politicians visiting Australia from overseas attracting such interest or invoking such public displays as did the Redmond brothers in 1883. Their reception was more akin to that afforded in recent times to presidents of the United States.

In Sydney the St Patrick's Day celebrations at a park at Botany Bay provided an opportunity for ordinary Irish men and women to welcome the Redmond brothers to Sydney. More than 3000 turned out to what *The Freeman's Journal* described as 'the largest and most orderly and most thoroughly national gathering ever held in the city of Sydney [with] the exception perhaps of the O'Connell Centenary celebration [in 1875]'.

Such scenes were to be repeated time and again. At Tenterfield in April, John Redmond, who had been driven in a carriage from Stanthorpe in Queensland, was met just outside the town and escorted to his hotel by a cavalcade of horsemen and buggies comprising some 200 persons with many more lining the route cheering him along the way. That night in addressing a crowded meeting Redmond castigated the local MP, Sir Henry Parkes, calling him a 'political charlatan'. A few days before Parkes had unsuccessfully moved in the Legislative Assembly that a loyal address be sent to Queen Victoria strongly disapproving of 'the disloyal agitations which have been set on foot in our midst by strangers' (i.e. the Redmond brothers). After Tenterfield Redmond was driven from Bolivia Hill to Emmaville and on to Inverell by a Mr Flannery, whose 'team of splendid greys, decked with green ribbons, was loudly cheered as it passed

along'. Venues where the Redmonds spoke were usually well decorated and often decked out in green bunting.

At Warrnambool, Victoria, Redmond received what *The Advocate* described as 'the most enthusiastic receptions he has received since he came to Australia'. Driven from Garvoc, he was met at Allansford Junction by several hundred well-wishers and a procession formed in his honour. It was a mile in length comprising 500 people. After a reception where several illuminated addresses were presented, Redmond, who wore an orange and green rosette, gave a lecture that evening at St Joseph's school to an audience of 700 people.

Being 12 000 miles from home, it must have given the Redmonds a real buzz to receive such a warm welcome from their compatriots. And no doubt it helped to sustain them when they came under bitter attack from the Australian press or were ignored by the well-off Irish. William would have been particularly buoyed by the support he received from the Australian Irish in securing a seat in the Westminster parliament. On 17 July a by-election was held for the seat of Wexford Borough, made vacant when Timothy Healy transferred to Monaghan. When news of the impending vacancy was received in Melbourne, the Irish National League in Australia sent a cable to Parnell stating that the Irishmen of Australia were anxious that William Redmond should be nominated for the seat and that they would pay all his election expenses. Despite Redmond's absence from Ireland when the ballot was held, he easily won the seat and the Australian Irish claimed credit for his victory.

#### Wedding Bells

The other joy the brothers experienced during their visit to Australia was that of finding love. In August, Redmond delayed his intended trip to New Zealand. *The Freeman's Journal* explained why:

It is not business in the strict sense of the term that has delayed Mr Redmond, but something more in the way of romance, for it is no secret that the honourable gentleman is to be married very shortly to Miss Dalton, a near relative of Mr Thomas Dalton MLA of North Shore. The interesting ceremony, we believe, will take place about the 4th of September.

The bride to be was Johanna Dalton, the half-sister of the Dalton brothers, James and Thomas, the colony's richest and most successful Irish businessmen. Rare among the colony's better-off Irish, the Daltons had been prominent in their support of the Redmonds.

James Dalton, a leading citizen and magistrate in the town of Orange, had hosted them at his country mansion Duntryleague when they visited the town in March and later accompanied them on part of their Victorian tour. But Dalton paid a price for his support. At Orange he had presented Redmond with an address formally welcoming him to the district. The address referred to Redmond as one of the ablest of Parnell's lieutenants and 'a member of that noble band which has won a world's admiration by its resolute resistance to the oppressive proceedings of a foreign senate'. Dalton's address raised the ire of colonial loyalists. In parliament he was accused of being disloyal and soon thereafter he was dismissed from office along with two other Orange magistrates, Michael Casey and Patrick Burke, whose names were also appended to the address.

However, on Tuesday 4 September such unpleasant business was put to one side when John Redmond and Johanna Dalton were married at St Mary's Church, North Sydney. That afternoon, after a reception at Thomas Dalton's nearby residence, Wheatleigh, the newly-weds left for Moss Vale and then travelled to Melbourne for their honeymoon.

There was a sour note to the proceedings. The marriage had not pleased everyone in Redmond's inner circle, including Thomas Curran, proprietor of Pfhalert's Hotel, where the Redmonds had been staying, and JG O'Connor. The day before the wedding, Curran, who had not been invited, gave vent to his feelings, telling O'Connor that the Redmonds were 'a pack of scrubbers' and that John Redmond was only an adventurer who came to Australia to look for a wife and fortune. William, on overhearing the conversation, demanded an apology. Curran refused and instead rushed at William and knocked him down. The Redmonds and others in their group then cleared out from the hotel. Despite concerns that the row would become public knowledge, the story was not reported in the press.

While John had secured himself a wife by marrying Johanna, his younger brother had not been idle. While in New South Wales William had spent some time in Orange at the home of James Dalton, where he had courted Dalton's eldest daughter Eleanor. They would marry in London in 1886.

Unfortunately for John his marriage to Johanna did not last long. She died in 1889, leaving three children. In 1899 John remarried, this time to Ada Beesley, an English Protestant who survived him. They had no children.

## Conclusion

On 6 December, John and William Redmond together with Johanna left Sydney on board the *Zealandia* bound for America and then home. Thus ended the brothers' exhausting ten-month's visit to the Antipodes. While the cities and major towns they visited were linked by coastal shipping or rail, travel in between was by horse-drawn vehicles. As a result, the Redmonds spent much of their time in overland coaches and on bone-rattling wagons moving from one isolated farming or mining settlement to another over rutted roads. It was a remarkable feat of physical endurance, which often took its toll, with both brothers falling ill a number of times during their stay, while Willie at one time had to undergo surgery. Apart from the physical strain, the tour was emotionally stressful as well.

As we have seen, it occurred at a most unpropitious time, with the sensational evidence of James Carey casting a pall of suspicion over the Irish National League and the Redmonds themselves at a time when the Irish in Australia were already under attack because of chronic mistrust and regular reports of agrarian violence in Ireland during the Land War. As a result, many prominent Irishmen and many senior clergy distanced themselves from the Redmonds. The bishops of the three largest sees in Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane) were conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, despite the reluctance of the Australian Irish gentry, the hostility of the metropolitan press and the difficulties in securing suitable venues, the ordinary Irish turned out in droves. In the result, the tour was an undoubted success, measured in terms of both the numbers who heard the message and the amount of money raised – more than £15 000.

By the end of the Redmond brothers' mission the Australian public was much better informed on the Irish question than before, having heard the Irish side from Irishmen rather than through the filter of the English cable news services. In that respect, therefore, it might also be said that for ten months in 1883 the Australian press, through its widespread coverage of the tour and in spite of itself, did more to promote the cause of Irish home rule in Australia than Redmond could ever have hoped to do on his own.

## **ENDNOTES**

<sup>1</sup> I give a more detailed account of the Redmond brothers' tour of Australia, including source citations, in 'The Redmond Brothers' Australian Tour 1883: A Narrative Account' (https://jeffkildea.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Redmond-Brothers'-Australian-Tour. pdf).

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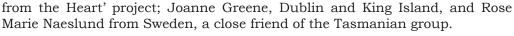
# Friendship Agreement Between Passage West Museum And King Island, Tasmania

#### BY LEO McMahon

Born out of the tragic story of the female convict ship *Neva* that set sail from Cork Harbour in 1835 and sank off Australia with the loss of 224 lives, was the signing of a Friendship Agreement on September 17th, 2019 between the Passage West Maritime Museum, Co Cork and King Island Historical Society (KIHS), Tasmania.

The certificates, which also feature the crests of Cork County Council and King Island Council, were signed at a ceremony in Passage West by Cllr Seamus McGrath, chairperson of Carrigaline Municipal District; Angela Murphy, chairperson of the maritime museum; Luke Agati, Deputy Mayor of King Island, curator of Currie Museum and president of KHIS and Mostyn Bruce Mills of KHIS.

The delegation also comprised artist Christina Henri from Hobart of the 'Roses







As part of an Irish tour the visitors stayed at the Commodore Hotel, Cobh where they were greeted by incoming chairperson of the maritime museum, Joe Healy, and travelled in glorious sunshine up the harbour on board Noel O'Sullivan's boat *Freya* to the pontoon at Passage West.

Here there was another welcome from local historian and one of the museum founders Jim Murphy who showed the group a plaque unveiled in Fr O'Flynn Park in 2014 by the maritime festival committee in memory of all those who departed from Cork Harbour including convicts (mostly for petty crimes committed out of poverty and desperation) and state sponsored female emigrants to Australia between 1791 and 1835. (There was a minute's silence in the museum later to honour them).

The group also posed for a photograph with Cobh Animation Team in Victorian costumes led by Claire Stack.

Following a brief tour of the maritime museum in the former Town Hall building and on the site of a former shipyard, a welcome was extended by Angela Murphy who expressed amazement that KHIS spotted Passage West museum on the internet when researching the *Neva* and contacted the committee.



She thanked the county council represented by Cllrs McGrath and Marcia D'Alton and former Cllr Michael Frick Murphy plus officials Nicola Radley, Noelle Desmond and Pat O'Sullivan.

MD cathaoirleach Seamus McGrath, a native of Passage West. also extended a welcome to those visiting the town and county for 'a very special occasion'. He spoke of the rich and deep connections nautical between Cork and Australia, of which the museum was a testament, and paid tribute to its voluntary committee, especially for working with KHIS in commemorating the *Neva* and the pact.

Expressing the hope there would be further links and exchange visits in the years ahead, Cllr McGrath added: This friendship agreement is a wonderful way to acknowledge the heritage and often tragic history that inextricably links our two places despite the thousands of miles between us'.

Luke Agati said it was important to commemorate those who died in the *Neva* and other tragedies. He spoke of the delight of King Island Council and its history society regarding the friendship agreement also the importance of nurturing their common links and rich heritage.

Cal McCarthy, Carrigadrohid, co-author with Kevin Todd from Bishopstown of the book *The Wreck of the Neva*, outlined the story of convict transportation, mainly from Elizabeth Fort, the hulk vessel *Surprise* off Ringaskiddy and later on Spike Island until the 1860s.

*Neva*, said Cal, was one of only five convict shipwrecks, another being *The Hive* which also sailed from Cork Harbour. He believed there was scope for further research by Irish academics on this.

On behalf of the museum, Joe Healy presented Luke Agati with an illustrated poster featuring contemporary newspaper accounts from the 1835 tragedy and Cllr McGrath presented him with the book *Cork From the Air* by photographer Dennis Horgan. The MD chairperson also presented council pens to Christine, Mostyn, Luke and Rose Marie. Cal presented Luke with the book *The Wreck of the Neva* and later Leo McMahon presented him with a copy of his article in *The Carrigdhoun* about the museum in Passage West, of which he is a committee member.

Luke Agati then presented to Angela for the maritime museum, a sculpture by Catherine Springer entitled *Ocean Tears* made of marine macro algae paper

on acrylic sourced from seaweed gathered near the wreck of the *Neva*. He then presented to the museum and county council, a poster about *Neva*, the book *The Luck of the Irish* by Babette Smith, KHIS records about the ship plus literature about King Island. He also read a message from Mayor of King Island, Julie Arnold (see separate report).

A reception with refreshments from Elite Cuisine followed in the adjoining PACE Centre. Enquiries on museum visits etc., to 087 1363588.

- In 2007, Christina Henri began 'Roses from the Heart', a project to commemorate all 25,566 female convicts women to Australia between 1788 and 1853 by inviting people to make a bonnet embroidered with the name of one, the name of the ship she arrived on and the date she started life as a convict on the other side of the world. She said the 10th annual Blessing of Bonnets will take place in Cobh Heritage Centre, where there is currently a display, in 2020.
- Passage West Maritime Museum is open from St Patrick's Weekend to the end of September. History society and other groups most welcome four tours arranged in advance. Tel 087 1363588.

(Published in The Carrigdhoun newspaper, September 2019)

# Greetings from King Island

At the recent signing of the Friendship Agreement with Passage West Maritime Museum, Luke Algati, Deputy Mayor and chairperson of King Island Historical Society read the following message from Julie Arnold, Mayor of King Island Council

"On behalf of the people and the Council of King Island in the state of Tasmania, Australia, I convey our warmest greetings to Cork County Council and its residents and thank you for extending your friendship to us. King Island joins in a common bond forged by an event which neither municipality could ever overlook.

"On January 8th, 1835, almost 185 years ago, the ship *Neva* left your shores bound for Australia. Apart from the crew, the *Neva's* human cargo of 240 people consisted predominantly of Irish women and their children. These included 150 female convicts, 9 free women, 38 children and 15 infants.

"On May 13th, 1835, at around 4am, the *Neva* struck Navarine Reef, just off the northern end of King Island in the Bass Strait. Only 7 women survived to reach Disappointment Bay, some 2kms from where the wreck took place. Disappointment Bay, one of King Island's most beautiful beaches, is the resting place of approximately 100 of the unfortunate company.

"Although they lie buried in scattered, unmarked sand dunes on the northern end of our island, there is a deep sense of respect among King Islanders and their families who are frequent visitors and remember and protect the history of the area.

"We are grateful and incredibly touched that our two municipalities, on opposite sides of the world, have come together today united in remembering those who came from your shores and lie in peace on ours. Yours sincerely, Julie Arnold, Mayor."

# A SHORT HISTORY OF THE TEACHING OF IRISH AND LOCAL HISTORY IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN IRELAND SINCE PARTITION

BY GEORGE McBride

Since the nineteenth century history teaching in Ireland has been buffeted by political turbulence and conflict. From a common base under British rule, partition in 1921-2 led to divergence as each jurisdiction, the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland respectively, sought to consolidate statehood through fostering the allegiance of their young.<sup>1</sup>

In the early 1900s most people in Ireland, including Unionists, regarded themselves as Irish,<sup>2</sup> and yet, even as early as 1909 Belfast essayist and son of a Presbyterian clergyman, Robert Lynd (1879-1949), while reflecting upon the absence of the teaching of Irish history within the national schools and their foundation upon the idealogical suppression of any traces of Irishness, recorded that

I, living in the capital of Ulster (*sic*), was taught my fair share about Achilles and Hercules, but never about Cuchullian — History meant to me, just as literature did, something about anywhere except Ireland.<sup>3</sup>

History, indeed. 'has never failed to gain recognition as a potent force in Irish education, north and south." The official view in the new, devolved, regional government of Northern Ireland post-partition reverted to the nineteenthcentury perspective of the National Commissioners of Education, in that impartial history was unfeasible and compulsory partisan history was divisive.<sup>5</sup> Partition therefore represents a watershed in that under two systems of education premised on different political ideologies and religious identifications, both 'jurisdictions conceived of history as a way of generating loyalty by closing ranks around their respective identities.<sup>6</sup> One community drew its inspiration from the Siege of Derry; the other from that of Limerick. In order to avoid 'things Irish' the new Unionist-controlled parliament in Northern Ireland prescribed British history in its schools in order to reinforce a sense of 'things British.' In the new Northern Ireland Ministry of Education the underlying policy in respect to the teaching of Irish history was that it would be only in a United Kingdom context with emphasis upon Northern Ireland as contributing to and benefiting from union with Great Britain. Thus

Northern Ireland children, at least officially, learned little of their own past and traditions and of the role which their forefathers had played in the history of the island.<sup>8</sup>

When we look at early Inspectors' Reports on primary schools In Northern Ireland, we can detect that while it was accepted that the teaching of history was an optional subject, a concern was that in many cases it was not taught at all, or where it was taught, there was probably no subject in the curriculum

less well taught. There was also concern regarding the quality of textbooks used.9

By the 1950s the teaching of history in Northern Ireland primary schools was still only an optional subject in the curriculum and it was emphasised that it was only those schools with five teachers or more which were 'required' to take an optional subject. In many cases the larger schools which opted to teach history chose British history but it was Irish history which figured largely in Roman Catholic schools of all sizes. Between 1952 and 1956 primary school history teaching was dominated by two key publications, in 1952 by Education Pamphlet 23, *Teaching History*, and in 1956 by the *Programme for Primary Schools*, both of which followed in the wake of the earlier 1944 Report, *Educational Reconstruction in Northern Ireland*.<sup>10</sup>

Interestingly the *Programme of Primary Schools* attempted to secure a place for history teaching by placing it in an environmental context. It was a forward-looking document. It discarded the old concepts of optional and required subjects and set out a 'list of topics suitable for inclusion in the history syllabus,' with such Irish topics as 'early Irish Christianity' and 'Life in medieval Ireland'. It also listed topics 'of special difficulty,' such as 'How Great Britain and Ireland came to have one Parliament,' 'Growth of Religious equality,' 'Laws against religious dissenters in England and Ireland and their repeal,' 'Imperial History and How Northern Ireland came to have its own Parliament.'

The *Programme for Primary Schools was* also forward-looking in that it reflected a shifting emphasis from the content of history to what was suitable for a primary school child: from a curriculum-centred view of education to a child-centred one. Teachers were now required to be more flexible in their classroom approach. With specific regard to the teaching of history, the objective now was to bring together a body of information which would enable the teachers to plan courses of study, to move away from rote learning of facts to developing and adapting their pedagogy to being more age-appropriate. Anything beyond the children's comprehension 'should be discarded, no matter what its importance may be in the adult scheme of things.'11

By 1965, however, it was recognised that the 1956 *Programme for Primary Schools* no longer represented contemporary pedagogical thinking. <sup>12</sup> In February of that year the Northern Ireland Advisory Council of Education was established to advise the Ministry of Education upon such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they thought fit and to review the existing policies and practices in the field of primary education in Northern Ireland. It was established that the 1956 *Programme* 

should now be replaced by a document which would adequately reflect the situation as it exists in the more forward-looking schools and that it should be in the form of a 'Guide' rather than a Programme. <sup>13</sup>

Sadly, despite the hopes articulated within the 1956 *Programme*, fourteen years later in a speech given to the Cloghher Diocesan Society in County Tyrone, the Rev. Paedar Livingstone observed that

In Northern Ireland history is neglected in practically all the schools . . . is ignored in the primary schools.<sup>14</sup>

and, eight months later, there was still no apparent change. Jack Magee, former lecturer in Irish History at St. Joseph's College of Education in Belfast, described the situation thus:

History teaching in the primary schools of Northern was and continues to be uncoordinated and largely academic, a watered-down version of grammar school history.<sup>15</sup>

It was not until 1974 that the *Primary Education Teachers' Guide* was published. Four pages of the *Guide* were devoted to the teaching of history, now subsumed under the umbrella title of *Environmental Studies*, a loose amalgam of Science (pp.67-70), Geography (pp.73-77) and History (pp.70-73):

The value of using the child's environment as a starting point in the study of history is not only that it gives the subject relevance for children who are already conscious about their surroundings but also that the children are engaged in activities which encourage learning.<sup>16</sup>

The 1974 Teachers' Guide was, like the 1956 Programme, essentially a child-centred document, similar, indeed, to the 1971 Curaclam Na Bunscoile Lamhleabhar An Oide (Primary School Curriculum Teachers' Handbook) in the Republic of Ireland, which also subsumed the teaching of history under the umbrella title of Environmental Studies. <sup>17</sup> Both documents signalled a complete change of approach to the teaching of Irish history and local history.

In Northern Ireland, emphasis was now being given to the place of story as an appropriate form of history for younger children, drawn from Irish history and mythology: stories about 'Cuchullain,' reminiscent of the regret expressed by Robert Lynd in 1909, the Red Branch Knights, Saint Patrick, Saint Columba, Brian Boru and the voyages of Saint Brendan.

For older children, emphasis was placed upon topics which could be easily researched and studied in the context of their local history. Reasons offered for teaching such aspects of local history at primary school level were also stated in general terms, but may be summarised as: the value of history as a source of colourful stories, the need to develop the natural curiosity of children, developing an understanding of the study of local history through projects within their local environment; the value of helping children to understand other people, other times and other points of view. Thus, 'for sound educational reasons,' Northern Ireland schools 'were now being recommended to draw upon Irish material, whether literary, antiquarian or simply local.' Within these two Reports, the 1971 *Curaclam Na Bunscoile* and the 1974 *Primary Education Teachers' Guide*, we can detect the genesis in both jurisdictions in post-partition Ireland developments in the pedagogy surrounding the teaching of Irish and Local History in their respective primary schools, which has become known as the 'New History.'

The 'New History' is grounded in a skills-based approach to the subject, in which teachers aim to teach in a way which develops children's ability to look critically at source material rather than simply learning about the content of what happened in the past, and, at the same time, developing a better chronological awareness of historical events. Essentially, the concept of 'New History' encourages a microscopic study of local history, using local documents

in conjunction with a macroscopic study of larger units, whether national or international history. Within this concept, the study of local history is now appreciated for its capacity to highlight problems dealt with generally at the national-international level, and the latter could be used as a matrix into which local history can be fitted. This approach synthesis historical skills and historical content.<sup>19</sup>

In January 1978 at a conference for primary school Principals held in the Teachers' Centre at The Queen's University of Belfast, the current place and purpose of history in the primary school was considered. Among eight justifications identified for teaching the subject at this level were that its study reveals both the continuity of the present with the past and the differences between the present and the past. At this level too it is clearly important to stimulate historical imagination and arouse curiosity. Hence, it was here also emphasised that historically-based stories, myths and legends have an important role. However, mindful of mental maturation and levels of reading age, it was generally accepted that a skills-based approach would hardly be possible or successful below the age of about ten, while among the problems likely to be encountered within the skills-based, child-centred approach to teaching was the potential for conflict with the more traditional content-based, narrative history characteristic of past teaching. Importantly, it was accepted that the study of history, especially local history, can be seen as an enjoyable pursuit.

The outcome of that 1978 meeting of Principals was the publication in 1979 of a handbook for teachers, which included discussion on whole-school syllabus design, classroom management, difficulties around children's understanding of the concept of chronology – even 'patch' history needs to be presented within some form of chronological framework – and use of appropriate language. Seven exemplar local history projects carried out by classroom teachers are detailed.<sup>20</sup>

In February 1981 in order to rekindle interest in the 1974 *Teachers' Guide*, the Northern Ireland Schools' Inspectorate published a Report based upon classroom practice observed throughout the academic year 1979/1980 in one hundred and thirty primary and preparatory schools across Northern Ireland. Their Report contained six paragraphs devoted solely to the state of current history teaching, and made depressing reading.

Under-expectation of pupil abilities and the limited time and status afforded to history characterised the teaching of the history component of environmental studies in three-quarters of the schools in the survey. Significant was the finding that geographical aspects of environmental studies were taught more often than the historical components. In less than one-fifth of the classes textbooks and reference documents were being used in an appropriate manner.<sup>21</sup>

In 1980 the Northern Ireland Council for Education Development (NICED) was established. Following the findings of the Inspectorate Report of 1981, the Council produced ten curricular 'Guidelines,' of which 'History Guidelines' were intended to provide enough background information to enable schools to understand the role of history in the primary curriculum and to be a practical resource for school-based developments. Exemplar syllabi were given, with particular care over 'The Heritage of Irish History,' with local illustrations and world background.<sup>22</sup> The essential message was that history is a skills-based subject.

In 1991 the first statutory Northern Ireland Curriculum (NIC) was introduced, giving all primary and secondary schools the freedom to teach history as they thought best, echoing an earlier comment that . . . 'the teacher of history in the primary school must arrive in the main at his own conclusions as to how he (*sic*) presents the subject and by what teaching methods.' In the NIC there was one proviso: teachers would include and address common aspects of Irish history.

Two cross-curricular themes were now introduced into the primary curriculum, Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) and Cultural Heritage (CH). EMU was particularly important in that it encouraged schools to take on responsibility for building community relationships. <sup>24</sup> Unfortunately such a broad approach to the curriculum was inherently weak in that priorities around subject teaching 'inevitably trumped obligations' to examine objectives such as "cultural understanding" or "understanding conflict." <sup>25</sup> However, it did have a positive influence for the teaching of Irish history.

By the 1990s, in the context of 'The Troubles' and the post-Belfast/Good Friday Agreement of 1998, there was a growing call for a programme of civic education so that children in Northern Ireland could and should have the opportunity to develop some kind of understanding of conflict within their local and the wider community. And yet, even by 1996, within the Northern Ireland Council for Curriculum, Education and Assessment (NICCEA) there was some frustration around the fact that teachers were not really exploring its potential for impact on community attitudes. <sup>26</sup>

Nine years after the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement a formal review of the Statutory Curriculum was undertaken, resulting in the Revised Northern Ireland Curriculum (RNIC), implemented in 2007. This was intended to be less prescriptive and continued to give teachers more autonomy in deciding how identified themes could be implemented, with emphasis again upon the development of historical skills rather than content. The concept of Local and Global Citizenship was embedded within this Revised Curriculum, emphasising holistic experience through making connections across the curriculum.<sup>27</sup> Thus, within primary schools, a Programme of Personal Development and Mutual Understanding (PDMU) was developed, integrating citizenship, health issues, personal development and the building of relationships. Unfortunately, this, too, became somewhat of a fringe element within the overall curriculum, even though it was conceived within the umbrella of Environment and Society and in the 'special relationship' between the teaching of geography and history. Indeed, 'the potentially close relationship between history and citizenship has not been fully explored.<sup>28</sup>

Back in March, 1972, the Schools Council History Project (SCHP) was published in England. In Northern Ireland its potential for teaching a more objective and enquiry-based approach to contentious issues was recognised. Its emphasis on process, cognition and objectivity was eventually manifest within the 1991 Statutory Curriculum. By September 2013 a 5-14 history curriculum was developed so as to help even primary school children gain some understanding of history as evidence-based and open to different perspectives and interpretations through studying benign topics such as family history and social history.29 The aims of the 5-14 curriculum were to ensure that all children, by Key Stage 1 (Years1-3), should develop an awareness of the past, using such common

words and phrases relating to the passage of time — changes within their own living memory and some knowledge of their local history through knowledge of significant historical events, people and places within their own locality. By Key Stage 2 (years 4-7), the children should continue to develop a chronological sense and understanding of world, British and their local history.

That 'academic history' or even 'watered down' academic history is neither appropriate nor acceptable for primary school children is now recognised. What is appropriate and increasingly acceptable is that teaching history in the primary school needs to be at the level of understanding of the children. Thus, if primary school teachers concentrate on what is concrete and familiar, relating the subject to the actual living experience of the children, then there is a much greater chance of their understanding. With this in mind, there is a strong and growing case for increasing the study of local history.

There are good, sound, social and cultural reasons why primary school children should study the history of their own locality. There are good, sound, educational reasons too for developing and encouraging the skills-based approach to such study, as already here suggested. However, if the skills-based approach of the 'New History' is used in isolation, it may reasonably be accused of undervaluing the historically content-based approach. Perhaps by focusing too much on teaching local history, the so-called 'Big History' might be missed.<sup>30</sup>

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Then there was Ian Paisley ... and that's why Catholics and Protestants are so different!

# National Regeneration — a Decade of the Tailteann Games 1922-1932.

# BY BILLY SHORTALL

The Aonach Tailteann or Tailteann Games was the first national cultural initiative undertaken by the Irish Free State after independence. According to legend the original Aonach Tailteann was organised by the Irish High King Lugh in 1896 BC as a Cuiteach Fuait or funeral games to solemnise the funeral rites of his step-mother Queen Tailté. T.H. Nally reconstructed the Aonach Tailteann in his imaginative published history of the event. It was/is the main source for details and context on the ancient event. In it he states the games

...consisted of athletics, gymnastics and equestrian contests...spear-casting...wrestling, boxing...in fact every sort of contest exhibiting physical endurance and skill. In addition, there were literary, musical, oratorical, and story-telling competitions; singing and dancing competitions...Also, competitions for goldsmiths, jewellers...spinners, weavers and dyers...

The Aonach was said to have celebrated Irish people's 'ancient greatness in the Athletic World' and inspired 'the far-famed Olympic Games of Ancient Greece'. This first national cultural event financially supported and planned by the Free State government was to take place in 1922, took the form of re-enacting the mythical Aonach Tailteann or Tailteann Games. The revived spectacle would include national games, international athletics and art exhibitions. The Games were an annual event until the Norman invasion of 1169 AD — a time identified by some as the beginning of British rule in Ireland. The planned re-introduction of the Games in 1922 would coincide with the end of Irish subjugation and was seen to signify Ireland's further disengagement and independence from England.

It had political objectives of defining an identity for the nascent state, nation-building and offering a forum for reconciliation between a people divided by the terms of the treaty with Britain – art and culture was something both sides could embrace and celebrate. It also had the potential of an economic dividend by attracting visitors, in particular, the diaspora home for the spectacle to spend their holidays in Ireland. Staging the event further offered the new State the opportunity to portray an image of the Irish nation, as modern (by producing an international sporting and cultural spectacle that required an up-to-date transport and venue infrastructure), stable and rooted in tradition, while also acknowledging a unique heritage.

They government drew inspiration from the mythologised ancient past articulated in Nally's romanticised recovery of the spectacle. This was also similar to the Gaelic League's recovery of a disappearing language, and the arts and crafts movement in the revival of ancient crafts, and much Irish art seeking authenticity in the Celtic Revival. The first generation liberationists in the postcolonial period are invariably nativist in tone and ideology and the emergence of the Aonach Tailteann after the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 shows this to be true in the embryonic state.

Holding an Aonach was suggested by the nationalist politician Michael Davitt as early as 1880s and received general support from Irish cultural movements

including the Gaelic Athletic Association. The revolutionary Dáil discussed the matter and a resolution asking the first Irish Free State government to 'organise an Irish Olympiad to be held in Dublin this year [1922], during which efforts will be made to revive old Irish games' was passed at the World Congress of the Irish Race in Paris in January 1922. This proposal to the Congress was made by the chief advocate for the Tailteann, J.J. Walsh.<sup>2</sup> In a contribution to the 1928 Tailteann Souvenir Programme, De Valera credits the revival of the games to this Congress. Walsh was appointed director of the organising committee by the Government and he started planning early in 1922 to hold the first Aonach Tailteann in August that year. Both sides of the treaty divide supported the event and pro-treaty Walsh put forward the program for the proposed 1922 Games to the Dáil on 1st March, 1922. When he sought an instalment of 'two thousand pounds necessary for the continuance of the organising programme', it was De Valera who 'hoping that it will prevent it being a party question', seconded the proposal. This debate on funding for the Aonach Tailteann occurred at a time in the Dáil defined by disagreement and animosity between pro- and antitreaty politicians that would ultimately lead to the Civil War, however, there was universal agreement on financial support for the events of the Aonach Tailteann. President Cosgrave writing in a 1924 Tailteann programme invoked Thomas Davis, 'that there is more, much more, in the life of a nation than politics and economics', and declared that the games give 'a new impulse to this necessary and valuable form of national life'. Art and culture was seen as a form of soft power, which might entice people who felt marginalised in a divided society back into the mainstream and away from violence.

#### NATIONAL EXPRESSION CURTAILED.

With the War of Independence over and the Anglo-Irish Treaty passed through the Dáil in January, the Free State government started planning for the 1922 Aonach. Walsh received further finance from the Dáil to organise the spectacle, including £10,000 for the GAA to upgrade Croke Park and make it a suitable venue to host most of the events associated with the Games – this was ultimately used to improve facilities and build the Hogan Stand. Walsh advised the Dáil that the form of the revived Tailteann spectacle had evolved from a programme of events 'strictly common to the Greek Olympiad, embracing the Gaelic race at home and abroad' to something 'far beyond anything attempted at the' Olympic Games.<sup>3</sup>

The Aonach was to be restricted to participants of Irish birth or descent, 'all amateurs of Irish birth, or either of whose parents or grandparents were of Irish birth'. The amateur status was not applied to artists exhibiting in the art exhibition, many of whose art exhibits were for sale. The ambition for the Aonach was substantial, trophies and 'over eleven-hundred medals will be needed for winners' and Walsh believed that 'medal and statuette-casting industries will be started in Dublin as a consequence of this impetus'. As the first government administered post-colonial event at home, it was to have offered Irish citizens a view of themselves and their place within the new State through sport and culture. Irish nationality as construed by territory was now defined, and had been curtailed by partition. However, nationality as defined by culture would not be restricted. Sport, art, and culture were represented on an all-island basis.

The sports events planned for the 1922 Aonach included an exhaustive list,

from athletics, cycling, hurling camogie, football, yachting, swimming, golf, chess, tennis... to motor cycling and aeroplane racing. English national games - those banned by the GAA - were excluded, sending a clear message that these games were not English, and established a cultural distance from the former coloniser. The Tailteann Committee asserted an ancient Irish antecedent for events in the Aonach except motor-cycling and airplane flying which 'cannot be numbered among the ancient pastimes of Ireland', they did claim everything else as having a Gaelic heritage, including golf. Cultural events consisted of music, literature, dancing and visual art and arts and crafts exhibitions.

The Irish Civil War started in May 1922 and on the 7th July 1922 the American team for the Aonach pulled out, 'owing to the situation in Dublin', and Walsh reported to the Government the following week that a number of other diaspora teams were not prepared to travel.<sup>4</sup> It was decided to postpone the event proposed for 6th -13th August, 1922, this date had been chosen because the original games were held in August and the following week saw the annual Royal Dublin Horse Show. This was a key event in the city's social calendar since the 1860s, and it was hoped crowds coming for one event would also attend the other. There was opposition to postponing the games and some opined that 'this would be a very grave mistake', if it went ahead it 'would be the very best propaganda that could be done', and the games 'would certainly distract the mind of the Country from other matters and be a solvent for many little minor troubles'. Despite this opposition, the event was cancelled.

However, one Aonach Tailteann event did proceed in 1922 — the art exhibition held in the RDS. The committee moved the exhibition's dates forward to coincide with the Horse Show and placed advertisements in the newspapers



announcing that the 'Aonach Tailteann Great Exhibition of Irish Art' will be held during the Show. The Government financed the exhibition. Patrick Hogan, Minister for Agriculture wrote personally to the Department of Finance seeking the necessary grant. He assured them of the art exhibition's educational value and that it would be 'representative of every aspect of the Department's work for

Art Education in Ireland'. To guarantee this he confirmed that the Exhibition Committee 'was chaired by George Atkinson (1880-1941), Head Master of the Metropolitan School of Art, and... include[d] eight members of the Department's staff'. This extensive State involvement in the committee was to ensure that a breadth as well as quality of art production was exhibited. With 2,163 exhibits of Irish paintings and arts and crafts, this exhibition remains the largest exhibition of Irish art and design in the history of the State, deserving its 'Great Exhibition of Irish Art' moniker. On visiting the show, Walsh expressed 'himself very pleasurably surprised with the success which had attended this part of the discarded Aonach Tailteann scheme'. He added that he had 'no idea that such a fine thing' would materialise from the exhibition. It was described as 'a remarkable success' and 'been filled with interested visitors every hour of each day' and the 'success' of the Tailteann art exhibition 'induced' the organisers to open it for an extra day.

As part of the art exhibition there was a noteworthy display of the new Irish Stamp designs. J.J. Walsh as Postmaster General had inaugurated a competition, in February 1922, to design stamps for the nascent State. There was a prize of twenty-five pounds for each design accepted. The designs were required to be 'symbolical in character, and the inscriptions must be in Gaelic characters'. Including the stamp designs in the exhibition created a direct link between visual art and design and the everyday world of the viewers. Four designs were accepted and these, along with a 'truly amazing variety' of other entries submitted, were displayed in the Tailteann Art Exhibition. Of the winning designs James Ingram's was the first stamp used in the independent Free State, it came into circulation on the 6th December 1922, to mark the first



anniversary of the Anglo-Irish Treaty with England. Deep green, in a frame of a Romanesque arch and zoomorphic ornamentation, it controversially featured a map of Ireland without designating the border, 'the image had political as well as symbolic importance'. This caused a furore because it was seen at the State claiming the Six Counties, however, rather than repent, the Aonach Tailteann of 1924 used a similar map on the cover of its printed programme. This re-enforced the aspirational political and territorial aims of the Irish State and visually stated that culture was not partitioned on the island. This desire for an all-Ireland territory was further manifested through art and sport being representative of the thirty-two counties at the games.

Cultural nationalism as exhibited in the Aonach Tailteann showcased a unique, all-island Irish identity and the 1924 spectacle would further substantiate it, by reaching across borders to claim through its diaspora what Irish athletes had achieved internationally, not only validating the Free State's uniqueness but its place in the world. Unlike partitioned Irish territory, cultural nationality was fully realised and all-island.

National Identity, Art and Culture in the 1924 Aonach Tailteann.

To garner support and entice participants and spectators to the 1924 Tailteann the Dáil sent an emissary, M. F. O'Hanlon, to North America in 1923, it also produced tens of thousands of promotional brochures many of which were handed out to attendees to the British Empire Exhibition held in London earlier in 1924. Walsh and O'Hanlon believed the foreign visitors would be 'great advertising agents' for the new State. Promoting the games abroad in 1924 also involved getting foreign luminaries to attend, to generate publicity and legitimacy. These 'guests of the nation' were specially invited international celebrities, 'representatives of men in Science, Literature, and Arts from different countries'. They were invited and hosted on behalf of the government by W.B. Yeats, the 1923 Nobel laureate for literature and Oliver St. John Gogarty, a 1924 Olympic Games bronze medallist in literature. Guests consisted of representatives of other States, Oriental princes, famous litterateurs, architects,



Front row: WB Yeats, Compton Mackenzie, Augustus John, Sir Edwin Lutyens. Back, left to right: GK Chesterton, James Stephens and Lennox Robinson.

sportsmen, politicians and artists. The games were to reflect the Irishness and uniqueness of the new State and the Irish people were happy to share this view of themselves with a world audience. The 1924 Aonach took place just over a year after the Civil War ended, which had left substantial causalities. structura1 damage to property and bitterness among the population that would simmer for generations. Therefore, this spectacle had all the original ambitions of the 1922 Aonach. However, it now acquired the additional imperatives of offering a

forum for reconciliation between both sides of the conflict and establishing an image of a peaceful, competent and secure State. The 1924 games enabled the national and international media to report on a non-violent society rather than one at war with itself. As a new country it had developed the modern sporting and transport infrastructure required to host a modern Olympic-like event.

The 1924 opening parade took place in Croke Park. The entourage gathered off Clonliffe Road and walked up Jones Road into the stadium where 30,000 spectators had gathered including the 'guests of the nation'. In hosting an external array of peers of the realm and other eminent authorities the State sought to validate the games and cultural events both nationally and internationally. The neo-colonial element of the Tailteann was reflected in newspaper reports, referring to the guests as 'worthies', and W. B. Yeats as a

'west Briton'. This was a term associated with the nation losing its Irish culture.

On the day of the 1924 opening two police bands (Dublin Metropolitan Police and Civic Guard) performed and four military aeroplanes flew overhead, symbols of the State's security and modernism. This also reassured an uncertain public after the War of Independence and the Civil War, and had curtailed the 1922 Aonach. 'Queen Tailté' and her entourage arrived in Celtic revivalist costumes with two Irish wolfhounds and entered the stadium. The Parade proper began and displayed symbols of the tenets on which the State would build and claim legitimacy for a Nation emerging from



insurgency. As well as the security of the fly-over, other principle pillars of the nascent State on show included veterans of Irish 'Gaelic' sports, signifying the Gaelic Athletic Association revival and cultural renewal. Art was represented by 'three representatives of the Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts... in their robes'. They paraded along with competitive athletes, emblematic of an energetic young state united with its diaspora carrying flags of their adoptive countries, and costumed Irish dancers signifying traditional Gaelic culture. 6 Music took its place 'rendered under the direction of Mr. Vincent O'Brien' and helped to generate mass participation by the audience, thus taking public ownership of the event. Walsh's opening speech reminded people that the Aonach Tailteann happened when 'our nation enjoyed complete freedom', and Irish athletic and cultural talent bound 'together the different clans, educating them in racial pride... and inspiring them with a love of the Homeland'. Walsh was speaking of the past to the present, to the nation and its diaspora who the government wished to unite, but he also had in mind the opposing factions in the Civil War and the role sport and culture might play in reconciliation. He concluded saying the dream, almost single-handedly realised by Walsh himself, of restaging the Aonach had been achieved, 'and the Capital of Ireland welcomes thousands of children of the ancient Irish race to her bosom'. Although he opposed the holding of the games in 1924, De Valera echoed Walsh's sentiments in his later comments on the 1924 event.7 Mass attendance by audiences at the opening ceremony, events in the Phoenix Park and the Industrial Pageant of Irish manufacturers engendered a sense of togetherness and civic pride. There was an opening weekend concert and a competition for shops displays of Irish goods. The railway companies 'brought thousands of [visitors] to the various city termini' on special excursions for the Aonach Tailteann and a small number of events were staged outside the capital. Newspaper reports were positive and spoke of 'enthusiasm' and the 'festive spirit [on the] thronged thoroughfares of the city'. Cruise O'Brien writing in the Irish Independent promised the visitor to the art exposition in Ballsbridge 'a fine exhibition' and to 'the native [that] his manly breast will expand with pride'.8 The art exhibition, important to and promoted by the Government, was again a prominent element in the 1924 scheme.

The athletic events took place over two weeks. The national games achieved average attendances in week one but attendances were much better for the international athletics in week two. This was largely due to Olympic participants and medal winners from that year's Olympics travelling to Dublin from Paris on their way home. The Aonach Tailteann coincided (either by accident or, most probably, design) with the end of the Paris Olympics allowing the international participants at these games to also take part in Dublin. The 1924 Tailteann Games with 5,000 competitors was bigger than that years Paris Olympics. America topped the Tailteann medals table with Ireland in second place. While the media expressed disappointment with Ireland not winning, it does highlight the impact of Irish emigrants on American culture and the State taking back 'ownership' of these migrants and their offspring.

Free to attend, the motor-cycle racing and aeronautical displays in the Phoenix Park were the most popular events with the largest attendances. These two free events, not claimed as either ancient or Gaelic, embellished the event with modernity. It featured new technology, speed and excitement - blending Irish

culture into the international modernist age. These events attracted a mass audience to their glamour and modernism. This also reflected the State's desire to assert its Independence as culturally ancient but also to be part of the modern world, signified most prominently in 1923 by joining the League of Nations. However complex, the Irish Free State was forging an identity, distancing itself from its former colonizer and taking its place in the world.

# 1928 Aonach Tailteann.

Governmental support to hold the second Aonach Tailteann in August 1928 was requested the previous December. In a letter, from JV Lawless of the Tailteann Finance Committee to President Cosgrave, he stated that despite some financial losses the 1924 spectacle was a success. He added that in his opinion, 'it is still worth considering as a National Event to be continued for the rallying of our Nationals throughout the world, every fourth year'. 10 This letter was accompanied by a report which highlighted 'the difficulties' holding the 1924 games, namely, 'the opposition of the Executive of Sinn Fein'. Without explicitly or literally mentioning reconciliation, soft power or cultural diplomacy, the report cites the Games as delivering text book examples of each. It identified 'the outstanding advantages of holding the Games' as improvements in 'National stability'..., 'the general improvement of relations between contending political parties through association at the Games', the invaluable restoration 'of this great National festival', and also importantly, 'linking up of representatives of the Irish Race throughout the world' on common platforms. The report stated that the Aonach Tailteann 'synchronis[ed] with the restoration, to some extent, of our legitimate national aspirations'. The report notes:

- 1. The games were a huge success but incurred a [relatively small] financial loss
- 2. They had 'a steadying effect on the National outlook, thereby helping the State'.
- 3. Created a positive view of the State that was not financially measurable.
- 4. It was positive for Irish sport and culture.
- 5. The Tailteann provided an advantage in gathering representatives of the Irish diaspora and 'distinguished foreign visitors' to view Irish athletics, music, art and literature the work of national regeneration.
- 6. It enabled the State to engage with its diaspora and reconnected them with their motherland.

The report concludes that the Tailteann 'bring[s] credit and stability to the state'. It suggests that 'the Dáil approve of the holding of the Tailteann Games... and make provision for a grant of £2,500' annually.

On foot of this request and report the Executive Council 'agreed that the [1928] Games should be allowed to proceed' and provided a loan of £7,500. The spectacle was set for August that year and the organisers planned a souvenir programme which would carry a message of goodwill that 'would strike an all-Ireland note' from President Cosgrave. This asserted again, that art, culture and sport were not partitioned, and served to highlight an aspirational thirty-two county State. The government further approved the illumination of State buildings such as the GPO for the duration of the event.

The promotional brochure for the 1928 spectacle features a drawing of a hurler on its cover and numerous sporting vignettes. It offered practical information on travelling to Ireland and extolled the diaspora to visit and participate in events that offered 'honour and fame on the one hand to writers, artists and musicians, and on the other hand to athletes...' The games followed the successful structure and organisation of the 1924 spectacle. It featured sporting and cultural competitions and an opening pageant that again displayed the pillars of the State's nation building and identity formation scheme. 'Queen Tailté, attended by chieftains and pages, all wearing ancient Irish costumes', were prominent during the opening pageant. The visual arts and design sector were again represented by Irish cultural stalwarts from the RHA. Other cultural codes, including sport, music and literature were also represented. The army and An Garda Síochána were present. However, because the spectre of the War of Independence or the Civil War did not hang over these Games the symbols of national security were less prominent than in 1924, State 'aeroplanes or salvoes of artillery' were absent. A dominant theme, as Lawless had intimated in his submission to Cosgrave, was a shared culture and art - a soft power tool, that helped bridge Civil War divisions, 'conducive to good feeling', and aided 'national regeneration' - reconciliation and nation building.

Director of the Games and now a former government minister, J.J. Walsh performed the official opening in front of 20,000 spectators. The President and various government ministers were represented by their parliamentary secretaries and the press lamented the lack of 'heads of Government' present. However, De Valera, the leader of Fianna Fail and numerous TDs were present, 'those present represented all sections and interests in the community'. That night's opening banquet was attended by Ernest Blythe, Vice-President of the Executive Council, government ministers and TDs. As at the previous Tailteann spectacle, motor cycling in the Phoenix Park was the most popular 1928 event. The industrial pageant and the promotional window displays of Irish goods also engaged large crowds.



The material design of the Tailteanns was consistent across all incarnations. Oliver Sheppard medals for competition winners, Albert Power's trophy of Queen Tailté, graphic work by Victor Browne, Norah McGuinness, Austin Molloy and others, combined with the historical dress in the pageant gave the Tailteann a cohesive revivalist look, an almost corporate identity for Ireland.

## Aonach Tailteann 1932.

The 1932 Aonach Tailteann opened on the 29<sup>th</sup> June, just three days after the Eucharistic Congress closed. Almost inevitably, attendances suffered coming so soon after such a popular event, however, the associated art exhibition, brought forward in the schedule so international Congress visitors could see Irish art, benefited.

The 1932 games were in trouble before they started when 'Gaels in the States ha[d] decided to boycott Aonach Tailteann while the Constitution (Amendment) Act [wa]s in force'. The Amendment Act — giving emergency powers to the government — was seen as Cumann na nGaedheal partisan legislation. However, recognising the political, cultural and economic value of the event, the newly incumbent President De Valera agreed to help the Tailteann organisers, and the boycott was reversed following statements by him to the Irish press supporting the event whole-heartily. He further encouraged participation in the Aonach in his St. Patrick's Day American broadcast and his support was greatly appreciated by the organisers. That President De Valera and Fianna Fáil were favourably disposed to the 1932 Tailteann was further evidenced by the granting of a loan of £1,000 to the organisers. Government departments facilitated the participation of civil servants in, and organising Tailteann events, and the President and ministers attended the opening night ceilidhe in the Mansion House, visually associating the new government with the event.



Opening of the 1932 Aonach Tailteann at Croke Park, Cardinal MacRory centre with Eamon de Valera on his right. Note the prominence of the clergy.

De Valera cleared his appointments for the day and agreed to open the Games, ultimately the ceremonial opening was performed by Cardinal MacRory in De Valera's presence. His new government lent considerable support to ensure the 1932 games happened and in a further show of support for the final incarnation of the Aonach Tailteann the Ceann Comhairle and five government ministers also attended the opening. As already mentioned, in comparison Cumann na nGaedheal politicians, possibly in an effort to depoliticise the event, were notable by their absence at the opening in 1928.

As for the two previous Aonachs, Croke Park was the setting for the opening ceremony, and many of the sporting events. Around one thousand competitors from various sporting and cultural sectors gathered nearby in Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, dressed in their uniforms and marched into the stadium under their respective banners. As in previous years, RHA members, represented art and

arts and crafts. The pageant, heralded by a fanfare of trumpets, was led by two youths, 'dressed in native costume, leading two Irish wolfhounds... followed by Queen Tailté and her court... all dressed in native costumes'. 12

Despite having a very full daily programme with a comprehensive range of events including Irish art and arts and crafts, dramatic arts, Irish dancing and music, a full range of swimming, athletic and team sports, speed boating and motor-cycling – attendances were down and the spectacle didn't garner as much enthusiasm as previously. As well as being overshadowed by the Congress, the 1932 Aonach also suffered because it didn't dovetail with that year's Olympics. The 1924 games ran after the Paris Olympics and had attracted American-Irish athletes and others returning home to stop off and participate in Dublin. The 1928 Tailteann similarly gained from the Amsterdam Olympics. The 1932 Olympics took place in Los Angeles after the Tailteann, so not alone were other nation's Olympic participants unable to attend, Irish Olympians were also absent.

The one exception to the poor attendances was the Tailteann Exhibition of Irish Arts which had an extended run as the organisers had opened the exhibition during the Eucharistic Congress, giving a boost to press coverage and attendances. The highlight of the show was the exhibition of three paintings of St. Patrick commissioned by the Haverty Trust. In total there were 806 works exhibited in the RDS. Although there were considerably fewer works than had been exhibited in 1922 and 1924, it was an increase on the previous Tailteann show and was the largest exhibition held in the country since the 1924 event. A press report stated how the government's Aonach Tailteann exhibition had 'retrieved the position' of Irish visual art, allowing thousands of visitors to see 'more than 800 high quality and interesting works of Irish artists and craftsmen'. An artists and craftsmen'.

The climate of dominant Catholicism - created by the Eucharistic Congress and the St. Patrick celebrations and which remained for decades - was widely reflected in the art exhibition and with the Haverty commissions entering public collections. Following these events, Catholicism - with its lineage in Ireland stretching back to pre-colonial times, alongside its international agency and reach – was harnessed politically by the Irish government, and became a more potent symbol of Irish national identity.

# THE END OF THE AONACH TAILTEANN SCHEME.

In any event, 1932 was the last incarnation of the Aonach Tailteann. Many reasons have been posited to explain the cancellation, some believe an Olympic scale event needs rotation to maintain freshness and enthusiasm. The Games were loss-making and other commentators believe that Fianna Fáil sabotaged the event because it was too closely aligned with Cumann na nGaedheal. However, De Valera and Fianna Fáil's private and public backing of the event in 1932 hardly supports this interpretation. Whatever the role of party politics during earlier iterations, it was politics within sporting bodies that finally scuppered any prospect of another installation of the Aonach before World War Two. This was the same impasse that prevented Ireland from participating in the 1936 Berlin Olympics. A myriad of sporting organisations emerged, all claiming to represent - all of Ireland, 26 county and 6 county athletes and cyclists and others - but essentially there were two main competing athletic and cycling bodies: the National Athletics and Cycling Association of Ireland

(NACA) an all-Ireland/island body affiliated to the GAA and the Irish Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) a 26 county body affiliated to the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF). If the Aonach Tailteann was held under NACA rules then the IAAF would prevent its members, both Irish and international athletes, taking part, and if the games were held under AAU rules then the GAA wouldn't participate, meaning in effect that having a Tailteann event centred on sport in Ireland had become impossible. Despite this, the Games organisers sought government support and private finance in the form of a public Aonach Tailteann Fund, its trustees being J.J. Walsh, Dermod O'Brien, George Atkinson and Cyril McGough. The presence of two artists reflected the importance to the spectacle of the art exhibition and competitions.<sup>16</sup> According to archive files, disagreement on athletic representation is cited as the biggest obstacle to holding the Games, with the Minister of Finance fearing that, 'the athletic side of the Aonach would be an absolute failure and that national prestige would suffer'. This file also documents the official government response, which was to commission a report into the feasibility of holding the Games in the future, it was 'greatly influenced by the existence of the present athletic dispute...' and responded negatively. The split within the sporting associations, reflected unresolved political divisions and territorial claims arising out of Independence and the Anglo-Irish treaty, more than ten years earlier.

The most enduring legacy of the Tailteann scheme was its agency in facilitating a peaceful political transition of government from Cumann na nGaedheal to Fianna Fáil in 1932.<sup>17</sup> Embraced by both sides of the political divide – it illustrated the unifying nature of sport, art, and culture.

#### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> T.H. Nally, *The Aonach Tailteann and the Tailteann Games. Their origin, history, and ancient associations*, (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1922).
- <sup>2</sup> J.J. Walsh was a pro-Treaty TD and a founding member of Cumann na nGaedheal. He served as Postmaster General from 1922 until 1924 and retired from the Dáil in 1927. He was a member of the GAA in Cork.
- Dáil Éireann debate. Vol. S2 No. 2. "Aonach Tailteann". 1st Mar. 1922.
- <sup>4</sup> National Archives of Ireland. NAI. TSCH/3/S1592. Tailteann Games, 1922-1924.
- <sup>5</sup> National Library of Ireland. NLI. MS 31,078. Yeats Family Papers, 1862-1960.
- <sup>6</sup> For extensive coverage of the Opening of the Aonach Tailteann see Anon. "The Tailteann Games. Great Parade at Opening", *Irish Times*, 9th August, 1924. 7.
- <sup>7</sup> Eamon de Valera, "An Occasion for National Re-union" in Aonach Tailteann 1928 Souvenir Program, (Dublin: Gaelic Press, 1928). 7.
- 8 Cruise O'Brien, "Hosting of Artists and Craftsmen A Fine Exhibition' Irish Independent, 5th Aug 1924 6
- Twenty three medal winners from the 1924 Paris Olympics competed in that year's Tailteann Games, the most famous was the American athlete Harold Osborne. He won gold in Olympic decathlon and high jump.
- 10 NAI. TSCH/3/S8970 Aonach Tailteann, 1928.
- <sup>11</sup> NAI. TSCH/3/S8971. Tailteann Games, 1932.
- $^{\rm 12}$  Anon. "The Tailteann Games",  $\it Irish\ Times,\ 2nd\ Jul.\ 1932.\ 18.$
- <sup>13</sup> Anon. "Aonach Tailteann Exhibition of Irish Arts and Crafts", *Irish Times*, 20th Jun. 1932.
- <sup>14</sup> "Exhibition of Irish Arts and Crafts" in Weekly Irish Times, 25th Jun. 1932. 6.
- <sup>15</sup> See, Pearse Reynolds, "'A First-Class Split': Political Conflict in Irish Athletics, 1924-40." In *History Ireland*, Vol. 20, no. 4 (2012). 30-33 and Patrick O'Sullivan, "Ireland & the Olympic Games." In *History Ireland*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (1998): 40-45.
- $^{\rm 16}$  NAI. TSCH/3/S8369, Aonach Tailteann, 1936.
- 17 This was the first change of government since political independence in 1922 and some commentators had predicted violence and another civil war.

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# Echoes of the 57th Regiment in Co Galway from the 1821 Census

# BY STEVE DOLAN

On May 28th, 1821, the first census of Great Britain and Ireland was commenced and, though only a handful of the returns for Ireland survive, one of the fortunate few areas to boast intact returns is Athenry town in County Galway. Documented within same, in building 62 Cross Street, was an army barracks which housed a division of the 57th Regiment of Foot. The story of that regiment and its Galway soldiers is a special one and one which is overdue in its telling.

The '57th' had been established in 1755 as the 59th Regiment and, after an immediate 'renumbering', in 1782 it was renamed 'the 57th West Middlesex Regiment of Foot' in a period when regiments were given county names. The regiment was subsequently posted everywhere from North America to the East Indies to mainland Europe and for a time they boasted two battalions. Throughout this period the regiment included many Galwaymen and their story is both the story of the regiment and in many ways the story of the empire.

# THE 57TH AND GALWAY

One of the first Galwaymen to enlist in the 57th was Michael Hynes, who served in several regiments in a career lasting 24 years before discharge in 1794, aged 58, 'old, rheumatic and worn out'. Hynes was from Galway City and he was serving alongside several of his county-men, with Patrick Loughlin from Kiltormer, serving up to 1799, with George Hammit and Thomas Murray from Tuam, and Sergeant Patrick Grady from Ahascragh also serving at the turn of the century. At this time the regiment was posted in Gibraltar and had briefly earned the nickname 'the leatherbacks' after the numerous floggings endured. Privates Edward Carter and Patrick Cassidy from the city and Thomas Haines from Duniry continued the county's legacy into the nineteenth century with the numbers of Irishmen enlisting now beginning to soar. The regiment would earn their enduring nickname 'the die hards' at the bloody Battle of Albuera in Spain on May 16th, 1811, during the Peninsular War, when their commanding officer was shot but refused aid calling his men to hold their position and shouting 'die hard the 57th, die hard!' Among the survivors in the regiment almost wiped-out that day were Kinvara's John Wilkinson and Clonbur's Michael Burke.

After a period of serving in the occupation in France following the defeat of Napoleon, somewhat of a policing role, the regiment was then stationed in Ireland from the winter of 1818. This was a most welcome assignment and soon the men were immersing themselves in everyday Irish life and marrying local ladies as testified in regional newspapers. From the autumn of 1820 Co Galway hosted the regiment, with Galway county towns like Loughrea described as being, literally, a barrack in this era given the number of soldiers around.

The Galway posting amounted to a homecoming for many of the men. One of the more experienced crop of soldiers within the ranks of the 57th, and who had served with them abroad, was Galway city's Mark Butler who had enlisted in 1813 and would go on to serve until 1830 while two Loughreamen coming home were Corporal John Fahey, who had served in the 66th for 7 years in the

East Indies (India) before joining the 57th in 1819, and Private Peter Redmond who had previously served in the 97th. Joining Redmond in moving from the 97th was Private Patrick Burke from Kilcluney, Ballinasloe who would also go on to serve for many years (until 1835 indeed).

Yet another to move from the 97th after they were disbanded in 1818 was Private Stephen Feneighty from the St Nicholas (city) parish. The 97th regiment had served in the Peninsular War, in Egypt, in the West Indies, and in Canada where they took part in the Anglo-American War of 1812. Feneighty had served with them from 1804 to 1818 and had been wounded at the Battle of Hampden in September 1814 as the British sought to establish a new colony called 'New Ireland' at present day Maine in the United States. New Ireland lasted for only eight months before being returned to the US.

# THE CENSUS

While the main body of the regiment were stationed in the city, as noted a small party of soldiers was barracked in Athenry and the following details the census return made by these men:

Name	Age	Details / Occupation		
Robert Dee	31	Soldier, 57 Regt Foot		
Thomas Goody	24	Soldier		
John Rippin	32	Soldier & Tailor		
Jeremiah Canneff	28	Soldier		
Thomas Harrys	27	Soldier & Rope-maker		
Mary Harrys	24	Wife		
Thomas McGuire	26	Soldier		
Jane McGuire	26	Wife		
William McGuire	4	Son		
Richard Hope	24	Soldier		
Pat Reily	21	Soldier & Weaver		
John Sutt	23	Soldier		
Falkner Banka	32	Soldier & Hair Dresser		
John Howarden	24	Soldier		
William Morgan	28	Soldier		
Bernard Barkam	30	Soldier		
Mary Barkam	28	Wife		
James Barkam	1	Son		
Daniel Leonard	27	Soldier		
Catherine Leonard	20	Wife		
Elen Leonard	2	Daughter		
Flourence McCarty	26	Soldier & Taylor		
Honoria McCarty	22	Wife		
William Gates	30	Soldier		
James Walker	37	Soldier & Baker		
John Stephens	30	Sergeant & Carpenter		
Richard Leppand	30	Soldier		
Ann Leppand	26	Wife		
Sally Leppand	1	Daughter		



Pictured is the rebuilt barracks as it is today, a thriving restaurant

In total 19 soldiers are listed at Athenry barracks along with 6 of their wives and four of their children. The average age of the men was only 27 years and, as many of these men survived to discharge, their service records are also available. These records paint a picture of their lives at a time when enlisting 'for life' very often meant just that, with many soldiers meeting their death at the end of a weapon or, more often, by disease or disability.

The first listed soldier on the census, Private Robert Dee, was from Fedamore in Co Limerick. He had attested at Clonmel two years earlier and had previously served in the 100th Foot (1813-1818) which included spending much of his first year in the West Indies, before serving three years in North America (Canadian frontier). He had also briefly served in the 97th Foot (1818) before their disbandment.

Dee had been a good soldier, albeit his conduct was 'irregular' and so while he was promoted to Corporal in 1826, he was reduced (demoted) two years later. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Dee was literate which made promotion possible. His cause of discharge, chronic rheumatism, in 1830 was attributed to his experiences during the early period of the settlement of Moreton Bay off the coast of Brisbane.

Private William Gates from Sussex was also discharged with rheumatism (in 1841) giving an indication of the hardships and conditions that the men faced — both in Australia from 1825, and in India from 1831. Prior to arriving in Ireland Gates had served with the 57th for three years being the army of occupation in France.

Although aged only 26 at the time of the census, Private Thomas McGuire from Aghavea in Fermanagh was already a seasoned soldier who had been wounded while serving with the 44th Regiment in action through the left leg at the Battle of Waterloo on 18th June, 1815. After serving six and a half years with the 44th he had joined the 57th at Kilkenny the previous year (January 1820) with his wife and son in tow and served until the Christmas of 1824 when his leg injury finally forced his discharge.

Another soldier discharged in 1824, fortunately so given the experiences of his comrades in the 57th soon to be deployed abroad, was Private Faulkner Banks. Like McGuire, Banks was a seasoned soldier who had served in the 72nd Regiment of Foot (1808-1816) including for two years in the East Indies immediately prior to enlisting in the 57th in 1816. The Edinburgh-man was considered to *be worn out in the service* albeit he had briefly sought to return to duty.

# THE MAIN REGIMENT

Among the bulk of the regiment based in the city were many Galwaymen who had just attested, but alas the census does not survive for the city. These men came from right across the county — from Oughterard in the west to Tynagh in the east and from Headford in the north to Gort in the south. The following is a list of just some of those who swelled the ranks of the 57th in Galway city together with some details of their service.

Reference	Name	Address	Service	Discharge Reason (Age)
WO97/698/3	Timothy Daly	Kinvara, Gort	1820-41	Varicose veina (39)
WO97/697/83			1820-39	Chronic rheumatism (41) Chronic hepatitis (39) Chronic pains -worn out (39
W097/698/6			1820-38	
WO97/701/30	Florence McGell	eGill St Nicholas, Galway		
WO97/703/30	James Rooman	Rahoon, Galway	1821-43	Rheumatic pains (49)
WO97/698/91	James Finn	Clarsen, Headford		Affection of ankle joint (31)
WO97/699/10	Michael Gibbons	Claren, Galway	1821-23	Wounded 18 April 1827 (20
WO97/703/68	Gilbert Shaughnessy	Cladough, Galway	1821-39	Chronic hepatitis (36)
WO97/700/116	Patrick Lyden	Clarren, Galway	1821-23	Blindness of right eye (34)
WO97/698/60	John Eagan	Clonrush, Treesa	1822-43	Disease from climate (41)
WO97/700/22	Thomas Joice	Kilcummins, Galway	1822-37	Disease from almost (33)

The performance of all of these men appears to have been quite good and all but Gibbons and Lydon served in Australia for six years or so from 1825, and then in the East Indies. Typical of those who attested was Private Michael Connolly from Kilconierin, just east of Athenry. He had enlisted late the previous year and went on to serve for more than 18 years, including six in New South Wales and seven in the East Indies. At 5ft 8in in height, illiterate, and a labourer prior to his enlisting, he really was the typical soldier. And, like most, he had enlisted in winter time 'to put food in his belly and clothes on his back'! A fondness for alcohol had apparently seen him go AWOL for a couple of days in 1822 but both his character and performance were good. And again, typically, his discharge reason was 'chronic rheumatism' attributed to his foreign service.

While one must balance the very positive coverage given to the regiment while stationed in Co Galway with the sources providing same, it does appear that the regiment was among the finest in the army and was highly regarded by the people of Co Galway when based within the county. Indeed they even risked their lives in Athenry with the heroism of the men in February 1821 in saving the town from being engulfed by fire particularly worthy of praise. In November 1821 the *Galway Advertiser* reported on a review of the garrison at Eyre Square where it was noted that nothing could equal the brilliant appearance and perfect discipline of the 57th regiment and many old and experienced Officers who were present declared that in the course of their services they never heard anything to equal the precision of their firing.

It is likely that events like this, and the conduct of the regiment at other outings, greatly assisted the recruitment process. In truth however, the economic 'push' that saw these Galwaymen enlist was very considerable and in rural Ireland there were few of the options for men that were available in the rest of Britain. Matters were accentuated further given the level of poverty and even famine within much of Ireland in this period. Such was the level of distress in the west, in the spring in 1822 urgent fundraising was deemed necessary. A sum of 900*l* had been collected in Galway by that summer, of which twenty guineas was provided by the men of the 57th.

Life in the army was no easy escape and the conditions for the men were poorer than one might envisage. Even when stationed 'at home', fatalities due to illnesses were common and for example a Lieutenant Condell died in Galway in February 1822. Many of the army barracks were as insanitary and as overcrowded as prisons, and so inevitably the mortality rate was often higher than if these men were civilians. In general too, when en route to posts abroad, illnesses and fatalities were suffered in high numbers while on arrival the referenced diseases and unhappy natives were an ongoing threat.

# DEPARTURE

In any event, on June 11th, 1822, just one year after the census, the Connaught Journal reported that the grand division of the 57th Regiment of Foot, stationed in this Town for upwards of eighteen months, marched hence for Limerick, on Monday morning; and never did any corps carry with it more general esteem. The feelings of the people were manifested in the multitude that accompanied the Regiment for upwards of two miles out of the town. The concourse was large, among which were many respectable inhabitants. Their regret was well deserved — the soldiery conduct of the Men and Officers entitled them to it. Their charity and benevolence during the present period of distress call strongly for encomium.

Interestingly, the regiment was discussed at length in this period in a variety of publications and forums. Firstly, there were the calls by Sir Octavius Carey, who himself had once commanded the 57th regiment, in favour of the abolition of corporal punishment in the army. In connection with same, the records from the House of Commons note that in the four months 1822-1823, eleven sentences were handed out in the 57th, ten of which resulted in anything from 250 to 800 lashes. Secondly, the extraordinarily harsh treatment given to Privates Joseph Sudds and Patrick Thompson on their discharge in Australia in 1825, which resulted in the death of Sudds, made international headlines.

Immediately prior to departure for Australia in 1825, a final recruitment drive had seen another stream of Galwaymen enlist, primarily at Ballinasloe. The following are the particulars of these men:

Reference	Name	Address	Service	Discharge Reason (Age)
WO97/699/120	Edward Hudson	St Michaela, Galway	1825-46	Chronic bowel complaint (39)
WO97/1048/41	Martin Logan	Cruffin, Galway	1825-40	Impaired vision (34)
WO97/697/76	Michael Comber	Kilcleoney, Galway	1825-48	Chronic rheumatism (39)
WO97/702/111	John Quinn	Caltra, Galway	1825-47	Physical decay - worn out (40)
W097/698/86	Michael Feeney	Kiltorman, Galway	1825-30	Record unavailable (21)
WO97/697/65	John Coffey	Kilchoney, Galway	1825-27	Loss of right eye (28)
WO97/701/39	John McGuinness	Clonfert, Galway	1825-47	Physical decay - wern out (39)
WO97/698/54	Patrick Duffey	Augheyartt, Galway	1825-47	Physical decay - worn out [43]:
WO97/698/92	Patrick Finnagan	Aughrim, Galway	1825-47	Physical decay - in pain (39)
WO97/698/74	James Emmett	Ballinakill, Woodford	1825-46	Physical decay (38)

Two centuries on from the referenced census and service records only the faintest echoes of these men survive in records. In the west just as we commemorated the fallen in the Great War, and other conflicts in recent years, one hopes we might also be ready to recognise the men who went before.

## FURTHER READING:

In addition to being available at the UK National Archives in Kew, service records are now available on subscription websites like 'Find My Past' whose military collection is excellent.

Steve Dolan is a local historian from Kilconieron in County Galway. He is CEO of Galway Rural Development, editor of the Athenry News & Views magazine, and is involved with various charities and heritage groups in Co Galway.



Steady the Drums & Fifes

# From Riches to Rags — The Life and Times of Horace de Vere Cole

# BY JIM HEFFERNAN

Born to wealth and privilege, Horace de Vere's life mirrored the decline of the Ascendancy class in the decades around the First World War. His father, Major Willy Cole, was a British army officer. He was a son of William Henry Cole, a man of humble origins, who had become very wealthy by cornering the market in quinine and had bought the vast West Woodhay Estate in Berkshire. Horace's mother, Mary de Vere Burke, had inherited Issercleran (or St Clerans) in County Galway, all her Burke uncles having died without issue. One of them,



Issercleran, Craughwell, County Galway

Robert O'Hara Burke, died of thirst and starvation while leading the Burke/ Wills expedition which made the first land crossing of Australia. Horace's premature birth on 5 May, 1881, was registered in the Ballincollig registration district, County Cork. His mother was visiting her husband who was

stationed in the area. She probably gave birth at Blarney Castle as the owner, Sir George Colthurst, was a family friend.

Horace's grandfather, Francis Horatio de Vere, one of the de Veres of Curraghchase, County Limerick, had married Anne Burke of Issercleran. An Army officer, he was murdered by a disgruntled soldier on the parade ground at Chatham barracks. The poet Aubrey De Vere and his brother Stephen de Vere who, during the Famine, had sailed on one of the coffin ships with some of his tenants and subsequently persuaded Parliament to strengthen maritime regulations, were great uncles.

Horace's father, William, died of cholera in India in 1892 when he was young and his mother Mary re-married. Her new husband, Herbert Studd, was closer in age to Horace than to Mary herself. Horace's sister, Anne Cole, married Neville Chamberlain in 1911. He was a son of Joseph Chamberlain, Mayor of Birmingham, and a prominent member of Liberal and Conservative cabinets. Anne's mother, Mary, was unimpressed by her daughter's marriage into a family of 'mere Birmingham businessmen'. Horace's brother Jim inherited Issercleran when their mother, Mary, died in 1930. Horace suffered partial deafness after contacting diphtheria in 1891.

As a child Horace exhibited the traits which would make him notorious as a spectacular and often cruel prankster. Participating in amateur dramatics he switched real poison for the prop in the play *Shades of Night* and nearly killed the leading lady. On another occasion he pushed his German governess into a small goods lift which fell to the ground floor. He was an indifferent student at

Eaton and was in a lower class. Laurence Oates, who walked out of Scott's tent in the Antarctic, was in the same class.

Horace was caught up in the Jingoistic fervour on the outbreak of the Boer War and in February, 1900, left Eaton, aged 18, to join the elitist Duke of Cambridge's Own, a volunteer cavalry company for 'Hooray Henrys' in South Africa. He showed some talent in South Africa and was commissioned in the Yorkshire Hussars in spite of his deafness. His military career was cut short when he was shot and seriously wounded while escorting a convoy in the Orange Free State. This was a turning point in his life, ending his military career and leading to a life of idleness. After convalescing at West Woodhay he went up to Cambridge in October 1902. As at Eton his academic performance was poor.

At Cambridge Horace perpetrated various minor hoaxes. His most spectacular hoax there impersonating an uncle of the Sultan of Zanzibar and his entourage who were visiting England. Horace recruited some college friends, including Adrian Stephen, participated in other Horace hoaxes in later years, and Robert Bowen-Colthurst, brother of Captain John Bowen-Colthurst who murdered Francis Sheehy-Skeffington during the Easter Rising. They engaged the services of a theatrical costumier, Willie Clarkson, a master of disguise. The hoaxers were received by the Mayor of Cambridge and visited



Horace de Vere Cole

their own college, Trinity, where they were feted by the college authorities. Horace subsequently gave the story to the Daily Mail which published it to the embarrassment of the various authorities. Horace didn't sit his exam and left Cambridge without a degree.

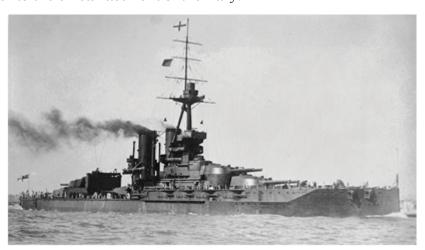
On the death of his paternal grandmother in 1906 Horace inherited West Woodhay in Berkshire. Horace had no interest in running West Woodhay, which was a substantial estate with 2500 acres of land with several associated business enterprises, and sold it to his uncle Alfred Cole who had been running the estate and the other businesses. He eventually lost his fortune on residential and commercial buildings in which he invested in Saskatoon Canada, one burned down others were never fully occupied.

Horace was highly promiscuous and throughout his life was involved with numerous women from prostitutes to aristocrats; he was particularly attracted to very young women. One of his earlier dalliances was with Countess Pasolini. Mildred Pasolini Montague, the daughter of a railroad baron from Chattanooga, Tennessee, was unhappily married to an impoverished Italian, Count Paso Pasolini, in Rome. She eloped with Horace to London and then Ireland where Horace rented Derrybawn House in County Wicklow. Horace met Pasolini and bullied him into agreeing to an annulment. The couple went to Washington where they persuaded her father to arrange an annulment. Leaving Mildred in

the United States Horace returned to London where he received letters stating that he was not to see Mildred again. She was later married to a wealthy American and her sister to a cousin of Pasolini.

Around 1910 Horace became acquainted with Augustus John, the leading artist of his generation, starting a love hate relationship that would continue for two decades.

Horace became famous when he perpetrated the Dreadnought Hoax in February 1910. The battleship Dreadnought, the first of a revolutionary class of battleships, was the flagship of the British Home Fleet. The British Empire was at the peak of its power which was based on the supremacy of its navy. The hoaxers impersonated a cousin of the Emperor of Abyssinia and his entourage who were in England to investigate places at Eaton for their sons. The British were anxious to facilitate Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) because of their colonial rivalry with Germany in East Africa. The conspirators included Adrian Stephens and his sister Virginia, who subsequently became famous as Virginia Wolfe. On receipt of a telegram purporting to be from the Foreign Office the Navy took the group to the ship by steam launch where the entire ship's company paraded before them. The party were invited to the wardroom, but only Horace, who was posing as a Foreign Office official, accepted as the others were afraid of spoiling their makeup. The story was leaked and appeared in the Daily Express newspaper to the embarrassment of the Navy.



HMS Dreadnought

In 1911 there was an incident involving Oliver Locker-Lampson, MP, an old friend from Eaton. Locker-Lampson had boasted that as an MP he could not be tried for a criminal offence. While dining together one evening Horace slipped his watch into his friend's pocket. As they left he challenged Locker-Lampson to a race, who ran ahead. Horace ran after him waving his cane shouting "that man has stolen my watch". Locker-Lampson was intercepted by a police man. Both men were arrested and taken to Vine Street police station. Locker-Lampson was released and Horace was fined £5. Winston Churchill, defending Locker-Lampson in the House of Commons, called Horace "a dangerous man to his friends". There was now a widespread feeling that Horace was becoming a liability. According to one newspaper "Cole's presence in a restaurant causes terror".



The Dreadnought hoaxers. Virginia Stephen, Duncan Grant, Adrian Stephen ('interpreter'), Anthony Buxton, Guy Ridley, Horace de Vere Cole ('Foreign Office Official')

Horace's Hoaxes, spectacular and small, continued unabated. Dressed by Willie Clarkson as navvies, Horace and his friends tricked a policeman into directing traffic before digging a trench across Piccadilly. They then adjourned to the nearby Ritz Hotel to observe the resulting confusion. While staying in Dublin Castle with Robbie Bowen-Colthurst, who was serving as vice-chamberlain to the Viceroy Lord Aberdeen he leaped out from behind a bush piercing the Viceroy's coat tails with his swordstick. Claiming to be testing the Viceroy's security he shouted to the bodyguard who had rushed up "you are 20 seconds too late"; he was sent back to England for his pains.

On the outbreak of the First Would War many of Horace's friends had joined up and within a year three of the Dreadnought and Cambridge hoaxers were dead. Against this background, when hearing that on the introduction of conscription in 1917 the sculptor Jacob Epstein (whom he disliked), had gained an exemption as an 'irreplaceable artist', he successfully campaigned to have the decision reversed, making many enemies in the process. Epstein was conscripted but subsequently discharged on medical grounds following a nervous breakdown.

In 1916 Yeats described John Bowen-Colthurst, a captain in the Irish Rifles, murderer of Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and two others as "a friend of Horace Cole the practical joker who is hardly sane, as the mad attract their like, one can measure him". He convalesced in Ireland from a lung infection in 1917 and was a regular at the Kildare Street Club.

In 1918 he married Denise Daly, a seventeen year old heiress. Mentally unstable, she had run away from home to Horace's Aunt Eily, Lady Shaw, at the Shaw's mansion at Bushy Park near Dublin. A surviving twin, she was heiress to three estates in Galway — Raford and Furbough, from her father, Denis Daly, and



Inside the Cafe Royal by Adrian Allison 1915.

Horace was a leading light here in the pre-war years. Horace is portrayed second from the left of the painting; next to him is Iris Tree whom he nearly married; Augustus John (bearded) and his Wife Dorelia are sitting together to the left of the pillar. The woman sitting alone in the foreground is Nancy Cunard heiress to the Cunard shipping line fortune.

Peterburg from her mother Kathleen née Lynch. Her father had died before she was born and her eccentric mother, who took no interest in her, spent her time travelling Europe under the nom de plume 'Daly du Sedruol'. Made a ward of Chancery to protect her fortune, Denise could not inherit or marry until she was 21. A week after leaving his current mistress, Deborah Webber, behind in London he proposed marriage to Denise and the Lord Chancellor was successfully lobbied to free Denise from Chancery. The couple married on 30 September, 1918, in a Catholic ceremony in the University Church in Dublin, Horace, a Protestant, having been given a dispensation. Denise's cousin, the Earl of Westmeath, boycotted the ceremony believing that Horace at 36 was too old and unreliable to marry a girl half his age and suspecting his financial motives.

Initially things went well, the couple settled into Radford, a Georgian mansion near Athenry, and Horace appeared to have left his dissolute life behind him, Denise gave birth to a girl, Valerie, within a year. However, due to pressures during the Troubles the relationship deteriorated with Denise's mental state worsening and Horace reverting to his old habits. He took up residence in the Shelbourne hotel, drinking long into the night with friends such as Joe Hone, James Stephens, Jack Yeats and Darrell Figgis. Denise took lovers and eventually ran off and hid in Wales with a young waiter.

Horace obtained a divorce and got custody of Valerie.

There was only one large scale post-war hoax, the victim was a vain rich Englishman. Taking advantage of the turmoil in the Balkans at the end of the war Horace pretended to clandestinely sell the throne of Croatia. He hired two penniless Russian émigrés to assist in the process and, after a number of clandestine meetings, the victim was invited to a house in Eaton square to meet a heavily disguised Horace, posing as a Croatian minister. Hinting that an American was also interested, Horace negotiated an enormous price, received a cheque and arranged for the victim to return to the house at a later date to receive the crown from a delegation of Croatian bishops, generals and statesmen who were on the way to England. Arriving in white tie and tails for his coronation he was greeted by two footmen who threw open the doors of the drawing room to reveal Horace and his friends mocking him.

The income from Horace's Canadian apartments diminished, one had burned down in 1925. Desperate for money, and heavily in debt, he sold off his paintings, his library and his London house in Cheyne Walk. He was no longer famous in the 1920s, a relic of a bygone era "famous for once being famous". He no longer had a house and had resigned membership of his club so he now stayed in hotels. He sent, Valerie who had been farmed out between various relations, to a school in Cambridge. When Horace's mother died 1930 brother Jim Cole inherited Issercleran.

Horace had first noticed Mabel (Mavis) Wright, then aged 19, in June 1928 in the Cafe Royal. After a difficult childhood in Cambridgeshire she had already worked in a factory printing labels for jam jars, as a scullery maid, and a nanny before getting a job as a waitress at Veeraswamy's Indian restaurant near the Cafe Royal. After an on-off relationship he married Mavis in February 1931 in Chelsea Register Office. Horace's finances deteriorated further and he could no longer afford a hotel room, heavily in debt, he put his remaining belongings into storage and fled to France with Mavis where they could live for a third of the cost.

They settled in the Hotel Etchola in Ascain in the Pas Bas where Horace had holidayed as a child. Mavis spoke no French and was unsettled. The situation became worse when they were joined by Valerie whose school fees were hopelessly in arrears. In October 1932 the trio moved to a villa across the road, leaving their hotel bills unpaid. By this time the couple slept in separate rooms. There were rumours of Mavis's infidelity and constant arguments. Mavis left for St Ives to visit relatives, with Horace expecting she would be away for a month or so. Horace continued working on his autobiography which he never finished. Horace received no further funds from Bircham, his solicitor, who had power of attorney as the investment company in Saskatoon was racking up enormous debts.

Mavis returned several months later in 1933 and subsequently Horace had a problem with the French police over her. Two officers called to the house over Mavis's lack of a French identity card. Horace lost his temper and "damned all Frenchmen especially the police". He was immediately arrested and threatened with deportation. Horace's brother Jim, who was now based in Galway, engaged the assistance of the British consul in Bayonne who sorted out the problem with the police. Jim now took charge of his brother's affairs securing Horace's

English debts against Horace's remaining paintings and paying off his French debts at £5 per week. He sent Horace an allowance of £5 per week for his living expenses. On hearing that the publication of his proposed book was unlikely Horace lost heart and destroyed the manuscript.

Mavis left Horace for good at Easter 1934 and he lost contact with her. She began an affair with Augustus John in 1935 and in January 1936 Horace heard from Jim that Mavis, who he had not seen for two years, had had a son. Mavis never revealed who the father was but it was probably Augustus John who had fathered numerous children by various women.

Valerie, who was neglected and in rags, was rescued by the British Consul in Bayonne who placed her in a convent school and got Horace into a bed-sit in Bayonne away from his creditors. With Mavis and Valerie gone Horace's remittance was reduced to £2 per week. Meanwhile his brother-in-law, Neville

Chamberlain, had become British Chancellor of the Exchequer

Horace moved to a cottage at Honfleyr in

Horace moved to a cottage at Honfleur in Normandy for a lower rent. It had bare earth floors, no running water, electricity or a fire place. Horace was found dead in his chair on the morning of 25 February, 1936. Neville Chamberlain was the first to be told and he and Annie arranged for Valerie to be brought from the convent at Bayonne and placed in their care at 11 Downing Street. Life improved for her; she was introduced to society coming out as a debutant and being introduced to the King and Queen. She moved with them to Number 10 when Chamberlain became Prime Minister subsequently meeting and marrying a French air force pilot. Horace is buried next to his Uncle Alfred in West Woodhay.



Horace's sister, Annie, with her husband, Neville Chaimberlain



Sketch of Horace de Vere Cole by Augustus John

# IRELAND'S ROUND TOWERS

by ??

Ireland's Round Towers, *Cloigtheach*, were a distinctive feature of the Irish landscape. Several various eras are offered as to the original date of construction during Ireland's historical foundations. Round Towers were established as free-standing structures; shaped like a stony tube, topped by a conical roof.

These were constructed between tenth or thirteen centuries as ecclesiastical buildings also as protection from Viking raiders or warring local tribes. Initially roofs were wooden but due to vulnerability of fire or lightening were replaced by stone roofs to reduce danger. Stone roofs also improved acoustics plus the bell's resonance. The builders were extremely skilled experts with knowledge of pulleys, hoists or the external scaffolds. The towers' foundations were just 0.51 metres below ground level. They were approximately 30 metres high with a single doorway.

Inside wooden floors divided the space into levels. The last one under the roof included four windows for illumination. During 1845 the Artist, Scholar, Antiquarian George Petrie demonstrated their ecclesiastical origin plus functions of the peculiar buildings. He portrayed that the towers were constructed near monasteries where the ringing of the bells was essential for the monastic life with a call to monks at prayer time.<sup>1</sup>

The Round Towers ranged in height from approximately 20 metres to 40 metres. The doorways may have been of Romanesque round headed or lintelled shaped while the windows were small plus set high up in the drum. The interior of the towers was divided into several floors, each one reached by ladders inside the building. The roof was conical in shape.<sup>2</sup>

There are remains of sixty-five round towers scattered across Ireland; soaring as high as 34 metres above ground level. With a probable construction period between 7th to 13th centuries the towers were at sites of well-known Christian churches from 5th to 12th centuries.

Initially the towers were free standing structures; in later years monastic foundations were constructed around the towers. The principles used were the same for all: two walls of block & mortar constructed with space in between with a core of rock rubble. Of the original sixty-five towers: twenty-five were built with limestone, thirteen of iron-rich, red sandstone whilst the rest were of basalt, cray slate or granite. Thirteen towers retain their conical caps.

In his Irish Round Towers Lennox Barrow's article on dimensions states that: it is remarkable how little the main dimensions vary. In the great majority of towers the circumference at base lies between 14 metres to 17 metres. The thickness of the wall at the lowest point on which it can be measured varies from 0.9 metres to 1.4 metres. Most doorways were raised 15 metres to 45 metres above the ground. The higher you could build before making an opening in the wall the stronger the base would be. Doorways. windows, story heights & diameter also follow clearly defined patterns, & we may well conclude that most of the towers were the work of teams of builders who moved from one monastery to another using the standard designs.

The American Scientist, Professor Philip Callaghan, discussed in Ancient Mysteries, Modern Visions his research that round towers may have been

designed, constructed, utilized as huge resonant systems for the collection plus storage of metre-long wave lengths of magnetic & electromagnetic energy formed from the earth plus skies. He also stated that the seemingly random geographical arrangement of the round towers throughout the Irish countryside actually mirrored the position of the stars in the Northern sky during the time of the Winter Solstice.

He discussed the probability that the towers were powerful amplifiers of radio resonance from the atmosphere generated by lightning flashes around the world, the Irish Round Towers were human made antenna which collected subtle magnetic radiation from the sun and passed it on to monks meditating in the tower and plants growing around the tower's base in another article from his 'The Mysterious Round Towers of Ireland: Low Energy Radio in Nature: The Explorer's Journal: Summer 1993. (Martin Gray)<sup>3</sup>

From Armoy in County Antrim to Aghadoe outside Killarney there are sixty-five of these slender, tapering round towers in various degrees of survival. Co. Galway has six towers. Co. Dublin has four towers with Counties Clare, Kildare, Kilkenny plus Mayo have five remaining towers.

Included in the above are on Island sites, i.e., Tory in Co. Donegal, Scattery at mouth of the Shannon, Inishmore off Co. Galway's coast, Ram on Lough Neagh, Cealtra on the Clare side of Lough Derg plus two on Devenish on Lower Lough Erne near Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh. They range from thirteen which are complete to eight that merely now resemble stumps at not more than 3 metres in height. (Paul Ross)<sup>4</sup>

# FOOTNOTES

Dr. Petrie (1790 – 1866) concluded in his Essay *Round Towers of Ireland* that the towers are of Christian or Ecclesiastical origin: they were designed to serve as Belfries or Keeps or places of strength in which all sacred utensils, books, relics, plus valuables, were deposited. They possibly served as Beacons or Watch Towers. He also stated that the Monks who they belonged to could retreat to safety in case of sudden attacks.<sup>5</sup>

His Essay on *The Origin & Uses of Round Towers* of Ireland won him a prize of £50 from the Royal Academy of Ireland. He published during 1845 *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo – Norman Invasion, comprising an Essay on the Origin & Uses of the Round Towers.* <sup>5</sup>

The idea that Towers were *Antennae* plus forces of energy was trialled in an experiment of Turlough Round Tower when it was soaked in a diamagnetic solution of Epsom salts, then allowed to dry naturally: thin force lines spaced evenly at one millimetre appeared up the tower. On the conical roof at the top of the force line spiralled up to the point. At certain heights up the tower the force lines became much thicker bands. These correlate precisely with the floor levels in the actual towers.' *Enigma of the Towers*, Professor Philip Callaghan 1997 Kindred Spirit Autumn.<sup>7</sup>

Tadhg O'Keefe, UCD Professor of Archaeology, has suggested that the towers were originally high status royal chapels. He cited that two of them, Kells and Duleek, were scenes of regicide plus the windows were arranged clockwise to imitate the order of relic–carrying procession from the elevated door to the top.<sup>8</sup>

Video of Lecture: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7JlcIKDOHKk

These sites have images with information on several round towers:

https://visionsofthepastblog.com/category/round-tower/

https://sacredsites.com/europe/ireland/tower\_of\_cashel.html

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish\_round\_tower

Round Towers of Ireland, Barlow Lennox 1979 Gill & Macmillan was also reprinted in 1994 by Buvinda Publications. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\_Lennox\_Barrow

Thomas Sheridan produced a Documentary during 2017 indicating that the Irish round towers were of Druidic rather than Christian origin. It may be viewed at this link: https://video.search.yahoo.com/search/

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- <sup>3</sup> Round Towers of Ireland (https://sacredsites.com/) [assessed 9th November 2019]
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Round Tower, Castledermot



Round Tower, Kildare

# Irish Bards

# BY NOELENE CROWE

Irish bardic poetry was an intensely complicated tradition. They were produced by specially trained bardic poets. Written in both Early or Middle Irish, these poems were composed during a time in Irish history called 'Gaelic Ireland'. This was a long period during which the Gaelic political and social order existed in Ireland and Irish language and culture flourished. It came to an end around the middle of the seventeenth century. The country at that time was ruled by various Chieftains. Despite the Norman invasion in the 12th Century much of the country remained under Irish kings or Anglo-Irish lords. Irish culture continued as the bards memorised their poems or songs: thus they provided their material in the oral tradition.

Irish poetry of this time used a complicated mix of rhyme schemes, metaphors plus symbolism. This style was hugely different from the poetic traditions of non-Celtic countries also it remained the same for centuries. Foreign visitors commented that the Irish were intoxicated by the power of words! Ancient Irish society recognised four grades of poets: the bard was the lowest, and the filidh was the highest. Among the numerous Bards who dedicated their talents to praise their Deity were Bishop Feich plus the Learned Cinfaela. (From Dublin Penny Journal Vol 1 No 3 July 14th1832)2 Ireland's Mirror 1804 referred to Hennessey as the 'Orpheus of his country.' Villemarque believed that the Irish Bards were 'really the Historians of the Race.' Walker did not discover if female bards existed but admitted that females cried the Caoine over the dead yet in Calthluina it was written that the daughter of Moran seized the harp, and her voice of music praised the strangers. Their souls melted at the song, like a wreath of snow before the sun. The Statutes of Kilkenny made it a penal law by King Edward III to entertain any Bard, but the Munster Bards continued to hold their annual sessions. In the Life of Columba 1827 it was recorded that The Bards and Sennachees retained their office, and some degree of their former estimation among the nobility of Caladonia and Ireland, till the accession of the House of Hanover<sup>3</sup>

# MANUSCRIPTS

The best-known extant manuscript was *Lebor na hUidre*, the *Book of the Dun Cow* that was composed of collections of old Irish Sagas transcribed from 1100 c. e. The 'Dinn Seanchas' contained poems by the poet Finin Mac Luchn during the 2nd century. The Mac Firbisig School in Sligo claimed a continuous tradition since the 12th century. The first early modern Irish textbook for poets, a tract on Metrical Faults is now preserved in a mid – 14th century document 'O Cianain Miscellany' at the National Library of Ireland. The 14th century revival of historical lore and genealogies was led by the Court Poet and Historian Seaan Mor ua Dubagain: He contributed an early portion to the Book of Ui Maine. The family were archivists to the Church Settlement of Clonmacnoise. A famous early 15th century edition was the Leabhar Breac of Dunniry preserved in the National Library of Ireland. Other major manuscripts of that era were the Book of Ballymote plus the now lost Annals of Kilronan from which the 16th century scribe Philip Ua Duibgennain drew most of his material for the still extant Annals of Loch Ce. The 16th Century Annals of Connacht were attributed to the

neighbouring school of Ua Mael Chonaire at south Roscommon. *The Dialogue of the Two Sages* now housed in Trinity College Library was written in Irish Fenian dialect that provided the qualifications required to be a true Ollamh. <sup>4</sup>

#### Bardic Schools

At the Bardic Schools students spent three or more years as they studied each level of poetry prior to their progression to the next level. The Academic year lasted from November to May; according to the 15th Century poet, Taghg Og O Huiginn, students were dismayed when they heard the cuckoo as it meant they had to take holidays from school! The music of harp and tympanum (an instrument like a zither) was also studied in bardic schools. The leading musicians' families were Ui Coinnecain and MacCerball. The Ollamhs had Colleges at Clogher, Armagh, Lismore also Tamas. Joseph Cooper Walker's Historical Memoirs 1786 observed that all the eminent schools delectably situated, which were established by the Christian Clergy in the 5th Century, were erected in the ruins of these Colleges. They studied for twelve years to gain the barred cap and title of Ollamh or Teacher. Gofraid Finn O Dálaigh plus Maelmuirs MacRaith cited references to their studies as they read a book together with their Teacher of Fosterer; they used the word 'daltae' i.e., pupil or 'fosterchildren.' There were Law Schools of which the first described as 'Ollamh of Connacht in law, a chief master of jurisprudence' was Gilla na Naem mac Duinnsleibe Meic Arducain during 1309. Other Law schools were attributed to the families of: Ua Breislien Fermanagh, Mac Birthagra east Ulster, Na Duib de Boirienn Ua Brien - both of Clare, Mac Aeducain Mc Fhlannchada. Medical schools in the South were: Ua hIceda, Ua Cruinn, Ua Laide, Man an Lega with Ua Bolgaide in Leinster, Ua Cenndubain in south Connacht. Medical schools provided basic training in Irish spelling, grammar also Metrics plus men from medical families that attended often served as scribes who compiled learned anthologies of history, poetry or law. Ulster poets were schooled at Tir Connell of which Fearghal Og Mac an Bhaird was the author who archived the Nine Years War 1594 -1603, The Flight of the Earls 1607, The Ulster Plantation also Counter - Reformation clerics at the Louvain Irish College.<sup>5</sup>

# Bards Life

When a poet had reached filidh level they acted as an official poet to a king. Alongside their recitation of their own particular art they were involved with Royal matters, tribal matters or national concerns – all of which would be remembered and recounted in different poem formats. Kings, Chieftains also Lords encouraged bards to promote their vast deeds, strengths, generosity or their tribal success. Many Bards created personal elegies, love or religious poems plus satire. A practice of theatre known as Reacaire was recited to a king on a bard's behalf that was accompanied by instrumental harp music.<sup>6</sup>

# SOCIAL STATUS

The monk Columcille leaped to the art-form's defence, saying that poetry was an essential part of Irish life, and that Ireland would not be Ireland without it. Everything in daily life was recorded orally by the bards, including genealogy, medical cures, music and history. The highest of the poets was called an *ollamh*, or chief official poet, (ollamh is literally 'most great') and had a social rank almost equal to the king. This high social status existed right into Elizabethan

times, when English nobility were horrified to see the Gaelic chieftains not just eating at the same table as their poets, but often from the same dish! The poets were rewarded with land or cattle to support themselves. As they travelled to other kingdoms they could stay for up to a year with their hosts. In fact, some of the ollamh had their own staff. Ollamhs were provided with dwelling houses, free lands, cattle plus an ample stipend for his talents unfortunately this practice proved troublesome and expensive.

# END OF TRADITION

Eventually the excessive demands of the File and Ollamhs provoked a reaction: during 575 A.D. the High King Aodh Slāine resolved to banish the caste. Through the intercession of St. Colmcille the threat of exile was withdrawn, their powers curbed: even the Ollamh was reduced to a retinue of twenty – four men. <sup>9</sup> Many monks took over the record – keeping lore of daily occurrences– as they wrote down many poems of life within the old tradition in their manuscripts. Christianity eventually made the poets redundant. Monks wrote poetic verses into the margins of Manuscripts as can be seen in the Book of Kells at Trinity College in Dublin etc. There are still many unpublished bardic poems while just a small fraction of them have been transcribed from English to Irish. <sup>10</sup>

# FOOTNOTES:

The following images may be seen at: https://oldmooresalmanac.com/the-history-of-the-irish-bardic-poets An image by Anto Huxll of The Bard before the Royal Family' plus a Woodcut from John Derrick's Images of Ireland (published 1851 depicts The Chief of the MacSweynes being entertained by a bard: the site also contains a Map of Ireland 1450 noting the native Irish, Anglo – Irish Lords plus those of the English King. 11

In 'A Scholar's Life' a poem referred to the cushy life of the poets, it highlighted that they acquired the privileges of courtly life without its politics being imposed on them. An incident referred to Senchān Topéist, Chief Poet of Connacht later Chief Poet of Ireland on the occasion when he composed a poem that was credited with the death of mice who fell from his roof as he had believed they had taken his meal!<sup>12</sup>

# FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The Fascinating History of the Irish Bardic Poets (https://oldmooresalmanac.com/) [assessed 25th September 2018]
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# Lurgan's Master McGrath — Ireland's Greatest Ever Sporting Greyhound.

## BY LARRY BREEN

Growing up in my home town, Lurgan, Co. Armagh, in the 1940s could best be described in the words of a great friend of mine, Art Ó Dalaigh from Benburb, "as a childhood spent in simplicity and tranquillity". As kids we were left very much to our own designs and created our own entertainment, largely unaffected by influences of the outside world. Family was paramount and we



Master McGrath with Lord Lurgan

were very fortunate to have a wonderful Granny, in Granny McGreevey, on my mother's side of the family. She was, in fact, the matriarchal figure of the family sitting in her favourite seat in the corner of the living room, enjoying her little sniff of snuff and the occasional tipple from her small bottle of John Powers whiskey which she kept discretely in her apron pocket. She was a great storyteller and it was from her that I first learned, and was fascinated by, the story of Master McGrath.

It was a special story for us because our family lived adjacent to the grounds of Brownlow House, Lurgan Castle, the home of Lord Lurgan and his famous dog, Master McGrath. The Castle was visible from where we lived in Wellington Street and my mother and granny were both born in nearby Castle Lane which

was the back entrance to Lurgan Castle. I do recall both telling me how some older members of the McGreevey family would see Master McGrath come out on occasions from the back gate of the Castle at the bottom of Castle Lane, accompanied by his trainer. She loved to quote from the famous ballad penned on the subject and her words still ring clearly in my ears even to this day.

She would start with:

The hare she went off with a beautiful view, as swift as a deer ore the wild fields she flew, Rose gave the first turn according to law, but the second was given by Master McGrath.

Rose was the great English dog and the pride of England who McGrath defeated to win one of his three Waterloo Cups.

The story of Master McGrath is inextricably linked with the history of Lurgan and in particular the Brownlow family. They arrived in Ireland during the Plantation of Ulster and were responsible for the emergence and development of Lurgan as an important provincial town. The family were originally from Nottingham and were millers by trade. Before the plantation of Ulster in the

1600s the local Gaelic Lords of the area were the McCanns, a sept of the O'Neills and Lords of Clanbrassil. The Irish name "An Lorgain", means literally "the shin". One early name was "Lorgain Chlann Bhreasail", which was anglicised to Lurganvallivackan, meaning "shin shaped hill of McCann's settlement".

About 1610 the lands were granted to the English Lord William Brownlow and his family. By 1619 they had established a Castle and Bawn for their accommodation and "a fair town of forty two houses" with streets paved and clean. Brownlow became MP for Armagh in the Irish Parliament in 1639. During the Irish Rebellion of 1641 Brownlow Castle and Bawn were destroyed and his wife and family were imprisoned in Armagh and also in Dungannon in Co. Tyrone. The land went back to the McCanns and the O'Hanlons. In 1642 Brownlow and his family were released by the forces of Lord Conway and, as the rebellion ended, they returned to their estate in Lurgan. William Brownlow died in 1660 but the family went on to contribute to the Linen Industry which peaked in the town in the late 17th Century.

Greyhound racing has been a popular sport in Ireland for many years and the Brownlow family was very much a part of the coursing world of greyhound racing. The sport owes its origins to "coursing" which is quite different to the sport now run on circular/oval tracks using a mechanical hare. Back in its early days the hares or jack rabbits used were live and this resulted in many of them being killed by the dogs. Undoubtedly the greatest greyhound in the history of the sport in Ireland and in the world for that matter was "Master McGrath". He is still remembered to this day in word and song and his memory celebrated all around the world.

The story of Master McGrath begins with the Brownlow family in Lurgan, Co. Armagh. His owner was Charles Brownlow better known as Lord Lurgan. Charles, second Baron Lurgan was born on 10th April, 1831, K.P. 76th Regiment, Lord Lieut. Co. Armagh 1864/82, Lord in waiting Queen Victoria 1869/74. He married Emily Ann, daughter of John Brown, the 3rd Lord Kilmaine. Charles was an Anglo Irish Liberal politician, son of Charles, 1st Baron Lurgan, whom he succeeded in the Barony in 1847. He sat on the liberal benches in the House of Lords and served as whip in the House of Lords 1869-1874 in the first liberal administration of William Ewart Gladstone. Lord Lurgan's other claim to fame was that of a leading figure in the Coursing world where he held a nomination for the Waterloo Cup. He showed a great passion for the sport and was well respected in coursing circles both at home in Ireland and in England. So much so that he was responsible for holding the famous annual coursing meeting at Raughlin, in which the "Visitors Cup" was the main feature of the programme. It was at this meeting in 1867 that Master McGrath, then owned by Lord Lurgan, won the Visitors Cup and was nominated to compete in the Waterloo Cup.

The life of this great dog does not begin as you might expect, in Lurgan, but many miles away in County Waterford, in the town of Dungarvan in fact. Lord Lurgan's interest in coursing took him to many parts of Ireland where he would have made friends and acquaintances. One of these friends and a colleague was a man named James Galway, a well-known dog breeder from Colligan Lodge near Waterford town. Lord Brownlow had sent down one of his great coursing dogs, Dervock, to James Galway for breeding purposes. McGrath was sired from Dervock and a bitch called Lady Sarah. He was born in 1866 at

Colligan Lodge, the home of James Galway, and was initially a small weak pup that was in some danger of not surviving at all or, at best, not considered worth keeping. Little did we know that we were looking at a dog that was to become the most famous greyhound in the history of the sport.

He was one of a litter of seven pups and he did survive and although small developed into a well-built dog. As a pup he was nicknamed "Dicksy". The dog's name is an interesting story. He was apparently named after a young dog handler, Master McGrath, who in fact had taken a liking to the dog and apparently saved him from drowning which had been contemplated due to his unattractive appearance. From the beginning he did not look that impressive and would not have been considered a dog likely to be reckoned with. He had a very poor first trial and, in fact, his trainer, James Galway, wanted to give him away. His handler, "Slipper", did have some faith in him and, after taking him in charge, he did win several races and was returned to the trainer. The following description of the dog conveys the qualities he was to show in abundance later in his career. "His eyes were like living balls of fire. The muscles in his back sprung and twisted like a whalebone. The dog looked as if he was supercharged with electricity. I knew at once that the hare had no chance. McGrath swept round her when she broke and crashed into his game like a shot from a gun. I will never forget it."

Master McGrath was now in Lurgan with his owner Lord Lurgan at Brownlow House and in fine fettle. The year was 1868 and he was entered into his first Waterloo Cup which took place near Liverpool. The blue ribbon of greyhound racing beckoned and a contest against the pride of England, "White Rose", a formidable opponent. The English poured scorn and ridicule on Lord Lurgan and his Master McGrath. However, Lord Lurgan was unruffled and retorted, "For your grand English Nobles I do not give a straw, here is five thousand to one on my Master McGrath". The English had to eat humble pie as McGrath swept to a famous victory and McGrath and his owner returned home to a hero's welcome.

The next year, 1869, more than 12,000 people gathered at Altcar to see if the Irish interloper could repeat his now famous victory. In his final course, Master McGrath drew in against Bab-at-the-Bowster, a Scottish bitch that was also considered unbeatable. In what many consider to be history's greatest coursing match, the two ran neck and neck until Master McGrath proved he wasn't a fluke and pulled away to record his second Waterloo Cup win.

In 1870, when trying to win the Waterloo Cup for the third consecutive year, Master McGrath suffered the only defeat in his coursing career. The event was held despite a controversy over course conditions. Many felt that a February freeze had caused the course to be unfit. This was indeed the case as Master McGrath fell through some ice and almost drowned in the River Alt. As he struggled in the icy water, an Irish slipper by the name of Wilson jumped in and saved him. After this mishap, Lord Lurgan vowed never to course Master McGrath again and took him home to Ireland to recover from his ordeal. It is also said that a large fortune was lost on the race by Lord Lurgan and many people from Lurgan who had bet heavily on him winning and that many had to pawn the deeds of their property to meet the debts to the English bookmakers.

in racing condition, Lord Lurgan could not resist the challenge of trying for an unprecedented third Waterloo Cup Victory. To the utter disbelief of some this amazing greyhound came through and won the event for a third time. Following this victory, Master McGrath received a summons to appear before Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. His success enabled Lord Lurgan to build a terrace of houses in Walthamstow, London, from Master McGrath's winnings. These houses now form part of Shernhall Street but are still clearly marked at one end of the terrace as Master McGrath Terrace.

However, this success story of one of Ireland's great sporting heroes was to end suddenly with the untimely death of Master McGrath in 1872. McGrath had been feeling out of sorts for about a week when on the Monday, his trainer, Walsh, found him unwilling to rise. Medical aid was called for at once but at about 10.30 on that day he died. In order to satisfy the public that no foul play was involved an investigation was carried out at the Kennels of Brownlow House, Lurgan.

The investigation was conducted by Rev. Dr. Haughton of Dublin, secretary to the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland and Mr Bray, V.S. of Lurgan. They first received a statement regarding the symptoms the animal exhibited from the Friday when he was found to be unwell. The prescribed medicines that were administered were considered proper for the circumstances and they state that there was no reason to believe that other medicines had been used besides those mentioned by Walsh, the trainer. Both gentlemen then made a postmortem examination and it was found that the cause of death was tubercle and pneumonia affecting the lungs, the tubercle being of some standing and probably from one to two years. The immediate cause of death was double pneumonia. In this diseased condition the heart hypertrophied, being double the size of a dog of Master McGrath's weight. It was conjectured by some that his heart being twice the size of a normal dog may have been to some degree



Master McGrath with his trainer James Galway

Known as the "Immortal Black", he had lost only once in thirty-seven race meetings, a most impressive record. Where he lies buried is a matter of debate and no one really knows for sure where that is. It is said he was buried in the grounds of a house in Lurgan called "Solitude" where he had spent time training. This house has since been demolished and another story is that he lies at a house once owned by an early English settler. The story, we as kids were most familiar with was that he is buried in the grounds of Lurgan Castle under a yew tree. Many an hour I spent looking for it with my childhood friends when playing in the castle grounds.

the reason for his success.

Master McGrath has certainly not been forgotten and is remembered in many ways and in many places. He was memorialized on the Irish sixpence coin and was the subject of several well-known paintings. There are monuments to him in the grounds of Brownlow House, Lurgan; in High Street, Lurgan, Co. Armagh, and also an impressive monument to his memory at the junction of the Clonmel/Cappoquin roads just outside Dungarvan. Many pubs have been named after him at home and abroad, notably a Master McGrath Pub/Restaurant in Seabrook, New Hampshire, USA, still bringing in visitors. He is depicted on the Lurgan Town Coat of Arms and also the family crest of the Brownlow family. A famous son of counties Armagh and Waterford he is also immortalised in the famous "Ballad of Master McGrath", recorded by such personalities as Dominic Behan, the Clancy Brothers, the Dubliners and many others. Ronnie Drew, of Dubliners fame, introduced their version of the song as "a song celebrating one of the few Irish victories on English soil".



The Master McGrath Monument

# THE BALLAD OF MASTER McGrath

Eighteen sixty nine being the date of the year, Those Waterloo sportsmen and more did appear; For to gain the great prizes and bear them awa', Never counting on Ireland and Master McGrath.

On the twelfth of December, that day of renown, McGrath and his keeper they left Lurgan town; A gale in the channel, it soon drove them o'er, On the thirteenth they landed on fair England's shore.

And when they arrived there in big London town, Those great English sportsmen all gathered around; And one of the gentlemen gave a "Ha! Ha!" saying, "Is that the great dog you call Master McGrath?"

And one of those gentlemen standing around, Says, "I do not give a dam for your Irish greyhound"; And another he laughs with a scornful "Ha! Ha!, We'll soon humble the pride of your Master McGrath,"

Then, Lord Lurgan stepped forward and said, "Gentlemen, If there's any among you have money to spend, For your grand English nobles I don't care a straw, Here's five thousand to one upon Master McGrath,

Then McGrath he looked up and he wagged his old tail, Informing his lordship, "I know what you mane, Don't fear noble Brownlow, don't fear them, agra, For I'll tarnish their laurels", says Master McGrath,

And Rose stood uncovered, the great English pride, Her master and keeper were close by her side; They have let her away and the crowd cried "Hurrah!" For the pride of all England – and Master McGrath.

As Rose and the Master they both ran along, "Now I wonder", says Rose, "what took you from your home; You should have stayed there in your Irish domain, And not come to gain laurels on Albion's plain".

"Well. I know", says McGrath, "we have wild heather bogs But you'll find in Ireland there are good men and dogs. Lead on, bold Britannia, give none of your jaw, Stuff that up your nostrils", says Master McGrath.

Then the hare she went on just as swift as the wind, He was sometimes before her and sometimes behind. Rose gave the first turn according to law; But the second was given by Master McGrath.

The hare she led on with a wonderful view, And swift as the wind o'er the green field she flew. But he jumped on her back and held up his paw "Three cheers for old Ireland", says Master McGrath.

# GERMAN U-BOAT SINKS KILKEEL FISHING FLEET, APRIL 1918

# WITHOUT LOSS OF A SINGLE LIFE

# BY DOREEN McBride

The *Never Can Tell* proved a prophetic name for a craft belonging to the Kilkeel fishing fleet as it set on sail on 30th April 1918.

The cook-boy, Tommy Donnan, recalled hearing church bells ringing and seeing people dressed in their in best. It was a beautiful peaceful scene on Ascension Day, one that remained etched in the memories of the fishermen. Who would have thought the *Never Can Tell* would never return?

The 30th of April 1918 was a sparkling day. The crew of the *Never Can Tell* were in high spirits, with no thought of danger. They were looking forward to selling another good catch as they set out to sail more than twelve miles to the fishing grounds. They saw the Kilkeel fishing fleet, joined it and shot their nets.

Fishing boats caught food for local people and were attacked by U-boats. Germany believed starving people would lose the will to fight. At first the German U-boat Captains behaved in a gentlemanly fashion. They took the crew off ships, apologised and put them safely on life-rafts. The British answer was to disguise war ships, then blast the Germans out of the water as they saved the crew. The Germans responded by taking the only action possible. They sank ships, crew and all.

The *Never Can Tell* crew were happy and relaxed with U-boats the last thing on their minds.

Tommy Donnan, the young cook, had had an easier time than usual because the sea was calm and the men had been well fed on shore. Afterwards he said, 'We sighted a submarine surfacing a little distance off our starboard beam. He didn't appear interested in us, then, as we rounded to come on to our nets, he fired six shots across our bows. We knew he meant business. It was a U-boat. It came along the *Never Can Tell* and that was when I saw the machine gun.

'Just you picture it — us standing on our wee boat, looking down the barrel and not knowing if, or when, it would start firing. If we were scuttled so far from shore we were unlikely to survive.

The U-boat Commander shouted, in English, "Have you any guns?" and like one man we shouted, "No".

'The U-boat Captain shouted, "I want to speak to your skipper."

'Paddy Kearney yelled, "I'm in charge." The German replied, "We're coming aboard."

One of the U-boat crew jumped onto the deck of the *Never Can Tell*. He was clutching either a bomb or a grenade, Tommy couldn't be sure which, but it was 'the size of a nice three-quarter turnip' The German knocked it sharply on the rail of the fishing boat, flung it into the hold and yelled at the crew to board the submarine.

Some of the crew, who'd been having a nap, grabbed the wrong clothes in the confusion.

Tommy said, 'When we were all aboard — and it didn't take long I can tell you because there was plenty of encouragement in the hold. We were mustered along the conning tower casing with hands above our heads. The engines came alive, and we moved a little to starboard. The U-boat pulled away and headed in the direction of the *Saint Mary* another Kilkeel boat fishing some distance away. Behind us, deserted and lonely looking, we left our wee ship drifting, but not for long. There was a muffled thump, her mast fell and she slid back down into the water. It was all over very quickly. A sad sight for all of us. Heaving-to beside the *St. Mary*, the German repeated the process, but this time he ordered the crew to take to their punt before blowing up their boat.'

The *Never Can Tell* was owned by Mrs. Cousins from Kilkeel. Luckily she'd insured it for £400 during the previous week, which was substantial cover at the time although now it is a laughable sum! Most of the boats were not insured and loss of a boat resulted in loss of livelihood and hard times because Kilkeel is at the base of the Mourne Mountains where the soil is poor and farming unprofitable.

The *Cyprus*, the *Sparkling Wave*, the *Honey Bee*, the *Lloyds*, the *Jane Gordon* and the *Marianne McCrum of Annalong* all suffered the same fate. Then the U-boat turned north and sank three boats from the Ardglass fishing fleet.

Tommy said, 'With every sinking our spirits went down.'

The Captain of the U-boat was sharp with the fishermen but one of the German sailors smiled at Tommy and touched his head.

Tommy wasn't sure if he meant, 'Keep your head cool and you'll be all right,' or 'Watch it, or I'll blow your head off!'

The crew of the *Never Can Tell* felt very vulnerable standing on the U-boat. They knew if a British ship came into sight the German submarine would crash dive and they would have to swim for it. Other boats saw the *Never Can Tell* being sunk, realised the same thing was going to happen to them and cut their nets and pallets loose so they could use them as life floats.

Eventually the *Moss Rose* was the only fishing boat left. It was all alone, surrounded by the debris of the sunken ships and the small punts.

Tommy said, 'We thought the *Moss Rose* was "for it" too but when we came close to her the Germans put us aboard and said, "When you get back to Port tell your friends how the Germans treated you."

That statement may be interpreted in two ways. It could mean, 'We are boasting about our ability to sink fishing craft and want to scare other fishermen.' Or, 'We have preserved your lives, which is good treatment in the circumstances considering our countries are at war.'

The Moss Rose had an engine but it did not have a punt. The German Captain put the crew of the Never Can Tell onboard the Moss Rose and told them to stay clear of the overloaded punts that were rowing precariously, in darkness, towards the distant shore. Luckily the sea was like a millpond or many lives would have been lost.

Tommy's brother, James Doohan (different family to the cook boy Tommy Donnan) had managed to dodge the attack. He sailed out again in his boat the 'Queen Bee', found the punts and towed them back to Kilkeel.

The fishermen knew the *Moss Rose* had an engine but she did not have a punt and she did not arrive back until 4 am, which was much later than the others. The fishermen were very upset because they thought she had been sunk and her crew had drowned. Her engine had refused to fire, there was practically no wind and the men had to sail her home!

The U -boat sank the entire Kilkeel fishing fleet boat, except the 'Moss Rose', the 'Queen Bee' and the boats that had been fishing off Waterford on that fateful day..

James and Tommy crept into bed without disturbing their sleeping parents. When Tommy came into the kitchen next morning his mother asked why he was wearing his good clothes. He replied, 'The first place I'm bound is to Hughie Kerney's to return his clothes, and you'd better go into the town and get me a new rig for my own clothes are at the bottom.' That was when she first realised the danger both her sons had been in!

The U-boat Captain went out of his way to ensure the safety of the fishermen. He was in an area where the Royal Navy was active and it was standard practice not to worry about loss of life when sinking ships carrying food to a besieged nation. Why did he save the men from Kilkeel fishing fleet?

The Germans asked the fishermen if they knew Mrs. Collins of Mountain Road, Kilkeel. Apparently at least some of the U-boat crew visited the area with a German band that had toured the area before the war. They received the hospitality and friendliness for which the people of Mourne are famous. Perhaps that's the reason lives were spared?

A Mrs Collins did run a B&B on the Mountain Road prior to the First World War, according to information received from the Tourist Information Centre in Kilkeel. She moved to Dublin and it proved impossible to make contact with her descendants. She probably never knew people in Kilkeel believe her kindliness resulted in there being no loss of life when a German U-boat sank the Kilkeel fishing fleet.

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# Monasterboice and Muiredach's Cross

## BY BRENDAN CULLEN

Monasterboice was founded by St. Buithe who died in 521 A.D. The monastery appears to have ceased to function in the year 1122 A.D. The first reference to Monasterboice in the annals was recorded in 759 A.D. nearly 250 years after the death of its founder. However, there is evidence that Monasterboice was a famous seat of learning and had a well stocked library as the following entry in the "Annals of the Four Masters" for the year indicates: "The Round Tower of Monasterboice was burned and with it its books and numerous treasures". What these books and treasures were is hard to say but we can assume that Monasterboice possessed decorated manuscripts and exquisite sacred vessels similar to those of other monastic establishments. It appears that Monasterboice was never attacked by the Vikings, despite the fact that there was a major Viking settlement in nearby Annagasson. Therefore, it is strange to find a Round Tower at Monasterboice because it has always been assumed that Round Towers were erected as a defence against Viking raids. All the evidence points to the fact that the Vikings here lived in peace and may have lived either close to or even within the monastic enclosure. This may explain this reference in the Annals of the Four Masters for the year 968 A.D., "Domhnaill, the High King of Ireland, plundered Monasterboice against the foreigners and burned 300 of them in one house." Presumably, the Round Tower was used as

a defence against attack by Irish groups as

Today the principal remains at Monasterboice include two small stone churches, a Round Tower, a sundial, two grave slabs and three High Crosses. More than likely there were other buildings, all made of wood, because there is evidence that the monastery extended well beyond the site of the present graveyard. Immediately south of the present site in the adjacent field there is a slight crescent-shaped rise in the ground. It's possible that this is the remains of an earthen bank and ditch which enclosed the original monastery. This suggests that the original enclosure was oval in plan and measured nearly 600feet from east to west, covering an area of about 20 acres. The crowning glory of Monasterboice is undoubtedly its two High Crosses viz. Muiredach's Cross, also called the South Cross, and the tall West Cross.

Muiredach's Cross is very well preserved, is about 5.5m (18 feet) high and consists of three separate blocks of sandstone: a pyramidal base; a shaft and wheeled head cut from one block and a separate house cap. The cross is named and dated from the



West Face

inscription which occurs on the lowest part of the west face of the shaft. The scripture scenes are normally read upwards from the bottom.

# WEST FACE

BASE: Is severely weathered and is difficult to interpret.

Shaft: On the base of the shaft are two cats sculptured in high relief. On the background above and between them is the inscription, "Pray for Muiredach who caused this cross to be erected". We know that the Abbot Muiredach Mac Domhnaill ruled Monasterboice from 890 A.D. to 923 A.D. when his death is recorded. So the cross was erected before 923 A.D. and is therefore dated to the early 10th century.

# PANEL 1. ECCE HOMO OR THE ARREST OF CHRIST.

Christ stands in the centre of the panel, his arms held by two soldiers both of whom are wielding what look like Viking swords. He is dressed in a long alblike garment plus a long cloak. Note that the cloak is fastened at the top by a brooch, not unlike the Tara Brooch. This panel gives us a good idea how people dressed in the late 9th and early 10th centuries.

#### Panel 2. Doubting Thomas.

Christ is standing in the centre between two other figures. On the left Thomas is putting his finger into Christ's wounded side. A person holding a book is on the right. This is probably St. John who was the only Evangelist to record this incident. Note that Thomas is putting his finger into Christ's right side but in the Crucifixion scene on the head of the cross Longinus, the spear bearer is on the right side of the cross and thus pierces Christ's left side.

## Panel 3. Traditio Evangelii.

Christ is seated in the centre between Peter and Paul. To Peter who is on the left He gives the keys of the Kingdom and to Paul He gives the Book of the New Law.

# HEAD OF THE CROSS.

Beneath and above the crucified Christ are four spiral bosses joined by interwoven serpents. At each side a group of twelve spiral bosses separates

the panels on the arms from the central figure of Christ. Just below the housecap are two swans with their heads entwined.

# CRUCIFIXION SCENE.

Christ is depicted as a young cleanshaven man with his arms outstretched. He has short hair, is fully alive and shows no sign of suffering. Two angels support His head. His hands are nailed and His ankles are bound with a rope. The spear bearer (Longinus) on the right pierces Christ's left side. On the left the soldier



(Stephaton) holds up a cup on a long stick instead of a sponge. Between the soldiers and Christ are two human heads. These represent the two thieves who were crucified with Christ. Under His feet there is a bird, possibly a phoenix, a symbolic allusion to Christ rising from the dead. Between the spiral bosses and each soldier are two small figures: the one on the right kneeling; the one on the left squatting. These are difficult to interpret.

# LEFT ARM.

A group of six soldiers, some armed, on duty at the Crucifixion.

# RIGHT ARM.

Maybe a representation of the Resurrection. In the foreground are two guards each kneeling on one knee. Behind them is the opening to the tomb and in the top of the panel are three figures.

#### House Cap.

The central figure is holding his arms in the air. The two figures at each side support his arms. The common interpretation of this scene is Moses on the Mount between Aaron and Hur. This refers to the Israelite victory over the Amalekites from the Book of Exodus.

# EAST FACE.

Base: Is very weathered and is difficult to interpret.

Shaft: On the lowest part of the shaft a lion with its cub stand out in high relief.

# Panel 1. Adam and Eve; Cain and Abel.

On the left Adam and Eve stand under the Tree of Knowledge. The serpent is entwined around the trunk and whispers in Eve's ear. Eve on the extreme left is offering an apple to Adam. Both are conscious of their nakedness and are trying to cover it up with one hand. This would indicate that the original sin has been committed.

On the right is the consequence of original sin, i.e., Cain killing Abel. Cain is depicted rather menacingly with long hair and a long beard. Abel on the other hand appears young, beardless, defenceless; his hands bound by a rope, palms turned outward as if pleading for mercy. Cain wields a type of club with which he strikes Abel.

# Panel 2. David and Goliath.

Reading from left to right: King Saul seated is armed with a sword and shield; in the centre is David, an open sling hanging from one hand; next Goliath with helmet and shield sinks to the ground. Standing beside him is



East Face

his armour bearer. This panel refers to the story of David killing Goliath by flinging a stone at the giant from his sling.

# Panel 3. Moses strikes the rock.

On the left the bearded figure of Moses is standing with a stick in his hand. Near is head the water is gushing from the rock. In front of him are the children of Israel sitting in two rows on the ground and holding drinking horns.

# Panel 4. The adoration of the Magi.

On the left Mary is seated on a chair, holding the infant Jesus. In the centre is Joseph who is bearded and then the three wise men who have followed the star (shown just above the Child's head) to meet Jesus. Rather strangely they are depicted without their gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh.

# Head of the Cross

## THE LAST JUDGMENT.

In the centre is Christ holding in His left hand a small cross and in His right a flowering rod. Above His head is a large bird possibly a phoenix which is a symbol of His resurrection. Immediately above the phoenix is a group of



three small figures. The central figure is perhaps the enthroned Christ supported by two angels.

To Christ's left is the Archangel Gabriel sounding the trumpet for the dead to rise. To his right a small kneeling figure holds an open book from which on the last day the deeds of men shall be read.

Below Christ are the scales of justice. In one pan a tiny figure is protected by St. Michael the Archangel against the attacks of Satan. Satan is depicted as a demon trying to pull the balance down against the sinner. St. Michael drives his spear into the demon who is writhing in pain on the ground.

# LEFT ARM.

The blessed are gathered on Christ's right hand. A choir of singers and musicians are led by David playing the harp. The Dove of the Holy Spirit is standing on top of the harp. The blessed are looking towards Christ.

#### RIGHT ARM.

On Christ's left hand are the damned who are being driven away from Christ to hell by Satan wielding a trident. An assistant devil is helping by kicking the sinners in front of him. Between Satan and his assistant is a small kneeling figure which is difficult to interpret.

# House Cap.

On the left a figure holding a fan-shaped cross is thrusting at a bird-like creature (a devil?) with a crook-headed staff. On the right is a bearded man holding a spear. It is difficult to know what this panel means.

# 'GET DOWN ON YOUR KNEES...AND PRAY FOR SHACKLETON.'

BY KEVIN KENNY, SHACKLETON MUSEUM, ATHY.

Antarctica, the most isolated of continents, presents a host of paradoxes. Many of these are further highlighted by contemporary phenomena such as climate change and covid-19.



Ernest Shackleton

Research bases in Antarctica are implementing covid best practices despite that continent being (to June 2020) virus free. Global warming and the melting of Antarctic land ice has the capacity to dramatically raise sea levels while Antarctica itself remains environmentally pristine.

These paradoxes extend beyond the realms of environment and epidemiology.

Antarctica is a reference point for the complexities of international relations and geopolitics. Activity on that continent is governed by the 'Antarctic Treaty', an international agreement which dedicates the continent to "continue for ever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes". This science driven agreement has prevailed through

tension laden periods of Cold War and atomic weapon development. As an aside it is notable that Ireland is something of an outlier with no plans to accede to this treaty

Antarctica is an intriguing continent with a profound influence on our planet in terms of past, present and future. It will come as little surprise that from the first confirmed sighting of the frozen southern continent by William Bransfield (b. Ballinacurra, Cork, circa 1785), Ireland has punched above its weight with regard to polar connections.

At the end of the 19th century, the focus of exploration shifted south to Antarctica. In the preceding period, the Arctic and the elusive North West Passage was a dominant theme. Antarctica was new and extreme, and gave rise to the 'heroic era' of exploration that yielded legendary feats and personalities. Of these, Kildare born Ernest Shackleton stands out as something of a colossus. The traits which, a century ago, brought him to the fore, remain relevant today. Summarised by a contemporary as "...when disaster strikes and all hope is gone, get down on your knees and pray for Shackleton", his place in human imagination is assured.

The Irish contribution to polar exploration in both hemispheres is remarkable.

Francis Crozier from Banbridge, Co. Down captained *HMS Terror* on Franklin's doomed Arctic expedition, while Leopold McClintock from Dundalk was a leading light in determining their ultimate fate. In 1854, Wexford born Robert McClure laid claim to first through the North West Passage, albeit with the final leg overland.

In the Antarctic, names such as Patrick Keohane, the McCarthy brothers, Tom Crean and Robert Forde feature as contributors to landmark expeditions. Ernest Shackleton is recognised not only for his expeditions, but for extraordinary leadership, decision making and force of personality.

The Shackletons arrived from Yorkshire to Ballitore, Co. Kildare in the early 1700's. There they established a Quaker School, a progressive institution attracting pupils from as far afield as France, Norway and Jamaica. Graduates include Edmund Burke, Cardinal Paul Cullen, and the United Irishman, Napper Tandy.

Ernest Shackleton was born in Kilkea House on Feb 15th 1874 where his father Henry had leased a farm. Unusually for the Victorian era, Henry and Henrietta, his mother, participated to a large extent in their children's development and education. The family eventually grew to eight girls and two boys. Apart from Ernest, other family members achieved prominence for a variety of reasons:

- Eleanor was a pioneering paediatric nurse in Winnipeg, Canada. She was recognised by the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for her work during WW2;
- Kathleen established herself as a portrait artist, recording the Inuit of Northern Canada; closer to home, she painted various influential Irish personalities including W.B. Yeats;
- Frank was a suspect in the disappearance of the Irish Crown jewels in 1907. He was investigated and acquitted.

In 1880 Henry, uncertain about a future in farming in the light of increasing land agitation, relocated the family to Dublin where he enrolled in TCD to study medicine. On qualifying, the family moved to London, settling in the southern suburb of Sydenham. There, Henry established a successful medical practice. Among his patients was Eleanor Marx, socialist and daughter of Karl Marx. Henry retained his agricultural interests and was something of a herbalist with a reputation for cultivating roses, while Henrietta appears to have been largely housebound following the birth of the youngest child.

Ernest attended the nearby Dulwich College. Aged 16 and with no family lineage in seafaring, he expressed a wish to finish school and go to sea. A cadetship was organised with a shipping line sailing out of Liverpool. Into this rough and unforgiving mileau arrived the young Ernest, laden with books, a good knowledge of the classics, and adamantly abstemious. His first voyage aboard the *Haughton Tower*, a three masted square rigger, was a baptism of fire with a storm hitting as they rounded Cape Horn. Undeterred, he continued his career in the merchant marine learning the techniques of navigation and running a ship. In contrast to the Royal Navy's command and control structures, a crucial skill for a merchant mariner was the ability to relate to everyone aboard from officers to deck crew, and unite all in the often perilous, tough and complicated teamwork of sailing a large vessel. Ernest Shackleton earned his Master's ticket in 1898 enabling him to command a ship on any of the world's oceans.

On shore leave, his sisters introduced him to a friend, Emily Dorman. Emily's father was a wealthy solicitor, the family also living in Sydenham. Ernest and Emily shared an interest in poetry, particularly that of Robert Browning. They fell in love, exchanging correspondence when he was at sea.

Poetry and literature were to play important roles in Shackleton's life. His ability to express himself through narrative is captured in the published accounts of his expeditions – 'Heart of the Antarctic' on his Nimrod exploits and 'South', the epic story of Endurance. He was a capable poet, his final diary entry aboard ship in South Georgia

"...It is a strange and curious place. A wonderful evening. In the darkening twilight I saw a lone star hover: gem like above the bay"

being a portent of his impending death. When summarising the struggle to survive on the ice and the voyage of the *James Caird*, his paraphrasing of Robert Service is spiritual and raw

we have seen God in His splendours, heard the text that nature renders, we have reached the naked soul of man.

Appropriately, a quote from Browning features on his headstone in the whalers cemetery in South Georgia.

I hold that a man should strive to the uttermost

By the late 1800's, the major world powers were increasingly attracted to Antarctica and its valuable resources. The Southern oceans were teeming with whales and seals, valuable sources of natural oils. Britain's entry to this fray involved

the construction of strengthened an ice Discovery (now on display in Dundee, Scotland). It would be crewed by Royal Navy personnel, with a complement of scientific staff. Robert Falcon Scott was chosen to lead the expedition. John de Robeck (of Gowran Grange, Punchestown) proposed as was candidate but the Navy was reluctant to release



Ernest and Emily Shackleton aboard Endurance.

him. That Ernest Shackleton, a merchant mariner, got himself onto the crew illustrates more of his core traits - charm and tenacity.

Discovery arrived in Antarctica's Ross Sea in 1902. The expedition had a broad brief, including scientific, magnetic and geological work, and to explore the continent internally.

In November, Scott, Shackleton and Dr Edward Wilson (who in 1912 would die with Scott on the return from the South Pole) set off hauling their sledges on an exploratory journey South. By end December, having travelled about 400

miles, they were physically spent, and showing signs of scurvy. On the way back, Shackleton was extremely weak and at times, unable to haul the sledge. He struggled on with the others to reach the safety of their base hut.

Scott remained for another year, despatching Shackleton home on a relief ship with the message that he was unsuited to frozen climates. This was the first of many apparent setbacks to Shackleton's career as a leader and explorer. It came at a crucial juncture as he attempted to establish himself as an explorer and prove himself to Emily as something different.

His return to Britain illustrated another of his enduring characteristics - the ability to turn failure into success. On this occasion he was in demand to give talks on his Antarctic experiences, and to advise on rescue strategies for a beleaguered Swedish Antarctic expedition.

He married Emily and began a succession of jobs, eventually becoming Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

Meanwhile, he was planning his own attempt on the South Pole.

In 1907, Shackleton returned to Antarctica aboard *Nimrod*. The expedition was privately funded, gaining support from business magnates including the Guinness family. Polar exploration provided an opportunity for investment in the exciting opportunities offered by new territories and the application of new technologies. Among the innovations aboard *Nimrod* was a modified 'Arrol Johnston' motor car for haulage. Ponies were also brought, Shackleton having seen the limitations of man power during the *Discovery* expedition.

Nimrod arrived in Antarctica via New Zealand end January 1908. Forced by conditions to break an agreement demanded by Scott, Shackleton made landfall at Cape Royds in the vicinity of the old *Discovery* hut. Supplies were landed and the expedition settled in to over-winter and prepare for the Austral spring. In October 1908 a party, including Douglas Mawson, departed for and were successful in reaching the South Magnetic Pole.

Meanwhile the Southern party of four led by Shackleton set off with the objective of reaching the South Geographic Pole.

January 9th, 1909, dawned crisp and windy. The weary explorers who had covered over 700 miles since leaving their base knew that this was as far as they could go. The ponies had been shot and depoted to be picked up as a food supply on the return journey. With depleted resources they couldn't reach the Pole — but they could get within 100 miles of it. They finally turned around 97 miles from their objective, Shackleton noted in his diary 'Whatever regrets may be, we have done our best.' Later he wrote to Emily that he would prefer to be remembered as 'a live donkey than a dead lion'. The return journey was touch and go, but Nimrod was reached start of February, and by end March 1909, the expedition was back in New Zealand.

On his return to Britain, Shackleton received a huge reception, was hailed as a hero and shortly afterwards knighted by the king. In Ireland, he was widely claimed by his country of birth with newspapers running headlines on the achievement. The *Dublin Evening Telegraph* headlined with "South Pole Almost Reached By An Irishman". Later, he visited Dublin, lecturing in what is now the National Concert Hall, and the Rotunda. As was usual, proceeds from his capacity crowd presentations went to local charities.

The following years saw much activity in the Antarctic. Amundsen reached the South Pole in December 1911, crediting Shackleton's furthest South as a major inspiration. He was followed six weeks later by the ill-fated Robert Falcon Scott. With Scott was Dr Wilson and Captain Lawrence Oates who had previously been on the Curragh with his regiment, the Inniskillen Dragoons. There he had indulged his passion for horses, with appearances at Punchestown as owner, trainer and rider. Oates will be forever remembered for his utterance as he left the tent and walked to his death in an Antarctic blizzard 'I am just going outside and I may be some time'.

The Board of Trade Titanic Inquiry of 1912 saw Ernest Shackleton as an expert witness for ship handling in ice conditions. His evidence displayed a keen understanding of the challenges facing those operating a blue riband vessel in pressurised conditions.

In 1913 Shackleton declared his goal as the last remaining challenge in Antarctic exploration, the crossing of the continent from coast to coast. He set about securing funds, equipping and crewing an expedition with his customary energy and charm. Moreover, he found time to write a motivational article for "Boy's Own" where he outlined Optimism, Patience, Idealism and Courage as the essential traits of polar exploration, and for addressing the adversities which life throws up.

The departure of the *Endurance* expedition coincided with Britain entering WW1. The consensus among the expedition members was to offer ship and



November 1915, the dogs look on the wrecked Endurance.

stores to the Admiralty. First Sea Lord Winston Churchill replied: "Proceed". *Endurance* sailed south (the ship was renamed *Endurance* after the Shackleton family motto 'By Endurance we Conquer').

The expedition made a resupply call to the Norwegian Whaling stations on South Georgia before entering Antarctica's Weddell Sea. The plan was to land a small, well equipped party on the Antarctic continent which with dogs and motorised sledges would route via the South Pole to the Ross Sea where another ship was waiting.

Frank Hurley, the expedition photographer, recorded events on glass plate negatives and moving film. Things had started to go wrong from an early stage; by the end of February 1915, *Endurance* was frozen into the ice and wouldn't again move under her own power. The Antarctic continent was never actually reached.

By October 1915, Endurance had drifted across the Weddell Sea, driven by hitherto suspected clockwise currents. The crew hoped the impending summer would see the ice breakup and liberate the ship. Instead the frozen expanse exerted massive pressure and Endurance was torn apart. On the 27th October, having played 'The Wearing of the Green' (coincidentally, a song about Ballitore educated Napper Tandy) on the ship's gramaphone, Shackleton issued the order to abandon ship. The crew moved onto the ice floes and set up tents. Each man was permitted 2 lbs weight of personal effects; letters and photographs from home were encouraged. The banjo, which Shackleton termed 'vital mental medicine', was rescued from the wreck, along with the title page and some excerpts torn from a bible. Frank Hurley was allowed to select photographic negatives from his glass plate archives - the remainder were smashed in a perfect reading of Hurley's determined instincts to sneak extras if at all possible. Caring for and transporting the fragile photographs and film was a source of discord among the sailors. Shackleton's prescience in explaining this record was crucial as nobody would believe their survival story illustrates his optimism and vision.

End November, *Endurance* slipped beneath the ice. It was a surreal scene – 28 men, dogs and stores afloat on an Antarctic ice sheet, lost to a world consumed with WW1. Shackleton's straightforward summary to the crew struck another note of optimism and determination... "Ship and stores are gone, we're going home".

Most trusted his extraordinary leadership. Harry McNish, the ship's carpenter, didn't, and at one stage threatened a mutiny. Shackleton's handling of the situation was a masterly display of his skills of reading a situation and the personalities involved.

The months passed, with new camps established as the ice drifted north and weakened. Shackleton urged patience, calling one camp 'Patience Camp' and summarising his thoughts in a pithy 'put the boot of action into the stirrup of patience'. The routine was busy - everybody had jobs to do, food was aplenty, there was entertainment at night with singing competitions and lively debate informed by a few surviving volumes of Encyclopaedia Britannica. Their mobility was governed by a catch-22; they had to keep the three lifeboats with them for when the ice finally broke up, while the heavy boats prevented them crossing the sea ice to the Antarctic landmass.

By April 1916, the situation was precarious. They were forced to take to the boats, enduring a week of horrendous conditions through stormy frozen seas, before landing on the bleak Elephant Island. It was the first solid land since December 1914.

Though the detail was evolving as the elements dictated, Shackleton did have a vision of how they might escape. During the ice drift, McNish was instructed to strengthen the largest lifeboat, the 22 foot *James Caird*, and prepare it for a sea voyage.

The Polar winter was approaching and one opportunity remained to make contact with the outside world. This required a voyage of over 800 miles across the roughest oceans on the planet – in a small wooden boat. Thus was the voyage of the *James Caird*, regarded by many as the greatest seafaring epic. It began from Elephant Island on Easter Monday 1916, and culminated on South

Georgia 16 days later. Of the six crew, three were Irish – Ernest Shackleton, Tom Crean and Tim McCarthy. Shackleton, Crean and Worsley then crossed the unmapped interior of South Georgia, stumbling into the Norwegian whaling station at Stromness on 19th May. Their first question concerned the progress of WW1.

On Elephant Island, under the leadership of Frank Wild, 22 crew survived in a hut formed beneath two upturned lifeboats. On three occasions, using Norwegian, Uruguayan and Chilean ships, Shackleton attempted unsuccessfully to rescue them. On 30 August 1916, the breakthrough came. A ship hove into sight off Elephant Island. As the ship's boat approached the shore, Shackleton counted the bedraggled survivors and told Frank Worsley he would have 'felt like a murderer' if any had died. Within an hour, all were safely aboard the *Yelcho* and steaming back to a world still embroiled in WW1.

After the war, a stunned public wasn't interested in an Antarctic survival story – Falcon Scott's glorious defeat seemed to hold more appeal.

In 1921, Ernest Shackleton departed on his final expedition aboard the *Quest*. The actual objectives were somewhat unclear, in ways it had all the appearances of a swansong. Many of his old comrades from previous expeditions joined. At the start of 1922, the ship, having experienced mechanical problems en route, arrived off South Georgia. On the night of 5th January, Shackleton returned from a visit ashore and experienced chest pain. Dr Macklin warned him about the demands he was putting on himself. Leonard Hussey played the tunes that were 'vital mental medicine' during the months spent on drifting ice. A short time later, Shackleton was dead from a heart attack.

Responses to his death were worldwide. Amundsen said Shackleton's name would be written in 'letters of fire' across the Antarctic. Emily decided he should be buried in South Georgia, for his heart to rest in the Antarctic. His comrades respectfully complied, burying him in the sealers' cemetery with the grave orientated north/south – so that he could be even closer to the South Pole he never achieved.

#### COMMENT ON HIS BACKGROUND AND CHARACTER:

Shackleton is often labelled as 'Anglo Irish', a term which has connotations in Ireland which don't accurately describe his origins.

His father Henry was the fourth generation of the Irish lineage. The Shackletons came to Ireland as educators, and gradually became involved in farming and milling. His mother Henrietta (nee Gavan) was firmly rooted in south west Ireland.

At school in Dulwich, he was teased over his Irish 'brogue', earning the nickname 'Mikey' (there was already a 'Paddy'). This became his pet name within the family.

In the 1901 census, Shackleton recorded his birthplace as 'Ireland, Kildare'. When news broke of his furthest South in January 1909, the Dublin newspapers proudly claimed him as an Irishman. He signed onto ships as 'Irish', and was called an 'Irish Explorer' when he requested *Yelcho* from the Chilean authorities.

The definitive record of his contemporaries' opinion came from *Nimrod* geologist, Prof. Edgeworth David who declared 'I should say that Lieutenant Shackleton is

most essentially, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, an Irishman. He has all the best characteristics of the Irish race'.

Much is made of his standing for the Liberal Unionist party in Dundee in the 1906 General Election. It is likely that this was primarily to further his ambitions around his own Antarctic expedition and increase his chances of support from the potential sponsors he encountered through his work with the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. When subsequently approached for the 1910 election, by which time he was a celebrity candidate, he refused. He is more accurately described as an 'internationalist' and demonstrated a broader view of the advancement of exploration by his praise for Amundsen's achievement in reaching the South Pole. On the occasion of Amundsen's visit to the UK, Shackleton was the leading figure on the platform for a Royal Geographical Society event in the Queens Hall which was spurned by many of the big names in British polar exploration. Shackleton moved the vote of thanks and praised Amundsen's preparations and teamwork. Another illustration of Shackleton's international popularity was the widespread demand for his presentations after his expeditions and the international accolades he received.

As a person, Shackleton's outstanding qualities reflect his Irish Quaker roots. He was charming, well read, and a good conversationalist. He was able to back up his unfailing optimism by constantly creating options, even in hopeless situations. On expeditions, scientists, sailors, even the stowaway were treated with respect and were expected to share all aspects of the workload.

Shackleton was not a member of the Royal Navy, unlike many other Irish names who ended up on Polar expeditions. His military involvement comprised a temporary commission during WW1.

His assessment of character was uncanny, similar to his instinctive leadership and decision making. He would quickly surrender personal and expedition goals for new priorities.

Loyalty was important Shackleton, and he took seriously his responsibility to deliver to his crew. He led from the front, empowering others to perform to their best, and shared recognition of achievements with the team. His interest in the development of others outside of expedition work was sincere. He was a source of encouragement and support to crewmembers in pursuing their careers, including Frank Wild, the stowaway Percy Blackborrow, and Tom Crean. For ten years, he served as President of the 'Browning Settlement' in East



Shackleton's grave in the Sealer's Cemetery, South Georgia.

London. This was an innovative project that mixed poor & unemployed with university graduates, and provided support services.

Raymond Priestly, a contemporary of Shackleton, Amundsen and Scott provides the best summary of Shackleton's legacy :

Scott for scientific method, Amundsen for speed and efficiency but when disaster strikes and all hope is gone, get down on your knees and pray for Shackleton.

# Máirín Cregan – Author and Playwright

(In memory of Dr. Séamus Ó Ríain)

BY DR. FIONA BRENNAN

The invitation to participate in the Easter Rising Centenary Commemorative Programme of Events in 2016 met with an extraordinarily unprecedented nationwide response. The resultant momentum ensured the completion of adept and innovative projects, as well as the reinterpretation of less tangible, associated themes. The reappraisal of women's active political involvement during the Rising, and its aftermath, is one of its most enduring legacies. One such female activist was Killorglin-born Máirín Cregan.

Mary Ellen Cregan, (March 27th 1891- November 9th 1975), was the second of four daughters born to Ellen O'Shea, formerly of Langford Street, and

Morgan Cregan, a stonemason who was originally from Newcastlewest, Co. Limerick. Máirín grew up in a household that espoused fervent support of the revivalist movement. Avid discussions regarding Irish culture, its influences, and dynamic organisations like the Gaelic League, inspired Cregan's love of the Irish language. Determined to become a more proficient Irish speaker, she sought extra tutoring during her school holidays. On completing her second level education at the St. Louis Convent, Carrickmacross, she went on to teach at the Brigidine School, Co. Kilkenny between 1911 and 1914, at a time when no formal teacher training was required.

A naturally-gifted musician and singer, Máirín moved to Dublin in 1914 to study at the Leinster School of Music and secured a teaching position at the St. Louis High School, Rathmines. By frequenting



Máirín Cregan

nationalist gatherings and various other events, she became close friends with members of a prominent nationalist family, the Ryans of Co. Wexford: sisters Min, Kit and Phyllis¹ and their brother James – the medical officer at the GPO during the Rising – whom Máirín would later marry. Attending céilidhe, plays at the Abbey Theatre and such like, she describes her "active association with the National Movement…before the Rising" and her singing performances at numerous fundraising concerts in venues across Dublin in her later statement to the Bureau of Military History.²

On Sunday nights Cregan and other young nationalists socialised at the Ryan's home on Ranelagh Road, as well as the homes of senior activists including that of Sean MacDiarmada, during which the young Kerry woman's calm demeanour caught his attention. Her witness statement to the Military Bureau in 1950 details her involvement in Easter Week 1916. As instructed by MacDiarmada, she travelled by train to Tralee on Holy Thursday "with automatics and ammunition" hidden in a violin case. She also carried written instructions on how to operate the wireless technology, that was to be used to make contact with the Aud, which was due to dock at Fenit Harbour and unload its cargo of

ammunition and weapons.<sup>3</sup> When Máirín had attended to everything in Tralee, and as instructed, she travelled home to Killorglin on Good Friday when she heard about the drowning tragedy at Ballykissane Pier Three Irish Volunteers, the first fatalities of the Easter Rising, Con Keating, Daniel Sheehan and Charlie Monahan were drowned when the car they were in went off the pier.<sup>4</sup> Arriving on the scene with her sister, Cregan assisted the sole survivor, the driver Tommy McInerney, and took him to a safe house.<sup>5</sup> She eventually managed to make the gruelling return journey to Dublin and, not unlike others involved in political activities, was duly dismissed from her teaching post, but eventually managed to secure a new position at Ballyshannon and later at Portstewart.

Máirín married James Ryan in July 1919 and the couple moved to Wexford where Ryan had established a medical practice in 1917.6 Standing as a Sinn Féin candidate for Co. Wexford, he was elected to the First Dáil in January 1919. During the War of Independence, the couple endured regular raids by British soldiers on their home. When James was arrested, and interned at Spike Island between September 1920 and August 1921, Máirín remained a member of Cumann na mBan and a Sinn Féin activist. She was subsequently arrested and imprisoned for a brief time in February 1921, after which she went on the run. Opposed to the Treaty and interned by the Free State Government from 1922, James spent time at Mountjoy Jail, at the Curragh camps and in Tintown, where, on October 18th 1923, he went on hunger strike, which lasted for thirty-six days. He was re-elected as Sinn Féin T.D. for Wexford during his internment. After 1925, the Ryans moved to Co. Wicklow and settled at Kindlestown House, Delgany, where they raised their young children, Eoin, Nuala, and Seamus. James, a founder member of Fianna Fáil, went on to enjoy a prestigious political career and served as minister in a number of government departments, until his retirement in 1965.

It was in Wicklow that Cregan began her writing. Her first children's novel, Old John (1936), won her international acclaim, as did her second, Rathina (1942).7 Old John originated in the stories Cregan told her children who, "night after night" - as the book's dedication clarifies - begged her to tell them "more about Old John". The novel's Co. Kerry folk influences are clearly identifiable as are additional European folktale motifs. The novel is based on the story of a shoemaker, Old John, who lives on the edge of a wood with a dog, a goat, and a little red hen. With the arrival of a white cat, Báinín, who is really a fairy doctor who has been transformed by Gruaga, a wicked dwarf, all types of adventures ensue. Eventually, the spell on Báinín is broken and, with the aid of a pair of magic boots, Gruaga is prevented from coming near the household. However, by now Báinín feels so at home with Old John that she joins the family permanently. Thus, the story concludes with Gruaga's demise. Initially published in the USA, where it was particularly successful, it was subsequently translated into several languages. Each international edition includes a glossary to explain the Irish words and Hiberno-English phrases. Although its 1938 Irish language edition, Sean Eoin, illustrated by Jack B. Yeats,8 became a more popular choice amongst Irish audiences, the English version was eventually approved as a story reader by the Department of Education.

Published both in New York and London, her second novel, *Rathina*, illustrates the idyllic childhood of the Donovan family living in Rathina on the outskirts of Dublin. Said to be loosely based on the family's own home of Kindlestown House,

the story's central character is the eldest child, Eileen, whose obsession with horses finds her attempting, in secret, to train one. Written with an American audience in mind, the storyline illustrates a picturesque, unspoiled Ireland. The reader duly encounters charming aspects of a well-to-do Irish family's life: high teas, a kindly, elderly nurse, fox hunts and such like. Curiously, these pastoral themes appear somewhat at odds with Cregan's political leanings and, at some level, demonstrate a disregard for the realities of class division, child poverty and neglect in 1940s' Ireland. Nonetheless, in 1943, Rathina won Cregan the prestigious Downey Award for the Best Children's Fiction Book in the Catholic Tradition, although its religious categorisation is believed to have caused the author some concern. In 2015, I presented a lecture Kerry Women Playwrights: A Forgotten Literary Legacy as part of a series on Kerry's forgotten women writers, which was hosted by the Kerry Women Writers' Network.9 Introducing a prestigious group of four writers, including Cregan, I confirmed that she had actually been writing for theatre long before her success as a children's author. The disregard for Cregan's work as a dramatist is a significant misnomer when undertaking any analysis of her writing career, particularly considering her two-act play Hunger Strike, which is set during the Civil War.

Cregan was one of at least four Kerry women dramatists whose playwriting espouses significant political themes. The first of those dramatists was the fervent nationalist and Redmondite, Lady Edith Gordon (1871-1945), 10 formerly of Árd na Sídhe, Caragh Lake. Although better known, perhaps, for her 1934 memoir, *The Winds of Time*, a decade previously she had been writing about the revolutionary period in her play, *Troubled Times*. She obviously had high hopes for its production and submitted it to the Abbey Theatre in 1924. Rejected by the Abbey directors, to date, a copy of the playscript has not been discovered to date.

The dramatic canon of the Caherciveen-born Abbey playwright Pauline Maguire (1920-1994) – one of the few female playwrights whose work was produced by the Abbey Theatre during the 1950s – deals with contentious themes of modernisation and industrialisation, land division, the work of the Land Commission and subsequent development of Irish agriculture. During the same period, Bridget Boland (1913-1988), daughter of the former M.P. for Kerry, John Pius Boland, enjoyed international fame as a screenwriter and playwright. Although born in London – and based there for most of her life – she declared: "Although I hold a British passport, I am in fact Irish, and the daughter of an Irish politician at that [,]...". Boasting a substantial canon of work, Boland deals with a post-World War Two Britain and in so doing developed ambitious and exciting dramatic methods. 13

As well as these four Kerry women playwrights, there are a multitude of writers whose drama has been forgotten about, many of whom learned their craft by means of involvement in the amateur dramatic movement. From the 1920s onwards, the nationwide advancement of amateur dramatic activity was crucial to social life as well as to the development of Irish theatre. Communities the length and breadth of the country were alive to the sounds of dramatic activity and with the eventual establishment of a significant number of competitive festivals throughout the country, which significantly increased dramatic ambitions. For example, the Kerry Drama Festival, founded by Josephine Albericci in Killarney in 1943, 15 hosted formidable groups such as the Iveronian

Players, Caherciveen (founded 1929), Killarney Players (founded 1939), and the Listowel Drama Group (founded 1944), and many others. The All-Ireland Drama Festival was subsequently founded in 1953.

Such was the importance of the amateur movement that on the publication of Cregan's two-act play Hunger Strike in 1933,16 an Irish Press reviewer predicted that amateur groups would be rushing to secure the performance rights. Surprisingly, no stage production has been identified to date, although it was produced for radio (2RN) in 1936. In November 2016, the Killorglin History and Folklore Society hosted the Máirín Cregan Remembered event to mark the 125th anniversary of her birth.17 The programme included a rehearsed reading of Hunger Strike, which was performed by members of Dóchas Drama Group, Killarney.<sup>18</sup> (A special radio programme on Cregan was produced subsequently on Radio Kerry in 2017). Special guest of honour was Máirín and James' youngest son, Séamus Ó Ríain, who had travelled with other family members to attend the event. An emotional night, Seamus spoke eloquently of his mother and recalled family holidays in Kerry. He duly acknowledged his delight and gratitude to the Society for hosting the event in her home town. Speaking with me afterwards, he was overcome by the fact that his mother's play had, at long last, been given due recognition.

Completed less than a decade after the end of the Civil War, and dedicated to her husband James, the two-act drama, Hunger Strike is a sharply-crafted play that introduces themes such as the Catholic Church's rejection of such hunger strikes as suicide. The play's female protagonist is Nano Grady, whose husband Ned is in prison and, at the play's opening, has been on hunger strike for twenty-five days. Despite much opposition from his relatives, Nano fully supports Ned's actions and his belief in the cause, which he discusses in his letters to her: "...don't allow any intercessions on my behalf...It is not hard to die, but it would be very hard to face the world after a situation of that kind. I feel confident that if you get an inkling of any such thing is likely to happen you will do your best to stop it." The dramatic action elucidates the reality of the strikers' lofty moral objectives and the dilemmas facing women like Nano. Cregan is acutely aware of the Catholic Church's condemnation of these strikers' actions as nothing more than suicide. As Ned writes: "The priests accuse us of suicide, the doctors tell us we may die any minute, our hearts being weak, and they refuse now to treat us at all unless we take food first." Ned's Aunt Julia blames everything on Nano's foolishness: "What put the "kybosh" on her [Nano] altogether was joining the Cumann na mBan." Demanding that Nano write to Ned, encouraging him to give up the strike, Julia declares that, "He'll think different when he has to face the Almighty." She goads Nano by describing Ned's deterioration, his ravings, and wild imaginings that Nano is having an affair, even before he dies. As Nano laments, "Nobody in the world can ever be half as cruel to you as your own relations." Nano remains steadfast and knows Ned "...feels he is justified and he knows that I feel the same[,]...If he's a dying man he'll be let [sic] in peace." As the hunger strike reaches day forty-one she remains steadfast and, although distressed at the thoughts of their young children growing up without their father, she "...wants to see his dying made as easy as possible for him...because he has deliberately and desperately taken up this last weapon...even if it kills the two of us." However, at the play's denouement a telegram arrives with news that Ned and the men have triumphed and the strike is officially over.

On its publication, Hunger Strike was lauded by numerous critics. In February 1933, the Kerryman newspaper recorded that the play "...embraced all the patriot suffering of Irish womanhood and that it is remarkably free of bitterness." A Sunday Independent reviewer claimed "new ground is broken" and applauded Cregan who "has risen splendidly on this occasion." The following month, the Derry Journal stated that Cregan had established herself as a pioneer amongst playwrights in placing due prominence on Irish women's involvement in the struggle for Irish freedom.<sup>19</sup> Cregan submitted the play to her publishers, MacMillan, in 1932, but its rejection by the Abbey Theatre in March 1931 confirms an earlier, albeit approximate completion date. Although she had already received the standard Abbey Theatre rejection notice, intriguingly, Lady Gregory, one of the theatre's founders and directors, sought to justify the decision by writing to Cregan the following July. She explains how a play's rejection is based on its potential lack of appeal; that a play "...has to find its immediate appeal - and to the whole audience."20 In a society still fractured by atrocities inflicted upon communities during the Civil War, a production of Hunger Strike might have sparked religious and political controversy, which would explain the Abbey's cautionary approach to any politically-themed plays submitted. In November 1933, Patrick Keohane of M.H. Gill & Son Publishers writes to Cregan and echoes similar sentiments regarding the play's lack of production: "...it is too true...we are too close up to the realities as well, in every sense of the word."21

Yet, the play did attract interest elsewhere. In August 1933, Paul Vincent Carroll, one of Ireland's most prestigious writers at the time, <sup>22</sup> sought to option it for production, as did film-maker and playwright, Mary Manning. <sup>23</sup> Writing to Cregan in September, Manning is very enthusiastic and gives assurances to produce the play much sooner than Carroll, who was, she said, much too busy with his own work. Giving a commitment to securing "...a first rate cast...", interestingly, Manning sought the performance rights on behalf of the Irish Women Workers' Union's Dramatic Society and explains her plans to enter the production in Dublin's Father Mathew Feis. In a final letter, however, Manning expresses her disappointment at what seems to indicate Cregan's final refusal.

Published in the Capuchin Annual in 1940,24 Cregan's one-act drama, Curlew's Call, is based on the theme of emigration and set in the south west coast of Ireland during the 1920s. Mary Riordan is about to move to the States to live with her daughters Bridgie and Nora who are long settled there. Bridgie has come home to accompany her mother back to the States. Pregnant with her first child, Nora has remained in the States but has asked Bridgie that they bring back dilisk (a type of seaweed) to try and quell her present cravings. Mary duly goes out on a neighbour's boat to gather some and, while manoeuvring the boat into a difficult cove, a curlew's screeching lament signals a warning. Tragedy strikes; the boat capsizes and Mary is drowned. The play concludes with Bridgie's lament: "The very birds had to come down out of the sky to whip her out of my hands. What had they all against her?" The play's message is clear: despite the new ways and lauded life in the States, humanity is still frail and remains at the mercy of the natural world. Cregan also submitted this play to the Abbey Theatre in 1939 and while evidence in the Abbey Theatre Collection indicates its consideration by the directors, unfortunately, the play was never produced. (see Abbey Theatre Minute Books, 1939).<sup>25</sup>

Máirín Cregan's papers were gifted to the National Library of Ireland by her daughter, the late Mrs. Nuala Colgan, in 2002, and the collection comprises editorial correspondence, various contracts and royalty statements, manuscripts, typescripts of her books, and various radio scripts including one for children, *Seamus and the Robber*. There are a number of typescripts of unpublished works for children, including the story, *I am a Cake*, which was rejected by both her UK and American publishers, but broadcast by BBC Radio. I was intrigued to discover an incomplete draft manuscript based on the life of one of the four Kerry poets, Eoin Rua Ó Súilleabháin. It identifies Cregan's attempt to move away from realism *per se*. In the draft script, written specifically for television, Cregan indicates the need for "full orchestra flair" to facilitate the play's movement and dance. Based in part on themes of folklore its action varies significantly between reality and fantasy.<sup>26</sup>

In June 2018, K-Fest, Killorglin's contemporary arts festival, scheduled a forum to discuss Ireland's forgotten female writers.<sup>27</sup> Reflecting on Kerry's forgotten women playwrights, including Cregan, I suggested that, "Any dismissal of women's writing serves only to skew records and avoids necessary discussion and research." There is a multitude of forgotten histories deserving of recognition and Máirín Cregan is just one of Kerry's unsung heroes and heroines, whose position in Irish literature and contribution to Irish theatre history are deserving of recognition, discussion and in-depth critical analysis.

There is one particular letter in the Máirín Cregan Collection, written to the author in May 1936 in response to the 2RN radio production of *Hunger Strike* aired that same month. Its author is Tomás Ó Maoláin:

"As one who participated in that forty-one days fast in Mountjoy Jail I can assure you that the dramatic atmosphere which you were so successful in creating was true to life and gave me a tremendous thrill. My father, who listened in with me and who went through all the torture of mind so well portrayed by Nano, was very much affected by the realism of the production."

Fittingly, and as part of its Decade of Centenaries' Programme for 1921-1923, the Killorglin Archive Society is spearheading a production of Cregan's play, *Hunger Strike*, which will premiere in November 2021, on the 130th anniversary of her birth. Cregan's contribution to Irish theatre and literature will be celebrated with the play's contemporary interpretation and vibrant production in the town of her birth.

# **ENDNOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Min married Richard Mulcahy, (she was previously engaged to Sean Mac Diarmada), and was a founder member of Cumann na mBan, while Kit married Sean T. O'Kelly.
- <sup>2</sup> Bureau of Military History, 1913-1921. Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 416. Witness Mrs. James Ryan (Máirín Cregan). Statement dated July 1950. Accessed online. <a href="https://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie">https://www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie</a>
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> They were on their way to Caherciveen to seize the wireless station at Valentia Island to send a series of false signals and divert the Royal Navy's attention away from the efforts to land the ship, the Aud, which was carrying weapons for the Irish Volunteers.
- <sup>5</sup> Her witness statement to the Military Bureau reads: "At about ten o'clock on Good Friday evening as I was preparing for bed, news spread through the town of Killorglin that a car had gone over Ballykissane Quay." With her sister she made her way down to the pier and spoke to the only survivor, the driver Tommy McInerney. To avoid his arrest, Cregan assisted him by hiding his weapon and getting him "...to a house in Killorglin."

- <sup>6</sup> Following the surrender of the Easter Rising revolutionaries, Ryan was imprisoned in Stafford Jail in England and subsequently at Frongoch, Wales. He was released in August 1916.
- Old John was published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Its Irish language version, Sean Eoin, was published in 1938. Rathina was published by The MacMillan Company, New York, 1942; Allen and Unwin, London, 1944.
- Yeats's Man on the Flying Horse, (1938), a pen, ink an watercolour illustration, was created especially for the publication. A handwritten note from Yeats to Cregan can be found in the Cregan Collection, NLI.
- This lecture was delivered at Killarney Library, April 16th 2015 and subsequently at the Seanchaí Literary Centre, Listowel the following October.
- <sup>10</sup> A Sinn Féin supporter all her adult life, Gordon discusses her nationalist tendencies in her biography *The Winds of Time* (published J. Murray, London, 1934). A member of the Munster Women's Franchise League, which distributed aid and food to nationalist prisoners, she was a well-known landscape designer and Árd na Sídhe was one of her best loved restoration projects. In 1935, following her divorce, she moved to Lismore where she lived until her death in 1945.
- <sup>11</sup> In her memoir, *At My Mother's Knee*, published by The Bodley Head Ltd, London, 1978, Boland fondly recalls the summers spent with the family in Derrynane. An internationally-renowned screenwriter, her film adaptations include Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace* and James Maxwell Anderson's 1948 play, *Anne of a Thousand Days*, which won her an Academy Award for Best Screenplay in 1970.
- <sup>12</sup> Quoted Hayman, R. "Bridget Boland". See K.A. Berney, Ed. Contemporary British Dramatists. Published by Gale Research Co., Detroit, 1994, pp.81-3.
- <sup>13</sup> For example, her 1948 play *Cockpit* is a remarkable site-specific play. Set during the Second World War, the action takes place in a grand 19th century theatre in a provincial German city and is being used by British troops as a temporary transit camp for refugees from across Europe.
- <sup>14</sup> Cregan, Maguire, Boland and Albericci have all been the subjects of Saturday Supplement Programmes broadcast on Radio Kerry: Cregan (Broadcast April 8th 2017); Maguire (Broadcast September 3rd 2017); Boland (Broadcast August 11th 2018); Albericci (Broadcast 13 January 2018). See www.radiokerry.ie regarding the availability of podcasts.
- <sup>15</sup> Albericci was particularly interested in the concept of cultural tourism, which influenced her decision to found the drama festival. A talented director, in 1946 she was offered a position by Abbey Theatre Artistic Director, Ria Mooney, to assist at the Abbey School of Acting. Albericci went on to produce many plays for various companies including the Olympia and Gaiety Theatres.
- <sup>16</sup> *Hunger Strike*. Published by M.H. Gill, Dublin, 1933. All quotations are taken from this edition.
- <sup>17</sup> Mairin Cregan Remembered. C.Y.M.S. Hall, Killorglin. November 25th 2016. The event was presented by the Killorglin History and Folklore Society.
- This reading was originally performed during the Research of Amateur Performance and Private Theatricals' Organisation (RAPPT), International Conference, which I coordinated in July 2016, and was hosted by the Dept. of Drama and Theatre Studies, University College Cork.
- <sup>19</sup> For all newspaper articles quoted from throughout this essay, please refer to the Máirín Cregan Manuscript Collection, National Library of Ireland (NLI): MS46797/1.
- <sup>20</sup> See MS50423/1(2), NLI, Dublin.
- <sup>21</sup> All letters quoted/referenced are held in the Máirín Cregan Manuscript Collection, MS 50423/1 and MS50423/2, NLI, Dublin.
- <sup>22</sup> Paul Vincent Carroll's first play was produced by the Abbey Theatre in 1931.
- <sup>23</sup> A prolific playwright and novelist, one of her earliest plays, Youth's The Season?, was produced by the Gate Theatre. She was a staunch supporter of young Irish writers and one of only a few women film-makers during Ireland's two waves of silent film production.
- <sup>24</sup> Curlew's Call. Capuchin Annual, 1940, pp. 177-187.
- <sup>25</sup> The Minute Books, (up to 1939), digitised collection, are available online: see https://www.nuigalway.ie/abbeytheatreminutebooks/
- <sup>26</sup> See Máirín Cregan Collection, NLI, MS 46795/2-5.
- <sup>27</sup> Dis-Miss: An Exploration of Women Erased from Literary History. K-Fest, C.Y.M.S. Hall, June 2nd 2018
- See Máirín Cregan Collection NLI, MS50423/1.

# BIOGRAPHY OF DR. FIONA BRENNAN

Dr. Fiona Brennan, Theatre Historian and Archivist, is author of *George Fitzmaurice "Wild in His Own Way": Biography of an Abbey Playwright* with an introduction by Fintan O'Toole (Carysfort Press, 2005). She is editing a critical edition of Terence MacSwiney's Collected Plays, forthcoming in 2021. Current research projects include the history of the Irish amateur dramatic movement. Fiona is a committee member of Killorglin Archive Society.

# MURDER BY THE THROAT:

# ESPIONAGE ASSASSINATION COLLABORATION AND EXECUTION IN THE IRISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

BY EDWARD J BOURKE

# Introduction

Lloyd George boasted that he had "murder by the throat" in a London Guildhall speech on 10 November, 1920. He had flooded Ireland with troops, Black and Tans, Auxiliaries, secret service, touts and informers. Bloody Sunday followed within a fortnight. Eighteen months later, after the Truce and Treaty, the British left Ireland, defeated by the counter espionage of the people in the shadows who exposed the undercover agents and frustrated their efforts. Agents permeated the country, ready to oppose the Dail and its army. In response two hundred of these agents died in the course of eighteen months to July 1921. Crown Forces operated assassination gangs throughout the country to kill Republican activists and militants in reprisal for attacks on police. The gangs targeted Sinn Fein politicians as well as IRA activists and, in many cases, the family suffered when the target was not at home. The most prominent people killed in these attacks were Tomas McCurtain in Cork and former Mayor O'Callaghan in Limerick

# A WELL WORN TOPIC

There have been several trends in narrating the story of the War of Independence. Initially the accounts purpose was to name check the participants, often for pension purposes. Some popular accounts that gained widespread circulation were written like film scripts to project the author as a fearless heroic leader. Many local accounts relate the story of the war in our parish and focus on the local tragedies where a severe beating was an atrocity. The Bureau of Military History Witness Statements are an extensive but not comprehensive account of the War. Except in a few cases the accounts lack dates to guide the reader and the narrators lack a perspective outside their immediate circumstances.

Few accounts admit IRA mistakes and they rarely name informants or executed spies when their names are well known locally. More recent research has added little to the narrative as thesis after thesis goes into the statistics of the war to make a case, usually, to emphasise the Cork story and mitigate the Cork shame after 1916. The revisionists are keen to contradict the IRA account and relate the hardship suffered by the Loyalists and even blame the decline of Protestantism on the war of Independence.

Research in British sources has been limited and studies tend to ignore comprehensive accounts written by British participants as a biased view but they reveal considerable information about the Secret Service aspect of the War. More recent books reveal that many of those active in Dublin had a role in White Russia in 1919 and remained with MI5 during the Second World War. Electronic access to pewspaper archives and army records has revolutionised.

Electronic access to newspaper archives and army records has revolutionised understanding and facilitated access. The work of the Bureau of Military History and their project digitising the records and presenting them online has been exemplary. While some other records are available digitally they have not been released on line so researchers must visit the archive. Many collections of photographs remain in dusty boxes in archives though the National Library has their collection on line.

#### OPPOSITION TO NATIONALISM

There was widespread opposition to republicans by the loyalist people who had a stake in belonging to the Empire. Ten British Army regiments were based in Ireland though the active troops were stationed abroad, especially in India. Merchants in the garrison towns existed by supplying food, drink and supplies to these garrisons and their families in towns such as Tuam, Fermoy, Clonmel, Birr, Kildare, Longford, Athlone, Cork and Dublin. After the Great War there were 200,000 men who had served in the British army. While the majority were neutral a large number were hostile to the Nationalists and a small number joined the IRA.

Loyalists inhabited the great houses throughout the countryside. They were frequently educated in English boarding schools and often regarded England as their home. Banking, insurance and the professions were predominantly pro British. Famous Republican names had dubious connections indicating they had a dual role. Most will not recall Hervy de Montmorency who crewed the gunrunning motorboat, *Chotah* into Kilcoole simultaneously with the arms landing at Howth. He served in the Great War, as did Conor O'Brien and Erskine Childers, but he turns up as intelligence officer with F Company of the Auxiliaries at Dublin Castle in 1921. It is difficult to believe that the British army would have called up and commissioned three renegade gunrunners if their action had not approval in some shady quarter.

# MYTH AND REALITY

Many legends have become entrenched in the story of the war of Independence. The most mysterious is the appellation Cairo Gang for the British Secret Service operating from Dublin Castle. While they frequented the Cairo Café in Grafton Street in Dublin among other restaurants and drinking places the



Location of Cairo Cafe, 59 Grafton Street, Dublin.

name is not used before 1958. It does not appear in contemporary accounts or the 1950 witness statements. Mysteriously it was inserted in the fourth edition of Dan Breen's "My Fight for Irish Freedom" in 1964 though it does not appear in the first three editions.

The photograph universally touted as the Cairo Gang is labelled "special gang F Company Auxiliaries" in the Beaslai papers. The men in the photo are named in the Military Archives copy and all are Auxiliaries. The National Museum exhibition marks the photo incorrectly as Igoe Gang – these were all RIC who knew IRA men.

Similarly a legend developed that the British had no photo of Michael Collins but *Hue and Cry* published it in December 1920. The great daring escapes of Collins at checkpoints were potentially



Michael Collins sketched by 118 Pat Moynihan

due to an untouchable status conferred by ongoing peace feelers. David Nelligan refers to secret signs and signals which the secret service used to identify themselves and Collins' advice to engage with officers and act as a gentleman gave opportunity to exchange such signals.

Boastful statements such as that Michael Collins wiped out the Secret Service on Bloody Sunday are accepted widely. However, a mere fourteen of 80 agents operating in Dublin died and the others continued their work largely unimpeded. One of the documents in Collins papers names the agents who were out from their lodgings at the Standard Hotel as Pearse and O'Hanlon but these are probably pseudonyms. They were still targets a year later. The IRA cancelled another mass attack that was in preparation in June 1921 because peace negotiations were in progress.

The names of secret service agents are difficult to tie down as they had a number and at least one alias. Thus the two men sought in vain at the Standard Hotel on Bloody Sunday appear in the list of alleged enemy agents as Captains Pearse and O'Hanlon. They cannot be traced under those names — probably aliases. Names of men operating in Dublin appear in British military personnel records but MI5 records of the period were destroyed. A few names of the early Far East group appear in financial records when they were paid off in September 1920.

# INTELLIGENCE OR INCOMPETENCE

While spy mania was widespread and there were touts everywhere, IRA men were casual about security, often with deadly consequences. The famous Dan Breen and Sean Treacy were out of their depth in Dublin and were incredibly naïve about security. They were easily tailed to Professor Carolan's house

(Fernside) in Drumcondra from a downtown cinema because of poor security. Sean Treacy even visited the Republican Outfitters in Talbot Street, a well watched haunt, where he met his death. British secret service men died in the actions at Fernside and Talbot Street showing that they spearheaded the raids with a view to killing their target. The IRA was infiltrated by traitors but comrades refused to believe that they were at risk. Even when these men were



Peerless armoured car at Mater Hospital during Search for Dan Breen with Auxiliaries and Secret Service agents. Photo Hogan

uncovered there was reluctance to take drastic action as it was bad for morale and poor publicity. IRA executed three of their own for giving information. More may have disappeared without trace. The risk of a captured IRA man being "turned" and released was very high, and in those times any man taken in for questioning was "quarantined" on release for fear he had been turned.

In Cork IRA columns were infiltrated by army intelligence working from Victoria Barracks. Captain Kelly was particularly effective along with his team which included Sheils. This group were responsible for significant IRA captures at Nadd, Clonmult and Rahanisky. Seizure of papers during Auxiliary raids gave long lists of names of Republicans. A team of analysts sifted and cross referenced them at Dublin Castle.

This backroom work yielded a comprehensive picture of Republican activists and IRA structure. The gap was that names had to be matched to images and many times raiding parties failed to identify their targets. Only the local RIC political men, or DMP G men, or Igoe gang, had this link and their elimination was crucial to preserving anonymity. It is important not to over-emphasise the value to British intelligence from spies and informers.

The IRA column movements were overt, so simple observation revealed unusual activity as parties of men moved around. Diligent British patrolling, especially on bicycles, was effective in detecting movement by night in the curfew areas. Florrie O'Donohghue was of the view that loose talk in prisons and police barracks was inevitable.

Men were unprepared psychologically for capture and interrogation and the shock of prison was enough without the threat of torture or abuse. The context of the struggle was a countryside that lacked telephones; radio news came only ten years later. People read newspapers and discussed them at creameries and after Mass on Sundays. Cattle fairs were important meeting places and along with GAA games were events when people travelled outside their immediate neighbourhood. Otherwise most people had never travelled more than ten miles from their home. In this context strangers stood out in a locality where people knew each other through generations.

During the Truce the IRA formed many training camps to improve the skills of the IRA officers ready for resumption of hostilities. These were the men who had been prominent during the previous two years. The report after the Galway Brigade camp said that none of the officers were capable of performing their duties. The Tuam Brigade was much better. Comments against many of the officers included: "illiterate", "not likely to improve", "drinks to excess". One brigade commandant was rated "slow" with no military knowledge no fighting record and of no intelligence.

Given this scathing evaluation of the officers, the men must have been no better and it is no surprise that disasters were common. Raiders seized Richard Mulcahy's papers in Dublin on no less than three occasions and Auxiliaries seized Ernie O'Malley's documents in Kilkenny. Security among Republicans was a key failing and discipline was lax. Sentries frequently left their post allowing a column to be surprised. Dozens of ambushes failed when men revealed their position or fired a premature shot. The leaders' mistakes could have defeated the IRA in the surge of British forces planned for July 1921.

## THE ARCHIVES

Newly released material from the Collins' papers in Military Archives reveals the names of 700 alleged enemy agents at the time of the Truce. Most IRA divisions assembled formal assessments of enemy strength locally and relayed them to IRA GHQ. Given the increasing pace of the war in June 1921 it is clear that IRA would have executed these people had the Truce not occurred or if it broke down. This, coupled with the number of IRA in prison under sentence of death at the Truce, would have led to a horrible bloodbath.

The British had already executed IRA prisoners starting with Kevin Barry in November 1920. In Mountjoy, Dublin, there were executions of IRA men on 1 November, 1920 (1), 14 March, 1921 (6), 25 April, 1921 (1), 7 June, 1921 (2) and in Limerick on 6 June, 1921 (1). Con Murphy was executed in Victoria barracks, Cork on 1 February, 1921, (1). Further executions followed 28 February (6), 28 April (4), 2 May (1) and 16 May (1). The British planned widespread internment and Piaras Beaslai obtained the list of thousands scheduled for arrest in Dublin alone, compiled in September 1921, in anticipation of a resumption of hostilities.

Several of those listed were 1916 internees but more were from captured lists in papers of James Dillon and FJ Allen. A vast internment camp was prepared at the Scapa Flow naval base in the Orkneys to take the internees. The information for the round up was precise and detailed such as the entry for Patrick Yorke, F Company, 6th Battalion IRA, wanted for the murder of Lt Breeze in June 1921. This high level of information as to unit and actions showed inside knowledge and considerable capability on the part of Dublin Castle Intelligence.

# CASUAL BRUTALITY

The Auxiliaries are often confused with "Black and Tans". They were former officers operating in a dozen mobile companies dispersed in troublesome areas especially in Dublin. They rivalled the Tans for brutality and drinking but were not attached to local police. Their freedom of operation, high level of fitness, and leadership as well as superior armament made them a fearsome enemy. With their armoured cars they spearheaded search operations accompanied by secret service men and were highly effective.

By November 1920 the authorities had dismissed fifty Auxiliaries. In October 1920 Colonel Kirkwood resigned from the Inistioge Auxiliaries. His second in command ordered a raid on the mails at Kilkenny disguised as Sinn Feiners. They seized and misappropriated money. Vernon Hart, the Auxiliary who killed Canon Magner and a boy in Cork, never reached trial but was declared insane.

A House of Commons reply to Mr Lawson, MP, on 22 March, 1921, said authorities arrested two Auxiliaries for the murder of Captain Laurence Prendiville at Fermoy. They took him from a bar and threw him in the river Blackwater. Another man similarly treated survived. The cadets involved were Watson, Redford, Jackman and Courtney according to an IRA report on 28 February, 1921. Auxiliaries burned Cork, looted Trim and summarily executed prisoners at Clonmult. They suffered heavy losses at Kilmichael and Clonfin. A Black and Tan, Mitchell, was executed at Mountjoy in June 1920 for murder during a robbery.

#### Mysteries Remain

There were unexplained deaths during the War of Independence such as the secret service man Parcel Rees Bowen, shot off Merrion Square, and William Barnett shot at Mountjoy Square. A further body was found at a burned car at Lamb Doyles but no identification was ever published. While Bowen had written to his MP and talked with General Crozier about his dispute with his colleagues, who probably shot him, the other incidents remain mysteries. IRA shot Arthur Barden in Rathfarnham but his role remains unclear.

The British killed at least three men named Lynch in attempts to kill Liam Lynch but nobody named Collins died by a similar mistake. This would lead to a conclusion that Lynch was considered a higher value target and more dangerous or that they were not really looking for Collins. Even on Bloody Sunday in November 1920 there were peace feelers in progress and similarly in June 1921 when GHQ cancelled a mass assassination of agents after the operation had commenced.

It is probable that Collins had some secret identification pin or ring that marked him as untouchable though the searcher need not know who he was. Nobody has remarked on anything of this nature but Secret Service men, for instance, needed such identification to pass through curfew road blocks at night. This theory remains speculation but only the prepared mind would observe such a discrete sign and nobody was observing.

David Neligan makes it clear that such signals were in use at the time when he stated, "I was initiated into the signs and handgrips of the Service and later learned how to use secret inks and similar artifices." Nelligan himself must have known Collins' status since he was a full member of the secret service from May 1921. Collins criticised former Constable Mee for shaving his moustache because it looked military and instructed him in his methods of escaping attention. His advice was to dress well, engage the officers in conversation, offer them cigars and generally behave like a friendly gentleman. The 6th Division record of the rebellion says that IRA killed many suspected spies in Cork from February 1921 but only one of those shot was actually giving them information. However that widely quoted statement attesting to the innocence of those killed as spies is based on military intelligence. The RIC, secret service and sub agents were all receiving information independently. More agents reported direct to Dublin Castle and even to convenience addresses in England. More than one family received compensation because they were British Liability according to the compensation committee indicating some British usefulness.

# Truth or Propaganda

The most famous accounts of the war of Independence are written like film scripts and avoid inconvenient aspects of incompetence and treachery. It is very surprising that traitors within the IRA survived. There are many observations that there were no examples of disloyalty among the IRA in witness statements. There would have been significant loss of face if an IRA member was exposed as an informer and the likelihood is that he would have been shot discretely and word put out that he was "gone to America".

In contrast renegade IRA like Vincent Forvarogue, Hagan, Paddy Egan, Pierce, Maurice Costelloe, Egan IO Roscommon, Cruxy Connors in Cork and George

Ryan in Limerick worked with the British. In a case where an IRA man was "turned", the British arrested Patrick, alias John, Buckley after the Upton ambush where he occupied a strategic position without firing his rifle. At his trial in Victoria barracks there was evidence that a woman in the house where he was arrested showed the British where his rifle was concealed in a press under the stairs. Possession of this rifle merited the death penalty. An RIC man confirmed that he had been broken and turned under interrogation allegedly using drugs. He also revealed the location of the column arms dump in a dugout in the Ballymurphy area leading to the Crossbarry engagement as troops sought this dump.

On his release at the Truce the IRA court-martialled him and sentenced him to death for giving information under interrogation. He escaped death due to the Truce. Richardson of the RAF tortured Tom Hales on his arrest in Cork and Ormond Winter, head of the Secret Service, says that an IRA commandant was turned under torture. It is possible that Hales gave misinformation and fanciful plans. IRA shot a young man, Larmour, in Monaghan for the information he yielded.

#### Counting the Dead

There is no comprehensive list of casualties for the War of Independence though Keane's Cork Revolutionary Dead is comprehensive for Cork and Abbott's Police casualties covers that topic. The death toll for Dublin is much higher when 1916 and the Civil War are included because Cork was quiet during 1916. Civil war actions were very dispersed as western counties that had been relatively quiet came out in the Civil War. Usually companions identified police and military casualties at once while dead civilians remained anonymous, at least until their inquest or compensation cases. There are a few cases where the identity remained deliberately obscure.

Bureau of Military History accounts are frequently coy about naming people shot as spies though IRA must have known them or their aliases. IRA frequently left shot civilians unburied as an example to others but sometimes concealed them from authorities to avoid reprisals. In the case of strangers, especially tramps, there are doubts about names. In view of later analysis, and the witness statements, it is clear that a total assessment of the dead of the War of Independence remains incomplete. Agents had several aliases which add to confusion and both sides exaggerated casualty claims.

IRA claimed sixteen or eighteen soldiers killed in an ambush of troops from Baldonnell at the Half Way House in Crumlin but no record confirms any deaths on 5 May, 1921. In the same way the *Daily Mail* of 21 March, 1921 reported 35 British deaths at Crossbarry while another report said 39 died along with three IRA. The validated figures were ten British and three IRA but it is hard to understand the higher figures since they must have come from British sources. An ambush on 19 March, 1921, on Auxiliaries at Marine Road, Kingstown, led to a naval sentry firing on the truck as well. The truck proceeded to Temple Hill where IRA attacked again before it escaped to the Orthopaedic Hospital, Blackrock. Eight wounded arrived and two died according to hospital sources but no Auxiliary casualties are recorded

Records are less complete than might be thought and recent research has uncovered a larger number of executions than were hitherto listed.

Assassinations were commonplace on both sides and they were nearly all based on specific information about the target. The obvious truth is that the most effective spies remain concealed.

# Conclusion

The Truce in July 1921 brought an end to widespread attacks but specific targets were attacked despite the Truce. Some 20 policemen were tracked down and shot for specific incidents, especially three were accused of the killing of Dwyer of the Ragg – the Tipperarymen had not forgiven or forgotten. Three RIC men killed in their hospital beds in Galway allegedly belonged to a murder gang that had killed Sinn Fein sympathisers over a year before. Similarly, when IRA uncovered the activity of the anti-Sinn Fein Society in Cork, a spate of killings occurred in Dunmanway sparked by the shooting of an IRA man by pro British activists. Revisionists highlight the 50 post Truce shootings but they represent a very mild response to the ferocity of the War of Independence.

At the liberation of France in 1944 Maquis killed some 60,000 collaborators and pro-German activists in what became known as the Epuration Sauvage. In retrospect the mystery is how the Truce held and that there were so few post Truce killings. The shooting of Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson in London precipitated the Civil War. It occurred in the context of serious anti-Nationalist attacks in the Six Counties. Wilson had been an icon of Loyalism and behind the Larne gun running in 1914. The British demanded that the Free State attack the Four Courts or else the Crown forces would attack. The Civil War ensued and Collins was ousted from the Cabinet as a result of his role in the death of Wilson and his assistance to Nationalists in the north. Collins, who was probably the main conduit during many peace negotiations, had become inconvenient and his death at Beal na mBlath remains a matter of dispute.

In the year of commemorations it is appropriate to forgive and forget but not from the starting point of ignorance. Attempts to commemorate the RIC remain controversial because war criminals are not remembered at the scene of their crimes. The UK High Court ruled on 20 December, 2019, that British spies and their agents can kill in the line of duty without fear of prosecution, as long as they persuade police that their action was in the national interest. Thus after 100 years, nothing has changed.



# Rural Electrification and North Leitrim

# BY GARRETH BYRNE

# Before Electric Power came to Leitrim

In the 19th century, the homedwellers of Dromahair and its surrounding townlands illuminated the darkness with candles, tilley lamps, parrafin lamps, and sometimes, acid-based batteries. The cosy glow from the flames of open hearth turf and wood fires was the primary or only indoor light in frugal times. Darkness was not made visible in a figurative way, but its long cold gloom between November and March was temporarily brightened by fireside conversation, storytelling, music making, game playing and kitchen dancing. Using lit-up darkness for pleasant socialising has been humanity's practice across the ages and civilizations.

Some methods of lighting dark cottages in 19th century Leitrim are described in simple prose by children who contributed pieces to the 1937 UCD-organised Schools Collection on folklore and other topics.

Annie Gillmor, teaching at Corrigeencor National School in a disadvantaged rural area between Dromahair and Manorhamilton, sums up the situation succinctly:

In the 19th century, the homedwellers of Dromahair and its surrounding townlands illuminated the darkness with candles, tilley lamps, parrafin lamps, and sometimes, acid-based batteries. The cosy glow from the flames of open hearth turf and wood fires was the primary or only indoor light in frugal times. Darkness was not made visible in a figurative way, but its long cold gloom between November and March was temporarily rendered invisible by fireside conversation, storytelling, music making, game playing and kitchen dancing.

Pat Rooney from Corglass just north of Manorhamilton describes the manufacture of simple, one might say hazardous, rushlights:

Every person in this district made their own candles about sixty years ago. They were not much good but they had to be done with when they could get no better.... First some person of the house would go out and bring in a good supply of strong, green rushes. Then everyone in the house would help to peel them and when they were peeled they were put beside the fire to dry. When they were dry the woman of the house got her candle-pan and put some lard or butter on it and melted it on the fire. Then the rushes were dipped in the melted butter or lard and they were taken out and left to dry and get stiff. They were then ready for use....

Mary McTernan writes an account given by her husband Patrick McTernan, aged 52, of the precarious manner in which rushlights were 'finished off' by 'the woman of the house' in those pre-electricity days:

Then they were peeled with the nails. All the skin was not taken off as if it was the soft white inside part would break. One fourth of the skin was left on to hold the rush together. Butter was melted on a candle pan or griosad over the fire. Before the candles were put on the candle pan they were thoroughly dried. They were tied in bundles and hung in the chimney over the fire. When the butter was melted it was lifted and the rushes were dipped in it. Then they were taken out of the grease and left to get hard in a cool place... There was a stand made for the

candles by a blacksmith shaped like a pincers and at home there was a boss of wood put to it. The holder could be opened and closed so that the candle would not fall out."[1]

# LINK:

The first contributor noted above, as the 19th century slowly advanced into the early 20th, factory made candles, tilley lamps, parrafin lamps and acidbased storage batteries came into widespread household use. They too had

their dangers and could accidentally burn down homes and shops with loss of life.

The Shannon Scheme at Ardnacrusha first began to generate electricity for the national grid in October 1929, officially opened by President of the Executive Mr. W.T.Cosgrave. It began to supply the larger cities and some towns of Ireland. Before that significant date in the modernisation of the Irish Free State, private hydropower schemes supplied paying customers, generally the middle class professionals and business owners, in a limited number of towns across the country.

North Leitrim had three local schemes. Manorhamilton in 1905 had a small hydroelectric station on the Owenmore



2-volt glass battery

River that flows discreetly through the town and then joins the River Bonet as a valuable tributary. *Manorhamilton and District Electric Light and Power Co. Ltd.* was in operation before 1927. It supplied 94 homes and businesses in 1929, rising to 234 in 1946, when it was acquired by the ESB. The private sale of electricity ceased when the Electricity Supply Board/Bord Soláthair an Leictreachais – today styling itself Electric Ireland – assumed responsibility for supplying Manorhamilton and surrounds, as part of the 1946 Rural Electrification programme.

Two other localities in North Leitrim also had private generating companies before the ESB arrived. Paul Jeiter began to supply electricity in Dromahair in 1933, initially serving 26 homes and businesses rising to 60 by 1960, when it was acquired by ESB. *Drumkeeran Electricity Supply Co. Ltd.* began to supply electricity in 1933. It served 47 homes and businesses by 1957, when it was acquired by ESB. [2]

The ESB site states that Dromahair was officially switched on in 1960. I will return to that moment, but first let me focus on Dromahair hotelier and engineer, Paul Michael Jeiter (1903 – 1961). His father, Josef, was from Bacharach near Saarbrücken on the Franco-German border, and his mother was Mary Doud (probably Dowd) from Cavan, who worked in Lurganboy not far from Manorhamilton before meeting Josef, a master baker who established about 1880 in Manorhamilton on the Sligo road a food and lodging business for coach travellers and others.

He anglicised his name to Joseph and moved with his new wife to the village of Dromahair. Here they renovated a modest thatched building dating from 1860 and transformed it into a hotel and shop with a façade of limestone, sandstone and brick that blends English and German architectural features. They had two sons, Franz and Paul Michael. Paul Michael Jeiter studied for a B.E. at UCD before spending two years getting work experience in New York, doing

some jobs on the Brooklyn Bridge and helping with a tunnel under the Hudson River. He returned with his brother Franz, a talented chef, and assisted their widowed mother in the family business.

THE JEITER HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME ON THE BONET

Being of German extraction Paul Michael Jeiter sought technical help from the German electrical firm of B. Maier. Jeiter made use of a millstream that had powered Hosie's Mills beside the River Bonet in Dromahair.

Owen Leonard, a lecturer at the Institute of Technology in Sligo, wrote a revealing article in *Scéalta Dromahair* in August 2018. I summarise his main points and insert explanatory clauses of my own: Here is the source of the facts I have abstracted from that article, using some of his words & inserting phrases & clauses of my own:



HydroTurbine shaft in River Bonet 2017

The sad remains of Jeiter's 1933 turbine

The German company, B. Maier, supplied Jeiter with a Francis turbine, a radial flow reaction turbine with fixed runner blades. The original blueprints for the project are dated 23 July 1933. A millstream from the rear of The Lodge, (owned by Captain George Hewson and containing the runis of Villiers Castle and the foundations of O'Rourke's Banqueting Hall GB) had been in existence before 1910. Jeiter modified the part of the millrace feeding the water wheel that powered the mill. He installed piping that shot the water down with strong force into the generator shed that he had built, beside the remains of the former Hosie's

Mill, now known as the Office of Public Works OPW. Electricity was formally switched on in the Abbey Hotel [also commonly known as Jeiter's Hotel] on New Year's Eve 1933. At the beginning there were 26 customers using the electricity. In 1950, ten years before rural electrification came to Dromahair, Paul Jeiter had 50 customers in the village when the population was only 275. [3]

Owen Leonard's article was illustrated with photographs of what remains of (1) the hydro tube as it enters the turbine housing beside the OPW, (2) the metal name plate of Maschinenfabrik B. Maier, and (c) part of the rusting electric unit. Tommy Sweeney, who had worked at OPW, enabled Mr. Leonard to take these photos. Leonard concludes his article: "It would be a shame if this important piece of our [local] history were to be lost for future generations." (op. cit.)

Further information and background on Dromahair's amazing hydro-power story can be read on the *Dromahair Heritage* website, with photos & illustrations. [4]

Here in summary form are dates for Jeiter's electricity scheme, according to the ESB site (op. cit.)

DETAILS OF LOCAL ELECTRICITY SUPPLIER:

Paul Jeiter, Dromahair, in operation 1933 until 1961 26 consumers recorded in 1934; 60 consumers recorded in 1960 acquired by ESB between [1960—1961]

# 1946 Rural Electrification Scheme

Overall management of the project was the responsibility of William F. Roe and Patrick J. Dowling, engineering graduates of UCD, two of the most experienced ESB engineers, and at its peak between 3,500 and 4,000 field staff were employed.

The first pole in the first phase of rural electrification was erected on November 5th, 1946, at Kilsallaghan, in north Co Dublin. The first lights of the scheme were switched on at Oldtown, Co Dublin, in January 1947. At the time more than 400,000 homes in rural Ireland had no electricity. The project, carried out by the Electricity Supply Board, was enormous. The State was divided into 792 areas – mostly encompassing parish boundaries. Parochial identity would mobilise communities through local leaders, such as priests, school teachers and doctors, who could encourage people to sign up to get connected by the ESB.

The positioning of the ESB poles was a cause of concern in many farming areas. Many telegraph poles could have been located beside a fence or a natural boundary but were instead placed some distance away from fences thereby spoiling many fields.

81% of rural homes were connected by 1965. By 2003 only two regions in the country were yet to be connected to the national grid. These were Inishturk and Inishturbot islands, off the Galway coast.

In many small places the official switch-on of ESB power was ceremonially marked. A 1995 feature film directed by Cathal Black, titled *Korea*, briefly shows people in an imaginary village in Cavan singing the national anthem after statutory speeches by dignitaries. The film, based on a short story by John McGahern, is really about the burial of an Irishman who enlisted in US forces and was killed in the Korean war 1950-53, and how local Cavan attendance at the funeral rekindles family antagonisms arising from the Irish civil war of 1922-23. The ESB switch-on scene was in fact shot in Dromahair, in the area where a busy Chinese takeaway now functions.

When ESB workers and engineers from 1946 onwards connected big towns and villages, they then had to connect isolated homes in the countryside from the main lines. Isolated homedwellers might be charged according to how many telegraph poles were placed on land leading to their cottage. Due to cost and other reasons, some dwellings remained without electricity. The residents used parrafin lamps, candles and sometimes glass batteries for light – these latter were important for outhouses during calving time.

Many isolated households in North Leitrim and adjoining counties, like West Cavan, were not connected to the electricity grid, for reasons of poverty and personal unwillingness to cope with modernity. Someone who grew up in South Fermanagh and later went to the USA to study medicine remembers the use of battery-powered wireless in Leitrim during the 1970s:

"As technology improved and we [in Fermanagh] became glued to [British] colour television, a lot of homes in nearby Leitrim still owned old valve radios powered by four-volt glass batteries, which required weekly recharging." On Saturday evenings Leitrim customers left the Fermanagh workshop with recharged batteries strapped on their bicycle back carriers. [5]

From 1960-61 the Jeiters could no longer sell electricity, but the Abbey Hotel in Dromahair continued to use its own supply until 1973. Pattons Hall behind Pattons' bar, also known as the Breiffni Hall, used power from the Jeiter system for special weekend film shows in the 1950s until early 1960s. Films were apparently projected against a screen in the hall, by a 16mm film projector, and were eagerly watched by adults and children. This was several years before the arrival of Irish television in North Leitrim and surrounds. Jeiters hotel management reduced the power supply at 11 p.m. A filmshow had to start in good time on the selected evenings; otherwise viewers were irritated by flickering pictures when the film ran after 11 p.m. Imagine youthful whistling and stamping of feet in the dark on such occasions! Going to the movies was social fun then.

After 1973 the Abbey Hotel, like every household and business premises in Dromahair, used electricity provided by the ESB. Eventually the millrace behind the hotel and behind St. Patrick's church, that led to the piping system near the generator shed beside the former Hosie's Mills, was dismantled. Hardly any physical traces remain. Dromahair will never use locally generated electricity again.

Distinguished Dromahair cineaste Johnny Gogan made a bilingual documentary in 2015 about the Ardnacrusha scheme involving Siemens & the ESB. It was screened on TG4 television and also received special screenings at arts centres and selected commercial cinemas. It is titled *Generate The State/Gineadoir an Stait*. Bandit Films.

# Can local & regional hydro-power re-energize the future?

But has the local supply hydro-power story finished yet? I doubt it. More electricity can and will be produced by the Shannon at Ardnacrusha station. A few selected tributaries and some other rivers around Ireland could produce electrical power for consumers within a radius. Regional and local hydro-power schemes could decentralise electricity distribution and make communities less dependent on centrally directed sources. We know that in recent decades Wind Farms have been sprouting up, often suddenly and in intrusive locations. Private deals have been done before many within a concerned radius knew what was happening. Householders in the vicinity of Hillside windmills have complained of white noise, sleep deprivation and disruption to livestock and wildlife. Save Leitrim and other concerned groups have strongly suggested alternatives. Maybe more local hydro-power enterprises are an alternative to further windmillification.

Seamus Dunbar, director of the Leitrim Sculpture Centre, is a sculptor and researcher into a North Leitrim greenway project. He has combined with others to research the Owenmore generator station that existed on the outskirts of Manorhamilton in the beginning of the twentieth century. He won an award for his innovative approach and stated on his website: "... I decided to work with the question of renewable energy technologies, a social sculpture approach informed by my recent Art in Public studies at the University of Ulster. As I explained at my stand in the exhibition [held at the Dock Arts Centre in Carrick-on-Shannon]:

"My concept is called "Local-E" and aims to promote energy awareness through giving ownership of and responsibility for their own energy generation to local individuals, companies and communities...

I am inspired by the knowledge that in 1905 there was a small hydroelectric station close to where I now live in Manorhamilton." [6]

#### LINK:

The SEAI Sustainable Energy Authority of Ireland awarded him for his work in 2017.

The Leitrim Sculpture Centre pointedly has hosted exhibitions of industrial designs by graduating students from Sligo I.T. and Fermanagh College.

Paul Jeiter was a far seeing entepreneur & engineer in Dromahair during his time. Today we can identify talent and possibilities and draw inspiration from Jeiter's achievements.

# Notes:

- https://www.duchas.ie/en/tpc/cbes/5285280?con=LI Schools Collection 1937
- 2. Connecting Leitrim to the National Grid ESB Archives https://esbarchives.ie/2017/09/18/connecting-leitrim-to-the-national-grid/
- 3. Dromahair Hydro-Electric Scheme, by Owen Leonard, Issue #3 Scéalta Dromahair, National Heritage Week 2018.
- Hydro-Power on the River Bonet 2017 Dromahair Heritage website https://dromahairheritage.wordpress.com/2017/05/31/hydro-power-on-the-river-bonet/
- Behind the Mask: the extraordinary story of the Irishman who became Michael Jackson's Doctor; Dr. Patrick Treacy with Frances Kenny. Publisher: Liberties Press Ltd January 2016
- 6. Harnessing Creativity http://seamusdunbar.com/harnessing-creativity/
  - Garreth Byrne is a member of Dromahair Heritage Group. He has spent some of his career in education and rural development in East & Central Africa.



# THE CLOSURE OF THE HARCOURT STREET/BRAY LINE

# December 31st 1958

BY JAMES SCANNELL

In the late 1950s following the passage of *The Transport Act, 1958, UNRENUMERATIVE* was the one single word that employees on *Córas Iompair Éireann* [CIÉ] branch railways line dreaded hearing as it meant that the line in question had become loss making and had no possibility of breaking even in the future, so ultimately meant closure. Many lines were closed with one of these being 10½ mile long Harcourt Street, Dublin, to Bray, Co. Wicklow, line, known simply as the 'Harcourt Street Line' which operated its last service on 31 December 1958 amid great public criticism and outcry.

The Harcourt Street, Dublin – Bray, Co. Wicklow, line which passed through south County Dublin, until closure on 31 December 1958, opened on 10 July 1854 as the results of plans advanced in the 1840s to construct an alternative route to Dublin as part of a greater scheme advanced by the British Great Western Railway to connect Rosslare, Co. Wexford, and Dublin.

During the decade 1844–1854 a great deal of inter-railway company wheeling and dealing and politics took place, companies were formed and inter-company agreements entered into and although work on the line commenced in 1847, a combination of the Famine and a financial recession meant that nothing happened until the start of the 1850s. Arising from various inter-company agreements, in 1852 the *Dublin & Wicklow Railway* [D&WR] undertook to build the line from Dundrum to Bray, and the *Dublin & Bray Railway* [D&BR] the line from Dublin to Dundrum with which ever company completing its line first on or before 24 July 1853 having the power to acquire the other. The D&WR completed its line first as the D&BR ran into problems due to cost of excavating the long cutting south of Dundrum and building the high embankment north of it. In due course the D&WR acquired the shareholding and rights of the *D&BR Railway*, a process not concluded until 1856.

The lined opened for traffic on 10 July 1854 but in Dublin terminated at a temporary terminus in Harcourt Road, approximately where the current *Luas* Green Line Charlemont station is located. Between 1854 and 1859 the stations on this line, running north to south were Harcourt Road, Dublin, Dundrum, Stillorgan, Carrickmines, Shankill, and Bray, Co. Wicklow.

Originally it was intended that the line would have its Dublin terminus at the junction of Harcourt Street/St. Stephen's Green West but did not come to pass, most likely due to the cost of acquiring the properties to achieve this. In 1859 the line was extended a ¼ mile northwards from Harcourt Road to the fine imposing above street level Harcourt Street terminus, designed by George Wilkinson which opened on 7 February, 1859. The front of Harcourt Terminus was built in the magnificent Baroque style with Doric columns and a large arched entrance over which was inscribed the year 1859 in Roman numerals. The inside of the station was relatively plain and boring with Dubliners comparing the building to an egg — a lovely shell on the outside but just a yoke inside! This ¼ mile line

extension also required the construction of a bridge over the Grand Canal and Adelaide Road, demolished post 1959. Initially the line was single track but in 1859 the line was doubled from Harcourt Street to Dundrum and from there to Shanganagh Junction south of Shankill in 1860. Between 1859 and 1896, stations added were Harcourt Street (1859), Milltown (1860), Foxrock (1861), and Rathmines and Ranelagh (1896), renamed Ranelagh in 1921.

In the 1950s the south Dublin area was becoming affluent at a traumatic time for Irish railways as CIÉ attempted to reduce its losses through Dieselisation and the elimination of uneconomic services facing competition from cars and road freight vehicles – this issue is fully explored in Michael Collins' book 'Rail Versus Road in Ireland, 1900–2000', published by Colourpoint Books in 2000. Diesel railcars were introduced in 1954 on some of the Harcourt Street – Bray services as a cost saving measure. In south Dublin up to 13 bus services served areas through which the line passed and brought passengers to the City Centre, many to O'Connell Street, one mile north of the Harcourt Street terminus.

In 1957 the publication of the report by 'The Committee of Inquiry into Internal Transport in Ireland', chaired by Dr. J.P. Beddy, generally known as the Beddy Report, in summary recommended the closure of 150+ stations and 1000+ miles of track but did not suggest which stations and lines should be closed.

Following the passage of the *Transport Act, 1958*, CIÉ was given the statutory power to close uneconomic lines without having to seek prior authorisation from the Minister for Transport, then Erskine Childers, T.D. Once this legislation came into force the Minister sought the resignations of the CIÉ chairman and other board members and then effective from 1 September, 1958, appointed Dr. C. S. Andrews, a former managing director of *Bord na Mona*, as chairman of CIÉ and power to act as Chief Executive with the target of bringing the company to self-sufficiency by 31 March 1964.

In mid-October 1958 Dr. Andrews presided at a CIÉ board meeting which received recommendations from General Manager Frank Lemass concerning uneconomic branch lines, one of which advocated the closure of the Harcourt Street/Bray line to Shanganagh Junction line as the annual operating cost of the line was £77,000 (£120 per day) while receipts only came to £24,000 (£66 per day).

The board recommended closure and at the end of October Frank Lemass issued a circular to commuters headed Withdrawal of Services from the Harcourt Street line on and from 1 January 1959 which regretted and apologised for the inconvenience that the closure of the line would cause to commuters, citing the following reasons — The first and most obvious economy is to abandon services which are not remunerative and which show no possibility of being made remunerative. Unfortunately the Harcourt Street / Bray line is in this category. The annual loss, that is the excess of Expenditure over Revenue, from the provision of services is £53,000 and the annual saving that will accrue to the Board (of CIÉ) from the withdrawal of services, and after providing for the cost of substitute services will be £47,000. The circular went to state that a further saving of £24,000 would be achieved through the redeployment of rolling stock and other equipment to other parts of the CIÉ network and that overall the company deficit would be reduced by £71,000. This figure was made up as follows:

Closure of the line	£53,000
Redeployment of Rolling Stock and Equipment	£24,000
Deduct Cost of Replacement (Bus) Services	£6,000
Total Saving	£71.000

Following the release of this circular, there was widespread protest and complaint but despite numerous public protest meetings and a steady stream of letters to the press, at the formal press conference announcing the line's closure, Dr. Andrews remained adamant that the closure decision was irrevocable.

At the Tuesday 27 October meeting of the Bray Urban District Council [BUDC], concern was expressed over the closure with the action of CIÉ being described as a retrograde step and one that would have a crippling effect on the economy of the town and surrounding area. After a long discussion it was unanimously decided to protest to CIÉ and the Government and enlist the support of local Dáil deputies to prevent the line closure. Two weeks later at the next council meeting it was decided to hold a public protest meeting in the Town Hall on Friday 21 November while Mr. James O'Toole, T.D. indicated that he did not accept the reply furnished to him by Mr. D. Steward, CIÉ Traffic Manager, Kingsbridge, as satisfactory in response to his letter concerning the closure of the line.

In Greystones, Co. Wicklow, five miles south of Bray, the Greystones and District Civic Association [G&DCA] expressed disappointment that no details had been provided concerning the replacement bus service and indicated that strong representations would be made to CIÉ to ensure that this would link up promptly with existing rail and road services from Greystones and asked for an assurance that the fast morning services to Dublin on the Harcourt Street line would be available on or after 1 January 1959 to Westland Row (now Dublin Pearse).

On Friday 21 November there was a very large attendance at the public meeting in Bray Town Hall arranged by BUDC which adopted a resolution condemning the line closure and demanding that it remain open, with a request that directors of the company meet with a deputation to discuss various suggestions put forward by the meeting. However at the Tuesday 9 December meeting of the Council, the Town Clerk Mr. D. F. McCarthy read a reply from the Company's General Manager declining to meet a deputation to discuss the matter as it was felt that such a meeting would serve no useful purpose.

The G&DCA was advised by CIÉ that every consideration was being given to provide good connections between Greystones and Dublin but no details on the replacement bus service could be provided as planning the route was still in progress. However although an adequate bus service would be provided from Westland Row station to schools in the Harcourt Street area and that additional buses would be provided if deemed necessary, the company indicated that it would not provide, as requested, combined rail-road tickets to cover a train journey to Westland Row Station and then one by bus to Harcourt Street. The committee felt that in view of the assurances given, travellers would be almost as well facilitated as by the rail services but would keep the matter under close observation.

So as time for the line began to run out, the rundown began with the redeployment of equipment and non-essential rolling stock to other parts of the CIÉ network while staff contemplated what the future held for them. On 30 December the last connecting train to join the Westland Row -Rosslare boat train at Bray, departed from the station at 6.25 p.m. driven by 62-year old James 'The Jiller' Hamilton from Bray, with Sean Butler as guard. The last passenger to board was Miss Margaret Cummins, from Dundalk, returning to Bristol via Rosslare after the Christmas holidays and was issued with ticket 3359 – the last Harcourt Street to Rosslare ticket. Hamilton retired the following day after 46 years service.

The previously announced plan for 31 December was that the last train would depart from Harcourt Street to Bray around 11 p.m. but with memories of the souvenir collecting that had taken place in 1949 when the last trams to Dalkey ran, CIÉ advanced running of the final train to the afternoon in the expectation that the public would not hear about it but that day two morning newspapers stated that the 3.05 p.m. departure from Greystones would make the final round trip.

In Bray the honour of operating the final round trip Harcourt Street train was assigned to Ed Wheeler from Brookfield Avenue, Bray, one of five brothers who were all train drivers. Driver Wheeler had 34 years experience of driving trains on this line and was joined by Jack O'Sullivan from Wolfe Tone Square, Bray, who had been slightly injured in the 1957 Dundrum railcar accident, as his guard.

While the 3.05 p.m. train from Greystones embarked on the final round trip, Bray station ticket office staff encountered a large volume of people purchasing return tickets for this final train with similar scenes occurring at other station ticket offices along the line as well.

In Bray station, at 3.20 p.m. Guard Jack O'Sullivan took up his platform position, raised his flag, then blew his whistle and dropped the flag at the same time while Driver Wheeler acknowledged this 'permission to depart' with a long blast from the railcar siren and then eased the packed train out of the station and once he cleared the level crossing, passed over a series of fog detonators placed on the track by station staff, which exploded with loud bangs. At every station on the inward journey more and more passengers joined the train with some making their first and last journey on this line. All too soon Driver Wheeler reached Ranelagh station where he made the mandatory stop before continuing into Harcourt Street station, arriving at around 3.50 p.m. which despite it being Christmas had a very bare appearance as previously all the decorations had been taken down and the advertising hoardings removed.

Once the train halted at the single platform used for arrivals and departures, all the passengers had to alight and join those already waiting on the platform for the final outward journey. To cater for all those waiting to travel on the final run to Bray, it was necessary to couple together 3 railcar sets made up of vehicles 2653, 2169, 2648, 2655, 2163, 2650 and intermediate coaches 808 and 1306, and once the train had been assembled in one of the sidings, was backed up to the platform and then waited to depart. Supervising that final day's events were Acting-Station Master Frank Beggan and Foreman Michael Sherlock while members of An Garda Síochána maintained law and order and exercised crowd control to the best of their ability with the additional task of preventing souvenir collectors removing bits and pieces of the station's fittings.

While Driver Wheeler waited to take his train out, he had a busy time signing autographs for all those who asked him to do so with schoolboy Jim Killeen from Goatstown being photographed by one of the newspapers receiving Driver Wheeler's autograph.

For newspaper seller Mrs. Maggie McLoughlin from York Street it was the end of an era for her as she had sold newspapers in the station for 39 years and its closure marked the end of her 'pitch.'

As the time counted down to the final run, people conversed with each other while station staff went about their duties. As departure time drew near, newsreel cameramen and newspaper photographers took up their vantage points while newspaper reporters scribbled notes and recorded the views of those in the station. Suddenly it was time to board and as Driver Wheeler waited to depart, his brother Tom who retired that day after 48 year's service, joined him in the railcar cab for the final journey while passengers clambered on board. Then suddenly a great hush descended on the station broken only the sound of the idling diesel railcar engines. In the Harcourt Street signal box Frank Conerney who had taken over from Billy Kirwan at 4 p.m., set the path for the final departure and then dropped the appropriate signals.

In the station railcar doors were slammed shut and checked and then on cue at 4.25 p.m. Guard Jack O'Sullivan took up his platform position, raised his green flag and then dropped it and blew his whistle at the same time, the sound of which echoed throughout the station. In acknowledgement Driver Wheeler blew a long piercing scream from the three railcar horns under his control which resounded throughout the station and out into the surrounding streets After releasing the brakes Driver Wheeler opened the throttle and eased the packed train out of the station. As he did so, newsreel cameras purred, newspaper camera flashed and popped and fog detonators, previously placed on the track, exploded with loud bangs as the train rolled over them. In the station itself, people cheered and clapped, waved flags, handkerchiefs, and threw streamers before departing for home once the train had vanished from sight. Once the station had emptied of people, the staff tidied up, while in the signal box Frank Conerney returned all the signals to danger and then booked off duty for the last time.

As the final train headed south to Bray, it received a great reception at all the stations it passed through, being greeted by large crowds who clapped and cheered. At Milltown, the staff of the laundry turned out to see the train pass over The Nine Arches viaduct, which spanned the River Dodder and blew the laundry sirens in salute as it passed over it for the last time. In Foxrock the train passed some Drumm Battery railcars stabled there before being sent to the breaker's yard while at Shankill Station the train paused for a few moments before setting off for Shanganagh Junction where it made its final crossing onto the main line before heading for Bray.

In Bray the imminent arrival of this train was indicated by the ringing of the gong in the signal box as the signalman in the Shanganagh Junction signal box informed his colleague in Bray that he had cleared the train for Bray. Seconds later the sound of acknowledgement could be heard from the Bray box followed then by the sound of signal cables 'twanging' as the Bray signalman set up the path for the train's final entry into Bray. In the distance the sound of the

railcar's siren could be heard as it passed through Woodbrook Halt and then the wooden level crossing gates swung into position to stop the road traffic crossing over the railway tracks.

On the Dargle Bridge the nearside signal arm on the giant signal gantry dropped down indicating that the train was about due to arrive and that it would come in on the Up/No. 1 platform from where it had departed about two hours earlier. All of a sudden the train, moving at a gentle speed, came into sight, passed over the level crossing and glided down along the Up Platform braking all the time until it came to a halt. Crowds gathered round the driver's cab to talk to Driver Wheeler and later when they had cleared away, I obtained his autograph on a small piece of paper which I still possess. When all the passengers had alighted and the crowds departed, Driver Wheeler brought the railcar set to one of the sidings where the units were uncoupled from each other and were made ready as individual units to provide service on the Bray/Westland Row route as normal. Train services had ended on the Harcourt Street line forever.

Within days of the last train, work on removing much of the line's equipment began and within three months the tracks had been lifted and exported to India. Letters of complaint about the closure appeared in the national press for several days but remarkably there was an absence of editorial comment about it. In the view of many people the closure of the line was a major error by CIÉ in light of the subsequent housing and industrial development that took place in the part of south County Dublin through which the line formerly passed but Dr. Andrews always stood by the decision citing that difficult decisions had to be made at that time (1958) and that the closure of the line was one of them. While generally Dr. Andrews is cast as the 'villain' for the closure decision, he was after all only implementing the legislation as enacted by his immediate superior, Minister for Transport Erskine Childers, who had overall responsibility for CIÉ and acting on the recommendations of Frank Lemass so perhaps history has been unkind to him.

Luckily most of trackbed was allowed to remain intact and not built over so that it formed the route for the Luas Green Line from St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, to Sandyford and the later extension southwards to the Bride's Glen terminus in Cherrywood Office Park.

The principal replacement service for the Harcourt Street-Bray line was the Route 86 bus which passed through many of the areas formerly served by the line with the timetables of other bus routes serving the areas affected being amended accordingly but that Bray Railway Station/College Green, Dublin, service took over an hour to travel the route compared to 30 minutes for the train. The route was terminated in 2007 by which time it had been reduced to one or two buses operating Monday to Friday over a shorter route as the result of competition from the *Luas* and other *Dublin Bus* services.

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# The Taming of Ireland's Big Killers

# Galway's role in defeating Tuberculosis and Typhus

BY EUGENE JORDAN

The world of medicine took a quantum leap forward in the late 1940s, which is the era demarcating the genesis of present-day healthcare systems. Surprisingly, even though it is within living memory, in the time prior, the titanic battle against killer diseases which have now become curable, has fallen from public consciousness. It was a time when even a minor cut was enough to send the healthiest and strongest person to an early grave and medics could do little but watch while diseases ran their course. That changed in the late 1940s and early 1950s when mortality rates for a wide range of diseases plummeted all across the globe. The time marked a paradigm shift in medicine which was mostly due to the advent of antibiotics alongside a variety of new chemicals which proved to be decisive weapons in the war on disease and disease prevention.

During the Second World War Ireland faced extraordinary challenges which were met by an extraordinary team of dedicated health professionals at the Department of Local Government and Public Health. In 1944, Dr James Deeny was appointed as the Chief Medical Officer of the Department, and he and his team instigated the paradigm shift for Ireland which, among its successes, was the enactment and implementation of the 1947 Health Act. It was probably one of the most important pieces of legislation ever enacted by Dáil Éireann, a critical moment in Irish history, not just for public health but also in most other areas of healthcare. It set up a separate department of health and among its many sweeping changes it brought in new standards for food hygiene and waste disposal. It gave health officials powers to prosecute anyone in breach of the regulations and also conferred draconian powers to detain in hospital, against their will if necessary, people suffering from certain infectious diseases to prevent the spread of disease in the community. The pre-eminence of this Act is demonstrated by its longevity. Despite being 73 years old in 2020, the Minister for Health used the powers conferred by this 1947 Act to restrict the movements of citizens during the COVID-19 Emergency.

From the early 1950s antibiotics and new chemicals played a significant role in the improving health of the nation but there is much more to disease mitigation than treatment. Disease prevention is even more important and sometimes drastic measures, especially in earlier times, were used in the fight against disease. Perhaps one of the most unusual health programmes the country has experienced was titled the Health Embarkation Scheme which ran from 1943 to 1947. It ensured that Irish people emigrating to Britain did so free from lice.

Ireland was the last country in Europe with a significant louse-borne typhus problem which was mainly due to the persistent pervasiveness of poverty within the country. This in turn frustrated many attempts to improve public health. The problem remained so severe in the 1940s that the British authorities were fearful that Irish immigrants could potentially damage the war effort by bringing a highly infectious disease into the country, like typhus, which could run like

wildfire through the population. Typhus was once an enormous problem and the health authorities all over the world were well aware of it. Only a few years earlier in Russia 25 million people had become infected and three million people died from the disease during and after the civil war 1917-21. Political leaders feared typhus as if it was an opposing army. Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, spoke famously of it, 'If Socialism does not defeat the louse, the louse will defeat Socialism.'[1]

Typhus is usually transmitted by the human body louse which becomes infected after feeding on patients with acute typhus fever. When the infected lice transfer on to a new host they excrete rickettsia bacteria on to the skin which causes no harm in itself. However, when a louse bites the area of the bite becomes itchy causing a person to scratch, thus rubbing the louse faeces directly into the wound and on into the bloodstream, thereby causing an infection. In the pre-antibiotic era the case fatality rate of Typhus fever was 10-50%.[2] The disease had been contained in Ireland by the swift and ruthless action by the Department of Health medics but it was not eradicated and could have easily blown up into a full-blown epidemic. Lice infestations were associated with poor living conditions, hygiene and poverty. The west of the country was more severely impacted by impoverishment than the rest; consequently, it had not only an extensive louse problem but a louse problem combined with the presence of the rickettsia bacteria.

As the words of Lenin attest, typhus was so feared by the authorities in many nations including Britain that its government considered stopping Irish people from emigrating to the country during WWII. The Irish Government in response introduced the Health Embarkation Scheme to inspect and delouse infected prospective emigrants before departure from Ireland. Delousing in those days involved shaving all body hair and then standing in a bath while getting washed from head to foot in chemicals. All personal clothing was steam disinfected except for hats and belts which could be ruined by steam and were ironed instead. Head shaving might seem humiliating, especially for women, but it was the only effective treatment available at that time for the prevention of re-infestation because the lice lay their eggs close to the skin at the very base of the hair strand. Accordingly, louse eggs could not be removed by combing, necessitating the removal of hair to eliminate firmly planted eggs.

While the scheme was running, the Department officials suspected the real rate of Typhus in Ireland was much higher than the statistics showed because many people can suffer from Typhus and not be aware of it or they may have been misdiagnosed with influenza or other febrile illnesses. The embarkation scheme afforded a great opportunity to obtain more accurate data. Accordingly, health officials took blood samples from participants and had them tested. Not surprisingly their suspicions were indeed confirmed as the tests showed that typhus antibodies were present in significant numbers of people. Mercifully, advances in science meant that a much less humiliating way of getting rid of lice was on the horizon but Ireland faced significant difficulties in obtaining it.

Despite Ireland remaining neutral through WWII the war had a major impact on the country, not only were many of the imported consumer commodities in short supply or no longer available on the market, industrial, medical and hygiene products too were all difficult to obtain. The shortage of petrol forced health officials to abandon regular inspections of institutions while the upgrade and renovation of hospital buildings and facilities alongside the construction of new hospitals could not take place. Delayed too was the establishment of the regional sanatoria.

When Naples fell to the allies in 1943 a major outbreak of Typhus occurred at the worst possible time, just before the onset of winter. The history of previous outbreaks showed that the disease would run its course until the arrival of summer. In a city overcrowded, packed with refugees, it had the potential to be a humanitarian disaster of epic proportions.[3] Just a few years earlier in 1939, a Swiss chemist, Paul Hermann Müller, discovered the insecticidal action of a chemical called Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane which was first synthesised in 1874. It would prove to be crucial to success in averting the impending humanitarian disaster. Better known as DDT, in January 1944 the allies pumped the powdery substance down every trouser, dress and skirt, down the front and back of every shirt and blouse, up every sleeve and every head disappeared in a cloud of DDT. Bedclothes and anywhere a louse could hide was plastered with the miracle powder. It was such a fantastic discovery that Müller was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1948.

Deeny, back in Ireland, had heard of the allies' success in dealing with the pest and he knew the formula for DDT from his time working as the British Army's Chemical Warfare Officer in Lurgan, Co. Armagh. He thought he could do the same in Ireland and if it could not be imported all he needed was a chemist and a chemical factory to make DDT. Ireland would, at last, be rid of its itchy and deadly scourge. Deeny heard of a small chemical manufacturing plant located at Nuns' Island in Galway called Hygeia. It was run by Donny Coyle or David Donovan Coyle, a native of Derry who settled in Galway and it employed a talented chemist named Pat Moynihan, a native of Kerry. The essential ingredients of DDT are alcohol, benzene and chlorine. Alcohol could be obtained from potato alcohol plant located near the town and benzene could be acquired from Galway Gas Works. Chlorine was not to be had in the country so Hygeia hatched a plan to smuggle it in from across the border.

The potato alcohol produced at the plant was not pure enough and required further refinement which was carried out at Nuns Island, a dangerous process which could have blown the factory sky high. Thankfully there were no accidents and Hygeia went on to make about 10 tons of DDT per year which were mixed with talc from the Donegal barytes to make a 5% mixture thus yielding an output of 200 tons.

DDT at this time appeared harmless to humans but, to confirm that the Galway made batches were safe, up stepped one of the department's heroes, Dr J.D. MacCormack. He volunteered to test the chemical on himself because he was unmarried and would leave no orphans or a widow should the test go wrong. JD ingested 5g of DDT and went for a game of golf and suffered no ill effects, and so it was pronounced safe.

DDT was then given out free of charge through dispensaries and schools and the County Medical Officers (CMO) all over the country set about plastering every house and person in their respective counties with the stuff. Despite the good cause, some people resented the intrusion and it was reported Dr Charles MacConn, the CMO for Galway, received a crack of an iron bar over the head for his enthusiasm but, persist with the campaign all of them did. Ireland was the first country to make a pesticide available to all and sundry. For the first time in human existence freedom was possible, not only from lice and fleas, but from the whole menagerie of bugs called itchy and scratchy.

Paul Müller, at the time when he discovered the insecticide, was working for the firm called Geigy in Basel, Switzerland, which also had a subsidiary in Manchester. After the war when Geigy became aware that Deeny was manufacturing DDT in Ireland, they sent a representative to meet with him in Dublin. The man informed Deeny that Geigy held the worldwide patents on DDT and they were to stop making it forthwith. Deeny reminded him that when the Free State was established Geigy had forgotten to register their patents with it. He went on to say that not only would we not stop making it but Ireland intended to start exporting it too. The latter was a ruse intended to show Geigy that their negotiating position was not as strong as they thought. It also indicates that Deeny had cleverly estimated Geigy's response some years previous when he first proposed the manufacture of DDT to Hygeia. When the man from Geigy reported back a delegation from Manchester was dispatched post-haste to meet with the people at Hygeia and a deal was done.

# MERLIN PARK

In 1945 the government set about establishing four regional sanatoria or specialist super hospitals to finally rid the country of the menace of tuberculosis (TB). Galway was chosen as the site of one of the sanatoria along with Cork and Dublin (now Blanchardstown Hospital). The act armed department officials with compulsory purchase orders with a limited duration of two years. Accordingly, without delay, several senior department officials were tasked to Galway to talk to the owners of a property which had been identified as a suitable site for a regional sanatorium, Mervue House and its estate.

The house was built-in 1778 and had been occupied for all that time by members of the Joyce clan. In 1945, the house and estate were in the ownership of Col Pierce Joyce who had served in many armies and had even trained the Arab Levies for desert war who went on to be led by the famous Lawrence of Arabia. Col Joyce had a lot in common with the department officials and they all hit it off splendidly while in Mervue. Dr J.D. MacCormack had earned a Military Cross in the First World War while Theo MacWeeney joined the British Army at fifteen and later became the first medical officer of the Flight Corps of the Irish Army before going back to the RAF. James Deeny, then a native and resident of Lurgan in co. Armagh also joined the British army for the Second World War but he was blocked from holding certain officer's posts due to anti-catholic discrimination which was rife in Northern Ireland at that time. He eventually ended up with an appointment as the Chemical War Officer for Lurgan, which as we saw earlier came in handy in the fight against Typhus.

Deeny's predecessor at the Department of Local Government and Public Health was R.F. MacDonnell from Roscommon who had ridden in the same troop as Winston Churchill. Later became a Colonel in the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) and was a surgeon in the First World War and later again a Colonel in the Irish Army Medical Corp.



Figure 1: An aerial view of Merlin Park Hospital, Galway under construction in the early 1950s Source: Making Ireland Modern.ie

J.D. MacCormack had returned from the war in a wheelchair and had taken up golf to rehabilitate himself, a sport in which he became quite proficient and famous. He won the Irish Amateur Close Championship three times and was runner-up at the Irish Amateur Open Championship in 1924. Col Joyce was an avid golfer and so JD spent some time in the library of Mervue House helping the Colonel improve his golf swing. Meanwhile, Theo MacWeeney spent his time at the house drinking tea in the drawing-room with Mrs Joyce, discussing mutual military friends from hill stations in India and elsewhere. Deeny took to the roof to survey the surroundings to sketch out how his plan for 40 bedded units would fit on the site. After a very fine day out, the trio left Galway with a tentative agreement to buy the Mervue house and estate.

As this little story illustrates, quite a few of the top officials in the Irish public service were ex British military, which disproves one of the top historical canards to have appeared in recent times that people who served in the British army were shunned by Irish society after the country gained independence. Here we see that many of the civil servants were ex-British military and in 1925 when the Irish army numbered 55,000, 60% of the enlisted men were ex-British military and so too were 20% of the officers. [4]

However, independence brought to the Department and new influx of people which created a measure of mistrust between the Republican side and the old guard of the British Empire. However, it was tempered somewhat in that all were determined to achieve a common objective, which was to improve the health of the nation. In this regard, the Department benefited by employing world-renowned experts in their field. Theo MacWeeney, for example, was regarded as one of the world's most foremost experts on tuberculosis (TB) and after he

left the department he went on the work with the World Health Organisation and was appointed regional advisor on TB to eight countries in South East Asia with a population of 1 billion people. J.D. MacCormack and Deeny represented Ireland at the inaugural meeting of the World Health Organisation (WHO), a specialised agency of the United Nations established in 1948.

It must be remembered that the medical establishment up until very recently was stuffed full of people who were more concerned with 'sport and gracious living and style than professional excellence'. They belonged to an aloof and arrogant privileged class but these words could not be used to describe the aforementioned gentlemen and ladies of the department of health. Seldom in the history of Irish civil administration has a more competent super team existed. The leaders of the team deserved to be named they were Dr Francis C. Ward, Dr Winslow Sterling Berry, Paddy Ashe, Charles Lysaght, Des Hourhane, Paddy Fleming Dr Florence Dillon, Shane O'Neill and others before and after. They set about with determination to cure the worst tuberculosis problem in Europe, louse-borne typhus, the high infant mortality rate and more.

Demand for scarce government resources was always high and the health services had to battle with every other government department for funding. A genius idea, promoted by Prof. James Craig TD and William Archer Redmond TD introduced a bill to Dáil Éireann which brought about an early version of the national lottery to build, equip, and run hospitals combined with investing in medical services. Known as the Irish Hospitals' Sweepstakes, it was established by the Public Charitable Hospitals (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1930.[5] It expired after four years but was incorporated into various Public Hospitals Acts thereafter. The lottery was illegal in Britain and the USA but that did not stop both countries from becoming the most significant number of Irish Sweepstake ticket buyers. Many new hospitals were built in the 1930s but the postal censorship in operation during the war in Britain and the USA meant that the income was curtailed significantly. After the war, the funds came back on stream but not at the same rate as before. Nonetheless, the Sweepstake funds were vital for the provision of the new regional sanatoria together with many more health services.

It was Deeny who came up with the outline design of the regional sanatoria. He imagined a number of 40-bed units surrounding a central hospital building. He chose 40 beds as he felt it was the maximum number of patients which could be handled by a single nursing unit. After the war, steel was in short supply so this limited the height at which new buildings could be constructed. However, and in any case, Deeny did not think skyscraper hospitals would create the healing atmosphere he sought for hospital patients. Such an atmosphere could only exist in a calm rural idyll resplendent with lawns, trees and flowers in a homely setting with plenty of fresh air. Deeny handed his outline sketches to Norman White and Mick Jordan who turned them into proper plans. A committee was appointed to oversee the building programme which was chaired by Ted Courtney the Chief Engineer of the Department, with Norman White the Chief Architect, Michael Jordan the chief services Engineer, Frank Dowling and James Deeny, himself.

Meanwhile plans to site the new sanatorium at Mervue ran into trouble. At that time, Galway's sanatorium was located across the road at Renmore House which was once the residence of Patrick Marcus Lynch and his descendants,

it was sold in 1924 but by 1944 the department planned to close it and amalgamate its staff and services into the new regional sanatorium. Woodlands sanatorium as it was known, was located close to the main road and much lore exists of people who were so frightened of the disease they would take special precautions when passing by the sanatorium. Cyclists would regularly dismount to cover their face with a scarf and pedal like blazes down the hill. At that time, the Renmore and Mervue housing estates did not exist and Renmore House was in the middle of the country and so too was Mervue House but it had neighbours. Most neighbours would not be impressed by the prospect of a big institution packed full of people with a frightening, contagious and deadly disease landing right beside them, but these neighbours were also fearful of good-looking nurses.

Father Kerr, a son of a very wealthy Belfast solicitor, used his inheritance to build a House of Studies to accommodate young Redemptorist seminarians who were students at Galway University. Today the building is part of the Galway Mayo Institute of Technology campus and retains its original name, Cluin Mhuire. In 1945, the building backed directly on to the site earmarked for the new regional sanatorium. Father Kerr was not impressed and objected to it, first on the grounds that it put his students at risk of infection. Second, there would be a lot of noise from the site at all hours and thirdly the sight of beautiful nurses flaunting themselves in the face of the young seminarians' would be too much for them to bear[6]. The installation of opaque windows at Cluin Mhuire was the solution offered by Deeny and he dismissed the other two grounds just as quickly. Fr. Kerr however, was not easily dissuaded from his objections, and who showed up, all the way from New York but a Redemptorist Priest by the name of Fr Wainwright, he was none other than Eamonn de Valera's half-brother. Once the department heard of his arrival they knew the game was up and so Deeny was dispatched to Galway to find another site. Deeny describes what happened.

I found myself wandering around a place called Merlyn Park, a beautiful estate a couple of miles from Galway on the main Dublin Road. As I wandered through the woods I Heard the odd shot and eventually I made my way to the house and, trying to find someone, ended up in the stableyard. A gentleman who had been out shooting was washing his wellingtons at the pump, saw me and asked who I was and what I wanted. When I told him he turned pale and for a moment I thought he was going to shoot me. He brought me into the house and introduced me to his wife. His name was Wyndham Waithman and the family had owned the property for many generations. I explained about the establishment of sanatoria Act, but then I sat down to present my case and to talk it over with them. I said that we need to have a regional institution in Galway and that I had hunted the area, that we had been displaced from Mervue and that this was the only place left where we could find room for a large institution. As I went on, the enormity of what I was doing, taking their home from these people, became apparent to me. I would like to record the extraordinary Christian charity of these two fine people. They agreed that in the face of the terrible problem of tuberculosis in the country, no sacrifice was too much for people to make. They told me to go ahead. It was heart-breaking but there was nowhere else.[6] p.150

As Deeny alludes, no compulsory purchase order was necessary for the 870-acre estate. The Waithmans used the proceeds of the sale to purchase a

Victorian mansion, Murrough House, just across the road from Merlin Park. Capt. Wyndham W Waithman died in 1975 leaving his widow, Eileen O'Driscoll all alone in the big house. After a few months, she approached the CEO of the Western Health Board, Eamonn Hannon telling him she was lonely for her husband and the woods at Merlin Park and asked could she come back and live on the estate again. He provided her with a small woodman's cottage, planted the site with cypress trees, made a small garden and constructed a separate entrance leading on to the main road. She lived there until her passing in 1997.

The first phase of the first modern TB hospital in Ireland, Merlin Park Hospital, was opened in 1952 and was funded from Sweepstakes money. Historian Mary E. Daly had argued that by the time the additional units were complete in 1954 the beds were surplus to requirements. However, despite not being built as an orthopaedic hospital, two ward blocks were being used for orthopaedic patients. It appears that Daly had not read the design brief the hospital was designed to be used as a general hospital once the TB epidemic had been brought under control. The units were designed to last 50 years but are now standing in 2020 for 68 years and are likely to go on for a lot longer.

In the year in which Merlin Park opened, Selman Abraham Waksman was awarded the Nobel Prize for medicine for the discovery of Streptomycin<sup>1</sup>, the first antibiotic which was effective against TB. Had Streptomycin not been discovered, the new regional sanatoria would still have made a big difference to the numbers of people infected with the disease. Combined with the 1947 Health Act which allowed for TB sufferers to be confined to hospital even against their will, the TB epidemic would have been conquered but not eliminated. Dr Noel Browne did not become Minister of Health until 1948.

This article is largely based on 'To Cure & to Care: Memoirs of a Chief Medical Officer' by James Deeny, 1989.

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# **ENDNOTES**

1 Streptomycin was first isolated on October 19, 1943, by Albert Schatz, a PhD student in the laboratory of Selman Abraham Waksman at Rutgers University.



# Maud Gonne 'Mad' and Mrs 'Desperate'

BY LOURDES MACKEY, member of the Cork Non-Fiction Writers

On a Summer's evening in 1920 the Viceroy of Ireland, Viscount Jack French, driving down Sackville Street, with all the pomp and protection of the king's representative, observed two flamboyant women pontificating to a rebellious crowd.

Nervous, since the IRA attempt on his life at Christmas, he ordered his driver to slow. With a jolt, (as Mary Colum in her autobiography *Life and the Dream* tells it), he realized that he could not, without scandal, order the women's arrest, for one was his sister, the redoubtable Charlotte Despard, and the other, the woman he once desired, the magnificent Maud Gonne.

He promptly shouted 'Drive On.'



Charlotte Despard and Maud Gonne first met at a suffrage meeting in London, in 1917 and, despite the age difference and Maud's extreme Anglophobia, the two became firm friends. They had much in common: both had aristocratic backgrounds, both were converts to Catholicism, both theosophists and both supporters of Irish Republicanism – though Maud's was of a romantic, nationalistic variety while Charlotte's was of a socialist republican kind.

As lorry-loads of Black and Tans were drunkenly swaggering off the ferry at Kingstown throughout 1920 and rampaging up and down the country, letters beseeching Charlotte to intercede with the Viceroy piled up in her London home.

The young medical student Kevin Barry was awaiting a death sentence in Mountjoy and Cork's lord mayor, Terence MacSwiney (whose sister Máire, Charlotte knew from their suffragette days) was on hunger-strike in Brixton. Ignoring his sister's petitions, Jack indignantly declared 'Charlotte has always mingled with subversives, but now she is emphatically one of them.'

Being the Viceroy's sister, however, did have some advantages.

Collecting information for the British Labour Party's enquiry into atrocities in Ireland, Charlotte and Maud motored through Munster, in November. Enjoying by turn the startled, then nervous reactions of the soldiers at army roadblocks, Charlotte loudly proclaimed that she was the Viceroy's sister on important business as her driver accelerated through.

Reporting an increasing tide of violence, she chronicled murder, looting and the burning up of the innocent many, because the authorities could not catch the guilty few.

In the summer of 1921, Charlotte made a permanent move to Ireland and with Maud bought Roebuck House, in Clonskeagh. Both women opposed the December Treaty and so Roebuck House soon morphed into a republican sanctuary.

In her biography of Charlotte, Margaret Mulvihill describes radicals of every shade of red mixing with poets and writers: James Connolly's son Roddy, Peadar O Donnell, Dick Fox and his wife, the children's author, Patricia Lynch, rubbed shoulders with Yeats and George Russell. Kathleen Lynn, Hannah Molony, and Constance Markievicz were there for Cumann na mBan meetings.

The house also hosted the Women's Prisoners' Defence League (WPDL), which Charlotte and Maud had founded with Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, to help families of imprisoned republicans. Known as 'The Mothers,' they adopted the lily as their emblem, which is still used today to commemorate the 1916 rising.

The hive-like activity at Roebuck House didn't suit everyone though. Iseult Gonne's husband, Francis Stuart, in his mostly autobiographical *Black List Section H*, describes being 'hemmed in on all sides, by his mother-in-law [Maud] and her wide circle of admiring acquaintances.' Charlotte's niece, on a visit to Dublin, reported back to her family that Aunt Charlotte 'is living in a henhouse in Ireland.'

The Free State Government wasn't impressed either, proscribed the WPDL as an illegal organization and in 1923 threw Maud into Kilmainham Gaol. Charlotte immediately went on hunger strike.

Yeats, who was by then a Free State senator, sped off to petition the Taoiseach. But 'Poor Willie,' as Maud and Iseult Gonne always called him, was sharply rebuked by WT Cosgrave, who counselled that 'women, doctors and clergy ought to keep out of politics, as their business is with the sick.' Charlotte brought a chair to the prison gates and there sat in a solitary vigil until Maud's release twenty days later.

Hoping to provide work for ex-prisoners and their families, Maud and Charlotte set up an array of cottage industries at Roebuck. Charlotte converted an outbuilding into a jam-factory, but the project was a resounding failure. Neither the weather nor the workers could be relied on, and she was left with empty jam-jars and an empty purse.

To some the two chatelaines were a farcical pair as they strolled out: statuesque Maud in a swish of drooping drapery towering over the sparsely- adorned, stooped and creaky Charlotte. Once, as they entered the GPO, a Dublin wit was overheard to say: 'Oh look, here they come, *Maud Gonne Mad and Mrs Desperate*.'

Police raids on Roebuck intensified when Maud's son Seán MacBride was suspected of killing the Free State minister, Kevin O Higgins, in 1927. Charlotte, designated a dangerous character, and liable to expulsion from the country, increasingly turned to communism. At almost ninety years of age, she visited the Soviet Union. In August 1930, Pravda, the official organ of the Soviet Communist Party headlined that Charlotte Despard 'the oldest woman in the Irish revolutionary movement' was en route to the USSR.

On her return she left Roebuck House, eventually moving to Belfast where she died in 1939.

Rumours of a rift – that Charlotte was too left-wing for Maud and Maud too profascist for Charlotte – were belied when the grief-stricken Maud was the chief mourner at Charlotte's funeral in Glasnevin.

Maud joined her there thirteen years later. They are reunited in the republican plot.





# GLEANINGS OF A CORK FAMILY IN THE SERVICE OF THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC

BY GIANPIERO MEAZZA AND KEVIN TERRY

Following the defeat of King James II in Ireland and under the terms of the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, Irish soldiers went to France in an event known as the Flight of the Wild Geese. Among those were several Terry men from County Cork. Some of these subsequently went to Spain and their settlement there is well documented.1 What is less well known are the fortunes of a number of one Terry family who served the Venetian Republic in Dalmatia following the departure of one of them from military service in France. It is to redress this lack of knowledge that is the purpose of this article. Several Terrys from this family, originating in Cork, Ireland, settled in Zadar from around 1700. Three or four were in the army and were brothers. A fifth Terry was a cleric and also probably a brother. There was at least one other from the extended family. The brothers were William, Edmond, Dominic, Francis, and Lawrence. Their father, Robert Terry, was Deputy Clerk for the Crown in County Cork. This was sometime before the year 1685.2 Robert's wife was Catherine McCarthy. Dominic was recorded as coming from the Cork and Ross diocese. This would suggest that the family were from Cork city or the barony of Kinalea where there were 'tituladoes' Terrys in Pender's Census in 1659.3 Dominic's place of birth was Cork city.4 A Robert Thyrry Fitz-Robert was Sheriff of Cork city in 1644.5 Records show that from 1609-12, his father, Robert Tyrry, was deputy clerk of the crown in Munster.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the family may have moved to Clare after the Cromwelliam Wars in Ireland or around the time of the Williamite Wars in Ireland.

In the City Archives, Zadar, Croatia there are several manuscripts connected to this Terry family from the 17th & 18th century. There are also records in the archives in Zagreb and Venice and a record in the archives in Cadiz relating to one Isabel Terry from Venice.

Before looking at the individual Terrys who settled or lived in Dalmatia, a brief explanation of the geography in a historical context, at the time William and Francis Terry arrived in Dalmatia, is merited. In the latter half of the 17th century Fig. 1 shows a map of the Venetian Republic in 1560 with Dalmatia including Zara as part of the Republic.



Fig. 1 Map of Venetian Republic 1560 ("Historical Atlas" by William R. Shepherd, 1923)

The Venetian Republic had prolonged wars with the Ottoman Empire; in the Cretan War (1645–1669), after a heroic siege that lasted 24 years, Venice lost its major overseas possession, the island of Crete, while it made some advances in Dalmatia. In 1684, however, taking advantage of the Ottoman involvement against Austria in the Great Turkish War, the Republic

initiated the Morean War, which lasted until 1699 and in which it was able to conquer the Morea peninsula in southern Greece. Fig. 2 is a map showing Dalmatia in the 17th and the 18th centuries. It shows the boundaries at various periods. Over time these boundaries changed depending on the outcome of various wars. In the Morean War, the Venetian Republic occupied a large part of the Dalmatian hinterland, which was previously Ottoman territory all the way to Knin and Sinj. This wide zone protected the Dalmatian city communities from any powerful Ottoman intrusions. The location of the Battle of Sinj in 1715 is shown. The involvement of the Therry Regiment in this Battle is described later in this article.



Fig. 2 Dalmatia 17th & 18th centuries.

The territory of contado di Zara i.e. hinterland of Zadar is the area bounded by the Adriatic Sea to the west, Fig. 2, with high mountains to the east. It encompasses the northern most part of today's Dalmatia, surrounded with the natural physical borders created by the River Krka basin from the southeast and the Velebit and Dinara mountain ranges and the source of the River Zrmanja from the north, see Fig. 3. The island of Pag in the north-west and the sea channel of Zadar together with the islands of the Zadar

archipelago in the south-west, (amongst which the largest are Ugljan/Uglian, Pašman/Pasmano and Dugi Otok/Isola Lunga), create the coastal borders of the territory. 10



Fig. 3 Contado Di Zara (Courtesy: www.viella.it – footnote 10)

# WILLIAM

William was probably the eldest Terry brother to arrive in Dalmatia. . He fought on the side of King James II in 1690 in both Limerick and Athlone. When the Irish brigades were formed in France, after King James's defeat at the Battle of the Boyne, one of the brigades of the second formation was the Limerick Regiment of Infantry.11 Sir John Fitzgerald was colonel of this regiment and William Therry was major. One of William's sisters was married to Patrick Hurly – both of whom resided also in France in the mid 1690s. 12 On 2nd October 1694, in the parish of St. Hugues, Grenoble, his son William, and that of his wife, Christine de Commine, was baptised. The godfather was Cornelius Murphy, Major in Clancarthy's regiment.<sup>13</sup> William was still major in 1695; he is recorded as having obtained a pass to travel to Holland in September 1695 with his servant.14 He is more than likely the Lieutenant Terry alleged by a dying prisoner in England, by the name of Joy, to have been involved in a plot hatched in Dublin to murder Queen Anne. Terry's sister, Mrs Hurley, was arrested. She said Joy was "a lying villain". 15 Both he and his brother in law, Patrick, appear to have defrauded the regiment and had to flee France, ending up in Switzerland. 16 An account of William fleeing France is contained in the Inchiquin Manuscripts. He was apprehended in Geneva but escaped from custody. When William went to Piedmont he was "on the run", having got into some difficulty with his regiment in France. His brother, Francis, was already in Piedmont.

There is a document in existence which is an account of William's background and his assignment to the service of the Venetian Republic in 1696. It is difficult to read as it is a mix of Latin, local Italian (Venetian) and misspelled English names, but the note on the left says "The Irishman Guglielmo Terri accepted in the Venetian service". Guglielmo is Italian for William. It is the copy of a letter handed to the General Superintendent in Split on the 1st of August 1696. It is about the acceptance of William Terri in the military forces of Dalmatia. The key part reads:

"As the Irishman William Terri kept his catholic faith in spite of the latest decisions taken by England, he was in the subsequent fights in Ireland in defence of Limerick and Aclona [Athlone] as a colonel of the regiment Brottlet (?); after that he was left without any employment and moved to Piedmont, from where he decided to leave for reason of honour, as the hon. Milord Galovarz (?) could not promote him to any position due to his professed religion; moved by a generous desire of glory he proposed to start our service by agreeing proper conditions ... we are glad to accept said Irishman Guglielmo Terri into our service with the assignment of 35 Ducats ... per month, and he has to obey to the General Superintendent of Dalmatia and Albania..."

In 1700, William was stated to be a lieutenant-colonel in the Venetian service. 18

One Guglielmo [William] is named as one of the officers of the Regiment de Therry in 1718. He is probably a nephew of Francis.

In 1723 a Captain William Terry is a godparent to one Zuanne [John] Passi in Zadar.

In 1789, William Terry, retired captain of the Dragoons, died aged 90. He is buried in the church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar. This is probably William's son

born in Grenoble. There is an image of his death entry in the Catholic Register for Zadar.

# EDMOND

Edmond was born around the year 1666. He registered in the faculty of law, University of Cahors, in 1690, aged 24. He received his doctorate in canon, civil and French law in 1691<sup>19</sup>.

Edmond Terry was in Co. Clare in 1699 and in Dublin the following year.<sup>20</sup> He was present in the house of Patrick Hurly's father, at Moughna, Co. Clare on the night of an alleged robbery. Arising from this alleged robbery, Patrick Hurley was found guilty of perjury and of trying to defraud the people of Co. Clare in 1701.<sup>21</sup> Sometime after this he must have moved to Zadar as he had a son baptised here in 1711. When in Co. Clare he was referred to as Mr. but for the baptism of his son in Zadar in 1711 he is referred to as a reformed Captain.

The baptism of the child of Edmond reads:

# 18 January 1711

I, Canon Ticulin baptised upon permission of the reverend parson a male baby born on past 30 December son of the most Illustrious Mr. Edmondo Teri "capitano riformato" procreated by the most Illustrious Mrs. Maria his legitimate wife to whom was given the name Francesco. Godparents were the most Illustrous Mr. Marin Marini secretary of (unreadable abbreviation) Vendramin General Governor and the most Illustrious Mrs. Marieta Canaeti.<sup>22</sup>

Edmond died in Zadar in April, 1716, aged 50.

# DOMINIC

Dominic was born in Co. Cork in 1668. He received his Doctor of Theology from University of Cahors in 1690.<sup>23</sup> For the baptism of two of his nieces, Magdalena, 1705, and Catharina, 1707, he was the officiating priest. Fifteen years later, in 1722, he baptised his nephew, Simon Marc Anthony - baptised by "the most illustrious abbot Domenico de Therry, rector of the Florio seminary of this town".

It would appear that for some period between 1707 and 1722, Dominic was attached to the diocese of Senigallia in Italy. Bishop MacDermott of Clogher, Ireland, writing in January or February 1715, approved Propaganda's suggestion that Dominic Therry, cup-bearer to cardinal Pico of the diocese of Senigallia in Italy, be appointed Roman agent for the Irish clergy.<sup>24</sup> In 1721 Dominicus de Therry, abbot, from Ireland, is recorded as administrator to Cardinal Pico.<sup>25</sup>

Dominic died in Zadar in 1723. At the time he was rector of the Florio seminary in that city.

Death of Domenico Terrj, Zara 3 April 1723

"The most Illustrious Abbot Rev. and Doctor Domenico Terrj rector of the Florio seminary in communion with the Holy Mother Church surrendered his soul to God our Lord aged about 55, and his mortal remains were buried in this Metropolitan Church, him having taken confession and communion as a viaticum on last 28 March from me Luca Zvitnich curate of this same church, he was not given the Extreme Unction because he died suffocated by a sudden bout of mucus"

# LAWRENCE

A Lawrence Terry, son of Robert Terry of County Cork and Catherine McCarthy, presented, in Limerick, for service in the cadets in France on 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1691.<sup>26</sup> Lawrence is referred to as a captain of a dragoons company in Zadar in 1708 in the death record of "Giovanni Macartii Irish Cornet". Lawrence's death is recorded in Zadar in 1713, aged 38.

#### **NICHOLAS**

Nicholas is recorded as having died in Zadar in 1718, aged 30. He is referred to as Captain.

# FRANCIS

Francis was a soldier in the French service in the early 1690s. He left at some point and went to Piedmont, while Lord Galway was there.<sup>27</sup> This was around December, 1693.<sup>28</sup>

In October 1696, the same year as William was employed in the service of the Venetian Republic, is a document relating to Francis Terry, in the city archives, Zadar. It provides the following information;

The note in the margin is "Francesco Terri elected as Governor of the Forte Grippi"

The Forte Grippi was a fortified building in Split that was built as a defence against Turks.

As the position of Governor of the Fort Grippe is vacant it is recommended that such position is given to the Irish nobleman captain Francesco Terri, with a low payment of just one ducat per month as the position will allow Francesco Terri to show his capabilities and gain public trust on his way to higher responsibilities.

The date is 10 October 1696.

It seems to be the first job of Francesco in Dalmatia.

He probably had arrived in Zara with William who was of him senior. He did well as he appears to have been a prisoner in England six months earlier.<sup>29</sup> The following month he was granted a pass to go to Holland.<sup>30</sup>

Francis, who was an adherent of King James II, regularly returned to Ireland.<sup>31</sup> He was in Ireland in 1699/1700. He is referred to as having lately come from Morea by one Ch. MacDonagh to Sir Donough O'Brien.<sup>32</sup> Morea (the Peloponnese) was captured for the Republic of Venice during the Morean War of 1684–99. It may well be that Francis took some part in the latter part of this war. A reason for his return to Ireland may have been to recruit men to rebuild an army that had been decimated by the recent war in Dalmatia.

The Terry brothers were to some extent caught up in litigation involving their brother in law, Patrick Hurly, in 1700. Hurly was tried and convicted of perjury and cheating. He tried to implicate Sir Donough O'Brien. In an examination of Patrick Hurly in 1700 before Judge Coote and the Solicitor, reference is made to correspondence with Captain Francis Terry. Francis was in Ennis, Co. Clare in November 1700 where he was arrested having got into an affray with another person.<sup>33</sup>

He was in London in December, 1700.<sup>34</sup> He had travelled from Dublin to Marsham in Wales. He hired a horse to Chester and from there travelled to

London by stage coach. His stated purpose in London was to seek service in Italy where he had a brother who was a lieutenant-colonel with the Venetians. Francis was described as *a young gentleman with long light hair*<sup>35</sup>

In December, 1700, a warrant for subordination of perjury was issued against him among others in Ireland. Efforts were made to trace him but he had fled.<sup>36</sup> He travelled to Holland at the end of December, 1700, having received directions from his brother, who was in the service of Venice, to go there immediately.<sup>37</sup> Francis returned to Dalmatia and The Venetian Republic, threatened by Turkey, recruited an Irish unit in 1702, under him. He later became Brigadier General. Terry's Dragoons uniforms were red faced blue in the Irish tradition.<sup>38</sup>

Francis married not long after returning to Dalmatia. He married an Italian, Maria Moneroni, in Zara [Zadar, Croatia]. Maria was just 13 years of age when she married Francis. Maria assisted in the baptism of one Daniel Cahesy [Casey] in 1707 and in 1725, when Daniel was 18 years of age; Francis was a witness to his marriage.<sup>39</sup>

A translation of the marriage certificate is,

The 4th October 1702

Omitted the three usual banns to be made in three festive days during solemn masses, for reasons known to the most illustrious and Reverened Monsignor Vitorio Priuli Archbishop of Zara, not having detected any legitimate impediment, I, Vicenzo Gencini Apostolic Protonotary, by licence of the before-said most illustrious and Reverend Monsignor Archbishop, joined in marriage "per verba de praesenti" [by words of the present tense] with the usual solemnities in the house of Mrs. Margarita widow of the deceased Mr. Major Francesco Moneroni, Mr. Francesco Tirri Irish Captain of Grenadiers son of the deceased Mr. Roberto and Miss Maria daughter of the before-said deceased Mr. Major Francesco Moneroni, following my interrogations and their mutual consensus, witnesses the noble man Mr. Ruberto Patafava military ship captain and Mr. Colonel Francesco Bernardini, and many others.

The marriage record states that Francis is Irish and his father was Robert. He and Maria lived in Zara and had several children, Magdalena, Justin Robert, Catherine, Isabel, Helen Donata, Joseph Charles, Simon Thomas, Helen Pisana and Simon Marc Anthony.

Francis and The Battle of Sinj 1715

The last Venetian-Ottoman War broke out in December 1714. Ottomans were eager to reconquer territories lost in the last war in which Republic was a member of Holy League and seized large possessions in Dalmatia, Boka, and Peloponnese. At the beginning of July 1715 it became clear that aim of Ottoman operations will be to take the fortress of Sinj, having been successful on the Greek mainland. Sinj is a town located in the southern inland part of Dalmatia. In August 1715 the Bosnian Pasha gathered a large troop of about 40,000 soldiers with the aim of attacking Sinj. The defenders of the town numbered about 1,500. The Terry Regiment, headed up by Francis, a calvary detachment of 200 horse, participated in this phase of the war.

Part of the strategy employed by the Venetians, before the siege of Sinj, was for all available cavalry units (probably Terry's among them) to be sent in the fields around Sinj (among the best arable land in Dalmatia) to consume unharvested crops and fodder. The strategy was quite simple. Elite professional units should endure in the fortresses (Sinj and Venetians also feared that Ottomans could attack Knin, a town north of Drnis) longer than Ottoman army will be able to sustain itself during the siege. By the last week of July, the Ottoman army crossed Prolog Mountain (today's state border) and began to accommodate in the fields around Sinj.

Various detachments were sent to seize surrounding forts, towers, and small fortifications as routes to bring siege cannons which couldn't cross the high mountain of Prolog. Venetians put their professional cavalry units under the command of General Sparr and move them out of Ottoman reach toward Knin. Trying to secure their right flank, Ottomans conquered Vrlika but were repelled from Drniš held by professionals from Italy. Because provisions for horses (obviously almost all pasture was grazed) were running out, Venetians began to accommodate cavalry soldiers in the garrisons of fortified posts. By the August 7th Ottomans brought their siege artillery around Sinj, closed all approaches to the fortress and began the siege. The garrison of Sinj was composed of 620 Italian foot, around 100 Dalmatian professional soldiers and probably 100 armed locals. Judging from Venetian reports, Ottomans were surprisingly systematically conducting a siege.

In the report of 12th August the Venetian Governor kept in Drniš two hundred horsemen under the command of the Lieutenant Colonel Terry, and ordered that they stay there until the forage runs out. Until then all cavalry units were accommodated in the forts and the rest of the horses was sent towards the coast because there, there was food for horses. The horsemen, under Therry's command, were the only remaining cavalry detachment of professional soldiers. It was from here that the Ottomans were repulsed earlier. 41

In the 2nd letter the Governor states that the Officer Lieutenant Colonel de Therry leaves nothing to be desired in his duties.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman artillery attacks on Sinj were without result, and Venetian command started to gathering relief force (the Ottomans were so superior that relief force was not aimed to completely break siege but just to reinforce the garrison). However, time was running out and Venetian strategy paid off - Ottoman logistics was breaking down. Ottoman command ordered the final all-out attack on 14th August. The garrison repelled it and Ottomans were forced to retreat in Bosnia. 42

The battle of Sinj of 1715 was the culmination of the first campaign of the Small War of the Second Morean War in Dalmatia. The Ottoman offensive was unsuccessful in taking the town. $^{43}$ 

There are extensive records of the Regiment of Terry in the State Archives in Venice for the years 1702 to 1794 under the name Marc Antonio Therri. In about 1718, the Venetian military organisation in Dalmatia and Boka, had two companies of cavalry units of dragoons.<sup>44</sup> One of these was Regiment Therry and the colonel of this regiment was Francesco Therry. A subunit of this regiment was headed by Captain Guglielmo Therry.

Francis: Later Life and his successor Marco Antonio

Helen Pisana Terry, a daughter of Francis, married in 1738 Gerolamo Andreis, a nobleman from Trau [Trogir, Croatia]. In the marriage record Helen Pisana's surname is 'de Thery', as they were part of the nobility. She is a direct ancestor of Gianpiero Meazza of Milan, co-author of this paper.

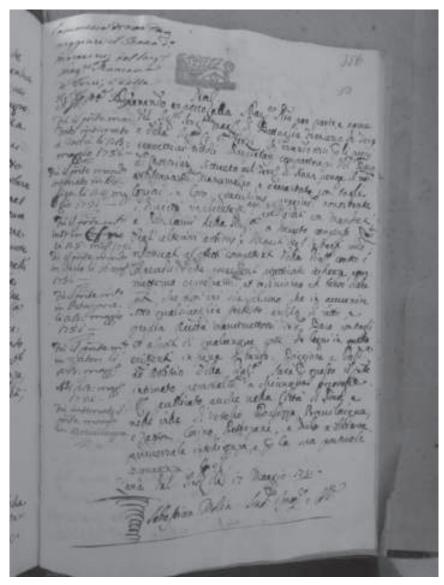


Fig. 4: Complaint of Francis Therry, 1751 (Courtesy: Drzavni Archiv u Zadru)

A document dated 17 May 1751 and signed by Sebastiano Molin who was at that time the "Provveditore Generale" (Governor-general) of Dalmatia for the Republic of Venice.

It states that a complaint was received from the "Signor Sergente Maggiore di Battaglia Francesco de Tery" and Mrs. countess widow Fenzi as they are co-owners of the woodland named Morosini in the territory of Nona [Croatian: Nin]. They complain that the woodland is altered and devastated with major cuts with great damage for them in spite of the forbidding notices published several times. So the Governor General orders that no one for any reason will make cuts and take wood from the woodland Morosini and sets punishments for offenders. This notice is published in the town of Nin and other surrounding villages so that everyone knows and the prohibition is enforced.

In the left margin there are the reports the notice has been published in the villages.

Regarding the "widow Fenzi", Francesco's mother-in-law Margherita Vitanovich had a sister who married Urbano Fenzi count of Nona. The "widow Fenzi" is probably a daughter of Urbano Fenzi i.e. a cousin of Francesco's wife. Francis also had property in Kali on the island of Ugljan.

A manuscript recording the death of Francis Terry dated 23rd August 1752<sup>45</sup> states in the main text:

"Death of Brigadier de Terry and election of his son to Captain of the Dragoons" In the main text:

- "...Having deceased after 55 years of fruitful and loyal service in our army the Brigadier and Superintendent of the Cavalry Therrj, the lieutenant of the Dragoons his son asks due to the merits of the father to be appointed to commander of the Company that is without a leader due to his death...
- ...the deceased had shown his merit, by giving proof of his valour in the occasion of two wars...
- ...the Company led by him had been provided by horses and uniforms twice at his own expenses...
- ...the Senate, also considering that the requesting son served with ability and precision for 14 years, approves that the lieutenant of the Dragoons Marc'Antonio Therj is appointed to commander of the Company of Dragoons...

In the ducal palace, on the 23rd of August 1752"

The two wars referred to are more than likely the 6th and 7th Ottoman-Venetian Wars. The 6th War was known as the Morean War. Morea is the name of the Peloponnese in the Venetian language. The 7th War was much less successful. Greece was lost but the Republic of Venice managed to keep the island of Corfu and to defend the southern Dalmatian borders. The war was fought 1714-1718. A clue to Francis's participation in this war is that he and his wife Teresa Muneron had children every 1-2 years between 1705 and 1723. But after the birth of Elena Pisana Terry in 1714, there are no other births until that of an unnamed child in 1718. This might be a sign that Francis was actually away some years due to the war.

The appointment of Francis to commander of the Forte Grippi in 1696 was Francis' first job in Dalmatia.

Another document in the city archives, Zadar, details a complaint dated 1st Dec 1766 of "Marc'Antonio de Therj vs. Matte Blasevich his tenant farmer". Marc'Antonio who is mentioned with the title of lieutenant colonel complains the farmer is not managing the land properly and is late with sowing. The farmer is asked to sow the land within two weeks. If he does not comply, the management of the land will be taken over by the owner. The name of the place is not easily interpreted, it is written verbatim as "Villa Xaxzvich".

Another document is a complaint dated 6th March 1771 "Marc' Antonio de Therj vs. anyone", with a later addition "for the theft of the minelle when pressing the olives in his oil mills". Not clear what the minelle are, probably a by

product of pressing the olives maybe the olive stones, it is not a modern Italian word. Marc'Antonio suspects that the managers and workers of the olive mills he has in Cale (i.e. Kali on the island of Ugljan) are playing some tricks with the quantity of olives they press.

Marcantonio de Terry is named as a subscriber to a translation of *Illiade di Omero* in 1775. He is referred to as Count Therry living in Cale circa 1778<sup>46</sup>. He cultivated a kitchen garden here.

At the latter part of the 18th century there is some evidence that shows at least some of the Therry Regiment transferred to the vicinity of Verona in Italy. Marc Antonio led a rescue of nuns following a large fire in Bagolino, Italy in 1779. The fire at Bagolino during the night of 30th October 1779 resulted in more than 600 casualties and destroyed the village almost completely. Nuns were forced to move, not towards the Trentino region, as church authorities would have preferred, but to the village of Gavardo upon an order of the colonel of dragoons Marcantonio De Therry who reached Bagolino with 15 soldiers on 3rd November. He said,

Why Trento? Who cares about the bishop of Trento? You are subjects to the prince of Venice, so please decide where you want to go and I will escort and assist you...

22nd January 2020

# **ENDNOTES**

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- 11 Lenihan, Maurice, Limerick: its history and antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil and military, Mercier Press (1967).
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- 19 Brockliss, L. W. B., and Patrick Ferté. "Prosopography of Irish Clerics in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792." Archivium Hibernicum, vol. 58, 2004, pp. 7–166.
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- 46 Fortis, Abbe Alberto, *Travels into Dalmatia*, J. Robson, London, 1778, p. 7; a count was chosen amongst the Venetian lower noblemen for the duty of twenty-four months.



## An introduction to St Colman's Cathedral of Cloyne, County Cork

This cruciform church was built (c.1280) on the monastic settlement of St. Colman (560AD): choir facing east (below) and nave facing west. At the Synod of Kells (1152), Clayne was made a Diocese of Cashel. The cathedral has remained a place of Christian worship for over 700 years.







The transepts are oriented to north (Berkeley Chapel, below left) and to south (Longfield Chapel, below right); both are accessible through the nave (below centre). On the above map, note that 'Cloyne House' is the former Bishop's Palace, residence of some of the bishops.







The cathedral is surrounded by a graveyard. From there, specific details and features of the cathedral can be observed, especially in the uneven levels of the roofs, witnessing centuries of alterations. A round tower (c.900AD) also stands on the site.







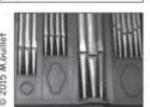


A number of additions adorn the structure, among them Bishop Berkeley's alabaster Memorial (1889, sculptor Bruce-Joy); timber works (doors, roof structures, joists, pulpit and furniture); carved fonts and old limestone plaques (incl. Bishop Brinkley's memorial); stained glass windows and floor mosaics; embroidered Arms, the Cross of Cloyne and an organ.









## LIONEL & HELEN RICHARDSON:

# FORTUNE & ROMANCE

## BY CIAN MANNING

Joseph Lionel Richardson was the only son of William and Laura Emily Richardson, born on the 4th December 1890 at Westcliffe in Tramore, Co. Waterford. His father was a Quaker merchant while his mother's family were significant figures in the textiles industry of Ulster. Young Lionel lived at Weston before moving to Prospect House at Kilcohan in Waterford city. He was expected by his parents to be "a country gentleman" and to stay well clear of anything industrial. After leaving Cambridge Union he frequently visited the Daffodil Gardens at Browdie Prestigne in Radnorshire and Guy Wilson of Antrim.

Lionel's wife Helen noted to the *New Yorker* that "just before the First World War he got interested in the genetics of the narcissus family and it wasn't long before his hobby of crossbreeding different strains of daffodil had become so expensive that to support it he had to go into trade." By 1922 he had gone from amateur enthusiast to professional cultivator of daffodils. Richardson emphasised the motto of "quality over quantity" as the bulb farm encompassed two and a half acres of the grounds of Prospect House. It would take five years to transform a daffodil seed into a bulb and from 5,000 seeds it would be fortunate to have two hundred bulbs produced.

February 1933 saw Lionel marry Helen K. Thoburn of Chelsea at St. Ethelburga's Church in London. Their joint endeavours in Kilcohan wasn't exclusively to daffodils but also included jersey cattle, tomato plants for market and an old-fashioned Victorian garden. Their enterprise would attract customers from as far as Australia and the United States. Prior to their marriage, Lionel had sold a bulb named *Fortune* for £80 in 1921. Though making a profit was never at the forefront of their minds, their ambition was to support the pursuit of their passion. The Richardsons were heavily involved in the Waterford Hunt Ball which Helen would become secretary of, her skills in organising the social event of the year in the city which saw politicians and business people mix with great style and finery surrounded by their wonderful floral decorations.

Success can be measured by the 22 Engleheart Cups (awarded for the 12 best varieties of daffodil by one breeder) Richardson won for cultivating daffodils over the course of his lifetime. In 1937 he was awarded the medal for Best Flower in the Daffodil Show for *Royal Ransom* described by *Gardening Illustrated* as having a "cup of deep orange-red". One bulb which received Richardson plenty of acclaim and financial gain was *Krakatoa*. It was "the most admired of conspicuous feature" having taken 15 years to develop. In the 1940s a single bulb could reach up to £100 while he would only sell the 4 he had of the variety in 1940 for a thousand pounds.

Further accolades followed with being awarded the Gold Medal of Honour in 1941 by the Royal Horticultural Society of Ireland and the Veitch Gold Medal in 1953 by the Royal Horticultural Society. Such was his renown that the *Munster Express* noted that "he even sent blooms to Holland, which is something like exporting tea from Ireland to China." Other honours included the P.D. Williams Medal and being made vice-president of the Royal Horticultural Society, making him only the second Irishman to hold the position after Frederick Moore. Upon

his death in October 1961, the *Irish Times* concluded "there is a rich symbolism in the fact that the flowers he created will come to life at the time when we commemorate the Resurrection of our Lord. Here, indeed, is comfort for those who are bereaved. This is His gracious message to the mourner, the proof and pledge of life eternal." This can be seen in one of the last flowers he bred, a rose caprice-infatuation called *Romance* which took two years after his death to mature.

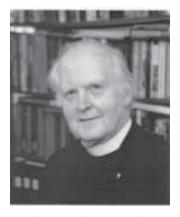
After the death of Lionel, Helen would continue to grow daffodils and went on to win 20 Gold Medals at the Royal Horticultural Show. She endured difficult times from regular trespassing, larceny and even a fire that caused much damage to her property. Helen's endeavour was to maintain Lionel's legacy. A shy and unassuming man he never wrote down any of his methods or thoughts on the process of transforming seeds to bulbs to flowers. She described the time growing daffodils as "you spend eleven months of the year in anticipation and then have one month in purgatory." She died at Kilcohan in December 1978. The 84 -acre farm was used to build 600 houses for the accommodation of 2,000 people by Waterford Corporation.

Sadly the story of the couple has been lost in time echoing the thoughts of Helen as "People, I'm afraid, tend to forget how important flowers are in their lives." May their story bloom again!

# **O**BITUARY

Rev. Dudley A Levistone Cooney

1932 - 2019



The death took place on November 16th 2019 of Rev. Dudley Levistone Cooney, former President of the Old Dublin Society and the Wesley Historical Society of Ireland. Born in Dublin in 1932, after a distinguished career in the insurance industry, he entered the Methodist ministry and was ordained in 1970, serving in all four Irish provinces and in the U.K. until his retirement in 1999. He joined the Old Dublin Society in 1960 and served as President from 1993-1995 and from 2000-2012. His writing on Methodist history and John Wesley were widely published and he also contributed numerous articles about the history of Dublin to the Dublin Historical Record, journal of the Old Dublin Society.

He will be sadly missed by all those who knew him and or came in contact with him.

\*\*James Scannell\*\*

# Federation News - Events

We were not in a position to organise and hold our main events, notably, the AGM, the Federation Joint Trip to the UK, the North/South Exchange Visit and our Seminars. The Cork Celebrates the Past History Festival which we attend was also cancelled.

We did however manage, before the lockdown, to engage in several Federation related activities.

# WEST BELFAST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Talk -Release of documents from 1990 — Dr Eamon Phoenix. Some southern members travelled to West Belfast to attend this talk given by the eminent Ulster Historian Dr Eamon Phoenix. A packed audience in St. Michael's Parish Hall, Finaghy Road North, Belfast, were given a most interesting, absorbing and entertaining talk by Dr Phoenix, in his own inimitable style, about hitherto unreleased accounts of social and political news stories of the time.



# Bournea Reaching Out Historical Society.

Federation visit by Larry Breen. It was a pleasure for me to accept an invitation from this new society to talk to them about the Federation and our activities. A relatively small group in rural Tipperary, they are doing great work in preserving and promoting local history in their area. Their Local History Journal, which they have been publishing for many years now is well produced and very impressive. Thanks to Tim Lee and all his colleagues for their very warm welcome and hospitality.



# FEDERATION VISIT - TRALEE

Federation visit by Mairead Byrne and Larry Breen. In preparation for the AGM Larry and Mairead paid a visit to meet with the Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society in Tralee to discuss preparations for the event. We met with Marie O'Sullivan, Chairperson, Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society; Victoria McCarthy, Architectural Conservation Officer, Kerry Co. Library; Claudia Kohler, Education Officer, Kerry County Museum and Padraig Ó Concubhair, Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society. We had a very productive meeting and agreed on the programme for the AGM and organised a package with the Rose Hotel for the weekend of the AGM. Claudia Kohler took us on a guided tour of the Kerry County Museum. We also met the incoming chairperson of Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society, Jimmy Deenihan. We spent the night in the Rose Hotel which will be the venue for the AGM and found it a most suitable venue indeed.



Some of the attendance at the West Belfast Society lecture.



 ${\it Larry\ with\ members\ of\ the\ Bournea\ Reaching\ Our\ Historical\ Society}.$ 



Larry Breen, Mairead Byrne, Anne Breen, FLHS; Padraigh Ó Concubhair, Marie O'Sullivan, Kerry Arch. & Hist. Soc; Victoria McCarthy, Kerry Co. Library; Claudia Kholer, Kerry Co Museum.

# Bray Cualann Historical Society

BY JAMES SCANNELL

James Scannell opened the Autumn programme of the Society in the Royal Hotel, Bray, on Thursday September 19th with his lecture 'The Ram's Scalp Bray Head Derailment, August 1867', followed on Thursday October 17th with a special presentation 'The Shadow War: Michael Collins and the politics of violence' by visiting American historian Joseph E.A. Connell Jr.. The Society was a participant in the Saturday November 9th annual wreath laying ceremony at the Bray Cenotaph organised by the Western Front Association (Dublin Branch). Dr. Rachel Moss presented the Thursday November 21st lecture 'Fassaroe and related Crosses' with the Autumn programme concluding in December with two morning lectures - 'Christmas 1944 in Bray, Co. Wicklow' in Ballywaltrim Library, Bray, on Thursday December 5th, and 'Christmas 1919 in Bray, Co. Wicklow' in Bray Library on Friday December 13th, both of which were presented by James Scannell.

On Thursday January 16th 2019 the Society opened its Spring 2019 programme with the AGM followed by a presentation – 'The Ram's Scalp Bray Head Derailment, August 1867' from James Scannell. The 2020 Committee elected was: President - Ms. Eva Sutton; Chairperson& Hon. Treasurer - Brian White; Vice-Chairperson - Dave Murphy; Hon. Secretary – Ms. May Harte; Hon. PRO – James Scannell; Communications & Technology – Mark Murphy; Visitor Reception – Ms. Nancy Mahony. On Thursday February 20th Anthony Jordan spoke on 'James Joyce Unlocked' but the scheduled Thursday March 19th lecture and all subsequent events were suspended until further notice as a public health measure on foot of a government instruction prohibiting gatherings of people acting on the advice of the HSE to reduce the spread of Covid-19



# CLANE LOCAL HISTORY GROUP

It was a very quiet year with little activity or events of any note. However in spite of the restrictions imposed by the pandemic we forged ahead and managed to produce our history journal, Coiseanna. This is our ninth edition which we are very proud of, considering that we are a relatively small rural society. However our community is rich in history and heritage and the Journal offers people an opportunity to get involved, do some research and publish their findings. We would normally have an official launch of the Journal but this has not been possible this year due to the restrictions. Consequently we decided to distribute the Journal free to all our members and also to people in the locality to mark Heritage Week. In this edition we have fourteen articles together with six miscellany contributions embracing a wide and varied range of topics. Contributions include, The Hill of Tara; Ernest Shackleton; Theft of the Irish Crown Jewels; Folklore and Holy Wells in Kildare; Life of Horace de Vere Cole; Kildare County Council and the War of Independence; the Georgian Castle at Clongowes; History of Polo in Co Kildare; History of Clane; Clane Connection

with Robben Island; Clongowes Wood College Farm; Pre-Historic Archaeology of Clane; The Name of Clane and the Emergency Fuel Scheme. We hope, like everyone else, that we can return to some sort of normality in the not too distant future.



Larry Breen, Brendan Cullen and Jim Heffernan.



# Cumann le Seandacht Átha Cliath — The Old Dublin Society

BY JAMES SCANNELL

The Society commenced its Autumn 2019 programme in Dublin City Library & Archive, 138-144 Pearse Street, Dublin 2, on Wednesday September 11th with Unequal treatment of IRA widows reflected the social hierarchy of the Free State' - Pádraig Yeats; Wednesday September 25th: 'Roe's Distillery, Thomas Street, and the Roe Family' - Sean J. Murphy; Wednesday October 9th: 'The Liffey's place in the development of Dublin 1918' - Christopher Moriarty; Wednesday October 23rd: 'Managing Money in 18th Century Ireland: Swift and Money' - Brendan Twomey: Wednesday November 13th: 'Dublin and the impact of the Economic War, 1932-38' - Anna Devlin; November 27th: 'Mary Mulligan, neighbour to Countess Markievicz' - Peadar Curran, followed by the AGM of the Society at which Ms. Bernardine Ruddy was re-elected President. Elected to the Council posts were - Vice-Presidents: Bryan MacMahon, James Scannell; Hon. Secretary: Brendan McCartie; Hon. Treasurer: John Fitzgerald; Hon. PRO -James Scannell, and as Council members - Henry Fairbrother, John Holohan, Barry Farrell, Ken Finlay, Laurence Yourell, Ms. Karina Walsh, Ms. Assumpta Broe, and Thomas Burke. Dr. Séamas Ó Maitiú was re-appointed Hon. Editor of the Dublin Historical Record at the January 2019 meeting of the Council.

In early January 2020 the Autumn/Winter 2019 issue of the Dublin Historical

Record was published and mailed out to members.

Papers read to the Society during the Spring 2020 programme in Dublin City Library & Archive included: February 12th: 'A Fine Dubliner: Fr. John Spratt, O. Carm, 1796-1871' - Professor Fergus D'Arcy; February 26th: 'The Foundation of St. Michael's Hospital, Dún Laoghaire' - Tom Conlon; March 11th: 'On the Banks of the Dodder' - Ged Walsh.

On Thursday March 12th arising from the decision by Dublin City Council acting on the advice of the HSE to close all branch libraries until further notice as a public heath measure to reduce the spread of Covid-19, all subsequent lectures and activities of the Society were suspended until permitted to resume.

Copies of the *Dublin Historical Record*, including back issues, are available from: olddublinsociety@gmail.com.

Annual membership of the Old Dublin Society is €35 and includes the mailing of the Autumn, Spring, and Summer programmes, and the Autumn/Winter and Spring/Summer issues of the *Dublin Historical Record*. Membership inquires, SAE appreciated, to The Membership Secretary, 5 Dollymount Avenue, Clontarf, Dublin D03 Y304, or email the Society at: olddublinsociety@gmail.com.



# Dún Laoghaire Borough Historical Society

BY JAMES SCANNELL

The Autumn 2019 programme commenced with the 2019 Three Day Outing to Sligo and its environs from Sunday September 15th to Tuesday September 17th. On Wednesday September 18th Professor Frank Barry opened the Autumn 2019 series of indoor lectures in the Royal Marine Hotel with 'Old South Dublin Manufacturing Firms', followed on Wednesday October 16th by Ms. Liz Pilkington with 'The Oratory [formerly Dominican Convent]: this hidden gem decorated in the Celtic Style by Sister Concepta Lynch' and on Wednesday November 20th with 'The History of Bullock Harbour' by Rob Goodbody and the launch of the Society's Journal No. 29, concluding on Wednesday December 4th with 'Cash from the Attic: objects of everyday use around the house now forgotten' presented by Colin Scudds and Seamus O'Connor.

Rob Goodbody opened the 2020 Spring programme in the Royal Marine Hotel on Wednesday January 15th with his lecture 'Shankill, Co. Dublin - Stretching from the sea to Carrickgolligan [Shankill Mountain]', followed on Wednesday February 19th with 'William Dargan - An Honourable Life' by Fergus Mulligan. However the scheduled March 18th lecture, those for April and May and subsequent events were cancelled on foot on government instruction prohibiting gatherings of people acting on the advice of the HSE until further notice as a public health measure to reduce the spread of Covid-19.

Copies of the Society's Journal No. 29, and No. 28, price €7 each + postage, and some other back issues are still available. Contact - The Hon. Secretary, Dun Laoghaire Borough Historical Society, 7 Northumberland Park, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin - call 01-2806213 but not after 9 p.m. local time.

# Society Members of the Federation – 2020

If there are corrections or additions to be made to the following list please advise Larry Breen, 8 The Paddocks, Naas, Co. Kildare. Tel. (045) 897445 e-mail: larrybreen8@outlook.com

### Co. Antrim

Bridie Bradley, 14 Corby Way, Anderstown, Belfast, Co. Antrim, BT11 8HY George Elliott, 3 Sandringham Avenue, Carrickferfus, Co. Antrim West Belfast Historical Society, Bridie Bradley, 14 Corby Way, Anderstown, Belfast, Co. Antrim, BT11 8HY

#### Co. Carlow

Carlow Historical Society, Padraig Dooley, 23 Dolman Gardens, Carlow, Co. Carlow Tullowphelim Historical Society, John Keogh, Bridge Street, Tullow, Co. Carlow

#### Co. Cavan

Moybologue Historical Society, Brian Callaghan, 18 Granaillon Place, Virginia, Co. Cavan Virginia and District Historical Society, Mary Cunningham, 8 River View, Rahardrum Lane, Virginia, Co. Cavan

#### Co. Clare

Clare Archaeological and Historical Society, Mary Kearns, Ballycarroll, Barefield, Ennis, Co. Clare Kilinaboy Historical Group, Tony Kirby, Caherblonick, Kilinaboy, Co. Clare

Killaloe-Ballina Local History Society, Deborah Dudgeon, c/o Killaloe Library, Killaloe, Co. Clare Kilrush and District Historical Society, Paul O'Brien, c/o Charlie Glynn, Francis Street, Kilrush, Co. Clare

North Clare Historical Society, Maura O'Loughlin, Carrowmanagh, Kilshanny, Co. Clare Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society, Joe O'Brien, Drumline, Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare

Sixmilebridge Historical Society, David Deignan, Sooreeny, Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare Tulla Reaching Out, Jane Halloran-Ryan, c/o Knockjames, Tulla, Co. Clare

### Co. Cork

Andre Saubolle, 7 The Green, Tir Cluan, Middleton, Co. Cork

Anthony Greene, Peake, Coachford, Co. Cork

Aubane Historical Society, Jack Lane, 26 Church Avenue, Roman Street, Co. Cork

Ballygarvan and District Local History Society, Thomas F. Ryan, 'Bawnmore', Sli Na hAbhann, Ballygarvan, Co. Cork

Bantry Historical Society, Angela O'Donovan, Goureebeg, Bantry, Co. Cork

Blarney and District Historical Society, Agnes Hickey, Stoneview, Blarney, Co. Cork

Carrigtwohill and District Historical Society, Andre Saubolle, 7 The Green, Tir Cluain, Midleton, Co. Cork

Charleville Heritage Society, Michael McGrath, Fortlands, Charleville, Co. Cork

Churchtown Historical and Heritage Society, Gerry Murphy, Booney House, Churchtown, Mallow, Co. Cork

Cloyne Literary and Historical Society, Marie Guillot, Kilcrone House, Cloyne, Co. Cork

Cork Archaeological and Historical Society, Ann Egan, 23 Belmont Park, Ballinlough, Cork, Co. Cork

Cork Branch Western Front Association, Gerry White, 35 Kilmore Drive, Knocknaheeny, Co. Cork

Cork Genealogical Society, Olive Coleman, 22 Elm Drive, Shamrock Lawn, Douglas, Co. Cork

Cork Harbour Islands Project, Clare Stack, 5 Coolamber Close, Cobh, Co. Cork

Cork Non Fiction Writers, Marie Guillot, Kilcrone House, Cloyne, Co. Cork

Cumann Seanchais na Banndan, Pat McCarron, Mishells, Bandon, Co. Cork

Donoughmore Historical Society, Maureen Lynch, Lios Lumen, Commeen, Donoughmore, Co. Cork Inniscarra Historical Society, Richard Murphy, Bealgravia, Magoola, Dripsey, Co. Cork

Kevin Terry, Swallows Rest, Coolbay, Cloyne, Co. Cork

Kilbrittain Historical Society, Triona O'Sullivan, Coolmain, Kilbrittain, Co. Cork

Kilmeen-Castleventry Historical Society, Dan O'Leary, Caherkirky, Rossmore, Clonakilty, Co. Cork Kilmurry Historical and Archaeological Association Ltd., Aileen O'Sullivan, c/o Independence Museum, Kilmurry, Co. Cork

Kinsale Heritage Company, Dermot Ryan, Winter's Hill, Kinsale, Co. Cork

Kinsale History Society, Dermot Ryan, Winter's Hill, Kinsale, Co. Cork

Leo McMahon, 29 Clevedon Lower, Kilmoney Road, Carrigaline, Co. Cork

Mallow Field Club, John Reidy, Knockbarry, Buttevant, Co. Cork

Middletton Ballinacurra & Area Heritage Society, Anne Marie Kenneally, 20 The Old Dairy, Ballinacurragh, Middleton, Co. Cork

Muskerry Local History Society, Dermot Lucey, 15 Woodberry, Green Fields, Ballincollig, Co. Cork Remembering Edward Bransfield, Liam P. O'Riordan, Barnahale, Ballintubrid, East Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork

Richard T. Cooke, Crone's Lane Cottage, Evergreen Street, Cork

Rosscarbery & district History Society, Dean Chris Peters, The Deanery, Rosscarbery, Co. Cork Shandon Area History Group, Grace O'Brien, 2 French's Villas, Wolfe Tone Street, Cork

Skibbereen and District Historical Society, Maura Cahalane, Gorteenalomane, Skibbereen, Co. Cork

The Friends of Cloyne Cathedral, Rowena Walsh, Ardbeg, Cloyne, Co. Cork

Whitegate and Aghada Historical Society, Mary Hickey, Glanturkin, Whitegate, Midleton, Co. Cork Youghal Celebrates History, Breeda Phillips, St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal, Co. Cork

#### Co. Derry

New Buildings & District Archaeological & Historical Society, Bridgeen Rutherford, 59 Templeton Park, Maydown, Derry

#### Co. Donegal

Raymochy Parishes Historical Society, Mrs. M. Harkin-Ellis, Gortgranagh, Porthall, Lifford, Co. Donegal

#### Co. Down

Banbridge and District Historical Society, Florence Chambers, 46 Lurganbane Road, Dromore, Co. Down

### Co. Dublin

Accredited Genealogists Ireland, c/o Hon. Secretary, 30 Harlech Crescent, D14

Ballsbridge, Donnybrook and Sandymount Hist. Soc., Adele O'Connor, Pembroke Library, Anglesea Road, Ballsbridge, D4

Blackrock Society, Paul Quinn, 7 Lindenvale, Proby Square, Blackrock, Co. Dublin

Clondalkin History Society, Josephine Byrne, 64 Floraville Ave., Clondalkin, D22

Clontarf Historical Society, Kay Lonergan, 142 Vernon Ave., Clontarf, D3

Coolock, Artane and District Historical Society, Karen DeLacy, c/o 54 Main Street, Coolock Village, D5

Dun Laoghaire Borough Historical Society, Anna Scudds, 7 Northumberland Park, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin

Foxrock History Club, Maureen Daly, 33 Tudor Lawns, Foxrock, D18

Howth Peninsula Heritage Society, Sean O'Brien, 36 Shielmartin Drive, Sutton, D13

Irish Family History Society, Noel Jenkins, 42 Mount Eagle Grove, Leopardstown, Dublin

Irish Genealogical Research Society, E. Rowland, 12 Cranagh Road, Rathfarnham, D14

Kilmacud – Stillorgan Local History Society, Clive O'Connor, 9 Marsham Court, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin

Knocklyon History Society, Aoife O'Tierney, 15 Knocklyon Grove, Templeogue, D16

Loughshinny and Rush Historical Society, M. McCann Moore, Don Bosco, Harbour Rd., Rush, Co. Dublin

Mount Merrion Historical Society, Peter Walsh, 16 Priory Drive, Stillorgan, Blackrock, Co. Dublin Nora White, 31 Milltown House, Mount Saint Anne's, Milltown, D6

Old Dublin Society, Bernadine Ruddy, 5 Dollymount Avenue, Clontarf, D3

Raheny Heritage Society, Brian Wray, 101 Collins Park, Donnycarney, D9

Rathcoole Heritage Society, Brona ui Loing, 137 Cnoc na Coillte, Rathcuil, Contae Atha Cliath

Rathfarnham Historical Society, Vera Bannigan, 1 Aranleigh Park, Rathfarnham, D14

Rathmichael Historical Society, Richard Ryan, 6 Hillcourt Road, Glenageary, Co. Dublin

Rathmines, Rathgar and Ranelagh Historical Soc., Angela O'Connell, 86 Meadowbank, Rathgar, D6

Skerries Historical Society, Dr. Brendan Grimes, 17 Little Strand Street, Skerries, Co. Dublin

Society for Old Lucan, Elaine Hurley, 3 Elm Close, Griffeen Road, Lucan, Co. Dublin

Trees Rotteveel, 7A Willow Mount, Booterstown Ave., Booterstown, Co. Dublin

### Co. Galway

Clarinbridge Heritage Group, Catherine O'Down, 18 The Parklands, Clarinbridge, Co. Galway Cumann Staire Ruaidhrí ui Fhlaitheartaigh Maigh Cuilinn, Mary O'Shea, Áras Uilinn, Moycullen, Co. Galway

Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, Eugene Jordan, An Chorrbhuaile, Bearna, Co. Galway

Kiltartan Gregory Cultural Society, Rena McAllen, Kiltartan Cross, Gort, Co. Galway Renmore History Society, Richard O'Hanlon, Cois na Coille, Merlin Park Lane, Galway, Co. Galway South East Galway Archaeological and Hist. Society, Stephen Dolan, St. Cleran's, Craughwell, Co. Galway

### Co. Kerry

Ardfert Historical Society, Stephen Baker, c/o Ardfert Printing, The Village, Ardfert, Co. Kerry Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, Padraig O Concubhair, Lána Mór, Beal Atha Longphuirt, Lios Tuathail, Co. Kerry

#### Co. Kildare

Athy Museum Society, Eithne Wall, Chanterlands, Athy, Co. Kildare

Bernadette Doyle, Cloonshiva, Oughterard, Straffan, Co. Kildare

Celbridge Historical Society, Lynn Geraghty, 60 Crodaun Forest Park, Celbridge, Co. Kildare

Cill Dara Historical Society, Joe Connelly, Tullywest, Kildare, Co. Kildare

Clane Local History Group, Brendan Cullen, 5 College Road, Clane, Co. Kildare

Hugh Crawford, 24 The Paddocks, Naas, Co. Kildare

Derek Behan, Fishery Lane, Naas, Co. Kildare

Kildare Archaeological Society, Mrs. E. Connelly, Newington House, Christianstown, Newbridge, Co. Kildare

Kill Local History Group, Brian McCabe, Ivy Cottages, Johnstown, Co. Kildare

Newbridge Local History Group, Bob Nugent, Tulladare, Standhouse Road, Newbridge, Co. Kildare Rathcoffey History Group, Mairead Byrne, 135 Dara Court, Celbridge, Co. Kildare

#### Co. Kilkenny

Callan Heritage Society, Joseph Kennedy, Moonarch, Callan, Co. Kilkenny

Conahy Heritage Society, Eileen Gunner, Lisnafunchion, Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny

Graiguenamanagh Historical Society, David Flynn, Barrowfield, Tinnahinch, Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny

Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Mrs. Eileen Sommer-Ronan, Rothe House, Parliament Street, Kilkenny, Co. Kilkenny

Tullaherin Heritage Society, Mary Cashin, Bishop's Lough, Bennettsbridge, Co. Kilkenny

### Co. Laois

Laois Heritage Society, Dolores McEvoy, 70 Ashgrove, Mountmellick, Co. Laois

### Co. Leitrim

Aidan Dockery, Maryville, Georgia, Dromod, Co. Leitrim

Carrick-on-Shannon and District Historical Society, Mary C. Dolan, St. George's Heritage & Visitor Centre, Church Lane, Carrickk-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim

An Grúpa Óidhreachta-Dromahair Heritage Group, Garreth Byrne, 10 Woodlands Avenue, Dromahair, Co. Leitrim

Mervyn Lloyd, Hillview, Farnaust, Mohill, Co. Leitrim

### Co. Limerick

Ben O'Sullivan, Deebert House Hotel, Kilmallock, Co. Limerick

Castleconnell Historical Society, Anne Murphy, Gouig, Castleconnell, Co. Limerick

Irish Palatine Association, Lorna Shier, Prospect House, Foynes, Co. Limerick

Knockfierna Heritage Society, Pat O'Donovan, The Rambling House, Knockfierna, Ballingarry, Co. Limerick

Lough Gur and District Historical Society, Kate Harrold, Lough Gur, Co. Limerick

Thomond Archaeological Society, Mary Kenehan, 51 Rhebogue Meadows, Dublin Rd., Limerick, Co. Limerick

Patricia Byrne, Kyleylass, North Circular Road, Limerick

### Co. Longford

Longford Historical Society, Martin Morris, c/o Longford Library HQ, Town Centre, Longford, Co. Longford

## Co. Louth

Annagassan and District Historical Society, Luke Torris, Wyanstown, Togher, Dunleer, Co. Louth Dunleer and District Historical Society, Muriel Sheils, Grattanstown, Dunleer, Co. Louth Jewish Historical Society of Ireland, Yanky Fachler, 10 Kilgar, Jocelyn Street, Dundalk, Co. Louth Louth Archaeological and Historical Society, Seamus Bellew, 27 Stamanaran, Blackrock, Dundalk, Co. Louth

Old Drogheda Society, Eamon Thornton, Millmount Museum, Drogheda, Co. Louth

### Co. Mayo

Cong Moytura Heritage Society, Seamus Foy, Garracloon Cross, Cong, Co. Mayo P. J. Lynn, Enniscoe, Castlehill, Balla, Co. Mayo

Michael Larkin, Derrew, Ballykeane, Castlebar, Co. Mayo

National Museum of Ireland, Noel Campbell, Turlough Park, Castlebar, Co. Mayo

Noelene Beckett Crowe, 30 Rathbawn Avenue, Rathbawn, Castlebar, Co. Mayo

North Mayo-West Sligo Heritage Group, Paddy Tuffy, Church View House, Lacken, Enniscrone, Co. Mayo

Terry Reilly, Killala Road, Ballina, Co. Mayo

Westport Historical Society, Bronach Joyce, Clew Bay Heritage Centre, Westport, Co. Mayo

#### Co. Meath

Ashbourne Historical Society, Ann Kavanagh, 55 Bourne View, Ashbourne, Co. Meath Navan and District History Society, Ethna Cantwell, Windtown, Navan, Co. Meath

#### Co. Offaly

Birr Historical Society, Jimmy Shortt, Ballaghanoher, Birr, Co. Offaly Offaly Heritage Centre Ltd., Michael Byrne, Bury Quay, Tullamore, Co. Offaly

#### Co. Roscommon

Co. Roscommon Historical and Archaeological Society, Albert Siggens, Castlestrange, Castlecoote, Co. Roscommon

Tisrara Heritage Society, Rev. Francis Beirne, Tisrara, Four Roads, Roscommon, Co. Roscommon

#### Co. Sligo

Ballymote Heritage Group, Pamela Benson, O'Connell Street, Ballymote, Co. Sligo Friends of Sligo Gaol, Tomlyn McHugh, 17 Cooldrumman, Upper Cearney, Co. Sligo

North Mayo/West Sligo Heritage Group, Paddy Tuffy, Churchview House, Lacken, Enniscrone Post Office, Co. Sligo

Publishing Sligo Past, Martin A. Timoney, Bother an Chorainn, Cloonagh, Keash, Co. Sligo Sligo Field Club, Jim Foran, 13 Bawn Owl, Kevinstown, Sligo, Co. Sligo

#### Co. Tipperary

Ardmayle Heritage Society, Marian Ryan, St. John the Baptist Church, Ardmayne, Cashel, Co. Tipperary

Arra Historical & Archaeological Society, Jane Quinlan, Newtown Post Office, Newtown, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary

Boherlahan/Dualla Historical Journal Society, Margaret Leahy, Tubberadora, Thurles, Co. Tipperary

Borrisoleigh Historical Society, Delia Ryan, 5 St. Bridget's Villas, Borrisoleigh, Thurles, Co. Tipperary

Bournea Reaching Out Historical Society, Ann Feehan, Bournea, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary Cahir Historical and Social Society, P. J. O'Meara, Newtownadam, Cahir, Co. Tipperary

Clonmel and District Historical Society, Michael Dolan, 36 Rosemount Park, Rosegreen, Cashel, Co. Tipperary

Cloughjordan Heritage Group, Paddy Williams, Templemore Road, Cloughjordan, Co. Tipperary Emly Historical Society, Noel McGrath, Monemore, Emly, Co. Tipperary

Fethard Historical Society, Mary Hanrahan, Rathcoole, Fethard, Co. Tipperary

Irish Kennedy Heritage Society, Phyllis Kennedy, Garnafana, Toomevara, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary Kilbarron Terryglass Historical Society, Helen Fox, Ballinderry, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary

Lorrha & Dorrha Historical Society, James Heenan, 2 Friary Close, Lorrha, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary Newport Historical and Archaeological Society, Mary Gleeson, School Road, Lisnagry, Co. Limerick Roscrea Heritage Society, Charles Lamb, Karidu, Timoney, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary

Silvermines Historical Society, Betty Gleeson, Tullymoylan, Dolla, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary

Tipperary County Historical Society, Dr. Denis G. Marnane, 20 Main Street, Tipperary, Co. Tipperary Mary Alice O'Connor, Tipperary Excel Centre, Tipperary town, Co. Tipperary

Tipperary in the Decade of Revolution Historical Society, Maura Kiely, Goatenbridge, Ardfinnan, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary

### Co. Waterford

Portlaw Heritage Centre, Ger Crotty, c/o Malcomson Square, Portlaw, Co. Waterford Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society, Clare Walsh, 14 Kenure Court, Powerscourt Lawns, Waterford, Co. Waterford

## Co. Westmeath

The Old Athlone Society, Ian Kenneally, Ballymurray, Mount Temple, Moate, Co. Westmeath Moate Historical Society, Marie Fitzgerald, Gleve House, Mount Temple, Moate, Co. Westmeath

Westmeath Archaeological Society, Mrs. Rosemary Cassidy, Slanemore, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath

## Co. Wexford

Bannow Historical Society, Dermot McCarthy, Skiathos, Sea View, Forth Mountain, Wexford, Co. Wexford

Old Kilenor Historical Society, Damian Nash, Borleagh, Inch, Gorey, Co. Wexford Ui Cinsealaigh Historical Society, Mary J. Mackey, 35 Priory Court, St. Michael's Road, Gorey, Co. Wexford

### Co. Wicklow

Blessington History Society, Paul Tyrrell, 6 Beechdale Grove, Blessington, Co. Wicklow Greystones Archaeological and Historical Society, Aileen Short, 'Brookfield', Glen Rd., Delgany, Co. Wicklow

Kilmacanogue History Society, Bat Masterson, Pembroke Lodge, Dargle Lane, Bray, Co. Wicklow Rathdangan Historical Society, Peadar Cullen, Killamoat, Rathdangan, Kiltegan, Co. Wicklow West Wicklow Historical Society, Donal McDonnell, Coolnarrig, Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow Wicklow Historical Society, Stan J. O'Reilly, 1 The Bank, Rathnew, Co. Wicklow

# Federation of Local History Societies

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION/RENEWAL FORM

Society				
Secretary				
Address				
Telephone No.	Mobile: _			
Other Contact Phone				
E-MAIL:				
Number of members in your society		*F	ee €	
$^* \mathbf{M}$ емвекsніі	P FEE PER	ANNUM:		
Individual:		€10		
40 мемвек	S OR LESS:	€25		
41+ мемв	ERS:	€50		
Cheques should	d be made p	ayable to:		
The Federation of	-	•		
c/o Mairead Byrne, 135 Da	ara Court, C	Celbridge, Co	o. Kildare	2
Email - <u>mairea</u>	dccbyrne@g	mail.com		
Do you	agree to:	}		
• receive e-mails or other commu	nications fr	om FLHS?	☐ Yes	☐ No
• have your e-mail address on our	Website?		☐ Yes	☐ No
• have your postal address in our	Journal?		☐ Yes	☐ No
Note: This form may be downle	oaded from t	he Federatio	n Web Si	ite,
www.lo	ocalhistory.ie	2		
Should your society require insurance	ce cover plea	ase make dir	ect cont	act with:
Arachas Corpo The Courtyard, Carmanhall Road, Tel. No. 01 213 5000	Sandyford E	Business Est		olin 18.
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