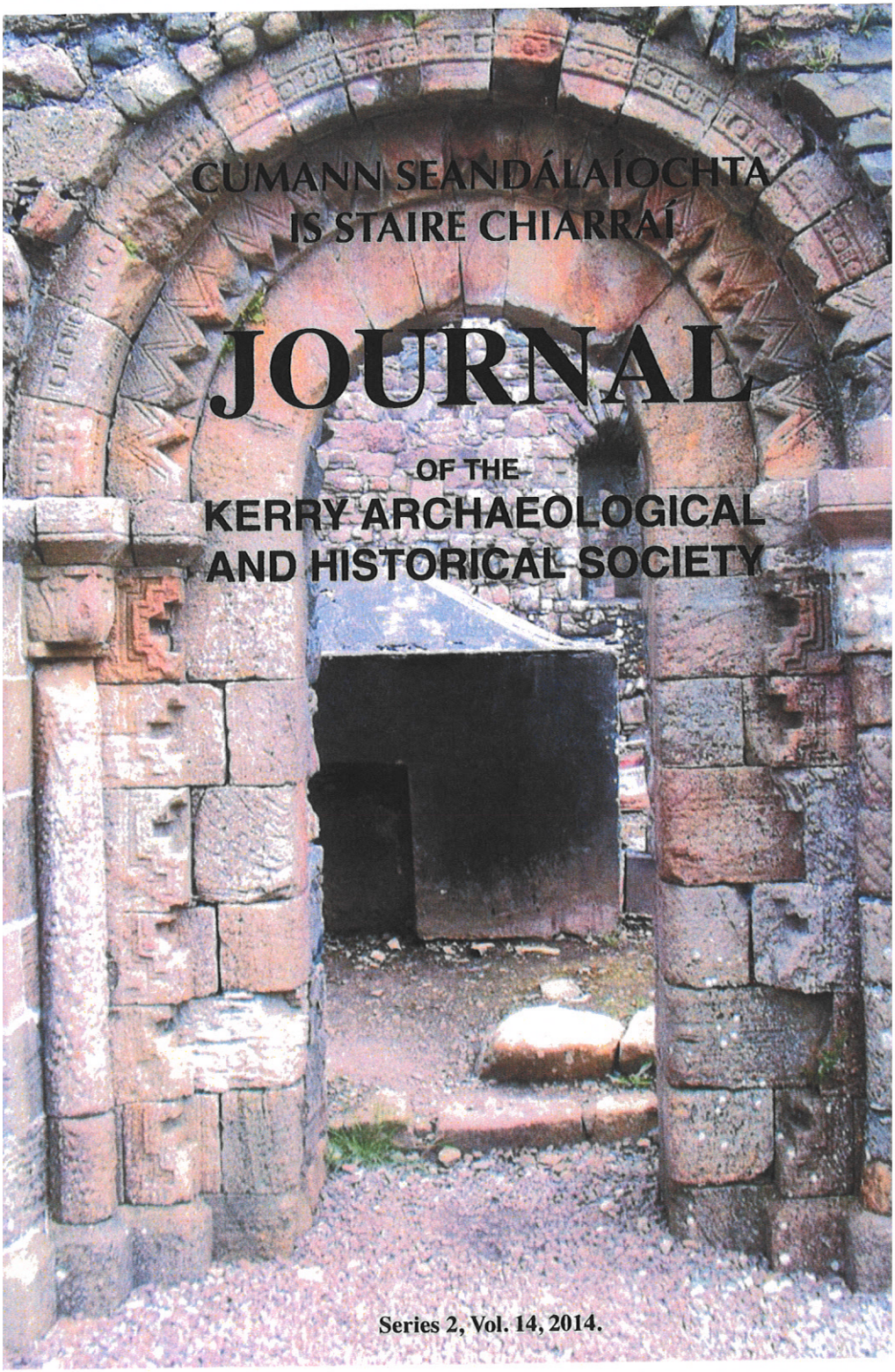

Series 2, Vol. 14, 2014.

CUMANN SEANDÁLAÍOCHTA
IS STAIRE CHIARRAÍ

JOURNAL

OF THE

KERRY ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ISBN 978-0-9533727-7-5
ISSN 0085-2503

Cover Illustration: Romanesque doorway in west wall of Aghadoe church. See article p. 5. (Photo: Elizabeth O'Donoghue/Ross)

TYPESETTING AND DESIGN BY INNÉ, DÚN CHAOIN, CO. CHIARRAÍ.
PRINTED BY KNGDOM PRINTERS, MATT TALBOT ROAD, TRALEE, CO. KERRY.

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A Tale of Two Cathedrals Aghadoe and Ardfert 12th-Century Religious Reform

Elizabeth O'Donoghue/Ross

Abstract

Aggiornamento[1] was the term that Pope John XXIII used to describe the ground-breaking second Ecumenical Council, Vatican II; but the Synod of Cashel in 1101 marked an earlier *aggioramento*, when Brian Boru's great-grandson, Muirchertach Ua Briain, gave the Rock of Cashel to the Church, removing the symbol of Eóganacht hegemony and beginning the 12th-century reformation of the Irish Church. Watt suggests that this gesture indicated that Munster was in the forefront of religious reform,[2] when in fact it was more a political act to deprive the ancient Eóganacht dynasty of their seat of power. Twelfth-century religious reform in Munster was inextricably intertwined with the ongoing struggle to control what we now call the "Kingdom of Kerry". This article will discuss the state of the faith at the beginning of the 12th century, the

reforms which took place during the century, the effect they had on the church in the "Kingdom" and how the conflict between the two tribes of bitter adversaries, the Dalcassians and the Eóganacht, led to the rival claims in the new organisation of bishoprics which replaced the earlier monastic system.

Christianity in the 12th Century

The organisation, or lack thereof, of the early Irish Church was rather typical of the temperament of the tribal Irish – independent and relatively unstructured. The Roman diocesan system that Patrick brought with him was largely ignored, and it wasn't until the 12th century that Rome made a real effort to compel the Irish to conform. Prior to that, the monasteries arose independently in the tribal territories and often contended with one another for superiority. There was no central leadership, and many of the abbots were in fact laymen, often inheriting the positions as *comharb* (hereditary descendant of the founder of the monastery). Bishops were consecrated locally without regard for any official see.

As Watt puts it, "there were too many bishops and their powers were too weak",[3] but this did not trouble the monasteries, under the influence of the local chiefly families, often governed by one of their own in the position of *erenagh* (abbot).

The de Paors suggest that the Christianised Norse of the towns did not wish to have their ecclesiastical affairs influenced by the Irish *comharba* and reached out to Canterbury to have their bishops consecrated.[4] Dublin had been sending their priests to Canterbury since the early 11th century to be consecrated. Whatever the reason for this, it helped open the door to English interference in Irish affairs, though this was not felt in the west at first.

The attempts at reorganisation of the ecclesiastical structure of the Irish Church began with the Synod of Cashel on 1101, when Muirchertach Ua Briain made the grand gesture of granting the Rock of Cashel to the Irish Church. While this could be perceived as a generous gift of a devout Christian, the hidden agenda was to remove the ostensible seat of power of the Eóganacht and further reduce their influence.

There was a programme of reform initiated at the synod, including a decree that laymen were no longer supposed to hold ecclesiastical offices and that the peculiar Irish marriage laws (e.g., both polygamy and divorce was allowed, by either party, and women maintained their dowries) were to be replaced with officially consecrated bishops, and marriage was to

become the traditional concept of "till death-do-us-part". In actual fact, there was little change in either practice at first.

The Synod of Ráth Bressail in 1111 continued the reform, which attempted to restructure the Church from the monastic to a diocesan system, where the two ecclesiastical provinces, Cashel and Armagh, were formally established, with 12 dioceses intended for each. Ráith Maighe Deiscirt, located at Rathass in Tralee, was designated the sole diocese in Kerry.

The Synod of Kells-Mellifont in 1152 began by focusing, yet again, on removing simony and usury, robbery, sexual irregularity and what they deemed the defective marriage law from the Irish practice. The prompt payment of tithes was legislated as well, but the serious business was to enforce the diocesan system across the island. The island was divided further to include the provinces of Tuam and Dublin alongside Armagh and Cashel, though the primacy of Armagh was firmly established. The southern province was divided into 12 dioceses, differing somewhat from those designated in Ráth Bressail, particularly in Kerry, where Ráith Maighe Deiscirt was formally replaced by Ardfert.

These reforms were more effective, and as Watt put it, "The constitutional modernisation of the Irish Church, at provincial and diocesan level, was virtually completed by the work of this council."[5]

Politics of the Time and King-Bishops

Though by the 12th century Christianity was universally present across the island, there were still vestiges of pagan ways present in the culture of the Irish. Even as late as the 17th century and the collapse of Gaelic civilisation,[6] the chiefs continued to have more than one wife and were loath to give up the practice.[7] As father figures to their clans, the chiefs did not perceive the necessity of separating church and state. The monasteries within their territory were directly under their auspices, and family members often held a key place in the hierarchy.

Irish monasteries were headed by an abbot before bishoprics were installed. This position, as pointed out, was often hereditary and just as often held by warrior kings. The Eóganacht high-kings of Cashel are prime examples of this, but such a dual role was not without precedent. Religious and temporal power was not an unusual combination in the ancient world – just look to the pharaohs of Egypt or the priest-kings of Mesoamerica.

Stories of how these warrior clerics fought battles armed with sword

and crosier are common enough. Feidlimidh Mac Crimthainn was an ascetic king-bishop of Munster from 820 to 847. He is considered one of the most colourful characters in the whole of Irish history.[8] He raided territories and plundered monasteries with regularity. He challenged the Uí Néill on several occasions, and Munster annals claim he gained submission of the King of Tara in 838, though the Ulster annalists may not agree. This king-bishop was the most powerful king in Ireland in his time.

Maelsuthain Ua Cerbaill, the lord of the Eóganacht Loch Léin and also the abbot at Inisfallen, held both a secular and ecclesiastical role, becoming the mentor of young Brian Boru when he studied at the island monastery before assuming the leadership of his clan after the death of his brother, Mathgamaine, at the hands of Maelmuad of the Eóganacht Raithlind. He accompanied Brian until his death in 1009, and it was he, during Brian's visit to Armagh in 1005, who wrote in the Book at Armagh that Brian was the "Emperor of the Irish".

Discussing Maelsuthain Ua Cerbaill, Hughes points out that

> Thus, it would appear that, in the Southern half of Ireland, the same man might hold administrative office in both church and kingdom; that he might, moreover, be in major ecclesiastical orders and still be king. When this happened it must have been almost impossible to separate spiritual and secular interests.[9]

This twofold role continued into the 12th century, and Cormac Mac Cárthaigh is another example, and perhaps the last officially recognised, of a king-bishop in the era discussed here. It was he who changed the architectural face of the Irish Church.

Hiberno-Romanesque Architecture

In the past, churches in Ireland tended to be relatively simple in their architecture; the stone-built church within the monastic site at Gallarus, on the Dingle Peninsula, is a beautiful example of that. However, the 12th century brought a significant change to that custom when Cormac Mac Cárthaigh came to rule in Desmond.

Cormac studied at the monastery in Lismore prior to his becoming King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel in 1127. In that year, he began construction of what is today known as Cormac's Chapel, at the Rock of Cashel, which was completed and consecrated in 1134. He was

apparently influenced by the architecture of the Continent. A member of his family, Dirmicius (Dermot), a bishop in Regensburg, Germany, is said to have sent Cormac craftsmen to work on the project, one of the first examples of Romanesque architecture on the island.[10] It was a lavish affair, with elaborate doorways and blind arcading both inside and out, carved grotesques peering from the eaves of the nave and extensive frescoes painted on the walls of the choir. While the frescoes suffered greatly from dampness and only parts remain today, Cormac spared no expense with the brilliant colours used, including gorgeous lapis lazuli, the most expensive blue of all time.[11] As Ó Riain-Raedel put it, "As a symbol of twelfth-century kingship, the chapel has found no equal in Ireland."[12] If the Eóganacht could no longer rule from the Rock of Cashel, Cormac made his mark and renewed the identification of the Rock of Cashel with the Eóganacht of Munster.

Other edifices across the island, concentrated mainly in the south-west, were erected during the following decades. These included Inisfallen on the island of Loch Lein, Church Island, Valentia, Kilmalkedar on the Dingle peninsula not far north of Gallarus, and the two churches of interest here: Ardfert and Aghadoe.

The north-south divide of Kerry can be encapsulated in the history of these two churches, both called cathedrals, though one was, and one wasn't, in fact, officially considered to be so.

Ardfert

History

St Brendan is credited with founding a monastery at Ardfert in the 6th century. Built centuries later, Ardfert Cathedral is situated within the village of Ardfert. Though the cathedral is described as "St Brendan's Cathedral" and said to be built on the site of the 6th century monastery, there is also the suggestion that the 13th-century Ardfert Friary, situated about a half kilometre outside the village, is built on the site of St Brendan's original monastery.[13] Both Ardfert and Fenit claim to be Brendan's birthplace, typical of the many-versions theory of early Irish history.

Though there is evidence of a pre-Romanesque church, perhaps made of wood, beneath the foundation of the current structure, the stone construction dates to the 11th century, along with 12th-, 13th-, 14th- and 15th-century additions and improvements.

Plate II. Romanesque door with blind arcading on east wall at Ardfert Cathedral. (Photo: Isabel Bennett)

Apparently in response to the splendid chapel Cormac built at Cashel in the early 12th century, a major reconstruction was undertaken, and the addition of a Romanesque style church was initiated at Ardfert. There does not appear to be a record of when it was begun or completed, but it is considered that it post-dated the construction of Cormac's chapel's dates of 1127 to 1134. It may be that the main 12th-century structure was begun as a result of the ongoing diocesan reforms of that century and/or in anticipation of gaining a diocesan designation as happened at the Council of Kells-Mellifont, when Ardfert was officially recognised as one of the diocese of Cashel.

Not all was peacefully spiritual during this time. The annals record an attack on the monastery at Ardfert at least twice. Ó Cuiléin of Uí Chonaill Gabhra raided it in 1152.[14] In 1180, both Inisfallen and Ardfert suffered greatly. Mael Dúin, son of Domnall Ua Donnchada, plundered Inisfallen,

> ...carrying off by him of all the worldly wealth therein...He collected, indeed, the gold, silver, trappings, mantles, and cloaks of Iarmumu, without respect for God or man, but the mercy of God did not allow him

> to kill people or to strip this heavenly place of church furnishing or books.[15]

Ardfert did not fare so well. It was "plundered by Clann Chárthaigh, and they carried off all the livestock they found there. They killed many senior clergy within their sanctuary and graveyard."[16] Moore suggests that Clann Chárthaigh's attack caused significant destruction to the cathedral, perhaps causing irreparable damage.[17] That did not prevent the diocese from rebuilding and adding more features to the church over the next centuries. Battlements were added in the 15th century, suggesting that strife did not pass it by throughout the turbulent history of its use.

The Complex

The complex of St Brendan's Cathedral includes the main structure along with two other smaller churches at the site: Temple na Hoe, also of Romanesque design, and a later 15th-century addition of Temple na Griffin. There is an extensive cemetery, with internments indicating the site had been in use since the time of St Brendan.

Plate III. Aerial view of Ardfert Cathedral complex taken from southeast.

Source: Fionnbarr Moore, *Ardfert Cathedral: summary of excavation results,* Dublin, 2007.

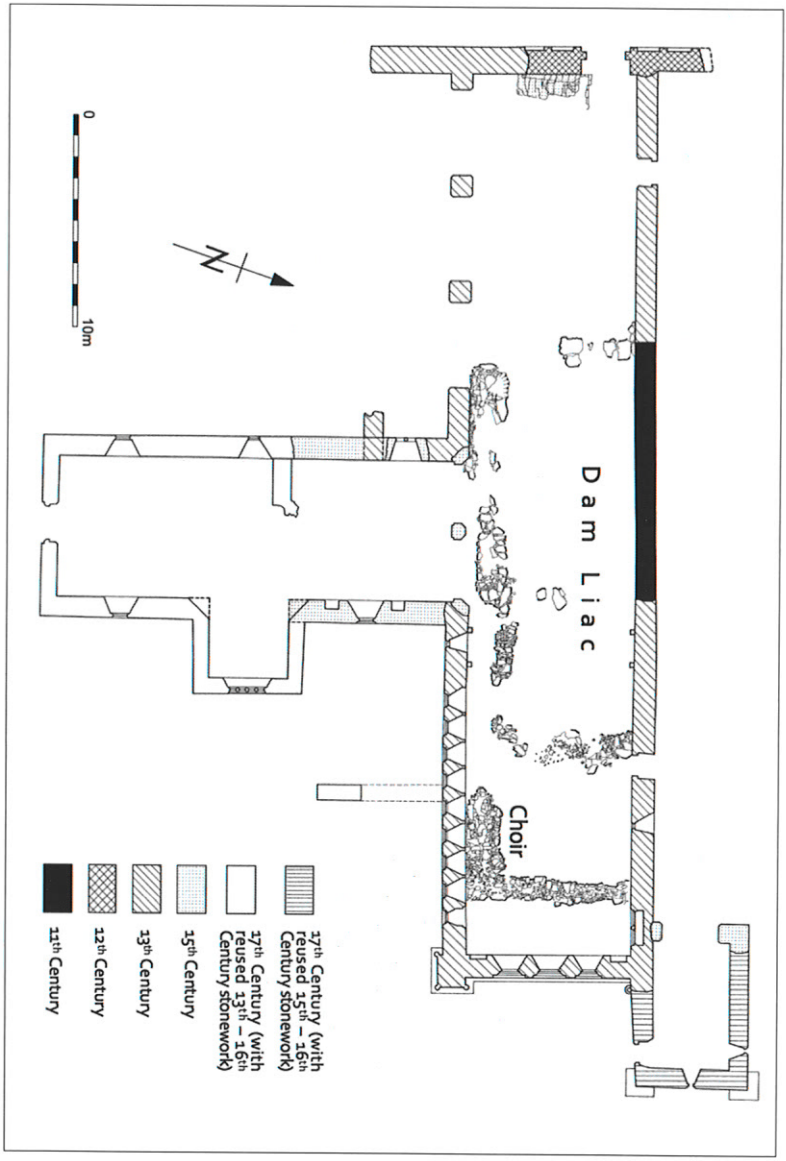

Fig. 1. Ardfert Cathedral ground plan. Courtesy of Fionnbarr Moore, National Monuments Service. Drawing by Norman Roe, Tom O'Sullivan and Gerry Woods. ©National Monuments Service.

Plate IV. View of Ardfert Cathedral through the Romanesque chancel arch of Temple na Hoe. (Photo: Isabel Bennett)

The cathedral building was excavated periodically between 1989 and 2000 at the behest of the Office of Public Works to conserve the site.[18] Burials of the early to late medieval period were unearthed, including inside, outside and even under the walls of the structure, indicating that some of the building additions were constructed over what must have been a cemetery outside of the cathedral walls.

The walls of the present-day structure date mainly to the 13th century, though there is a section of the north wall that remains from the 11th century (see Fig. 1, ground plan of site). The Romanesque doorway and its adjacent blind arcade is all that are left of the 12th-century construction. The doorway is situated quite near the north-west corner of the present structure, and its alignment with the north wall which incorporates the 11th-century remains suggests that the early 12th-century church building was considerably smaller than the current expanse of the ruin. In this time it was probably roughly comparable to the structure at Aghadoe, neither one of which is of a size we would now consider to be typical of a cathedral.

The Burials

Due to the extensive excavations carried out at the site, an enormous number of burials were discovered, over 2,300 in total, ranging from early to late medieval times. Some of them were found under the walls, which compromised the integrity of the structure and were part of the reason that the Office of Public Works commissioned the excavations, since the structure was at risk from such questionable underpinning. Remains found under the walls sometimes helped determine the dating of the construction of the walls at the varying stages of development of the site. A poignant example of the finds was a burial of a young man holding a coin in his hand which has been interpreted as being a "coin for the ferryman".[19]

Plate Va and b. Coin found at Ardfert. ©National Monuments Service Dept of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht. Source: Fionnbarr Moore, *Ardfert Cathedral: summary of excavation results,* Dublin, 2007.

The Artefacts

Various objects were unearthed during the excavations, from a medieval arrowhead to a bronze buckle to French pottery sherds. More interesting is the variety of coins unearthed from the 11th to the 19th centuries, including an English penny from Henry III to a silver penny of Sitric III of Dublin.[20]

These coins can be most useful when they are discovered within the construction of the walls. For instance, a coin of Edward I was uncovered in the foundation of the south wall of the cathedral, indicating a *terminus post quem*[21] of 1279 AD.[22] Likewise, a 1685 James II halfpenny was discovered under a blocking wall near the central pillar of the south transept, dating this part of the cathedral to a much later date.[23]

Let us look now at the cathedral of south Kerry and how its story compares.

Aghadoe

History

It is thought that Aghadoe may have originally been a pagan religious site.[24] Its name, Achadh Deo, can be translated from Irish as "the field of the two yew trees",[25] which would support that possibility, since the yew tree was sacred to the druids.[26] Monasteries (Muckross Abbey being a prime example, where tradition tells us that the yew within the cloister predates the monastery) frequently incorporated a yew tree into their complex, indicating that the new faith kept much of the tenets and trappings of the old druidic religion. Having two yew trees at the site could be considered a mark of extreme reverence for the place in the earth in which the practice of the people's faith took place.

The heights of Aghadoe offer a commanding view of the valley below and the lakes and mountains beyond. What better a place to worship either the pagan gods or the Christian Trinity?

The earliest reference in the Annals of Inisfallen to a monastery at Achadh Deo is in 939, when the death of the abbot there was recorded. It also mentions the death of Maelsuthain Ua Cerbaill (Brian Boru's mentor and Abbot of Inisfallen) and his internment there in 1010. It is curious that Maelsuthain was buried there rather than Inisfallen. Even then, Aghadoe must have had pre-eminence, long before the vying for diocesan recognition began a century later.

The first reference to a stone church at the site is 1027, and the nearby round tower was begun that year.[27] At some point in the next century, Auliffe Mór O'Donoghue commissioned either an expansion of the existing building, or an entirely new building, which was completed in 1158 and dedicated to the Trinity and Mary.[28] Harbison contends that the 12th-century portion is the primary one in the current church, replacing an earlier one no longer extant. The extension to the east, he says, was built in the 13th century.[29] The style was no doubt influenced by Cormac's Chapel (as was Ardfert), which has been completed twenty years previous, using the Romanesque style exemplified by the lovely doorway still extant today. Unfortunately, Aghadoe has not fared as well as Ardfert from the standpoint of maintenance and restoration.

Plate VI. Romanesque doorway in west wall of Aghadoe.

Repairs to the church were made some time before 1864.[30] It is clear that decorated stones around the doorway had become dislodged at some point in the past, and it may have been then that a well-meaning attempt at restoration was made, though not of the quality seen at Ardfert. Nevertheless, the architectural designs incorporated into the structure are still evident.

The Complex

Church

The church building is currently in a rather ruinous state. Part of the south wall has tumbled, probably quite some time ago since there is no rubble visible as such. Nevertheless, the style of construction of the west part of the church compared to the east section shows clearly the 12th-century structure.

Plate VII. North wall of Aghadoe church.

There is a sizeable graveyard which surrounds and expands beyond the church. The area is still being used as an active cemetery, and there have been modern intrusions of burials inside the walls of the church, mainly in the 19th century.[31] The strongbox tomb seen inside through the Romanesque doorway has been cemented over some time ago, presumably to keep its integrity intact, and a plethora of modern burials and tombs are squeezed inside the walls. While it is understandable that the descendants of the deceased buried there would be pleased to have their family placed in such a prominent position, it does seem intrusive to the historic nature of the church itself.

Plate VIII. Parkavonear Castle. (Photo: Isabel Bennett)

Round Towers

There are the remains of a round tower, perhaps a bell tower, just north-west of the church; and a larger round tower is situated about 100m to the south-west of the church. Called Parkavonear Castle (from *paírc an mhóinéir,* meaning "the field of the meadow"), this larger tower is known locally as "the Bishop's Chair" or "the Pulpit". It is probably of a later date that the church itself, and, practically speaking, it is hence unlikely that it had any connection to a bishop's residence.

The Artefacts

Two ogham stones were discovered at the site. One has gone missing, but the one remaining, cemented into the south wall, is inscribed with "BRREANANN" which some translate to refer to St Brendan. Their presence indicates that the site was in use at least back to the mid-7th century.[32]

A bullaun was found in the nave of the church. According to the local lore, the water collecting in it has healing properties.

There was a high cross, the only reference to which tells of its being blown down during a storm in 1282: "...there was many a violent

windstorm, and ricks and many houses were damaged; also the great church of Achad Deo (which had been standing undamaged for six score and four years), its holy cross, too, being broken—which I much deplore."[33]

The most interesting object discovered at the site, however, is the walrus ivory crosier found buried inside the walls of the church in the 19th century.

Aghadoe Crosier

The Aghadoe Crosier is a unique example of carving in walrus ivory, which is associated with Scandinavian craftsmanship. Decorated in the Hiberno-Urnes style with zoomorphic designs and vegetal scrolls, it is the only volute[34] crosier extant in Ireland of the 12th-century Romanesque period.

Interestingly, the River Laune Crosier, dated earlier to the 11th century, was originally described as the "Aghadoe Crosier" when it was discussed in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* in 1899, based on its discovery in the River Laune bordering the parish of Aghadoe.[35] Having been discovered in 1867, it is curious that as late as 1899, the Laune crosier was still being referred to as the Aghadoe Crosier, insofar as the ivory crosier had been mentioned in print as early as 1868. One would think that upon the discovery of the ivory crosier at Aghadoe, it would have eclipsed the use of that name to describe the metal crosier found in the Laune. There is very little information about the discovery of the true Aghadoe Crosier, but the details of its chequered history were recently well documented by Murray.[36]

There is no doubt of its intimate connection to the great church at Aghadoe. Not only was it discovered buried there, but the design of the crest of the object matches the 12th-century Romanesque doorway still present in the building. It is unusual to have such a clear indication of a relationship between the artefact and its geographical location and spiritual source. Since the 12th-century expansion of the church was commissioned by Auliffe Mór O'Donoghue, the commissioning of the crosier would be an obvious extension of Auliffe Mór's plans for the church.

There is a tradition that Auliffe Mór had a relationship with Norwegian settlers present around the general Killarney area who may have even married into the family, which could account for the presence of a craftsman skilled in the carving of ivory – something not otherwise found

in the country.[37] There are a small number of other less ambitious ivory artefacts found in Ireland, around Cork and Dublin, though nothing of the importance and intricacy of the crosier. Both cities being basically Viking towns, finding ivory there is not a surprise. Discovering such a striking example of a craft not otherwise found in Ireland, inland near the lakes of Killarney, is rather a surprise.

In the Christian faith, a crosier is a symbol of office of a bishop. In the case of the Aghadoe Crosier, there is a curious anomaly since, though the church is known as "Aghadoe Cathedral" and the "Great Church" of Aghadoe, there is no concrete evidence of which I am aware that suggests Aghadoe was ever an official bishopric,[38] so an explanation for its presence there begs an explanation. With the practice of king-bishops still quite common at that time, it's possible that Auliffe Mór was bold enough to take on the mantle of king-bishop of his territory and even carry the crosier with him into battle, of which there are many recorded against the O'Briens. He died in a battle against them at Magh Breoghain on the bank

Plate IXa and b. Aghadoe Crosier (© August Kestner Museum)

of the Suir,[39] which indicates the depth of animosity between the tribes for both to be so far from home, with the O'Briens trying to establish hegemony across Munster and Auliffe Mór determined to prevent them from so doing.

While evidently worn from use, the Crosier does not appear to have been completed, since the carving on the base of the crest is not as finely finished as the rest, less so on one side than the other. It is possible that the craftsman executing it was unable to complete it; he may have died or, in those times, been killed. With the skill needed to carve brittle ivory not present amongst Irish craftsmen, it may have been difficult if not impossible to find a replacement to complete the work. Nevertheless, if it had been used during the time it was being completed only on ceremonial occasions, you would not expect to find evidence of such wear through use, yet the softened edges seen along the crest does indicate that it was handled over some period.

Through a circuitous route, the crosier left this country into private German hands and eventually found its way to the Staten Historiska Museum in Stockholm, perhaps because they thought it to be a relic of Scandinavian ancestry. It would appear that they lost interest in it when it was determined that it was an Irish artefact, and it eventually made its way to the Kestner Museum in Munich.[40]

Its loss to the country has been rectified now that it is on long-term loan to the National Museum, on display in the Treasury. Unfortunately, it has been misattributed, in this writer's opinion, to an earlier time frame and a Moriarty connection based on the similarity of design to the Cross of Cong, commissioned by O'Connor around 1126.[41] Moriarty was an ally of O'Connor at that time, but by then his influence in the area had been undermined with the intrusion of the O'Donoghues of Eóganacht Raithlind into the Killarney area.

There is no apparent connection with the Moriartys and Aghadoe in the annals, so it would seem completely out of context that a bishop's crosier would be fashioned and given to Moriarty by O'Connor – for what reason? Ó Floinn posits the crosier may have been carved in a workshop in one of the Hiberno-Norse towns,[42] as opposed to the Roscommon workshop of O'Connor. Although there is no factual evidence to prove one way or the other, to put preference to an unlikely theory rather than the more logical connection to the Church and Auliffe Mór O'Donoghue seems somewhat short-sighted. Members of the O'Donoghue clan are aggrieved by the position of the National Museum that the attribution

presented in their audio guide that discusses the crosier is "as good a working hypothesis for the context in which the work was created as any" (even though it contradicts Ó Floinn's own opinion), and the museum has refused to consider either amending it or presenting the more logical alternative as well.[43]

Discussion

So how and why did these two ecclesiastical sites become competitors, and why did Aghadoe seek to obtain a bishopric beyond those assigned by the Synod of Kells-Mellifont? It's simple enough to understand when you consider in whose territory these churches were located.

Ardfert was in the territory of O'Connor Kerry, who was allied with Thomond and the O'Briens. Aghadoe was central in the territory of the Eóganacht and the O'Donoghue Mór, the most powerful enemy of the Dal gCais.

As Byrne puts it,

> By the middle of the century Ua Donnchada of Cenél Lóegaire in west Cork had taken the kingship of Eóganacht Loch Léin from Ua Muirchertaig of that dynasty and tried to promote Aghadoe as a rival see to Adrfert, which lay in the territory of the hostile Ua Conchobair Ciarraige, loyal to Ua Briain.[44]

It is no doubt more than a coincidence that the same year of the Synod of Kells-Mellifont, when Ardfert was designated the diocesan centre for Kerry, the church was burned down by the Uí Chonaill of the Uí Fidgente, who were traditional allies of the Eóganacht. The annals record that there had been constant attacks and reprisals between Thomond and Desmond since 1151. As reported in Mac Cárthaigh's Book in 1151 "A contention was begun by Sliocht Eóghain Mhóir against Síol Briain, Ó Conchobhair Ciarraighe, and Toirdhealbhach son of Ruaidhrí [Ó Conchobhair]."[45] The enmity between them was likely responsible for the attack, since destroying a diocesan cathedral is truly a blatantly sacrilegious undertaking. In 1153 is noted: "A great famine in Munster this year owing to the extent of the war, and it spread throughout Ireland in all directions."[46]

It's difficult to know when the rebuilding of Aghadoe commissioned by Auliffe Mór O'Donoghue was begun. Did it predate the Synod of Kells-Mellifont, when there may still have been hope that Aghadoe could

become a bishopric, or was the construction a response to giving the Kerry diocese to Ardfert? With the allegiance of O'Connor Kerry to Thomond, it would have been anathema for the tribes in south Kerry to pay tribute to a bishopric that would have been considered that of their enemy. Nevertheless, attempting to supplant a favoured church would have needed a bold man, which Auliffe Mór does appear to have been.

It is understandable that provincial kings, no longer able to exert direct influence on the monasteries in their territory, would try to advance their influence by patronage of the church in other ways. It is perhaps significant that there had been a high cross at Aghadoe. Whether or not it was commissioned at the same time as the church was expanded and the crosier was fashioned is impossible to know, but it would seem plausible. As Cronin explains it, "There tends to be a correlation between the location of crosses and diocesan sees."[47] Auliffe Mór may have commissioned a high cross to further increase the prestige of Aghadoe as a candidate for a separate diocesan see. Similar attempts were made at other parishes, such as Ardmore and Mungret,[48] but their claims were no more successful than Aghadoe.

Tadgh O'Keefe, a professor of archaeology at UCD, has postulated that it could have taken a territorial chieftain up to ten years to complete the building of a castle or a church.[49] There could be limitations of funding, so that only so much work could be undertaken on an annual basis. Having adequate skilled craftsmen could be an issue. Other priorities – war, poor harvest, etc. – could require funds be directed away from the building project.

We only know that the great church of Aghadoe was completed in 1158, less than a decade after Ardfert had been designated as the bishopric of Kerry. There are conflicting dates in the annals for when Auliffe Mór was killed and buried in the church,[50] but no doubt, with his death also died the hopes that Aghadoe could become a true bishopric.

It is an irony of fate that while Ardfert is now no more than a ruin and a shell of its former grandeur, the diocesan centre of Kerry is now in Killarney at St Mary's Cathedral, whose elegant spire can be seen from the heights of Aghadoe.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses appreciation to Fionnbarr Moore for the use of images from his book, *Ardfert Cathedral*, and the floor plan as provided by the National Monuments Service, and to Isabel Bennett who kindly provided several references and photographs throughout the paper.

Note about Author

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Notes

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3 *Ibid*., p. 10.
4 L. and M. de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland* (London: Thames, 1958), pp. 172-73.
5 *Ibid*., p. 26.
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11 www.gemstone.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=117:sapphire&catid=1:gem-by-gem&Itemid=14.
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18 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 57; see also Moore's entry "66. St Brendan's Cathedral, Ardfert", in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1990* (Bray: Wordwell, 1991), p. 37.
21 The earliest time the construction could have taken place.
22 F. Moore, "62. St Brendan's Cathedral, Ardfert", in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1991* (Bray: Wordwell, 1992), p. 22.
23 *Ibid.*
24 Tom Long, "Tracing Our Faith", in Jim Larner (ed.), *Fossa & Aghadoe: Our Heritage and History*, Fossa Historical Society 2007, p. 1.
25 www.libraryireland.com/IrishPlaceNames/Aghadoe.php. Though no other suggested translation has been found, see also the entry on the place names web site, www.logainm.ie, at www.logainm.ie/en/1046.
26 The Eóganacht symbol was the yew tree, while the Dalcassian symbol was the oak. The name Eoghan (the founder of the dynasty) means "born of the yew".
27 Long, "Tracing Our Faith", p. 1.
28 Ó hInnse, *Miscellaneous Irish Annals*, p. 41.
29 Peter Harbison, *Guide to National and Historic Monuments of Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1992), p.166.
30 Raghnall Ó Floinn, "Bishops, Liturgy and Reform: Some Archaeological and Art Historical Evidence", in D. Bracken and D. Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 226.
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42 Ó Floinn, "Bishops, Liturgy and Reform", p. 228.

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44 F.J. Byrne, "The Trembling Dos: Ireland in 1169", in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland*, vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 31.

45 Ó hInnse, *Miscellaneous Irish Annals*, p. 33.

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47 Rhoda Cronin, "Late High Crosses in Munster: Tradition and Novelty in Twelfth-Century Irish Art", in M. Monk and J. Sheehan (eds), *Early Medieval Munster* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), p. 145.

48 Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, p. 26.

49 Comment in response to a question at his lecture on "Castles in Ireland" at the Clans of Ireland AGM at the Mansion House, Dublin, on 28 April 2012.

50 The Annals of Inisfallen has three decades missing in its chronicle – from 1130 to 1159 – all important years of Auliffe Mór's lifetime. In Mac Cárthaigh's Book, his death is recorded in 1158, the same year as the completion of the cathedral, but the Dublin Annals of Inisfallen record his death as in 1163.

Historical Fisheries: Irish Pilchard Fishery and Historical Fish Harvesting and Processing Methods, Fish Products and Consumption

Liam Downey and Ingelise Stuijts

Abstract

The overview presented in this article incorporates a number of important aspects of historical fisheries, ranging from fish harvesting through fish processing to fish products and consumption. Having reviewed the fish species recorded in medieval Ireland, the first section presents a synoptic representation of the extraordinary profusion of information compiled by A.E.J. Went (inspector and scientific adviser in the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries 1946-75) on the Irish pilchard fishery over more than three centuries. The fishery thrived around the south-west coast in the 1600s and 1700s. Historical fishing methods commonly employed are also outlined. The second section of the article focuses on traditional fish products. Some long established methods used in fish preservation and processing are described, together with an outline of fish consumption patterns in the 1700s and 1800s.

Introduction

The historical perspective of Irish fisheries outlined focusses in particular on Went's extensive research on Ireland's pilchard fishery. This illustrates his encyclopaedic understanding of fisheries in Ireland, which is further underlined by his pioneering documentation on medieval fish weirs. The post-harvesting processing of pilchard and salmon and herrings detailed by Went are outlined, following which an overview is presented of fish consumption patterns in early modern Ireland (Cullen 1951; Clarkson and Crawford 2001).

SECTION 1 HISTORICAL FISHERIES

Medieval Fish

Twelfth Century

Prior to considering the development of Irish fisheries, it is instructive to review the range of fish noted in the 12th century by Giraldus Cambrensis in his well-known work *Topographica Hibernica* (Went 1949) and also the greater diversity of species recorded in the early 17th century by Philip O'Sullivan Beare (O'Sullivan 2009, 169-85). As further detailed by Went (1949), Giraldus Cambrensis has provided an early baseline indicative of the types of fish found in the 12th century, mainly in rivers and lakes around Leinster. In addition to referring to the abundance of sea fish on all coasts, Giraldus recorded that the rivers and lakes of Ireland were plentifully stored with salmon, trout, muddy eels, oily shad, and that the Shannon River "abounds with lamprey, a dangerous delicacy indulged in by the wealthy". He also noted that a number of fish found in other countries were not present in Ireland (Table 1), including some excellent freshwater fish.

Present	Absent
Salmon	Pike
Trout	Perch
Muddy eels	Roach
Oily shad	Barbal
Lampreys	Gardon
Tymel/Umber	Gurgeon
Classans	Minnows
Brits	Bullheads
Cates	Verones
'Fish without spots'*	Loches (rare)
*Identified by Went as Char	

Table 1. Fish species in Irish rivers and lakes recorded in the 12th century by Giraldus Cambrensis. (Source: Went 1949.)

In the mid-1900s, Went (1949) undertook a reappraisal of Giraldus' observations (Table 2). With few exceptions, he confirmed the presence of the fish recorded by Giraldus in the 12th century. Regarding the fish not found by Giraldus (Table 1), three of the species (barbal, gardon and bullherds) were, according to Went, also absent in the 20th century, while a number of the other species (pike, perch, roach, gurgeon and minnows/veroves) were present at that time. Went, however, noted that these fish were not native to Ireland but were seemingly species introduced into the country in recent centuries; some such as the pike, perch, roach, minnows as well as others had become fairly widespread.

Present	Absent
Twaite Shad	Barbel
Sea Lampreys	Gardon/Chub
Pike	Bullheads
Perch	Tymal/Umber**
Roach	
Gudgeon	
Minnows and Verones	
Loach	
Pollan	
Char	
Coal-fish (Classans*)	
Brown Trout (Brits*)	

* Name used by Giraldus.
** Went identified this as the Grayling.

Table 2. Fish species in Irish rivers and lakes (after Went 1949).

Pike were first mentioned in Irish records of the late 16th century; carp and tench were introduced in the early 17th century; and perch, gurgeon, bream, minnows and others seem to have come in between then and the

18th century (Moriarty 1997, 284).

Based on his extensive scientific knowledge of Irish fish species, Went (1949, 224) concluded that "Giraldus' information about fish in Ireland was in many respects more accurate than would have been expected for the period." The most notable dimension of Giraldus' observations are the fish species which he reported as being absent from Irish rivers and lakes in the 12th century (Table 1). This claim by Giraldus has been largely substantiated by Went. A much higher level of scientific expertise is clearly required in determining that a particular biological species is absent from an ecosystem than is needed to confirm the presence of species. As Giraldus was not a naturalist, much of his information must have been obtained from people with well-founded knowledge of fish species.

By differentiating between the remains of native and introduced fish species revealed by excavations, an indication may be gained of the relative chronology of archaeological sites. With older sites, the remains of native fish species are likely to be the predominant, if not the only, type present, suggesting a usage period for such sites prior to or during the medieval period. The introduction of fish species into Ireland, such as the pike, carp and tench, seems to have gained momentum from around the 16th-17th centuries. Sites where introduced fish species constitute a sizable proportion of the fish remains are more likely to have been more generally used from the early modern period.

Seventeenth Century

The manuscript entitled *The Zoilomastic*, compiled by Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare (1590-1660), provides a landmark 17th-century baseline of the flora and fauna in Ireland, including fish species (Table 3).
The manuscript was completed around the year 1636. It was written in Latin by Philip O'Sullivan while he was living in exile in Spain, having left Ireland in 1602 as a 12 year old. He was joined in Spain by his father, Dermot of Dursey, and his first cousin Donal Cam O'Sullivan Beare, among a large Irish retinue, through which his knowledge of Ireland was informed.

The details presented below are derived from the translation of the first book of *The Zoilomastic* by Denis O'Sullivan (2009, 169-85), and which is entitled *The Natural History of Ireland*.

C.XXXV AQUATIC CREATURES OF IRELAND		
C.XXXVI	C.XXXVIII	C.XL
THE WHALE, SEAHORSE, OTTER, SEAL AND DOLPHIN	FLAT FISH	PEARLS AND SHELLFISH
Whale	Ray	Turtle
Sea/Waterhorses	Skate	Mother of Pearl
Water dog	Skate-ray	Scallop
Otter	Sting-ray	Sea ear
Seal	Turbot	Cockle
Sturgeon	Sole	Mussel
Dolphin		Periwinkle
		Limpet
		Sea acorn
C.XXVII	C.XXXIX	C.XLI
Long Fish	Sea creatures protected by shells	Sponges and the marine forms which are lacking in Ireland
Tunny (Tuna)	Crab species	'The marine sponger
Hake	Lobster*	which grows a lot in
Sea dragon	Crayfish*	Ireland.'
Mackerel	Prawn*	
Conger eel	Shrimp*	
Lamprey	Sea-urchin	
Electric Ray		
Dogfish		
Red Mullet		
Mullet (ordinary)		
Sturgeon		
Pilchard		
Salmon		
Trout*		
Eel*		
Cuttlefish		
Squid		
Octopus		

* Alluded to in the *Zoilomastic* with no features described.

Table 3. 17th-century fish species recorded by Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare in *The Zoilomastic* (1625). (Source: O'Sullivan 2009)

What are termed "Aquatic Creatures of Ireland" are described in a section of *The Zoilomastic*. The species are differentiated into six categories (Table 3), and a brief outline is given of the distinctive features of the individual species.

An interesting aspect of the information compiled in *The Zoilomastic* are the insights provided into the eating attributes of a number of the fish species (Table 4). Salmon, trout, eel, turbot, sole and hake, as well as the red mullet, seem to have been highly regarded in the 1600s. Other fish that were appreciated at the time include the dogfish called "lanati" and the electric ray.

Fish	Eating quality of the fish
Salmon	
Trout	"the best in the world"
Eels	
Turbot	"the best food"
Sole	"not dissimilar to turbot"
Hake	"much praised"
Red mullet	"much finer than dogfish"
Dogfish called 'lanati'	"of the dogfish (...) the most praiseworthy"
Electric ray	"useful to eat"
Pilchard	"not a fine fish"
Scallop	"pleasant to eat"
Cockles	"useful to eat"
Mussels	"not unpleasant on the palate"
Limpets	"usually turned into food"

Table 4. Eating attributes ascribed in the early 1600s by Don Philip O'Sullivan to a number of the fish species listed in Table 3. (Source: O'Sullivan 2009)

Of the shellfish, the scallop appears to have been favoured, but cockles and mussels were also eaten, as well as limpets. The parallels between the 17th-century eating attributes of the fish summarised in Table 4 and those currently prevailing underlines the understanding of the eating quality of the fish outlined in *The Zoilomastic*. This is perhaps best illustrated by the insightful description of the pilchard as "not a fine fish".

The relatively poor regard for the pilchard was common in Ireland up to more recent times (see below). A similar position seems not to have pertained in a number of countries in mainland Europe to which the fish, following salting and pressing, was exported in the 1600s and1700s (Table 5).

Exports recorded		Economic performance	
1615-25	Straits	1617-32	moderately or fairly successful
1618	65 tons funados (pilchards cured and smoked)	1617-18	fairly prosperous
1627	Marseille and Venice	1619-32	fairly successful
1641	1263 tons	1641	prosperous
1669	795 tons	1669	fairly prosperous
1677	Spain, France and	1672-77	varying success
	Straits of Gibraltar	1675	fairly prosperous
1734	2595 hogsheads	1734	prosperous
1738	2754 hogsheads	1738	prosperous

Table 5. Exports and economic performance of the pilchard fishery in the 16/1700s. (Source: Went 1945-48)

Two aspects of information on Irish fish contained in *The Zoilomastic*, one relating to the pilchard and the other to the herrings, are somewhat surprising. The assertion that the pilchard was "not very well known" may be open to question. As further detailed below, a pilchard fishery existed in Ireland in the early decades of the 17th century and was prosperous in west Cork in the years 1617 and 1618 (Went 1945-48, 85). Moreover, a pilchard fishery seems to have existed in the region from late 1500s. In an account of the revenues of O'Sullivan Beare (Don Philips' first cousin) for 1587, reference was made to the importance of the local sea fishery; Went (1945-48, 85-86) suggested that the main fishing involved was that of the pilchard, which was a mainstay of the Irish fisheries from the early 1600s, if not before. They were important in the Irish export trade over the centuries (Table 5), as also were herrings, particularly in the 1600s, (Cullen 1981).

In regard to herrings, it is notable that they are not referred to in *The Zoilomastic*. Moreover, little mention was made of herrings in the 12th-century record of Irish fish by Giraldus, even though the abundance of

fish on the coast was highlighted.

A seemingly paradoxical aspect of the coverage given to Irish fish in *The Zoilomastic* is the lack of details pertaining to a number of species which were well regarded for their eating quality (Table 4). Trout and eels are just referred to in side headings and mackerel in footnotes, while lobsters, crawfish, prawns and shrimps are simply alluded to. Conversely, the features and behaviour of some relatively obscure creatures are described in some detail (O'Sullivan 2009, 169-85). These issues may possibly have arisen due to uncertainties in translating Philip O'Sullivan's Latin manuscript, which is known to be a very difficult text.

Notwithstanding these concerns, *The Natural History of Ireland* (O'Sullivan 2009) provides an invaluable medieval baseline on Irish fish species and, more importantly, on Ireland's flora and fauna over 300 years ago. A much expanded database has been compiled by Ireland's National Biodiversity Data Centre in Waterford over the past decade (maps.biodiversityireland.ie). A comparative analysis of the 17th-century database compiled by Philip O'Sullivan relative to archives now available would be an interesting research undertaking.

The Pilchard Fishery

The history of the Irish pilchard fishery from the early 17th century has been comprehensively documented by Went (1945, 1945-48). The pilchard (Box 1) frequented mainly the coasts of counties Cork, Kerry and Waterford (Went 1945-48, 118), but occurred also in the waters off a number of other counties, such as Waterford, Clare, Galway, Mayo, Donegal, Antrim and Down (Fig. 1).

The shoals were in some years sufficiently large and numerous to support an intensive fishery (Went 1945-48). As previously indicated, Ireland had a thriving pilchard fishery in the 1600s and1700s, when the fish in large amounts frequented the coasts, and were fished for, preserved and exported in sizable quantities to a number of countries in mainland Europe (Table 5).

Establishment

Two notable historical figures were prominent entrepreneurs in the establishment of the pilchard fishery along the south and south-west coast in the 1600s (Went 1945-48): Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork, from the early part of the 1600s and William Petty, the author of the Down Survey, in the later decades of the century.

The European pilchard (*Sardinia pilchardus*) (Walbaum 1972) is a distinct species of fish within the scientific family of Clupeidea, which includes species of herrings, sardines, shads and menhadens (National Biodiversity Data Centre, Beechfield House, WIT West campus, Carriganore, Waterford). Within a fishing context, pilchard and sardine tend to be used as generic terms to describe various small oily fish. In Ireland the term "pilchard" is largely synonymous with the species *Sardinia pilchardus*. However, in the Mediterranean it is commonly called the sardine (Went 1945-48).

Fishermen around the coast generally know the fish as the pilchard, but in some places the Irish name *seirdín* may be used. As noted by Went (1945), the term *seirdín* is of the same derivation as the English word sardine, which is in reality an immature pilchard.

To distinguish the pilchard from the herring, fishermen are said to have held the backfin of the fish between their fingers. If the fish remained level it was a pilchard, but if the head went down it was a herring (John Walsh, personal communication).

Box 1. The pilchard.

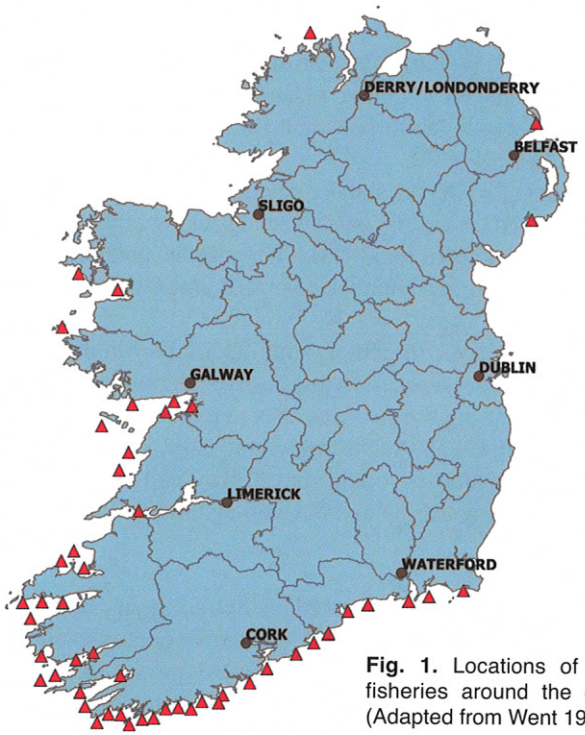

Fig. 1. Locations of various pilchard fisheries around the coast of Ireland. (Adapted from Went 1945-48).

Richard Boyle appears to have first become interested in the pilchard fishery about 1616 when he became involved with William Hull in working the fishery in the neighbourhood of Crookhaven, Co. Cork (Went 1945, 139; 1945-48, 83). The fisheries of the region were noted for their fecundity for many years.

Boyle was also erecting, around that time, salting and fish houses at Ardmore, Co. Waterford, where he and the Hull family were setting up a fish-curing establishment. In addition to participating in the pilchard fishing himself, Boyle seems to have encouraged others to engage in the fishery. In the years 1616 and 1617, the pilchard fishery seems to have been fairly prosperous in west Cork (Went 1945-48, 84; Barnard 1981).

Kinsale (Co. Cork) appears to have been a centre of a pilchard fishery at the beginning of the 1600s. The town was reputed for its fishing of pilchards, herrings, hake and salmon. Went observed that it is notable that pilchard was given prominence place in this listing. Pilchards appear to have been cured in large quantities around Kinsale in the 1600s (Went 1945, 140).

Around the year 1672, William Petty, the other prominent entrepreneur referred to above, established a pilchard fishery at several places, mainly in Co. Kerry at Kilmackilloge Harbour and Ballinskelligs, and also at Dursey Island, Co. Cork (Fig. 2).

The establishment of a pilchard fishery entailed more than the capture of the fish. It necessitated the curing, pressing and packing of the pilchards in fish houses or cellars known locally as "fish palaces", the remains of which have been recorded at a number of places along the south-west coast (see below).

Erection of fish palaces, together with ancillary buildings and employment of the necessary workers, was a costly undertaking. The large amount of salt used in curing the fish was also an expensive commodity in these times (Barnard 1981). Accordingly, only those with access to substantial financial resources could have provided the scale of investment required in establishing and developing a pilchard fishery.

Performance

Went (1945-48, 88) has documented in extraordinary detail the fluctuating performance of the Irish pilchard fishery over more than three centuries (1611 to 1944). This remarkable endeavour sets a research headline for the investigation of other important historical fisheries, particularly herrings.

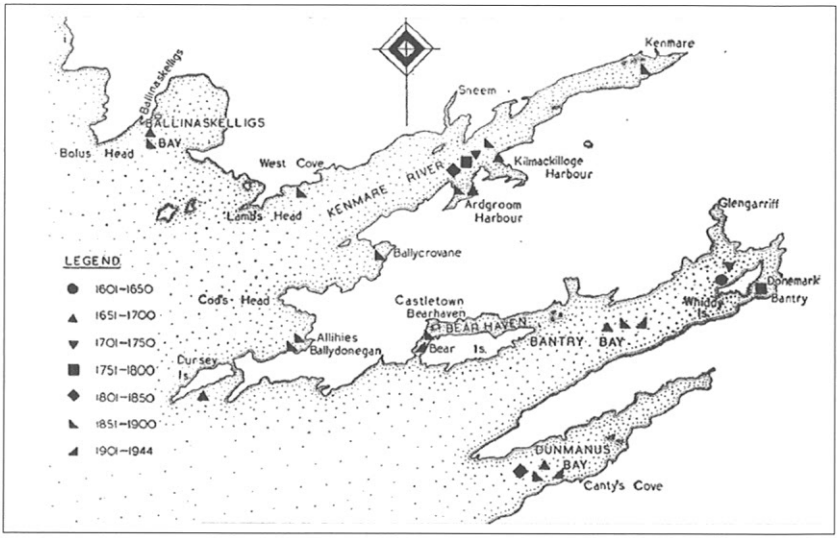

Fig. 2. Locations of the pilchard fishery on the south-west coast. (Source: Went 1945-48) Reproduced by permission of the Royal Irish Academy ©.

The chronology of the performance of the pilchard fishery illustrated in Fig. 3 is a schematic representation of the challenging profusion of information compiled by Went (1945-48).

The four qualitative performance indicators shown in Fig. 3 were used by Went (1945-48, 119-20) in commenting on the dramatic temporal changes in the fortunes of the Irish pilchard fishery. The periods of prosperous and successful fisheries correspond broadly with the years when the fish was exported (Table 5). However the demarcation between the two other performance indicators (namely pilchards existed and failure) is somewhat more tenuous. During the prosperous periods, the quantities of pilchard captures were seemingly in demand in export markets (Table 5) and accordingly fetched an attractive price. Pilchard fisheries existed at various other times on the coasts (Fig. 3), but as has been stated by Went (1945-48), no information is available as to their prosperity. Moreover, the fishery failed intermittently, and often for protracted periods.

The economic performance of fishery in terms of both the extreme shoal fluctuations and prosperity can be envisaged as comprising three sequential phases, corresponding approximately to the 1600s, the first half

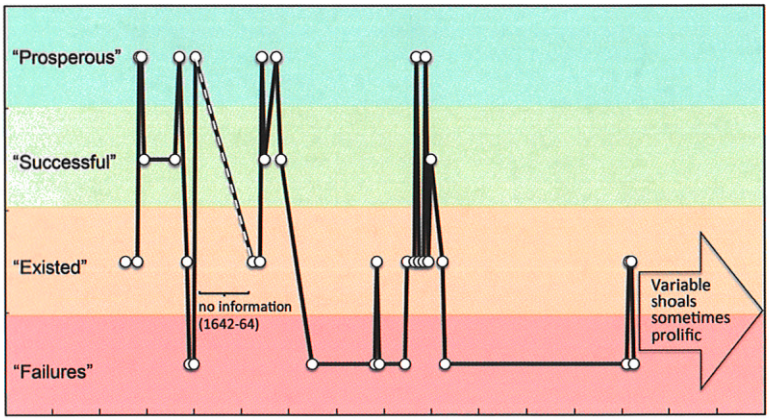

Fig. 3. Performance of the Irish pilchard fishery 1600s-1800s (based on Went 1945-48).

of the 1700s, and from then to the mid-1900s (Fig. 3).

The 1600s was the most rewarding period, during which the pilchard fishery, as recorded by Went (1945-48), was prosperous or successful on more than half the years throughout the period. In 1634 there was a record fishery, and in 1641 and 1669 the pilchard fishery was prosperous. Notably, the establishment of pilchard fisheries along the south and south-west coasts by Boyle and Petty was undertaken around that time (see above).

The 1700s was a much less favourable phase (Fig. 3). Throughout the century, the pilchard fishery was prosperous or successful on just a few years in the 1730s. During what has been termed the *Forgotten Famine of 1740-41* (Dickson 1997) and which may be compared in magnitude to that of the well-known Great Famine (1845-52), a pilchard fishery existed, but there is no evidence as to how productive it was from 1739 to 1745 (Went 1945-48).

In 1747, the pilchard visited Kenmare Bay in great numbers, and around the middle of the century, the pilchard fishery was looked upon as the staple fishery; the herring, cod and hake were being exploited mainly as a standby, and there was no mention of the mackerel (Went 1945-48, 101-04). The pilchards seem to have been virtually absent from the locality for the succeeding 33 years.

As further detailed by Went (1945-48, 101), the downturn in the pilchard fishery has been documented by Charles Smith, author of the important survey of counties Cork and Kerry published in 1750, where

pilchards had been taken in vast quantities. In relation to the fishery in Bantry Bay, Smith stated that

> ...a few years ago, when pilchards frequented this bay, it [Bantry] was a very thriving town... In many creeks round this bay are several fish palaces, as they are called, built for saving, preserving and salting of pilchards of which commodity several thousand pounds worth have been sent from hence to Spain, Portugal and Italy; but of late years there has not a single pilchard appeared on the coast. (Went 1945-48, 115)

Over the next 200 years (Fig. 3), the pilchard fishery in Ireland was mainly a failure. Pilchards were to be found on the coasts on up to a third of the years during the 1800s, with very large shoals from 1833 to 1835. But from the late 1830s through the period of the Great Famine and for the remainder of the century, the fishery was a failure. Furthermore, Went (1945-48, 115) noted that from 1904 until the year 1935 the pilchard appeared to have forsaken the Irish coasts.

During the 1800s and1900s, pilchards appeared from time to time at various places along the south and south-west coast and were occasionally abundant. They were prolific between 1870 and 1876 and again from 1940 to 1943 around the coasts and bays of counties Cork and Kerry. But as further detailed by Went (1945-48, 107), fishermen tended to avoid the fish in order to prevent injury being done to their nets by the oil exuded from the pilchards. Moreover, the *Report of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries* (Went 1945-48, 110) stated that "... such large quantities of pilchards have been landed this year at Kenmare that they have been carted away for manure ..." (1874, 8). In 1941, pilchards in very large quantities were landed and Glandore, Co. Cork, only to be dumped due to the lack of a market (Went 1945-48, 120). Such situations were not uncommon at various locations around the coasts in the 1800s and 1900s.

The extreme fluctuations in the pilchard shoals were an intrinsic feature of the pilchard fishery. However, the sector was also beset, as outlined below, by a lack of investments and entrepreneurship and crucially sustainable export markets.

Analysis of Strengths and Weaknesses

A perspective of the performance of the pilchard fishery in respect of its major strengths and weaknesses from the early 1600s is presented below (Fig. 3) and can be summarised as follows (based on Went 1945-48):

Strengths: Abundant shoals for periods along the shores; access to markets in Spain, France, Italy and Gibraltar and availability of pilchards in advance of those on the coast of Cornwall.

Weaknesses: Failure to fully exploit accessible export markets; inadequate capturing and curing facilities and lack of investment combined with the necessary entrepreneurship.

Went (1945-48, 118) concluded that "... shoals of pilchards along the Irish coasts in some years were sufficiently large and numerous to support an intensive fishery". This was particularly the position in the 1600s and up to the mid-1700s (Fig. 3). During that period, pilchards were exported to a number of European countries (Table 5), and the fishery enjoyed periods of prosperity and success. Further to this, the 1871 *Report of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries* noted that "Ireland has the advantage of the arrival of the pilchard at a much earlier period than in Cornwall, so that if there was sufficient enterprise the fish caught in the Irish coast could be usually shipped a month before that taken on the coast of Cornwall." (Went 1945-48, 108-109)

While the extreme volatility of the pilchard shoals was a recurring problem faced by the Irish pilchard fishery, this was also the situation with the pilchard fishery in Cornwall (Went 1945-48).

In Ireland the pilchard fishery was, however, characterised by a number of other inherent weaknesses, in particular the failure to fully exploit accessible export markets. In this regard, the 1874 *Report of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries* pointed out that

> ... the County of Cork might in the last ten years have realized many thousands of pounds sterling of clear profit if proper means had been taken for the capture and utilization of this valuable fish, so prized in England and disregarded in Ireland. (Went 1945-48, 108-110)

In 1870, shoals of pilchards were present in strength along the coasts of Co. Cork but were not availed of because of the want of sufficient and suitable gear for capturing and curing (Went 1945-4, 108). Again in 1873, large shoals of pilchards appeared on the coasts of counties Cork and Kerry, but the fishermen avoided their capture because of injury being done to nets that had not been properly barked to prevent damage by the quantity of oil extruded by the pilchards. Moreover, large quantities of captured pilchards were often used as manure, if not dumped owing to the lack of a market (Went 1945-48, 109-116).

The development of sustainable export markets was an overarching

imperative of the Irish pilchard fishery. Allied to this was the need for sufficient and suitable gear for capturing and curing the pilchard. Despite attempts by the authorities to encourage the curing of the fish, the opportunities presented by the appearance of vast shoals on the coasts were not capitalised on, and the Irish pilchard fishery remained an under-utilised resource.

The fundamental weakness, however, was the lack of sufficient investment, such as that provided in the 1600s and 1700s by the entrepreneurship of Richard Boyle and William Petty (see above).

Methods of Fishing

Went has described in impressive detail two long-established methods of fishing extensively employed in Ireland, as outlined below. Fish weirs were used from medieval times for the capture of a variety of fish, notably salmon. The other method involved the use of seine nets, which have been described by Went (1945, 137) as the most important means of fishing the pilchard in earlier centuries, in Cornwall as well as in Ireland.

Fish weirs

The construction and operations of various types of weirs have been documented in informative technical details by Went (1945; 1955; 1960; 1964). His pioneering work has been further advanced by the extensive investigations undertaken more recently of the weirs in Strangford Lough and in the Shannon Estuary (McErlean and O'Sullivan 2002; O'Sullivan 2003, 2005).

Fish weirs were typically V-shaped wooden or stone structures, with post-and-wattle fences and a gap or eye at the apex into which the fish were funnelled and trapped in baskets of varying size and construction (Fig. 4) (Went 1964; O'Sullivan 2003, 2005). Medieval fish weirs were erected on rivers, but generally the more impressive structures were located in coastal waters, particularly estuaries. Erected between the tidemarks, most estuarine fish weirs caught fish during the ebbing tide. Some were oriented to trap fish on the flooding or falling tide.

The use of medieval coastal fish weirs in Ireland and Britain seems to have peaked in the 7th and 8th centuries, and perhaps again between the 12th and 14th centuries (O'Sullivan 2003; 2005). The Shannon Estuary and Strangford Lough weirs mostly range in date from around AD 450 to 1300.

Medieval fisheries were an important source of food, income, wealth

Fig. 4. Schematic reconstruction showing the main structural features of a medieval fish weir (courtesy Aidan O'Sullivan, reconstruction by Simon Dick).

and power (O'Sullivan 2003). Fish weirs provided both food for domestic consumption and fish for sale at local markets and fairs. The fish could also have been preserved by salting, smoking or drying (see below), and then exported. With meat consumption forbidden for 100 and more days each year, fish were an important part of the medieval diet. Weirs could, in season, take good catches of a wide variety of fish. Salmon were in constant demand by wealthy households and religious orders. Eels, which could be kept alive for relatively long periods in special boxes with running water, were also highly valued (Went 1955).

Many manorial lords and important townspeople owned fish weirs. Monasteries, however, controlled a remarkable number of fisheries, which were among their more valuable possessions. In this regard, Went (1955, 50-53) estimated that the total combined income that religious houses could have derived from fishery sources (excluding tithes) may have been in the order of £100,000 to £150,000 per annum in 1955 equivalent values. This could amount to around €4 million in current monetary terms.

While ownership of medieval fish weirs resided mainly with monastic orders, bishops and local lords, the operation of weirs, as well as their

maintenance, was undertaken by local people, who may have combined this activity with farming and other work. The combined occupation of fishing and farming may have been common. The communities involved could be envisaged as being engaged in an agri-fish economy, such as prevailed in many coastal areas well into the mid-1900s (O'Sullivan & Downey 2009).

Seine Nets

As noted by Went (1945, 139), Richard Boyle recorded in 1616 the buying of a seine when establishing his pilchard fishery at Ardmore, Co. Waterford, and some 50 years later William Petty introduced the seine net into Kenmare and Ballinskelligs Bays. As previously indicated, Petty conducted a pilchard fishery here from 1672. Seine nets were also used in Kinsale Harbour about the same time.

Seine fishing required two boats. The seine boat, the larger of the two, had a crew of 10 men and it carried the seine net, which was often up to 300-400 yards long. The smaller boat, known as the "follower", had a crew of five or six men. When the shoal was located, the net was "shot" around the fish by the seine boat. The follower boat picked up the free end of the seine net, and the two ends of the net were brought together. The weighted foot-ropes of the net were gradually drawn up until the fish were completely enclosed in a purse of net.

Sometimes fishing was done by night when the fish were located by the phosphorescence they produced in the water. Very large hauls were made when the pilchards visited the coasts. In the early decades of the 1700s, when the pilchard frequented Bantry Bay, 600 barrels of the fish were said to have been enclosed together in one net (Went 1945, 148).

The pilchard fishery has not been pursued actively since the mid-1700s due to its irregularity (Fig. 3). However, as noted by Went (1945, 139), the seine boat continued to be used in the mid-1900s for mackerel fishing and, to some extent, for herring fishing along the south coast, particularly in areas where the pilchard fishery was formerly pursued. Moreover, seine nets were in use around that time for the capture of salmon in Kenmare and Ballinskelligs Bays. The salmon seines, or "sweeper" nets as they were often called, were seen by Went as the successors to the seines introduced by Petty when establishing the pilchard fishery in the locality in the 1670s.

In the late 1800s, seine fishing for mackerel was widespread on the coast of Beara, Co. Cork. A graphic account of the experiences of John

(the Yank) Harrington, a member of a seine crew in Reentrisk, Allihies, in the early 1920s, has been outlined by Harrington (2008, 37). Sometimes the fish would be up to the gunnel of the boat, and in a good year the crew of the seine could make over £100 per man, but in a bad year only enough was made to meet the costs.

SECTION 2 Fish Products and Consumption

Preservation

Apart from localities not too far distant from their place of capture, fresh fish (unprocessed fish) were not widely available in previous centuries. To prevent the onset of deterioration, a wide range of fish species, including hake, cod, salmon, herrings and pilchards (below), were preserved by salting and were exported over a long period in the salt-cured state (Cullen 1981; Went 1945, 1945-48).

Drying, cooling and freezing are among the oldest natural means of food preservation, and chemical methods such as salting, pickling and smoking also have a relatively long history (Hörander 1986, 54). Often, if not generally, two or more methods of food preservation were used in combination. Typically, salting or pickling would precede drying or smoking.

During the Middle Ages, the traditional methods of salting meat or fish were to embed them in dry salt, or to lay them in strong brine (Hörander 1986, 55). Embedding was rarely employed by ordinary households. Salt was expensive in the quantities required, and the costs incurred could amount to a sizable part (possible 40 per cent) of the actual price paid for meat.

Because of Lent and the many other fast days, trading in fish was very profitable (Hörander 1986). For mass consumption, cheap preserved fish was on the market: dried cod (known as "stockfish") and pickled herrings. Herrings are high in fat and become rancid within a day unless the catch is salted almost right away.

Processing of Pilchards

Because of their propensity to deteriorate rather quickly, pilchards also had to be cured as soon as possible after capture. Four pilchard fish products have been documented by Went (1945, 1945-48). As outlined below, two of those, namely "salted-pressed pilchards" and its by-product of fish oil (called "train" or "train oil") appear to have been more generally

made in Ireland. Production of smoked pilchards, known as "fumados", and pickled pilchards appears to have been more limited.

Salted-Pressed Pilchards

As documented by Went (1945, 1945-48), the method of processing pilchards most widely adopted in Ireland was, as previously indicated, carried out in fish houses, locally called "fish palaces", where the fish was cured with salt, pressed for oil in barrels (Fig. 5), packed in hogsheads and exported. The oil collected during the pressing of the pilchards was a valued by-product marketed for use in preparing leather, as a luminant and for many other purposes (Went 1945, 155).

The most important method of curing pilchards involved the building up of alternative layers of salt and fish on the sloping floor of the fish palace, where they were then held for some two or three weeks, during which some of the excess salt and blood was drained off (Went 1945, 153-154). The fish were then washed and taken to a yard or building for pressing in barrels.

The process involved a long beam or pole, one end of which was placed in a hole in the press wall (Fig. 5). The barrels, with a round piece of timber or plank (termed "buckler") on top of the fish, were placed in a row against the press wall. The pilchards were pressed down by means of the beam, and the barrels were topped up and re-pressed until they could hold no more. The fish could then be stored or exported immediately in barrels, usually hogsheads.

In the course of the salting process, and especially during the pressing operations, quantities of oil mixed with water and blood etc. were collected in specially constructed tanks or sumps. The mixture was transferred into barrels and the water and blood were drained off. The oil retained in the barrels was repeatedly washed with water until it was moderately clean. This oil was, as already indicated, a valued commodity, used for lamps and other purposes. However, just how appetising the salted-pressed pilchard product was is open to conjecture. It was exported in the 1600s and1700s to a number of European countries (Table 5) and may perhaps be compared to the Scandinavian salt-cured salmon known as *gravlax*. Originally, *gravlax* was salmon that was cured by being buried in the ground for days or months, an old Scandinavian technique also used for preserving herrings. The longer the fish is buried, the longer it will keep. But, paradoxically, the longer it has been buried, the more it resembles in smell and texture something rotten (Kurlandsky 2003, 401).

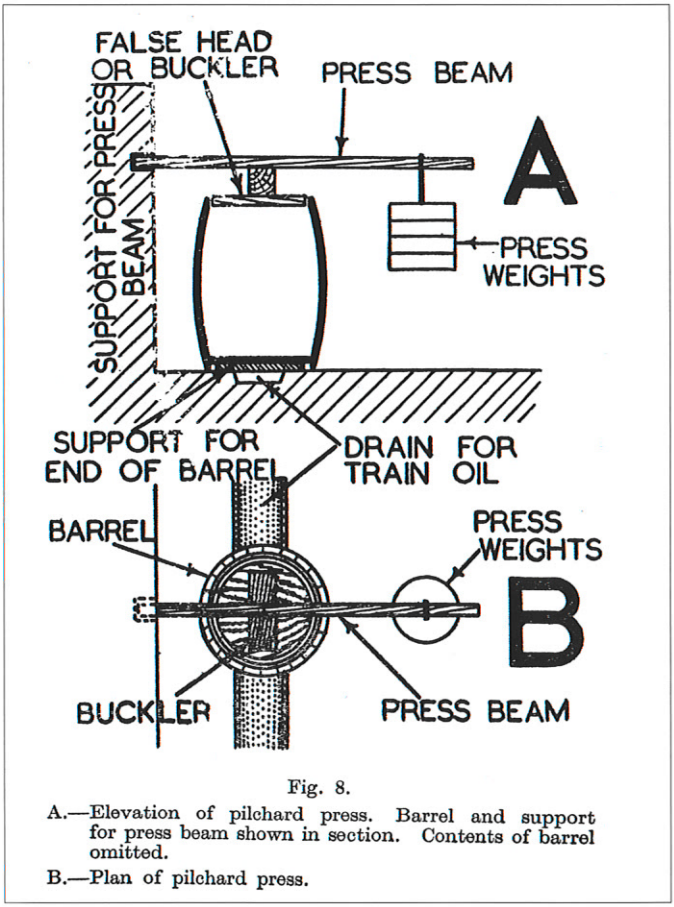

Fig. 8.

A.—Elevation of pilchard press. Barrel and support for press beam shown in section. Contents of barrel omitted.

B.—Plan of pilchard press.

Fig. 5. Diagrammatical representation of a pilchard press. (Source: Went 1945) Reproduced by permission of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society ©.

Fumados

These were salted pilchards which were subjected to a smoking process (Went 1945, 1945-48). The practice seems to have been displaced towards the end of the 1600s by the pilchard pressing method outlined above. The Cornish pilchard fishery in its earlier years appears to have produced *fumados* for the hotter countries of Spain and Italy. The cured pilchards were hung on long sticks and dried in the smoke of "soft

continual fire" in a house built for that purpose (Went 1945, 151).

Fumados appear to have been exported from Castlehaven, Co. Cork, in 1617. However, according to Went, this method of processing pilchards was not extensively adopted in Ireland, at least not after the mid 1600s.

Pickled Pilchards

Pickling of pilchards in brine does not appear to have been widely employed in Ireland for the export trade (Went 1945). However, for home consumption, small quantities cured in pickle were sold at remunerative prices. The fish were, in some places, gutted, split, beheaded and then cured in either brine or salt. Elsewhere only the gills and gut were pulled out and after being washed, the fish was cured in either salt or brine (Went 1945, 151-153).

The pilchard was, as already mentioned, held in poor regard in Ireland. This is strongly underlined in the aforementioned 1874 *Report of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries,* which refers to "... this valuable fish, so prized in England and disregarded in Ireland" (Went 1945, 110). Interestingly Went mentioned that the Cornish miners, who worked in the Berehaven Copper Mines in Allihies, Co. Cork, in the first half of the 1800s, were said to have appreciated pilchard and purchased them in large quantities on pay day (Went 1945, 155). The pilchards seem, in fact, to have been a favoured food with the miners in Cornwall in former times. However, in Ireland there seems to have been a longstanding and continued prejudice against the pilchard in many coastal areas.

Archaeological Features

Bantry Bay and Kenmare Bay (Fig. 2) were notably important localities where the pilchard fishery was pursued in the 1600s and 1700s. The terms "fish palace", "palace" or "pallice" were used in different localities to denote a pilchard pressing or curing station (Went 1945, 146). In Bantry Bay, fish palaces were abundant. The town of Bantry is said to owe its existence to the pilchard fishery, and in fact a curing house was, according to local tradition, located in the town square. Important locations of fish palaces in the bay were Whiddy Island and Bear Island (Plate I). Fish palaces were also erected in coastal areas around the bay, including Glengarriff, Gurteenroe and Donemark, as well as in the adjoining Dunmanas Bay.

Petty established a pilchard fishery around 1672 in Kenmare Bay, from Ballinskelligs, Kilmackilloge, and Ardgroom harbours and over to

Plate I. Remains of fish palace on Bear Island, Co. Cork (courtesy Ted O'Sullivan).

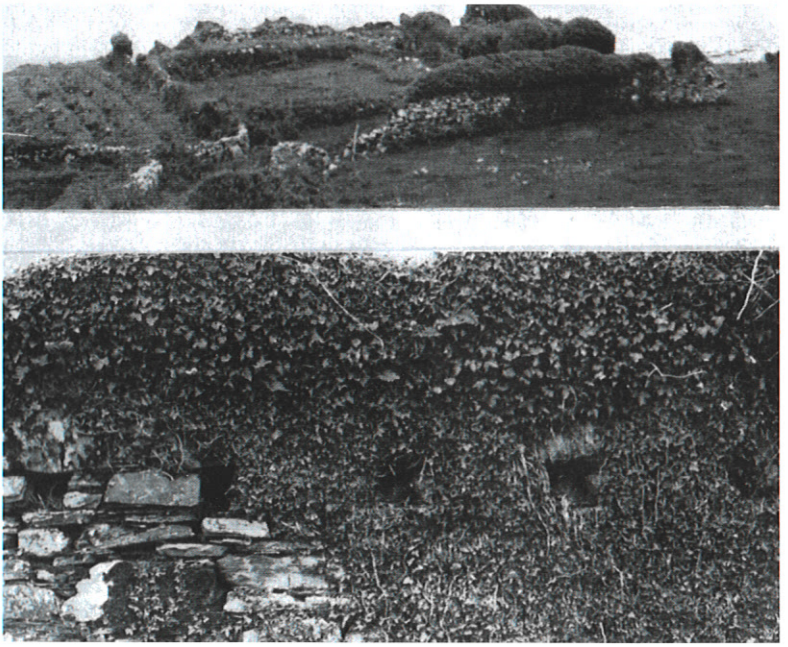

Plate II, a and b. Fish palace at Crookhaven, Co. Cork, showing walls with holes for supporting press beams. (Source: Went 1945) Reproduced by permission of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society ©.

Dursey Island (Fig. 2) (Went 1945; 1945-48).

The descriptions by Went (1945, 140-46) of the fish palace sites he investigated along the south and south-west coasts are synopsised in Table 6.

Locations	Descriptions recorded of the sites
Kinsale	Pilchard presses
Bantry Bay	Numerous fish palaces
Kenmare Bay	Several fish palaces/pilchard presses
Ballinskelligs Bay	Pilchard curing station
Ardmore	Curing houses
Courtmacsherry	Several fish palaces
Castlehaven	Smoked pilchards (*fumados*) exported
Baltimore	Curing station with houses and presses
Sherkin island	Curing station with fish house and press
Rossbrine Cove	Curing station and wells
Galley Cove	Pilchard palace
Schull Harbour	Palace house
Crookhaven	1616 Seat of pilchard curing industry

Table 6. Fish palaces recorded by Went (1945) around the south and south-west coasts

The remains of curing houses were found at a number of the sites in Co. Cork, including Crookhaven, Sherkin Island, Baltimore and Schull Harbour (Table 7).

Diagnostic features of fish palaces recorded by Went at these sites include, in particular, walls with oblong holes to support the ends of press beams noted at Crookhaven (Plate II) and also at Sherkin Island. Similar holes were present in the natural rock at Baltimore (Plate III), where large deposits of pilchard scales were also discovered (Went 1945, 143).

The fish palaces erected by Petty in Kilmackilloge Harbour (Co. Kerry) in 1672 were said to have had very thick walls to keep out both heat and cold (Went 1945, 150). Remains of what may have originally been a fish palace site can be found in Ardgroom Harbour (Plate IV).

Locations	Structural remains
Crookhaven (Co. Cork)	Remains of curing houses and walls containing holes made to support the end of press beams.
Sherkin Island (Co. Cork)	Site of pilchard-pressing house with oblong holes in wall for press beams.
Baltimore (Co. Cork)	Site of old curing stations/ houses, with holes in the natural rock for press beams.
Schull Harbour (Co. Cork)	House, locally called Palace House
Locations	**Local place names**
Schull Harbour (Co. Cork)	Palace strand
Rossbrine Cove (Beara peninsula Co. Cork)	Field called "Palleashes"
Eyeries (Co. Cork)	Pallace strand
Garnish (Co. Cork)	Building remains called Palace
Kilkinnikin (Co. Cork)	Cnocán na Paílíre
Loughanebeg (Co. Cork)	Cnocán na Paílíre
Dunmanus Bay (Co. Cork)	Palace field
Ardgroom Harbour (Co. Cork)	Palace Harbour (possible building remains)
Kilmakilloge Harbour (Co. Kerry)	Spanish Island
Ballinskelligs (Co. Kerry)	Building remains called *Pailís éisg*

Table 7. Footprints of fish palaces around the south and south-west coasts. (Source: Went 1945; 1945-48.)

Place names of various localities around the coasts of counties Cork and Kerry (Table 7) are indicative of the locations of former curing stations. For instance, Spaniards are said to have cured pilchards on Spanish Island in Kilmackilloge Harbour in Co. Kerry (Went, 1945, 151).

Went (1945, 146) stated that "There is no doubt that these fish palaces were erected to deal with the pilchard." However, the descriptions which he recorded (Table 6) in respect of the individual sites are in a number of instances notably different. Whether this can be interpreted as implying

Plate III. Fish palace at Baltimore, Co. Cork, showing natural rock with holes for supporting press beams. (Source: Went 1945) Reproduced by permission of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society ©.

Plate IVa. Ruins in Ardgroom Harbour, Co. Cork, of what may originally have been the site of a fish palace (courtesy Connie Murphy).

Plate IVb. Ruins in Ardgroom Harbour, Co. Cork, of what may originally have been the site of a fish palace (courtesy Connie Murphy).

that different functions may have been carried out at some of the sites is uncertain. It would be informative to investigate if remains of the two operations involved in processing of pilchards – namely the curing and pressing – can be identified at individual sites.

In investigating sites it may be noted that the original buildings may have been simple stone or wooden structures. Further to this, Breen (2007) suggested that a number may have consisted of little more than stone walls, sometimes using the walls of existing buildings or perhaps rock faces (Plate III). More elaborate structures seem to have evolved later in the 17th century, with the advent of the pilchard-pressing operations. Ancillary buildings such as salt stores and coopering yards may also have existed at some pilchard-processing sites.

An interesting sketch plan by Went (1945, 142) showing the layout of a pilchard curing premises erected in more recent times (1876) is shown in Fig. 6. It was built in Baltimore in Co. Cork by a small Cornish company in an attempt to revive the pilchard fishery in the locality.

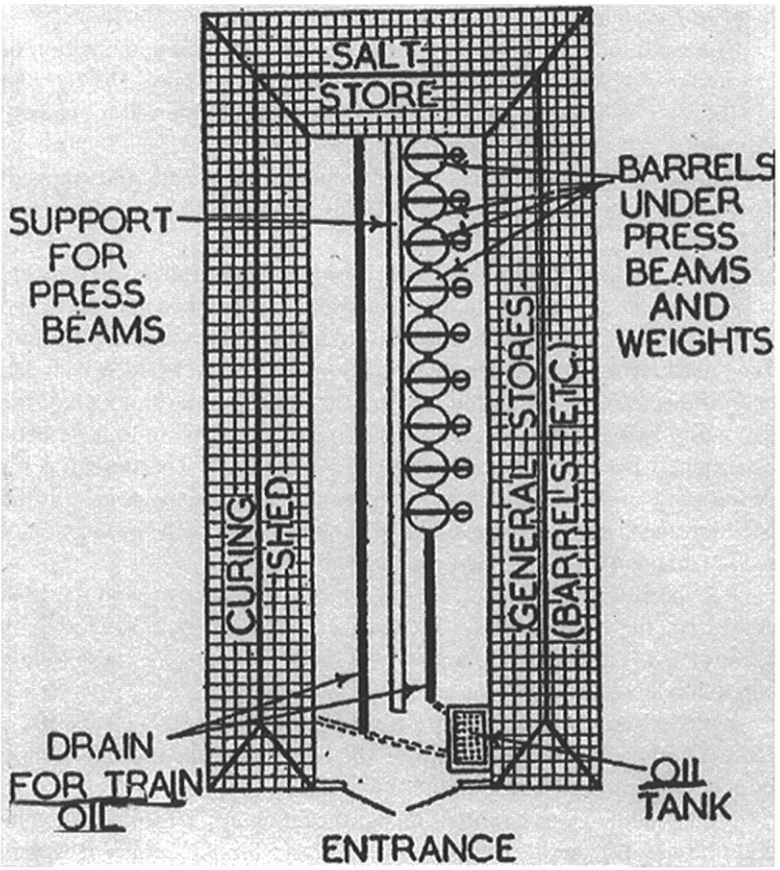

Fig. 6. Sketch plan by Went showing the layout of premises erected by a small Cornish company in 1876 for the curing of pilchards in Baltimore, Co. Cork. (Source: Went 1945) Reproduced by permission of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society ©.

Fish palaces would have given rise to significant employment around the localities. In addition to those involved in the curing and pressing of pilchards, coopers, carpenters and clerks would have been required, and presumably also carters to transport the fish, the barrels and salt as well as other necessities.

Regarding the fish supplies, it would be interesting to establish if the owners of fish palaces sourced their own fish supplies or whether fish buyers were involved as intermediates between them and the fishermen.

Smoked Herrings

The traditional methods of preserving herrings by a combination of salting and smoking were described by Samuel in his book *The Herring* (1918, 35-37). Three forms of smoked herrings are referred to, namely "Bloaters", "Red Herrings" and "Kippers".

Bloaters were fat herrings slightly salted, gutted and cold smoked. They were not, according to Went (1978), produced to any great extent in Ireland.

Red herrings were produced over a long period in Ireland. They were whole, un-gutted herrings, heavily salted and cold smoked until hard, and were produced in Wexford and Waterford in the 1600s (Went 1978, 109). Ten "red herring houses" were recorded in 1662 in Wexford, which had been the seat of an important herring fishery for some time. Over the following two decades, 11 more red herring houses seem to have been established in the town and another in Waterford. The potential for developing a beneficial trade between Ireland and ports in the Mediterranean appears to have led, in the late 1700s, to the production of red herrings on the north-west coast (Went 1978).

Red herrings were produced at a number of places around the Irish coast from the 1600s until the Second World War when, as suggested by Went (1978, 110), changes in taste may have favoured the more mildly cured and smoked kipper.

Kippers were produced in Ireland from the mid-1800s (Went 1978, 108). The herrings were split down the back from head to tail, lightly brined, cold smoked and sometimes artificially coloured.

Salted salmon was exported in significant quantities from Coleraine and Galway for the Lenten trade in Italy and France, where it was in demand in the early 1700s, particularly in the monasteries (Cullen 1981, 153). Introduced into Ireland to cater for the upper classes, salted salmon permeated far down the social chain.

Fish Consumption

Rivers and lakes abounded in fish during the 1700s, including trout, pike, eels and bream in addition to salmon, and afforded subsistence to the local communities (Cullen 1981, 154-155; Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 80). Salmon were netted by people despite local landlords' fishing rights, and around the coast herrings and shellfish were plentiful.

The variety of fish generally consumed in the 1700s (Table 8) reflect to an interesting degree the species which, according to Philip O'Sullivan

Beare, were much regarded in the previous century (Table 4). However, as previously indicated, it is notable that herrings, which featured prominently in the more recent fish diets outlined below, were not referred to by O'Sullivan Beare.

Upper classes		Less well-off classes	
Cullen (1981)	Clarkson & Crawford (2001)	Cullen (1981)	Clarkson & Crawford (2001)
Turbot	Turbot	Herrings	Herrings
Hake	Hake	Pike	
Sole	Sole		
Salmon	Salmon		
Trout	Eels	Trout	
Eels	Herrings	Eels	
Perch	Cod	Cod	
Pike	Ling	Salmon	
	Whiting		
	Plaice		
	Haddock		
Oysters	Oysters		Oysters
	Crabs	Crabs	
	Lobsters	Lobsters	
		Cockles	Cockles
		Mussels	Mussels
	Scallops	Scallops	
		Clams	
		Razor-fish	Razor-fish
			Prawns
	Shrimps		Shrimps

* The sequence in which the fish species are listed above does not necessarily reflect their relative importance in the typical fish consumption patterns of the two social groups.
* A number of the species were eaten by both social classes, at least occasionally.

Table 8. Main fish species from the 1700s most typically associated with the upper classes, and those more commonly eaten by the less well-off.

Notwithstanding their abundance, fish appear not to have been greatly consumed in Ireland. They were essentially a supplement in the diet, significant and in fact more important during the 1700s than in later times (Cullen 1981, 153). Crawford and Clarkson (2001, 24, 80-81) similarly noted that "fish had long been a useful adjunct to diets". They provided essential nutrients not otherwise available. These nutrients were important

in the well-being of populations with access to them.

The abundance of freshwater fish and the plentiful availability of sea fish were not matched by the relatively low position of fish in the general diet. In a wide-ranging appraisal of food consumption patterns in Ireland from 1500 to 1920, Clarkson and Crawford (2001, 106) wrote that

...the consumption of fish has never been high in Ireland. Nevertheless in the nineteenth century fish was eaten more often than meat or bacon, especially along the western seaboard. Because of the haphazard way by which many people got their supplies, it is likely that its use was greater than dietary surveys reveal.

Before 1800, little was known about nutrition (Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 197). Dietary information gathered from the early decades of the century, particularly the Poor Law Inquiry of 1835-36, showed that every county reported the consumption of potatoes, milk and herrings (Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 70-81). However, fewer than 7 per cent of the parishes in Ireland recorded the consumption of fish other than herrings. In the early decade of the 1800s, herrings became a replacement in the general diet (especially during the winter) for milk, which was getting more difficult to obtain in different counties because it was being sent to markets in the form of butter or fed to calves. Furthermore, Clarkson and Crawford (2001, 105) assert that "Before the famine, meat and fish were eaten only in tiny quantities ..."

The quadrupling of the population of Ireland after 1700, allied to the rise in the exports of meat, butter and grain, lead to a narrowing in the range of foods eaten by the poorer people (Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 59). A parallel difference appears to have emerged between the fish diets of the upper classes and those of the less well-off (Table 8). The pen picture shown in Box 2 highlights the more prominent species that typified the two fish diets. As distinct from the impressive array of high-valued fish species mainly associated with the consumption patterns of the upper classes, herrings and pike, together with a number of low valued shellfish, were prominent features of the fish diet of the wider population, particularly the poorer classes.

Upper Classes

Fresh turbot, hake and sole were much appreciated at the tables of the well-off in the 1700s and 1800s (Cullen 1981, 154). Freshwater fish were generally consumed, not only salmon and trout, but also perch, eels and pike (Table 8). In addition, sea fish (cod, ling, whiting, plaice and

Upper classes
Salmon, turbot, hake, sole, trout, eels and oysters.

Less well-off
Herrings, pike and shellfish.

A number of the fish species listed were eaten by both classes of society, at least occasionally.

Box 2. Pen picture of the more prominent fish species that typified the eating patterns of the upper classes and those of the less well-off from the 1700s (Based on Cullen 1981; Clarkson and Crawford 2001).

haddock), as well as shellfish (oysters, crabs, lobsters, scallops and shrimps), were much favoured by the upper classes (Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 46).

Fish, being cheap, were consumed not only along the coast but up to 30-40 miles inland, usually in a salt-cured form – a product not generally well regarded by the upper classes (Cullen 1981, 154-56). However, to cater for their demands, salmon and oysters were pickled for consumption at a later date or for carriage to distant locations; they were, according to Cullen, the sole exception to the epicure dislike for preserved fish.

Detailed analysis by Clarkson and Crawford (2001, 31-35) of household account books (1674-1828) of the comfortably-off (middling and upper classes) showed that meat and cereal products accounted for over half of the total food and drink expenditure recorded over the period 1674 to 1828 in 13 well-off households.

Spending on fish was small compared to that on meat and cereals (Clarkson & Crawford 2001, 46-47). While it varied greatly from household to household, it appears to have averaged around 9 per cent. Nearly one third of the recorded purchases were on fish of unspecified species. A further 16 per cent went on cod, ling, hake, whiting, turbot and trout and, occasionally, freshwater fish such as salmon and eels. Clarkson and Crawford, however, have pointed out that the account books give an incomplete picture of fish consumption.

Less Well-off Classes

The variety of fish typically eaten from the 1700s by the less well-off classes was more limited (Table 8): herrings, pike and shellfish typified the fish diet of the poorer classes (Box 2).

Pike were consumed by the poorer people in the countryside but also seem to have been availed of more widely (Cullen 1981, 154). From counties Mayo to Kilkenny, ponds were drained to catch eels and pike. In Co. Limerick, eels taken at the weir at Lough Gur were sent directly to the city market or peddled from house to house.

Sea fish, herrings in particular, were the food of the poor (Cullen 1981, 154) but were also eaten by the upper classes at least occasionally (Table 8). Herrings were, in fact, the most commonly eaten fish (Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 70-106). All around the north and north-east coasts, herrings and shellfish (mussels, cockles and oysters) were valuable supplementary sources of food. Herrings were, however, a precarious fishery; for instance, Clarkson and Crawford (2001, 78) noted that off the peninsula of Ards (Co. Down), "In 1774 it was very good; in 1775 very bad; this year it has begun finely."

Shellfish, including crabs and lobsters, were everywhere prized by the county people; indeed the peasant taste for shellfish seems to have even exceeded that of the upper classes (Cullen 1981, 158). Heaps of shells outside the fronts of houses around Westport, Co. Mayo, showed the nourishment that the inhabitants derived from shellfish. Further to this, Clarkson and Crawford (2001, 81) observed that

> In Co. Sligo the strands abounded with shellfish such as muscles, cockles, shrimps, prawns and razor fish which afforded a plentiful provision to the poor and regales the rich. All round the north and north-east coasts herrings, mussels, cockles and oysters were valuable supplementary sources of food.

In the towns, shellfish were abundant and cheap; they were hawked around the streets and reached far down the social scale (Cullen 1981, 155-56). Oysters and salmon were cheap close to the places of capture or in urban fish markets, but were expensive and much sought after further afield, especially by the upper classes.

The availability of fish to populations along rivers and coasts in the 1700s reflected the limited commercialisation of fishing which was organised for export, or markets only in areas frequented by rich shoals of sea fish or in estuarine salmon fisheries (Cullen 1981, 155).

Conclusions

The development of a research base for historical Irish fisheries is a longstanding requirement. Some indicative strategic research themes that merit further consideration are outlined below.

Investigations of the historical fluctuations of important fish shoals around the Irish coast are required to develop a fuller understanding of the economic importance of the fisheries over the centuries.

Traditional fish preservation methods including the specific function(s) of the different treatments that were generally employed need to be better understood.

The impacts of fish-processing enterprises developed from around the 1600s on local rural and urban economics have received little attention.

Research on the nutritional significance of fish in the diets of the common people is an important requirement both from a historical and human health perspective.

Acknowledgements

The contributions of Liam Lysaght, Connie Murphy, Ted O'Sullivan, John Walsh, Bob Lawlor and Gordon Purvis in this article are gratefully acknowledged. The permission of the Royal Irish Academy and the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society to use a number of illustrations contained in the article is much appreciated.

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The Copper Mines of Killarney

Des Cowman

Introduction

The copper deposits discussed in this article are in the limestone to the east and south of Lough Leane – at Ross Island (by far the most important) and Crow Island, both owned by the earls of Kenmare, and at Muckross with a mineral showing at Cahernane, these owned by the Herbert family. The Bronze Age mines of Ross Island form no part of this study, having been comprehensively written about by Prof. Billy O'Brien.[1] He also found a furnace dated to about 700AD, and a Welsh monk writing about 100 years later describes four "circles" of minerals around Loch Leane.[2] He got three of them right – iron, lead and copper – but was mistaken about tin. Iron working is referred to there at about the same time.[3] Lead with silver was found at Cahernane during work on the Herbert estate in 1761.[4]

18th-Century References

Modern mining at Ross Island may have begun in the early 17th century to judge by a report of a coin of James I being later found there.[5] It was apparently known of in the 1650s when mineralogist John Powell was told of its existence.[6] It appears not to have been worked to any extent until 60 years later, but details are vague and sporadic (as the mining was). Four tons of lead were raised on the Kenmare estate in 1707 by one John Askill as an "experiment".[7] In 1721, Lord Kenmare granted a mining lease to Joseph Bacon,[8] who in 1724 was said to be mining lead in Ross Island which was to be smelted by an Edward Keys in Cork. That lease was relinquished in 1731[9] – presumably another unsuccessful experiment. Then one Barnoff is reported to have worked at Ross Island[10] and may have been associated with a successful operation possibly financed by landlord Thomas Herbert involving a Bristol company.[11] This may have been in the 1750s to meet a growing demand for copper.[12] A comment of 1758 refers to "very considerable copper mines which have brought great profit" but "the vein is grown very small".[13] A later commentary states that the ore had been taken on the new road to Kenmare for export to

Bristol.[14] A commentary on these workings of the 1750s, about a decade after closure, was impressed by an area "fraught with mines", some "prodigiously deep" and "worked a great way under the lake".[15] Presumably it was this last which put an end to this phase of operations. There is no record of any further mining there for another 25 years.

A single shipment of copper ore, quantity unrecorded, was made in 1783.[16] In 1788, Killarney mines were reported to have been worked "up to very lately", but ore was still being shipped out from Milltown.[17] Twenty tons of copper ore was recorded as being exported in that year, 1788.[18] Arthur Young in 1789 estimated the value to have been £25,000 (very unlikely!) and blames closure conventionally on "ignorance of the workmen".[19] Another blames "want of fuel" (wood for fire setting to splinter rock?) for the end of this operation,[20] and an earlier source refers to the cutting of timber for "the ever devouring iron-works".[21] (However, other strong contemporary evidence suggests that trees had in fact survived the iron furnaces.[22]) Another retrospect says that iron was used in the mine instead of the supposedly non-available timber. He supplies details and refers to a Bristol company giving output for otherwise unrecorded workings in 1789 as 6 tons of lead with 151 tons of copper and for 1790-93 as respectively 406 and 2,344 tons.[23] A visitor in 1790 confirms that the copper was sent to Bristol for smelting and mentions unspecified mines abandoned three years earlier and now flooded.[24]

There is similar paucity of detail about the mines of the Herbert estate. Stimulated perhaps by an accidental find of silver at Cahernane, an exploratory shaft was sunk at Muckross in the 1750s.[25] This must have been unsuccessful, as 30 years passed until about 1785, when a new shaft at Muckross was opened east of the previous one; but that lasted only 18 months or so.[26] In 1793, Thomas Herbert invited the exotic German mineralogist Rudolf Raspe, creator of Baron von Munchausen, to give his advice about the two unjoined Muckross shafts, and he drained them with a simple horse-driven pump. Rubbish from the old west mine had been used for mending local roads; Raspe reportedly identified this as valuable cobalt.[27] He also opened up the mineral showing at Cahernane, drawing up a plan and section with notes which he signed and dated 4 October 1793.[28] He died shortly afterwards, within a year of his arrival. Herbert made two further short-lived attempts in 1801 and 1818 to reopen both mines. Some of the personnel involved in these enterprises are known. A John Leahy supervised what was probably the 1785 opening of the east mine. A blacksmith called Healy also worked on this, and his son

John was there during the brief 1801 opening, along with Wicklow man Roger Byrne. After Ross Island had closed, Roger Kavanagh worked on the attempt in 1818 to clear the west mine.[29] One source referring to the earlier openings of Muckross said that an unlikely 375 tons of rich copper ore was raised.[30] When inspected in 1825, there were still collars around the shafts.[31]

Fig. 1. From Taylor and Skinner's road maps of Ireland 1777, showing options for exporting Kerry ore: north to Milltown (no real harbour near by) or to Tralee, or south across the mountains to Kenmare.

Meanwhile, Col. Hall and his Devonshire Infantry (many of whom, including Col. Hall, came from mining backgrounds) had fortuitously been posted to Ross Castle in 1798 but were quickly reallocated to Waterford because of events in nearby Wexford. With the disbandment of his regiment in 1802, he was free to return to Killarney and decided that mining potential required capital to buy a steam pumping engine. Thus, in 1802, the Ross Island Mining Company was established.[32] A good range of evidence has survived about this operation – some of it contradictory.

Ross Island Mining Company 1802-10

A visitor to the workings here describes the flooded shafts from the late 18th-century workings and says the first action of the new company was to bail out an "oval pit" (the "Blue Pool"?), where they found both lead and copper. He refers to earlier (undated) attempts to lower the level of the lake and to discussions among some Lancashire men to reach a practical solution by simply draining the lakes. He did realise that there were too many vested interests to allow that to happen.[33]

Associated with Col. Hall were two men from Swansea: a councillor, Lapp, who had interests in other Irish mines, and a sea-captain named White who appeared to have had the management of the mine.[34] Capital, notionally at least, was £6,400 in 64 shares divided between 14 partners, including Lord Kenmare.[35] The practical expertise was provided from the Avoca mines, those west of the river there having closed in 1798 and those on the east in decline from about 1800.[36] Roger Kavanagh was again mentioned, as well as a Roger Byrne.[37] Other names associated with this operation are Kilcock and Rodgers.[38] Apart from their major operation at Ross Island, they also worked Crow Island, reportedly raising 170 tons there of quite poor ore (£10 per ton), but they were able to pump it by hand.[39] However, there is no record of any output from the Ross Island Company over their first three years from 1802. Presumably they were clearing out the old workings and constructing an embankment to keep the lake at bay.

Table 1[40] gives the company's own record of their shipments to Swansea,[41] although the years 1805-06 are uncertain and contradictory. However, its initial success in late 1805 seems spectacular – apparently 170 tons of ore worth £41 per ton, nearly £7,000 (see Appendix 1) – a good return on an investment of £6,400. They were lucky, however, in that copper had reached a peak price, averaging a notional £170 per ton of finished copper[42] that year, which was during the Napoleonic war. It never reached that level again in terms of quality of ore or price received. In 1806, the average price was £17 per ton (a notional £138 for finished copper), and thereafter it fluctuated between £11 and £24 (£101 and £143). While this was compensated for by higher output (peaking in 1807), handling costs would have reduced profits.

Progress was by no means certain. According to one observer, referring to attempts to unwater the mines using just horsepower with 150 men working day and night "at enormous expense", it was "occasionally discontinued – and abandoned in despair". However "the prize was too

Year	Number	Value	£
1805	2	170	6,841
1806	9	228	4,000
1807	16	690	16,950
1808	9	570	9,545
1809	7	541	12,640
1810	5	370	6,510

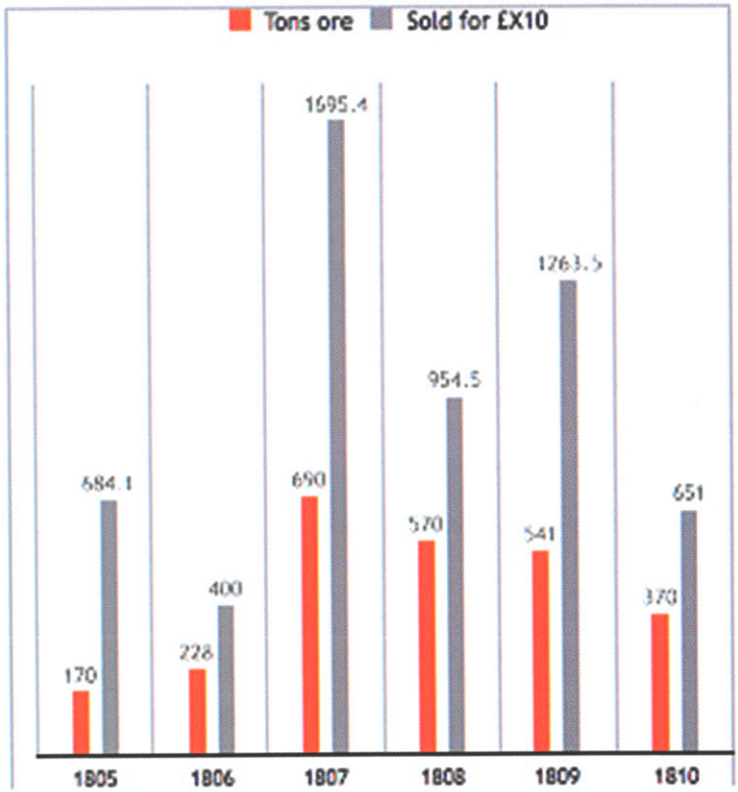

TABLE 1: Summary of Ross Island Mining Company records.

tempting", and they always resumed.[43] The gamble was taken in 1807 to order a steam engine (one of the first in Ireland), which was in place the following year. It was a coal-guzzling (about a ton a day) Boulton and Watt steam engine, but it gave a reasonable certainty into the future[44] – which turned out to be only another two years.

For 1805-08 one source gives an exaggerated output of 6,869 tons (Carrier books give 1,002 tons; Mineral Statistics 1,522 tons – see Appendix 2), along with 929 tons of lead (not otherwise mentioned). It affirms that there were 150 miners, earning 1/7½d (one shilling, 7½ pence) per day as against 7¾d. elsewhere.[45] Another source said that they also worked at Muckross, stripping the support pillars which they sold in Swansea for £15 per ton.[46] However, in comparison with later reportage of ore prices, Ross Island's ore was quite valuable.[47] The cartage of the ore to Tralee and its transport from there to the smelters in Swansea is indicated in Table 2.[48]

The three voyages of the *Mary Hall* (Capt. Bidwell) had been preceded by a voyage from an unidentified Cork mine.[49] Most ore ships visited Kerry only once or twice as their normal trade lay elsewhere. For instance, the *John Stroud* (1809) usually brought ore from St Ives to Swansea.[50] The *Dispatch* and *Friendship* were more frequent and seem to have travelled at about the same time. They seem to have been mainly small boats of about 70 tons capacity as suggested in Appendix 2, which also makes clear that not all ships carrying Ross Island ore were recorded as reaching Swansea, nor were all of its ore sales listed.

Of the ships listed in Table 2, details survive about only two, which were registered with Lloyds.[51] These were sloops, single-masted and single-decked, both Welsh and given top rating of A1. The *Expedition* was registered in Milford Haven, had a notional capacity of 93 tons, drew 10 feet of water when laden and was owned by its captain, J. Morgan. The *Union* was smaller, 72 tons notional capacity drawing 9 feet and owned by a Capt. W. Evans, though on its sole visit to Kerry in August 1807 its captain was Davies.

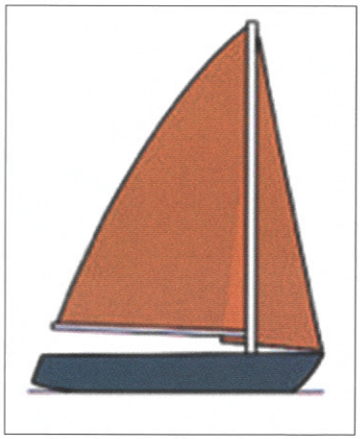

Fig. 2. A simplified sloop rig.

Year	In Swansea by	Ship's name	Captain
1805	December 7	*Mary Hall*	Bidwell
1806	May 31	*Mary Hall*	Bidwell
	November 22	*Mary Hall*	Bidwell
1807	January 17	*Catherine*	Daws
	February 28	*Elizabeth*	Northcott
	May16	*Expedition*	Morgan
	June 6	*Prince of Wales*	Williams
	June 20	*Glandore*	Mahony
	August 22	*Union*	Davies
	September 9	*Tyrone*	Murray
		Fox Packet	Wall
	October 10	*Hope*	Ross
1808	April 16	*Lady Betsy*	Coats
		Arabella	Fowler
	June 4	*Nancy*	Gearing
	June 11	*Glenavon*	McPhearson
	July 16	*Dispatch*	Martin
	July 23	*Glandore*	Martilli?
	August 6	*Mary*	Gearing
	September 3	*Friendship*	Campbell
	September 3	*Despatch*	Martin
	September 29	*Active*	Renhorwood
	October 15	*Friendship*	Griffiths
	November 26	*Dispatch*	Martin
	December 3	*Friendship*	Campbell
1809	March 18	*Richard & Jane*	Fanithy?
	April 29	*Friendship*	Rees
	June 3	*Commerce*	Jeal?
	June 24	*John Stroud*	Wilkins
	July 22	*John Stroud*	Wilkins
	October 14	*Friendship*	Rees
	October 21	*Dispatch*	Gage
1810	February 24	*Richard & June*	Coals
	March 17	*Mariner*	Banks
	April 21	*Active*	Penhorwood
	August 11	*Mary*	Gearing
	August 18	*Active*	Penhorwood
	September 29	*Active*	Penhorwood

Table 2. Ross Island shipments to Swansea.

Carriage to Tralee would have entailed about a day's journey one way by horse and cart. Taking as a sample the final year, 1810, when 443 tons of copper ore were brought to Tralee, this would have required nearly 1,000 cart journeys one way, assuming each cart carried about half a ton. If they could make this journey on unpaved, weather-dependant roads 250 days a year, this would require four carts heading out daily, but another four would be heading back (many with coal for the engine), with another four being loaded for the next day, etc. Time would have to be allowed for transferring the ore on to the boats. Double that number of carts for 1807 to the 17 ships (Appendix 2) coming into harbour and almost 50 per cent more carts on the road the following year. It is difficult to imagine the organisational logistics behind this and the sheer congestion on the road, as well as at both ends.

This was an expensive procedure if we are to accept figures published in 1812.[52] Cartage and shipping the ore cost £3 3s. 0d. per ton, so that in 1808 for instance (Table 1), transport costs notionally were £1,767 (£3. 3s. 0d. by 570 tons). The engine (costing £4,000 to import and erect) needed over a ton of coal a day imported at the same £3 3s. 0d. per ton, about £1,150 (£3 3s. 0d. by 365). Thus out of the stated sales value of £9,545, nearly £3,000 went on transport, but how much of the balance went on unquantified mine cost (paying the 150 workers, raising the cupriferous rocks from the mine, and surface movement to treatment areas to convert the rock into a coarse sandy concentrate) cannot be now determined. It seems probable that the mine was operating at a profit to the company most years.

Nevertheless, there was some trading in shares in this private company, all advertised in Swansea, such as the two shares (original value £200) that were to be auctioned in Killarney early in 1808. Col. Hall was in Swansea himself to sell four shares "by private contract" and suggesting the possibility of cobalt. A few months before the collapse of the operation "a few shares in a valuable concern" were on offer, the *Cambrian* newspaper acting as agent.[53]

Up to September 1810, shipments and ore sales were as regular as previous years, with cargoes averaging about £18 per ton. Its future looked assured until the lake water broke in and flooded the mine in 24 hours,[54] irredeemably as it seemed. The last sale from Ross Island was on 4 December 1810 – 16 tons, total value just £216.[55] While mining ceased at Ross Island, the company transferred its operation to Crow Island, raising and selling a modest 45 and 41 tons (no value give) from there in 1812 and 1813.[56] While there is no further record of production from the

Ross Island Mining Company, they apparently retained their lease and corporate existence, a cheque in its name being issued in 1820.[57]

However 1824-25 brought in a new era of mining across Ireland during a surge in the price of copper – short-lived as it transpired. Ross Island would have attracted renewed interest because its closure was not due to mineral exhaustion but, as one near contemporary put it, there was still ore "in great abundance" and all it needed was capital.[58] A great deal of capital now became available.

The Hibernian Mining Company, 1825-29

For complex reasons, explored elsewhere,[59] four mining companies were established in 1824-25. One of these, the Hibernian Mining Company, came into existence in February 1824 but could not operate as a public company until it received parliamentary approval in June. Ten thousand £50 shares were offered, the initial deposit being £7. It was fully subscribed, giving the company an immediate working capital of £70,000 and the option of calling in stages for the remaining £43 per share. It set out to employ the top engineers of the time, one of whom was Alexander Nimmo. He submitted an undated report to the company giving his observation on the past and contemporary history of the Killarney mines, which he had compiled when working there for the Commission of Bogs in 1812. He, of course, was hoping for employment when he stated that he saw "no reason for allowing one of the richest mines in the world to be idle". He goes on to give a highly speculative balance of costs versus ore sales providing a profit of £10,725 in the first year and doubling thereafter.[60] While the Hibernian Company did inspect many other potential mines, on such advice Killarney was where they pinned their hopes.

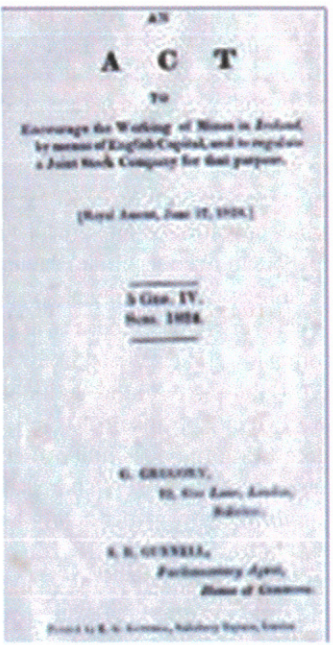
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Fig. 3. The act which set up the Hibernian Mining Company, with a committee in London to raise capital and a Dublin committee to spend it.

When the prominent mining engineer, Thomas Weaver, inspected the flooded shafts in the spring of 1825, he saw no point in trying to pump them out but recommended sinking new shafts instead. He suggested building a new embankment outside the old one, filling between them and then to keep raising this wide embankment with mine waste. He puts the cost of this and ancillary work at £50,000[61] (out of immediate capital of £70,000!) A more cautionary view had been expressed by Richard Griffith who, noting "the numerous open fissures in the limestone" at Ross Island, pragmatically and prophetically called mining there a potentially "expensive and questionable adventure".[62] However, work had already started; by August 1825, there were Cornish miners at Ross Island, and a start had been made to create water channels from the rivers to drive a pumping wheel.[63]

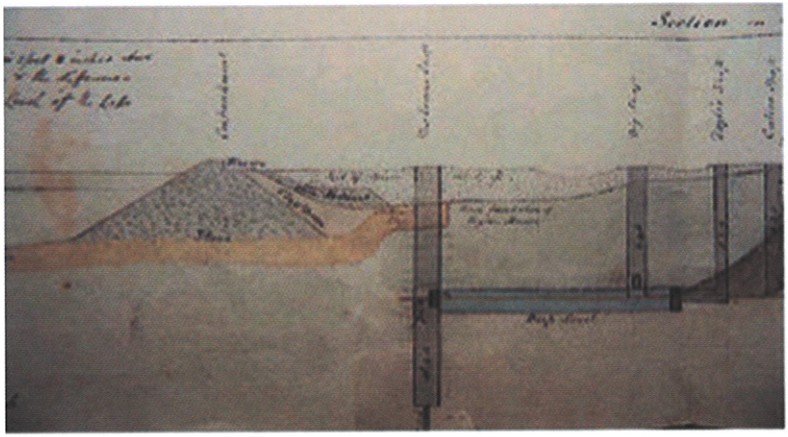

Fig. 4. The vulnerability of the mine – lake water left, the restraining embankment and shafts with level. Lake water nevertheless could seep in through the porous limestone. [From Weaver's section 1829 in Geological Survey of Ireland.]

Weaver inspected progress there later in 1825 and found that just £690 had been spent on the embankment and that four shafts had been sunk (about £100). However, the water kept "welling up", either from the lake or from the old works. He recommended extending the embankment and the purchase of a steam pumping engine. He also mentions some of the personnel there: a Capt. Dyer (noting his difficult personality), Capt. Treweek (probably Cornish), Mr Cook (the accountant) and Mr Mayle (carpenter/engineer).[64] By mid-1826, £4,600 had been spent on the

recommended steam engine, and the waterwheel was in place with the embankment now described as "extensive".[65] However, no copper had been raised, and when the directors made a very modest call of 18/- (shillings) per share (they were still entitled to ask for up to £43 per share), less than half responded, the rest sacrificing the £7 they had already paid per share. The directors referred fatalistically to "the lottery of mining".[66]

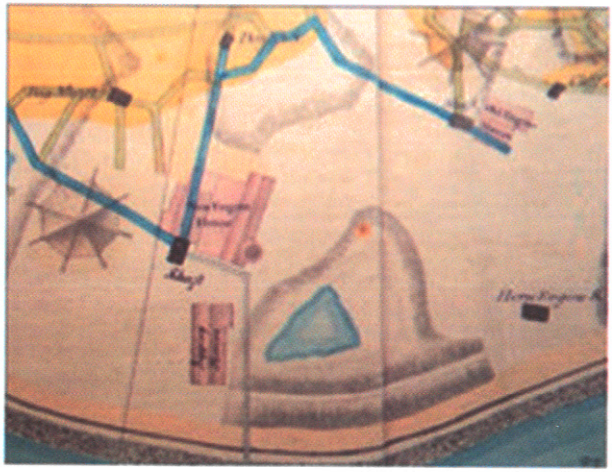

Fig. 5. Various attempts to pump the mine. Ross Island Company horse pump (1805-1808), lower right, and above their 1808-10 steam engine house. The larger Hibernian engine house is to the left with the chimney lower right beside boiler. Below are the dressing floors and mid-right is a windlass for the engine shaft. [Detail from Weaver's plan 1829 in Geological Survey of Ireland.]

In late August 1827, the first cargo from the Hibernian Company arrived in Swansea on the *Sally* under Capt. Williams (which had been doing the ore runs from Allihies), and about three weeks later a second on the *Golden Grove* (to become a regular carrier) with Capt. Howell or Nowell.[67] The former comprised 77 tons sold on 26 September for £11 per ton.[68] Those first two cargoes would have realised about £1,600 – a small fraction of costs as the shareholders would have known. Another 52 tons arrived in October, most of which (38 tons) sold for £12 14s. 0d., the rest for £9 6s. 6d.,[69] indicating that the miners were working on fairly mediocre ore. An unknown quantity arrived in the *Golden Grove* in late November. The official Mineral Statistics give a total of 211 tons for 1827 (about what is recorded here from the *Cambrian*), although according to

the company 560 tons were raised and sold that year. However, there were other difficulties in late 1827 with the miners going on strike in October and the embankment rupturing in December.[70]

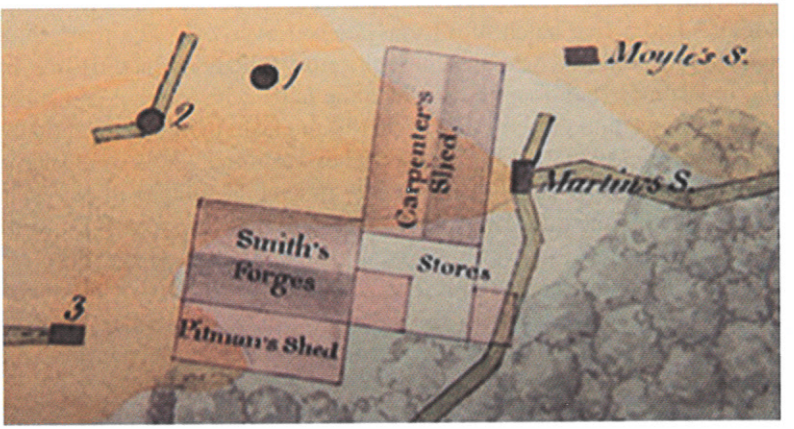

Fig. 6. Some of the Hibernian Company buildings. The shafts are named after those most involved. For Moyle see above, along with Dyer and Kavanagh. Other shafts are named after Hale, Pollard, Cock, Harding and Poole, and of local names there was Spillane, Regan and Doyle. For Martin see below re sale of all equipment. [Detail from Weaver's plan 1829 in Geological Survey of Ireland.]

The same mixed quality ore continued through 1828, although the output was higher. The 83 tons from Ross Island sold on 26 March earned £12 7s.6d. per ton.[71] Three boats from Tralee arrived in Swansea around the end of April.[72] Between them they seemingly had 277 tons of moderate ore, averaging under £11 per ton.[73] The *Golden Grove* was in Swansea by 7 June, 12 July, 23 August and 15 November (i.e., return trips of five weeks or more), the first with 94 tons of poor ore (under £8), the next with 95 tons, mostly just under £12 but 11 tons fetching £18 15s. 0d, suggesting that the miners had now hit some rich patches. Likewise, 34 of the 91 tons reported sold on 25 October was worth £17 (the rest £12 12s. 0d.); in a sale of 92 tons by 20 December, over half sold for £17 12s. 0d., the other 45 tons for £12 10s. 0d.[74] However, there were difficulties in mid-November when "incessant rains... completely inundated Ross Island mine".[75]

They must have managed to clear that water as two shipments from there arrived in early March 1829 with 199 tons of very mixed ore, 93

tons averaging £15 8s. 0d. and 11 tons worth only £5 14s. 6d. per ton. The *Golden Grove* was back again in early April (in only four weeks) with one other ship (*Magnet Packet*?), and together they landed 204 tons of ore, over half of which sold for a miserable £9 2s. 0d. per ton, 64 tons for £12 and a rich batch of 33 tons fetched over £15. The more they mined, the more water came in through vertical and horizontal fissures in the limestone. They tried to deal with the latter with internal dams; the former they could only recycle back into the lake, the pump eventually doing so reportedly at 13½ tons of water per minute.[78] It would have required far greater quantity and quality (it averaged under 14 per cent) to justify what the directors now confessed to have been spent on Ross Island – £60,000.[79]

Over its two-year working life, according to Weaver, it produced 1,529½ tons of ore (almost the same as Mineral Statistic figure).[80] Assuming a high average of £12 15s. 0d. per ton, the return on investment would have been under £20,000. The second last recorded sale from there was on 8 July 1829, 99 tons worth £11 10s. 0d. per ton, and the last record was 9 September, 74 tons at £11 9s. 0d.[81] Apparently the richer ore had already been exhausted. However, the decision to abandon it may have been taken much earlier, as in May 1829 Capt. Martin, who had previous worked at Ross Island, arrived from Allihies to negotiate a price for the engine. It went for £650, and all other mine materials, including a residual 10 per cent of a ton of coal (2 cwt.), all totalling about £180.[82] Something of the saga of its transportation by sea to Allihies is told elsewhere. It was re-erected at Caminch mine there.[83] The Hibernian Mining Company maintained a corporate existence up to April 1831 and then apparently met no longer.[84]

No doubt there all sorts of repercussions and recriminations that so many in England had lost so much money in four short years. Thomas Weaver may well have been blamed (unfairly? – Nimmo was its strongest advocate), indeed vilified, and even years later it was exaggeratedly claimed that he wasted £100,000 of the shareholder's money and that no mine he was associated with ever prospered.[85] Eighty years passed as vestiges of so much endeavour disappeared. Then, strangely, in 1909, a Dublin company was set up calling itself Ross Island Mining Syndicate Ltd and must have somehow pumped out part of the mine as they were reported to have had ten people underground in 1910 and 1911 as against five and then four on the surface. This experiment ended in 1912 when the last ten people were laid off.[86] The final act was exploratory drilling there in 1995.[87]

APPENDIX 1

Ross Island in Context

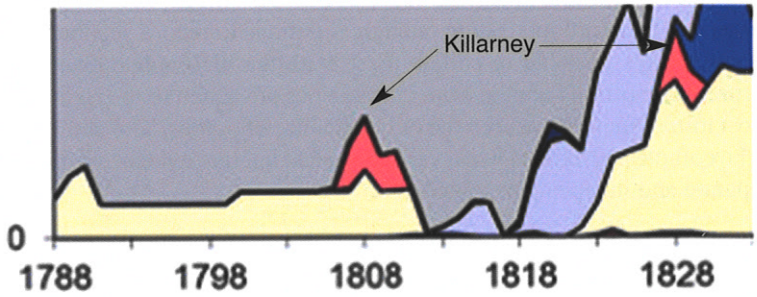

Fig. 7. Comparative copper ore production.
Killarney is represented by the areas in red.

From the graph, Fig. 7,[88] it is apparent that the Killarney mines were not significant even in an Irish context. Not enough is known about the various 18th-century outputs to register here, but they would have been tiny in comparison to Avoca's output. Only at peak did the Ross Island Company match Avoca, which closed about 1812. That year saw the beginnings of Allihies, with rapidly growth from 1817, which also characterised the revival of Avoca from 1822. The Hibernian Company's short two years of production also coincided with the beginnings of growth of the Waterford mines (top right). However, if it were possible to put fiscal values on the output from all these mines, the resultant graph would show a much higher rating for the Killarney mines.

APPENDIX 2

Statistics for Ross Island Mining Company (see insert at end)

The Cambrian weekly newspaper of Swansea has two lots of information about Irish copper ores –"Ore Sales" and "Shipping News".[89] These two items have been collated in the table below under "CAMBRIAN" per dates given. The ore was usually auctioned the week after the ship was recorded as having docked in Swansea. There are inconsistencies, however, in the *Cambrian* listings, which are particularly sparse for 1805 and 1806.

The next major heading is "ROSS ISLAND COMPANY RECORDS", which contain what seems to be the company's own annual summary of tonnages and numbers of shipments in Carrier Books and what were recorded simply as "Another Book".[90] They should be the same, but there are interesting enough variations to record separately. It is not always possible to collate these with the incomplete Cambrian figures. The official annual Mineral Statistics are added to the right. For most mines, these have been the only evidence of output, here shown not to be completely reliable when viewed against internal evidence from two separate and independent sources.

Note about Author

Des Cowman lives in Waterford; he was founder and first editor of *Decies*, the local history journal there. He was also co-founder of the Mining Heritage Society of Ireland and first editor of its *Newsletter* and its *Journal*. He has written two books and many articles on Irish mining history, and this study completes his work on the mines of the southern half of Ireland.

Notes

Abbreviations used in endnotes:

NLI MS: National Library of Ireland Manuscript
HMSO: Her Majesty's Stationery Office
TCD MS: Trinity College Dublin Manuscript

1. William O'Brien, *Ross Island, Mining, Metal and Society in Early Ireland* (Galway: Galway University Press, 2004).
2. Roderick O'Flaherty, *Ogygia, seu Rerum Hibernicum* – (Published in Latin 1685). Translated James A.B. Hely, *Ogygia, or a chronological account of events collected from very early documents* –(Dublin: 1793), p. 94.
3. www.ucc.ie/celt/online, *The Metrical Dindseanchas,* Poem 49.
4. NLI MS 657, letter Richard Griffin to Hibernian Mining Company, 30 September 1824.
5. J. Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London: 1824), p. 213. As he gives no details there is no certainty that this was related to mining.
6. Memorandum of John Powell, TCD MS 883, p. 13.
7. Edward McLysaght (ed.), *The Kenmare Manuscripts* (Dublin: Stationary

Office, 1942), p. 3.

8. Lease quoted by O'Brien, *Ross Island*, p. 67. There is also a letter from Lord Kenmare to Joseph Bacon in Stewart MS, NLI, p. 142.
9. Reproduced with provenance in *Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland, Journal* 4 (2004), p. 47. Lease quoted by O'Brien, *Ross Island*, p. 69.
10. Marquis of Landsdowne, *Glenerought and the Petty-FitzMaurices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 27.
11. Charles Smith, *The State of the County of Kerry* (Dublin: 1774), p. 125.
12. Martin Lynch, *Mining in World History* (London: 2002), pp. 78-80 and *passim*.
13. John McVeigh (ed.), *Richard Pococke's Irish Tour* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994), pp. 172 and 184. His visit to Killarney took place in August 1758.
14. Smith, *County of Kerry*, p. 141.
15. John Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa* (London: 1769), p. 120.
16. *Dublin Imports and Exports,* NLI MS books, reproduced in Mining History Society of Ireland *Newsletter*, no. 2 (autumn 1996), p. 11.
17. G. Lynn, "Beaufort's Tour of Kerry in 1788", in *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 1985, no. 19, p. 193. Presumably this was the Milltown at the east end of Dingle Bay.
18. *Dublin Imports and Export,* p. 11.
19. Arthur Young, *Tour in Ireland (1780)*, (London: 1892), p. 352. This "ignorance" was a convention when no other causes for closure were known.
20. Richard Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775* (London: 1776), p. 132.
21. TCD MS 882/2, Molyneaux 1680s referring to Killarney.
22. The lushness of vegetation around Killarney is mentioned in various 18th-century sources, e.g. *Beaufort's Tour of Ireland*. Dunn, *A Description of Killarney* (London: 1776) is most specific about various trees and an end-piece etching shows their locations (NLI MS room JP 2575). George Holmes, *Sketches in the Southern Counties of Ireland... in 1797* (London: 1801) is also specific (particularly pp. 125-28). In Jonathan Fisher, *A Description of the Lake of Killarney... with twelve prints* (Dublin: 1796), both the description and the prints make clear that Killarney was well forested. However John Carr, *The Stranger in Ireland... (in) 1805* (London: 1806), p. 237, refers to a "vegetative massacre" of trees which had "lately" taken place on the Kenmare estate. G.N. Wright, *Tour in Ireland* (1822), p. 14, gives a specific date for the destruction of the woodland, 1803, but says that when visited by him the trees were growing back, and indeed visitors to Killarney in the 1830s and 1840s again refer to lush vegetation.
23. Thomas Newenham, *A View of the National Political and Commercial Circumstance of Ireland* (London: 1809), p. 50.
24. S. Ní Cinneide, "A New View of 18th Century Life in Kerry" in *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*. no. 6, 1973, quoting Coquebret du Montret's account of 1790.

25. McVeigh, *Pococke's Irish Tour.*
26. NLI MS 657 Report 1 of Alexander Nimmo, undated but mid-1824.
27. There are many versions of this cobalt. The most authoritative seems to be Richard Griffith's report of investigation in September 1824 for the Hibernian Mining Company in NLI MS 657, attributing discovery to Raspe.
28. Reproduced in O'Brien, Ross Island, p. 75.
29. NLI MS 657 Report 1 of Alexander Nimmo, undated but mid-1824; MS 658, Thomas Weaver's report on Muckross, 3 May 1825.
30. Rev. M. Sleator, *Topography of Ireland* (London: 1806), p. 111.
31. Nimmo, Report mid-1824.
32. S.C. Hall, *Killarney and the South of Ireland* (London: 1865), footnotes pp. 125-26, recounting his father's exploits. Then Col. Hall went on to explore potential mines in west Cork, including Allihies.
33. Isaac Weld, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Killarney and Surrounding Country* (London: 1812), pp. 102-04. He refers to frequent visits to Killarney.
34. G. Lynn (ed.), "Lewis Dillwyn Visit to Kerry 1807" in *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 1982-83, no. 15-16, pp. 101-07. He describes recognising them from Swansea and socialising with them in Killarney. Lapp was in Swansea in August 1807 (*Cambrian*, 8 August 1807), reportedly coming from having recruited miners in Cornwall for his lead mine in Caim, Enniscorthy and new copper mine in Lackamore, Tipperary.
35. Rev. John Jones, *A view of the… lake of Killarney* (Dublin: 1806), p 18.
36. Des Cowman, "The Mining Community at Avoca 1780-1880", in K. Hannigan and W. Nolan (eds), *Wicklow History and Society* (Dublin: 1994), pp. 768-72.
37. NLI MS 657, Weaver (2nd Report 28 May 1825) interviewed Kavanagh who was still there in 1825 and also mentions Byrne.
38. Geological Survey of Ireland, Weaver's map of Ross Island 1829, showing six western "Old Shafts", two named after those involved.
39. NLI MS 658, Weaver 2nd Report.
40. The successor company had access to the Ross Island Company records, which they transcribed into NLI MS 657 in Weaver's second report, 28 May 1825.
41. Swansea, with its navigable river and plentifully accessible coal, became an international smelting centre. See Steven Hughes, *Copperopolis* (Royal Commission for Wales: 2000).
42. This was the "Copper Standard" and was published by Robert Hunt, *Memoir of the Geological Survey of Great Britain* (HMSO: 1848).
43. Rev. John Jones, *A view of the … lake of Killarney*, pp. 18-19. Carr, *The Stranger in Ireland… 1805*, observed "at a distance the machines (horse-driven) for working the mines".
44. Ken Brown, in O'Brien, *Ross Island*, pp. 225-29, which also has a sketch of the engine and an engineering drawing, pp. 75-76.
45. Newenham, *A View … of Ireland*, p. 50.

46. J. Crofton Crocker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (London: 1824), pp. 212-13.
47. In Mineral Statistics from 1848, for such sustainable mines as Allihies and Knockmahon whose ore normally ranged from £10 to £12 per ton with similar costs.
48. Collated from the weekly (published on Saturdays) *Cambrian,* "Ship News" per dates given, each ship having come into Swansea at some stage during the previous week. I thank Dr John Morris for his pioneering work on shipping.
49. *Cambrian* "Ship News" 8 March 1806.
50. *Ibid.,* 19 August 1809 *et seq*.
51. Available at www.lr.org, "lr" being Lloyds Register, available for most years.
52. Edward Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland Statistical and Political* (Dublin: 1812), p. 132.
53. Ads in *Cambrian,* 2 and 9 January 1808; 13 May 1809; 14 July 1810.
54. NLI MS 657, Weaver's Report, 28 May 1825. He also attributes closure to bank failure and disagreements among the shareholders. A later report by an anonymous contributor to the *Cambrian*, on 2 September 1827, states that the miners had worked too close to the bed of the lake.
55. *Cambrian*, "Swansea Ore Sales", 8 December 1810.
56. Hunt, *Memoir of the Geological Survey….*; Nimmo (NLI MS 657, 1st Report, 1824) says he was consulted about this. A shipment, presumably of this ore, is noted in "Ship News", *Cambrian,* 13 March 1813.
57. C.M. Tenison, "The Private Banks of Cork and the South of Ireland", *Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal* 11, 1893, pp. 113-14. It was for 3 guineas, signed by W. Williams (Welsh connection still?).
58. G.N. Wright, *Tours in Ireland* (London: 1823), p. 15. Also Rev. James Hall, *Tour through Ireland* (London: 1813), p. 244.
59. Des Cowman, "The Mining Boom of 1824-25: Part I", *Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland Journal*, no. 1 (2001), pp. 49-54.
60. NLI MS 657, Nimmo's undated report superscribed "8th July 1824" (date of receipt, presumably).
61. *Ibid*., Weaver's Report dated 28 May 1825.
62. *Ibid*., Richard Griffith, undated but visited in September 1824.
63. NLI MS 658, printed Directors' Report to Shareholders, 10 August 1825.
64. *Ibid*. Weaver's report 3 December 1825. "Captain" in these cases was an honorary title for mine supervisor.
65. NLI MS 659, Directors' Report, 8 June 1826.
66. Some reports of half-AGMs are missing from NLI MS 657-9, but they are widely reported in newspapers. These are from *Waterford Mirror,* 12 February and 8 June 1826.
67. "Ship News", *Cambrian,* 1 and 22 September 1827. Various spellings are given of N/Howell's name.

68. "Ore Sales", Swansea, *Cambrian*, 29 September 1827.
69. *Ibid*., 20 October 1827.
70. NLI MS, 659 Directors' Report to half-AGM, 7 February 1828.
71. "Ore Sales", *Cambrian,* 29 March 1828.
72. "Ship News", *ibid*., 26 April 1828 (*Golden Grove*, Capt. H/Nowell & *Friends Goodwill*, Capt. Decent) and 3 May 1828 *Magnet Packet*, Capt. A. Harvey. This last in Lloyds Register (www.lr.org.) was a 79-ton notional capacity sloop, A1 quality, registered in Dartmouth.
73. "Ore Sales", *ibid*., 24 May 1828. There seems quite a time gap between landing and ore sales.
74. "Ship News" and "Ore Sales", per dates cited, *ibid*.
75. *Kerry Evening Post,* 22 November 1828.
76. "Ship News", *Cambrian,* 7 March 1829, the *Golden Grove* and *Magnet Packet*. "Ore Sales" in 4 April issue.
77. "Ship News", *ibid*., 11 April 1829; the relevant part for 18 April has been cut out. That a second ship had arrived is confirmed by "Ore Sales'" (204 tons), 9 May.
78. Thomas Weaver, "On the Geological Relations of the South of Ireland", *Transactions of the Geological Society of London,* sec. 2, vol. 5, part 1, 1838.
79. NLI MS, 659 Directors' report to half-AGM, 7 February 1828.
80. Weaver, "Geological Relations".
81. Swansea "Ore Sales", *Cambrian*, 11 July and 12 September 1829,
82. O'Brien, *Ross Island*, pp. 84-85, citing unpublished research by Alan Williams.
82. Alan R. Williams, *The Berehaven Copper Mines* (Northern Mines Research Society 1991), pp. 85-86.
83. End notes to MS 659.
84. Letter, "An Irishman", and editorial in *Mining Journal* 1840, p. 253. This was in bitter response to Weaver sending a letter on mining matters the previous week (*Mining Journal*, p. 245).
85. Mineral Statistics for 1910 to 1912, giving ownership and employment figures.
86. O'Brien, citing Williams, *Ross Island*, p. 47, photo.
87. Edited from Geological Survey of Ireland's website www.mineralsireland.ie, spread sheet "historiccopper".
88. Digital copies of these were saved on memory stick in Swansea Municipal Library but are more recently available on-line at National Library of Wales, www.welshnewspapers.llgc.org.
89. NLI MS 657 quoted as "Carrier Books" by Thomas Weaver in his 2nd Report, 28 May 1825. He uses term "Another Book" because cover and title page were missing, as he explained.
90. These were compiled annually and published by HMSO. The sequence here is given in Hunt, *Memoir of the Geological Survey*…

CAMBRIAN (shipped from Tralee to Swansea)						ROSS ISLAND CO. RECORDS					
Year	**In Swansea**	***Ship name***	**Captain**	**Weight**	**Sale value**	**"Carrier**	**Books"**	**"Other**	**Books"**		**Min Stats**
	by			**Tons**	**£**	**Tons**	**Cargoes**	**Cargoes**	**Tons**	**Value £**	**Tons**
1805	Dec 7	*Mary Hall*	Bidwell	n/r	41 (per ton)	170	7 (1805-'06)				22
1806	May 1	*Mary Hall*	Bidwell	22	£374	228		9			674
	Nov 22	*Mary Hall*	Bidwell								
1807	Jan 17	*Catherine*	Daws						35	£477	
	Feb 28	*Elizabeth*	Northcott	60	£1320				59	£1276	
	March								114	£2629	
	May 1	*Expedition*	Morgan						54	£1525	
	Jun 1	*Prince of Wales*	Williams								
	Jun 20	*Glandore*	Mahony								
	July								83	£2374	
	Jul 1			85	£2345				52	£1279	
	Aug 18			44+32.5	£2234				44	£1357	
	Aug 22	*Union*	Davies	32	£864				32	£868	
	Sep 9	*Tyrone*	Murray	66	£1206				66	£1775	
	Sep 9	*Fox Packet*	Wall								
	Oct 10	*Hope*	Ross						81	£1807	
	Nov. 28			76	£1368				70	£1587	
	Dec.3			57	£1037						
1807	**TOTALS**			**343+**	**£10464**	**804**	**17**	**16**	**690**	**£6954**	**826**
1808	Apr 1	*Lady Betsy*	Coats								
	Apr 1	*Arabella*	Fowler								
	May 19			86	£1462				33	£475	
	Jun 1	*Nancy*	Gearing								

	Jun 21			45	£3855				45	£753	
	Jun 30			95	£1615				95	£1657	
	Jul 1	*Despatch*	Martin								
	Jul 1	*Glandore*	Martilli?								
	Aug 6	*Mary*	Gearing	45	£741						
	Aug 8			48	£768						
	Sep 3	*Friendship*	Cambell								
	Sep 3	*Despatch*	Martin								
	Sep 29	*Active*	Penhorwood	47	£658				49	£664	
	Oct 15	*Friendship*	Griffiths	124	£2102						
	October			94	£1035				94	£1011	
	October			49	£630				41	£555	
	Oct 19			124	£1860				118	£1723	
	Nov 26	*Despatch*	Martin								
	Nov 29			57	£1026				55	£1907	
	Dec 3	*Friendship*	Cambell								
		Despatch	Martin								
	Dec 24			41	£841				40	£800	
1808	**TOTALS**			**902**	**£13603**	**1135**	**9**	**9**	**570**		**530**
1809	Mar 18	*Richard & Jane*	Fanithy?								
	Apr 10			121	£2,904				121	£ 2876	
	Apr 29	*Friendship*	Rees								
	May 23			61	£1,524				61	£ 1321	
	Jun 1	*Commerce*	Jeal?								
	Jun 1	*John Stroud*	Wilkins								
	Jun 20			90	£2,160				90	£ 2160	

				10	£170				10	£ 151	
	Jul 11			107	£2,354				107	£ 2831	
	Jul 1	*John Stroud*	Wilkins								
	Sep 5			41	£984				41	£ 1003	
	Oct 14	*Friendship*	Rees								
	Oct 21	*Despatch*	Gage								
	Oct 31			64	£1,408				60	£ 1290	
	Nov 9			41	£861				51	£ 1003	
1809	**TOTALS**			**535**	**£12650**	**662**	**7**		**541**	**£ 12635**	**578**
1810	Feb 1	*Richard & June*	Coals	123	£2214				121	£ 2183	
	Apr 4			110	£1980				107	£ 1901	
	Mar 17			123	£2412						
	Mar 17	*Mariner*	Banks								
	Apr 21	*Active*	Penhorwood								
	May 10			47	£845				47	£ 799	
	June								48	£797	
	Aug 18	*Mary*	Gearing	47	£875						
	Aug 18	*Active*	Penhorwood								
	Sep 15			94	£1300						
	Sep 29	*Active*	Penhorwood	47	£611				47	£ 830	
	Dec 8			16	£216						
1810	**TOTALS**			**374**	**£6525**	**443**	**5**	**5**	**370**	**£ 6510**	**0**

Fundraising in an Irish Provincial Town: A Story from the 19th Century

J.M. Feheney

Introduction

The period from about 1770 to 1870 witnessed a great church-building programme in Ireland. This, as Nigel Yates notes, is not only an impression which the interested observer will get, but also is a fact confirmed by the dates when many ecclesiastical buildings were started and completed.[1] Fergus Campbell states that between 1800 and 1863, in 944 of the 1,085 Catholic parishes (in 25 of the 28 dioceses), 1,805 churches, 217 convents, 40 colleges or seminaries, and 44 hospitals, asylums or orphanages were built at a total cost of £5,274,368.[2] This is not to say, however, that some of the sponsors of these ambitious projects did not encounter serious challenges in bringing their dreams to reality. In fact, a difficulty encountered by most church builders in Ireland during that period was providing the money to pay for these buildings. This was mainly due to two related factors. The first was the lack of resources on the part of the sponsors of buildings. The second was the paucity of wealthy patrons of Catholic building projects in Ireland at that time. It is within this context that I propose to discuss the unusual fundraising talents of one man in helping finance the building of a modest monastery and school in a provincial town in the south of Ireland in the post-Famine era. The man in question was Brother P.A. Gaynor, of the Presentation Brothers, and the provincial town was Killarney, Co. Kerry.[3]

The Challenge

About 1840, it was decided to build a cathedral in Killarney, and E.W.N. Pugin, then regarded as the greatest living church architect, was invited to submit a design for it.[4] The Presentation Brothers donated the site for the cathedral, which was adjacent to and part of a larger property, for which the brothers had secured a long lease.[5] The brothers had earlier decided to build their own new monastery and primary school on this property. Though more than one possible site for the cathedral was shown to Pugin, he turned them all down in favour of the plot on the Port Road in the possession of the brothers. Subsequently, and mainly at the

suggestion of Lord Kenmare, the brothers agreed to request a design for their own modest monastery from Pugin. This was duly supplied, though without any detailed plans, at a cost of 40 guineas. Pugin did not always supply detailed plans for his buildings in Ireland, relying instead on his Irish clerk of works, Richard Pierce, to do this.[6] Though the cathedral slowly limped towards completion, the building of the brothers' monastery and school was delayed owing to lack of funds. Moreover, it came to a complete stop during the years of the Great Famine and was not finally completed for another two decades.[7]

Patrick Gaynor was born in west Limerick in 1819. He entered the Presentation Brothers in Milltown, Co. Kerry, on 6 August 1843. He had no formal third-level education, being, like most primary teachers of the period, self-taught. In later life, he wrote extensively in the House Annals of the Presentation Monastery in Killarney, and his writing gives evidence of a sharp mind, which was well informed on educational matters. His determination to give the full story and to get to the kernel of any matter is always evident. Moreover, his unpretentious writing style was clear, cogent and fluent. He had a special talent for unravelling the legal intricacies of property transfer and conveyance and a passion for setting the record straight in controversies involving his community and other individuals and institutions, including the local administrators of the Catholic Church.[8]

Gaynor was an exception among the Presentation Brothers in possessing an ability to raise money. Some of his more illustrious colleagues, while arguably possessed of greater learning, teaching ability and general culture, not only lacked this ability to raise money but, moreover, seemed to shrink from attempting it as a means of promoting their ministry and ensuring its continuation. Thus, Gaynor's predecessor, Brother Edmund Paul Townsend, though widely hailed as a "gentleman" and a "scholar" by colleagues and past students, was reported as stating that he would not accept aspirants in his community unless he had the means of providing materially for them. And he often seemed content to wait on Providence to make this provision rather than take practical steps, such as mounting a fundraising campaign, to ensure this provision himself. This is not to imply that people like Townsend did not have other valuable personal gifts, but merely to emphasise that talent in fundraising was not a discernible charism in the majority of early Presentation Brothers, though there is no doubt that their founder, Blessed Edmund Rice, as a successful businessman and merchant, was very conversant

with financial matters.[9]

The history of the Presentation Brothers in Killarney from the time they arrived in the town in 1838 to the time Gaynor began collecting money to complete their "new" monastery and school on the Port Road is characterised by poverty and occasional want. The house originally allotted to them by Bishop Egan was described by themselves and the Hon. Rev. William Plunkett CSSR as "miserable".[10] Moreover, the bishop, who had initially guaranteed the community an annual honorarium of £100, subsequently reneged on the agreement. It should be noted that before the revised Constitutions of the Presentation Brothers were approved by Rome in 1889 and they were reorganised under the central control of a superior general, the diocesan bishop was the superior of each Presentation community. In the case of the perceived short-changing of the brothers in Killarney by Bishop Egan, therefore, the bishop's decision was final, and there was no higher authority to which they could appeal.[11]

New Bishop

With the succession of Bishop David Moriarty to the combined dioceses of Ardfert and Aghadoe (renamed Kerry in 1952), the position of the Presentation Brothers improved considerably. Bishop Moriarty was affirming and cooperative and gave unhesitating approval to Brother Gaynor's plans to begin collecting money to build the new monastery and school. The bishop gave him the following letter:

> Bishop's House, Killarney – Nov. 7th 1857.
>
> Brother Gaynor Superior of the Presentation Monastery of this Town, is hereby permitted to collect the alms of the faithful for the completion of his Convent. The Brothers of the Order are at present most inconveniently lodged. It is absolutely necessary for their health and efficiency and for the extension of their Community to provide more enlarged accommodation.
>
> + David Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry.[12]

As we will see below, Gaynor tried several different strategies to raise money to build the monastery and school. One of these methods was a circular letter to all the priests of the dioceses of Ardfert and Aghadoe, requesting a donation of £1 from each. When 75 of the priests responded with the requested donation, he extended his mailing list and sent similar circulars to every convent in the diocese. In this latter instance, the response was equally satisfactory, the Presentation convent in Killarney

sending him £5, though the Mercy convents in Tralee and Dingle sent nothing. The next strategy was visiting parishes throughout the dioceses of Ardfert and Aghadoe and Limerick, where he made appeals at the parish Sunday mass and received the proceeds of a "second" collection, the first collection going to the parish. The time and travel required for this approach was much greater and extended over a much longer period, since he could only visit one parish each Sunday. In the different parishes, he quickly established good relations with the local clergy, and there are numerous references in his reports to the warm welcome he received from different priests. The overall result, however, was modest in the context of the time and effort involved. Thus, while he got a total of £12 from his visit to the parish of Askeaton, Co. Limerick, all he got in the second collection in Kilmoyley, in the parish of Ardfert, Co. Kerry, was three shillings "in coppers". However, this was in no way because of lack of support from the parish priest, who donated an additional pound from his own funds. In general, the response in the parishes in the diocese of Limerick far exceeded those in the combined dioceses of Ardfert and Aghadoe. For example, in Ardagh, Co. Limerick, the total collected was £5.6.8; in Knockaderry, Co. Limerick, it was £4.5.0; in Rathkeale, Co. Limerick, it was £7.13.6; while in Boherbue it was only £1.14.6. The collections in some Co. Cork parishes within the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe were also good, with a total of £7 from Dromtarriffe/ Derrynagree and £13.2.0 from Millstreet.[13]

Charity Sermons

The third fundraising strategy used by Gaynor was annual charity sermons. This involved inviting a prominent clergyman to preach in the cathedral in Killarney. The charity sermons became an annual event, usually taking place in October each year. This approach was not a new one, since it was practised in most cities and large towns in Ireland at the time. What was distinctive about Gaynor's version of the strategy was that he managed to arrange that the entire proceeds of the collection at this service would go to his building project, whereas in many places they went to a general charity fund. The first of Gaynor's charity sermons was preached by the Hon. Rev. William Plunkett CSSR (1824-1900), who was the third son of Sir Arthur James Plunkett, 9th Earl of Fingall. He delivered his sermon on 10 October 1858, and the collection came to £47.[14] The preacher in 1859 was a well-known clergyman scholar, Rev. Dr Charles Russell (1812-80), president of Maynooth. A Dominican

preacher, Rev. Eustace Murphy OP, filled the slot in 1860.[15] The preacher in 1861, Rev. John Kenyon (1812-69), was, to say the least, a controversial priest. Kenyon, ordained in 1835 for the diocese of Killaloe, spent most of his life as parish priest of Templederry, Co. Tipperary. He was a zealous supporter of Young Ireland and criticised O'Connell for not using force as a weapon to achieve political change. He refused to condemn slavery and alleged that the Christian Fifth Commandment only forbade "unjust blood-letting". He was a rousing public speaker, of whom Charles Gavan Duffy said, "He was a man greatly, but unevenly gifted. With more worldly wisdom, he might have become a Swift, with more spirituality and fidelity, he might, perhaps, have become a Savanarola." Gaynor, however, was likely to be more interested in the preacher's capacity to fill pews and loosen purse strings than in his political views.[16]

The preacher in 1863 was Rev. Tom Burke OP (1830-83), one of the most popular preachers in Ireland at the time. He was invited to preach in the USA in 1872, and he was something of a sensation among the Catholic community there. It is said that, during his US tour, he collected £100,000 for charity, a significant proportion of which went towards building the new Dominican priory and novitiate at Tallaght. Burke had the signal honour of being chosen to deliver the oration on Daniel O'Connell at Glasnevin Cemetery in 1867 and of being selected to attend the First Vatican Council as personal theologian to Most Rev. Dr Patrick Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly. Burke died in 1883, and it was believed that overwork had contributed significantly to his early demise.[17] An incident that occurred during his charity sermon in Killarney subsequently received international press coverage when it was reported in the *New York Times*. Though the story has what we would now regard as a stage-Irish tone, we will reproduce it here because it captures something of the spirit of the era and the particular event:

> A Jolly Friar: A ludicrous incident occurred at Killarney Cathedral in the presence of Lord Kenmare and all the local magnates. Burke was preaching for the Presentation Brothers' Schools, and his sermon reached an unusual length. The Brothers, anxious only for a good collection, began rattling the tin plates as a hint to the preacher to stop. The Bishop, Dr Moriarty, frowned from his throne and the noise ceased. The portly Prior advanced from his stall and took up his position in front of the pulpit, full in the view of all present except Burke. The preacher was just then expatiating on the zeal of the Brothers. He pictured forth the pale ascetic monk, his emaciated frame bearing evidence of his fastings and vigils. He

> was surprised to find the audience were smiling. He tried to be more impressive, and again reverted to the mortified and overworked monk. The audience could hardly contain their merriment. There in front of them was the rotund figure, the broad jolly face of the Prior, beaming like a full moon, visible to all but the preacher, and fully enjoying the beautiful description of the ascetic monk. Greatly disconcerted, the preacher concluded as quickly as he could, and it is but right to mention the collection did not disappoint the fraternity.[18]

Boarders and Retreats

In 1866, Rev. John Coffey, president of the junior seminary in Killarney, with the approval of the bishop, made arrangements with Brother Gaynor to provide board and lodging for a number of students attending the seminary. At the time the seminary students were taught in two rooms in the bishop's house, and the diocesan seminary did not provide boarding facilities. This arrangement remained in place for about five years, the number of boarders usually numbering 12-14. Though the arrangement was at best an inconvenience for the brothers, they felt that refusing to accommodate the students would be an act of ingratitude, if not discourtesy, towards Bishop Moriarty, who was always very kind to them. This arrangement ceased when dormitory accommodation was provided for boarders in the seminary about 1870. About two decades later, the seminary further augmented its boarding facilities for students.[19]

Another, though minor, source of income for the brothers was the annual diocesan synod of the clergy, when the brothers provided the main meal for the assembled priests in the monastery. In 1862, 69 priests attended the synod meeting in the monastery school and, afterwards, were served dinner in the school classroom. The same year, 49 priests enrolled for the annual retreat for diocesan clergy. Both lecture room space and meals were provided in the monastery, though the retreatants had to go elsewhere for overnight accommodation. In each case, the bishop paid a per capita sum for the meals, in addition to giving a donation for the use of a lecture room and accompanying facilities.[20]

Focussed Questing

Brother Gaynor also decided to seek donations from specifically targeted people in Ireland and England. This strategy not only provided the most significant proportion of money collected but because of the large number of people approached and the variety of their social standing in society also proved to be most interesting to subsequent readers of his

contemporary reports. In preparation for this stage of his fundraising, he sought and obtained the express permission of Cardinal Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin. The cardinal not only gave him permission to collect, but also sent him a token donation of £1 with his reply.[21]

In addition to visits to Cork and Dublin, Gaynor made at least three separate visits to England to collect money. Some of his most generous donors in Cork were businessmen involved in the drinks industry. Thus, James J. Murphy of Lady's Well Brewery, manufacturer of what subsequently became known all over the world as Murphy's Stout, gave £10. Lady's Well Brewery was established by James J. Murphy on the site of the old Cork Foundling Hospital in 1856. James was a relative of Bishop Murphy, who was instrumental in the separation of the Christian Brothers from the Presentation Brothers in the 1820s. The brewery grew to be the second largest in Ireland and remained in the control of the Murphy family until it was taken over by Heineken International in 1983.[22] Cork Distillers were also generous, contributing another £10. The Murphy family was also prominent in this firm, the founders in 1825 being three brothers: James, Daniel and Jeremiah Murphy. When Gaynor visited the head office of the firm in 1872, the director was John Murphy, son of the founder, James J. The son John, had, however, already climbed into the Cork establishment, being both a justice of the peace, deputy lieutenant of the county and a member of several prestigious yacht clubs in Ireland and the United Kingdom. A Catholic, he had been educated at St Edward's College, Liverpool. His eldest son was even more anglicised, having established himself as a stock broker in London.[23] The brewers, Beamish and Crawford, of South Main Street, Cork, gave £5, while the eminent physician, Dr O'Hea-Cussen, contributed £10.[24]

To England

Brother Gaynor's first visit to England was in 1859. His first call was on the Hon. William Browne, brother of the Earl of Kenmare. Browne, who was living in London, gave him a warm reception, together with a promise of £200, which he kindly wrote into Gaynor's collection book. From London, Gaynor travelled to Birmingham, where he met Most Rev. W.B. Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham, and Very Rev. Dr Weedal, president of Oscott Ecclesiastical College. Some of the subscriptions Gaynor received from the heads of religious houses seemed generous when compared to the donations of the aristocracy. Thus, Fr John Worsley of St John's Benedictine Priory, Bath, gave him £5, while Fr Ildefonsus

Brown OSB, prior of Downside Benedictine Abbey, also gave him £5. Moreover, Fr Brown urged Gaynor to go about the town of Bath, where very soon he gathered another £10.[25]

In 1870, Gaynor travelled to England a second time to collect. This time, he seems to have done considerable advance preparation, because he secured a great number of contributions. The contributions included one from his Grace the 15th Duke of Norfolk (£10)[26]; from Baroness Rothschild[27] and from Mr Arthur Brend Winterbotham, MP for Cirencester. Mr Winterbotham had visited the Presentation Monastery school in Killarney the previous year and had been impressed with the work being done there. Both A.B. Winterbotham and his more famous brother, Henry, however, were enthusiastic, if not fierce, anti-denominationalists in education. In a speech in parliament on 19 March 1870, Henry Winterbotham declared his mission to be, "to hew down the great idol of Denominationalism and build up a magnificent Temple of Secularism".[28] It says much for Gaynor's charm and persuasive powers that he managed to elicit a donation of one guinea, together with the following letter, from A.B. Winterbotham:[29]

7, New Square, Lincoln's Inn,
February 23rd 1870.

Dear Sir,

Much as I dislike denominational education, I do not know that, that is a sufficient reason, for not helping a good denominational School, which is doing its own good work, without help from the State, and without injustice to others. I certainly was pleased with your School when your good Bishop was kind enough to show me over it, last summer. I send a sovereign with this, in aid of your School. If you are not in when this note reaches you, the clerk will bring back the money and give it to you here, at any time you may be passing.

Yours truly,
A. B. Winterbotham.

Rev. Br. P. A. Gaynor[30]

Gaynor subsequently found Mr Winterbotham's note to be very helpful. When, a few days later, he called on Mr Charles Buxton, MP[31] for Surrey, and asked him for a subscription, Buxton replied, "Why do you come to me who am a Protestant?"

Gaynor said that, when he went to Mr Winterbotham, he not only subscribed but also wrote him a letter.

"Show me the letter," said Buxton.

When Gaynor showed him the letter, Buxton gave him £2.[32] During the same visit to London, Lady Augusta, Dowager Countess of Kenmare of Belgrave Square, gave him £10. A number of members of parliament also subscribed. These included the Marquis of Clanricarde, who subscribed £3.[33] This was an interesting donation, as the subscriber, Lord Hubert George de Burgh-Canning (1832-1916), was a few years later described as the most repressive absentee landlord in Ireland. He attracted international attention during the 1887 Plan of Campaign when he began evicting tenants from his 52,000-acre estate in the region of Portumna, Co. Galway.[34] Sir William M. Somerville (1802-73), Lord Athlumney, gave a donation of £1.[35] One of the biggest surprises, however, was the fact the Gaynor succeeded in obtaining a subscription of £2 from Lord John Russell, who was twice prime minister of the United Kingdom. Son of the 6th Duke of Bedford, Russell was much disliked in Ireland. He will long be remembered as Britain's prime minister during the Great Irish Famine and as being the author of the anti-Catholic agitation in England following the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850.[36]

During the same tour of England, Gaynor called on Mr Michael T. Bass, owner and manufacturer of the well-known Bass' Ale. Mr Bass was also a member of parliament for Burton-on-Trent and gave Gaynor a donation of £2.[37] Gaynor also paid a visit to Lady Charlotte Montagu-Douglas-Scott, Duchess of Baccleuch, a notable convert to Catholicism. She was mistress of the robes to Queen Victoria and disappointed many of her friends, not least her husband, the 5th Duke of Baccleuch, when she converted to Catholicism. She gave a subscription of £1.[38] Joseph Hansom, architect and inventor of the famous London hansom cabs, gave a donation of three guineas. Moreover, later, while Hansom was working on building St Mary's Church in Kenmare, he gave Gaynor a design for a beautiful reredos for the new chapel in the monastery. Unfortunately, the erection of this reredos was postponed for lack of money, and there is some doubt as to whether Hansom's particular design was ever used.[39]

Gaynor obviously had a good information system and knew not only the London addresses of members of the English aristocracy, but also when they were at home. Thus, he called on the famous Baron John Dalberg-Acton (1834-1902), the greatest Catholic historian of the period, and collected a donation of £1. Acton, who studied history in Germany under the great Von Dollinger, was appointed Regius professor of history at the University of Cambridge. He was editor of *The Rambler*, one of the

best Catholic journals of its time, some even say best ever. He was also considered the foremost Catholic of his day and one of the most learned men in the English-speaking world.[40]

While in London, Gaynor also managed to meet Baron Thomas O'Hagan (1812-85), attorney general of Ireland and subsequently lord chancellor of Ireland, the first Roman Catholic to hold this position since the days of King James II. Lord O'Hagan gave a subscription of £2.[41] The Earl of Fingall also gave £2. Lord James Molyneux Caulfeild, Earl of Charlemont, gave a donation of £2, while his wife, Lady Charlemont, gave £1. Lord Charlemont was made a Knight of St Patrick in 1865.[42] One of the larger subscriptions, £10, came from Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquis of Lansdowne. This man had an interesting pedigree, the Petty part of his name coming from Sir William Petty, who was Cromwell's surveyor general and the author of the Down Survey. This was an extensive survey of Ireland's landed estates made in preparation for the distribution of land to the Lord Protector's supporters in the Cromwellian Settlement. As 5th Earl of Kerry and 5th Marquis of Lansdowne, he came into a vast estate, including 121,000 acres in Kerry alone.[43]

Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, Lord Dufferin of Clandeboy (1826-1902), gave a donation of £2. Lord Dufferin, born in Florence of Irish parents, had a very successful career as a British diplomat, holding the posts of governor general of Canada and viceroy of India.[44] Gaynor's ability to take advantage of lucky breaks is evident in the fact that, while calling on Lord Dufferin at the Alexandra Hotel, London, he discovered that Nawab Narim, Prince of Bengal, was also staying there. Gaynor approached him through his secretary and was rewarded with a donation of £5. With the Nawab at the time was Mr Burrowes Sharkey, a parliamentary agent who was in the service of the Nawab, seeking the restitution of the Nawab's property which had been confiscated by the British administration in Bengal. Mr Sharkey gave a donation of £2.[45] Meantime, Dr John Henry Newman, to whom Gaynor had written for a subscription, sent "a small donation".[46]

1872 Visit to London

On 9 January 1872, Brother Gaynor left for London on a third visit. The immediate purpose of his visit was to make arrangements for the passage of his sister, who was immigrating to Australia. Since he had some days to spare, he decided to do some fundraising.[47] He called on the

Duke of Norfolk, who had earlier, in 1870, given a donation of £10. This time the Duke surprised Gaynor with a donation of £25. He also revisited the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had earlier donated £5, but who now raised his subscription to £10. During the same visit, Gaynor also met Lord Edward Fitzmaurice, brother of the marquis, who gave £10.[48] Gaynor's resourcefulness as a fundraiser became evident when he was passing the Adelphi Theatre in the West End and spotted an advertisement for Dion Boucicault's new play, *The Lily of Killarney*. This was an adaptation of Gerald Griffin's tragic story in *The Collegians*. Gerald Griffin based his story on an actual event in Co. Limerick in 1819, when Lt John Scanlan of Ballycahane House, Croom, Co. Limerick, seduced a beautiful but naïve girl, went through a bogus marriage ceremony with her and, on tiring of her, arranged to have her murdered by his servant, John Sullivan. Both were eventually caught, convicted and hanged in Limerick. The trial caught the imagination of most Irish people, not least because Scanlan was a member of the local landed gentry and his legal defence included the great Daniel O'Connell.[49] Gaynor went into the Adelphi Theatre and was invited by Boucicault to call on him that evening at his home, whereupon Gaynor got a cheque for five guineas.[50]

In 1872, London again turned out to be a great location for meeting likely benefactors. Among the donors to his cause this time were Mr Massey, chairman of the National Bank, who gave £5, and Col Charles White MP, Tipperary, who gave £5. White was one of the founding members of the Young Ireland movement and was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1872.[51] Gaynor renewed acquaintance with Sir Edward Herbert, Earl of Powis (1818-91), who gave £5. He had earlier come before the earl, when he gave evidence before the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education in Ireland (1868-70), which had been chaired by Powis.[52] Gaynor also received a donation of £3 from Lady Herbert of Lea, who, despite having the same surname, was not related to the Earl of Powis. She had been born Elizabeth A'Court and had married the Hon. Sidney Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke. When her husband died, shortly after inheriting the earldom, Lady Elizabeth converted to Roman Catholicism in 1866 and became a devoted benefactor of Catholic charities. In her later life, she turned to writing and translating and published several books.[53]

Other prominent members of the British and Irish establishment who gave donations in 1872 included Richard Dowse MP, attorney general for Ireland (£2) and Sir John D. Coleridge, great nephew of the poet Samuel

Taylor Coleridge, who was attorney general of Great Britain and later chief justice of the Common Pleas (£1); Mitchell Henry MP for Galway and a supporter of Home Rule for Ireland (£1). The Marquis of Clanricarde, Baroness Rothschild and Lord O'Hagan were each approached a second time and each donated £2.[54] New donors included Henry Mathews QC and MP for Dungarvan, a Roman Catholic English lawyer, who subsequently represented East Birmingham in parliament. In 1886, he was appointed home secretary in the second government of Lord Salisbury.[55] Mathews gave £3, as did another prominent Roman Catholic, Sir George Boyer Bart, who was a prominent defender of the Holy See and all things Catholic. Two prominent Catholic clergymen who gave donations were the Very Rev. Canon Kyne of Brentwood (£1) and Canon Bamber (£1), who was chaplain to the 12th Baron Petre. Lord Petre's eldest son, the Hon. William Petre, who subsequently inherited the family title, was a late vocation to the priesthood and an educational reformer.[56]

Countess Tasker, another of Gaynor's benefactors, was an English Catholic aristocrat who also held the papal title of countess. Her husband, Joseph Tasker, inherited a huge fortune and is known to have owned the Agra Diamond. This pink diamond, weighing when cut 41 carats, came to prominence in India in 1526 when Babur, the first Mogul emperor (1483-1530), captured and took possession of Agra. For generations Babur and his descendants wore the Agra diamond on their turbans. It came into the possession of the East India Company following the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. The diamond was brought to England by an English army officer and was duly purchased for £12,000 by a youthful Joseph Tasker.[57]

Countess Tasker lived at Middleton Hall, Brentwood and was, especially after the death of her husband, whose wealth she inherited, a great benefactor of the Catholic Church in London. The Catholic church, which she built in Brentwood was such a magnificent structure that it subsequently became the cathedral for the diocese of Brentwood. Against the background of Countess Tasker's lifestyle and material circumstances, her donation of £2 to Gaynor would seem to be extremely modest.[58] Another member of the English aristocracy who gave Gaynor a £1 subscription at this time was the Hon. Alfred Stourton of Grace Dieu Manor, Belton, Leicestershire. Stourton inherited several titles, including 20th Baron Stourton, 24th Baron Segrave and 23rd Baron Mowbray. Lady Stourton added a donation of 10s.[59]

Conclusion

Unlike parish priests, who traditionally were in charge of their parishes for many years, the term of office of superiors of religious congregations was limited to three years with a possible re-appointment for another three years only. Another member of the congregation then assumed office, and it was possible for the original appointee to resume the role of superior after a three-year break. Though Brother Gaynor began fundraising when he was appointed superior, his continuation of this ministry, once his term of office expired, was decided by his successor. This accounts for the relatively long breaks in the fundraising activities of Gaynor. As mentioned earlier, large-scale fundraising was not a tradition in the Presentation Brothers, and though Gaynor seems to have less pride and vanity than most people, there were members of the congregation that did not fully support his fundraising activities. Whether this opposition was motivated by envy or genuine conviction that it was foreign to the spirit of the congregation is not clear.[60] True it is, however, that there were some who, arguably, took reliance on Providence a step too far, while a minority supported Gaynor in believing that God helps those who help themselves. Gaynor, however, was unique among the Presentation Brothers of the period in possessing, not only the vision and drive, but also the personality and gifts to persuade people to provide him with the material resources to enable him to help others. Mr A.B. Winterbotham recognised a good man devoted to a good cause when they met in London in 1870. Moreover, Winterbotham uttered an important principle of social philosophy and practical politics when he wrote:

> Much as I dislike denominational education, I do not know that that is a sufficient reason, for not helping a good denominational School, which is doing its own good work, without help from the State, and without injustice to others.[61]

There is another aspect of the donations received by Gaynor from members of the landed gentry and aristocracy that deserves notice. This is the consistent generosity of these people to charitable and benevolent causes. The two generations in post-independent Ireland saw little to admire in the landed gentry and aristocracy. The local Big House was sometimes seen as the ultimate cause of painful memories of evictions and rural emigration. But this simplistic explanation of historical events must be counterbalanced by the picture painted by Gaynor of a concerned

Earl and Countess of Kenmare, willing to lend an ear to an appeal for help. After reading Gaynor's extended reports of the response he received from the gentry and aristocracy during his fundraising, one word keeps coming to mind. This word was "accessible". One is surprised at the ease with which Gaynor, a humble man from a small Irish provincial town, could gain access to the upper echelons of society both in Ireland and England. There are doubts that the same could be achieved today.

The monastery and boys' school in Killarney were completed, and several generations of Killarney men passed through its portals. In 1977, the Presentation Brothers vacated the old monastery and school and moved to new accommodation near by. The old building was initially handed over to the Killarney Urban District Council and is now a day centre operated by the Parents and Friends of the Mentally Handicapped in Co. Kerry. Brother Gaynor died on 12 June 1892. He was interred in the small cemetery attached to the monastery which he strove so hard to build. Subsequently, his remains were transferred to the Presentation Brothers burial plot in Aghadoe cemetery, overlooking the Lakes of Killarney.[62] Every time I pass the monastery on the Port Road, Killarney, I am reminded of the epitaph on Sir Christopher Wren's tomb in St Paul's Cathedral, London: *Si monumentum requires, circumspice* ("If you seek his monument, look around you").[63]

Note about Author

John M Feheney is a member of the Presentation Brothers. Born in Co. Limerick, he has spent much of his life in Cork. He is emeritus director of the Christian Leadership in Education Office in Cork and has published several articles and books on education, local and family history. He worked for many years with the University of Hull.

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25. *Ibid*.
26. *Ibid*. Henry Fitzalan-Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk (1847-1917), succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his father, the 14th duke, in 1860*; vide* Rev. K. Reynolds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (*hereafter *ODNB* online ed.), online edition; ret. 21 January 2014.
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61. *Ibid*. *vide* copy of letter of Mr A.B. Winterbotham reproduced above.
62. Feheney, "Patrick Alphonsus Liguori Gaynor", p. 42.
63. Kerry Downes, 'Wren, Sir Christopher (1678-1747)", *ODNB* online ed.; ret. 21 January 2014.

Seachtain na Cásca 1916 i gCiarraí

Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha, An Seabhac
(Curtha in eagar ag Feargal Mac Amhlaoibh)

Following on the recent publication of the childhood memories of An Seabhac, Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha,[1] *another document, dated 20/2/1949, which has been made available by his nephew, Pádraig Ó Siochrú, is a memoir of his involvement in the 1916 Rising and the plans as they pertained to Kerry. These plans were central to a secure and successful landing of Casement's supply of arms and ammunition.*

Pláta 1. An Seabhac,1919, ag ócáid sheolta *Jimín Mháire Thaidhg.*

Total confusion reigned due to the poor communications of the time, long before the social media of today's revolutionaries. Information, often based on rumour and hearsay, was delivered by people travelling throughout Kerry, and to and from Dublin by train, leading to complete chaos.

The memoir shows how frustrating it was for those involved, with the mixed messages of orders and counter-orders, the uncertainty of the next move and the lack of direction and control. And while written 33 years after the Rising, many aspects of the events were still unclear to An Seabhac even then.

As a senior member of the Irish Volunteers in Kerry, An Seabhac was ultimately answerable to Eoin Mac Néill, chief of staff of the Volunteers. Mac Néill was initially in favour of the Easter Rising, believing the suppression of the Volunteers and his own arrest to be imminent. But once he realised that the supply of arms and ammunition from Germany had failed to materialise, he countermanded the order to commence the Easter Sunday Rising. This, however, was not acceptable to the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Citizen Army, who went ahead with their own plans. And so the Rising took place in Dublin on Easter Monday, while the Volunteers in Kerry stood down and lived to fight another day.

Déardaoin Mandála

Istoíche Déardaoin roimh Cháisc 1916, d'fhilleas ón dtuath, mar a raibh rang Gaeilge agam, isteach go Cill Áirne. Chuas láithreach go dtí an Dún, an halla a bhí ag an uair sin ag Conradh na Gaeilge agus ag na hÓglaigh i gCill Áirne. Sean-eaglais bheag *Methodist,* is dóigh liom, ab ea í uair, beagán beag isteach ón tSráid Árd.

Bhí Mícheál Ó Spealláin, *Commandant* an cheantair, agus Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin (Michael John), a Thánaiste, ann romham. Thugadar láithreach i leathaoibh mé agus d'insíodar dom go raibh ordaithe tagaithe chun tosnú ar an Éirí Amach ar 6.00 tráthnóna Domhnach Cásca. Bhí fhios agam cheana i dtaobh na n-ordaithe a bhí tagtha roimis sin, chun dul ar chleachtadh coitionn míleata ar an lá céanna. Seo rud nua agus rud go raibh ciall eile ar fad leis.

Bhíomar le tamall maith roimis sin ag coinne leis an ordú seo ach, nuair a bhí sé tagtha dáiríre anois, bhain sé roinnt de gheit asainn triúr. Ghlacamar go mór dáiríre é agus, ó thús, thuigeamar gur ghnó é a bhí go mór tábhachtach don tír agus do gach duine dhínn go pearsanta.

B'é scéal na beirte dom, gur tháinig teachtaire, Cearbhallach (O'Carroll) éigin do réir mo chuimhne, go luath san iarnóin ar an dtraein ó Bhaile Átha Cliath. Tháinig sé go dtí Mícheál Ó Spealláin agus d'inis sé dó go raibh teachtaireacht aige le tabhairt don Easpag, An Dr Ó Mongáin, a chaithfí a sheachadh láithreach, agus go raibh teachtaireacht eile aige do Austin Stack i dTrá Lí a bhí i gceannas Óglaigh Chiarraí. Cuireadh litir an Easpaig chuige lom díreach le cabhair an Speallánaigh. Ní raibh fhios acu cad a bhí sa litir sin, ná níor chuala féin ó shin é.

Uair éigin roimis sin sa ló, bhí scéala tagtha ó Austin Stack ag iarraidh go gcuirfí duine údarásach éigin go Trá Lí chuige féin tráthnóna an lae sin (Déardaoin). Chuaigh Mícheál Seán Ó Súilleabháin ann i dteannta an teachtaire ó Bhaile Átha Cliath agus thug an teachtaire an litir don Stacach.

A luaithe a léigh sé sin í, thóg sé an Súilleabhánach agus Pádraig Ó Cathail chun cainte leis féin agus d'inis sé dóibh beirt go raibh Éirí Amach beartaithe ar an nDomhnach agus go raibh long le teacht go dtí an Fhianiat tráthnóna an Domhnaigh úd le ládáil airm agus lón cogaidh. Bheadh imeachta míleata an deiscirt ar fad beagnach beartaithe i gcóir agus, ag bráth ar theacht loinge is a cuid airm, go bhfreastalódh Óglaigh iarthar is tuaiscirt Chiarraí ar ghnó dí-luchtú na loinge. Bheadh orthu na hairm a chur ar thraein nó traenacha a ghabhfaí chuige sin tráthnóna Dé Domhnaigh.

Ní raibh Óglaigh Chill Áirne ná oirthear Chiarraí le bheith páirteach sa ghnó seo i bhFianait ach b'iad na hordaithe a tugadh dóibh ag an Stacach, nuair a labhair sé leis an Súilleabhánach i dTrá Lí, ná go mbeadh orainn i gCill Áirne oifig teileagráfa agus teileafóin Chill Áirne a ghábhail, an gléasra ar fad a bhriseadh agus a chur as feidhm úsáidte. Cheapamar féin an íde chéanna a thabhairt ar theileafón an bhóthair iarainn. Bhí leis, ar cheann dos na complachtaí fén tuath, na sreanga a ghearradh agus a bhearnadh idir Chill Áirne agus Cill Orglan. Bheadh ar Óglaigh Chiarraí Thiar is Cill Áirne dul ansan, de mháirseáil oíche, soir ó thuaidh go dtí Áth Treasna chun bualadh le fórsaí Chorcaí.

Ní raibh an Súilleabhánach ach díreach tagtha ó Thrá Lí sarar shroiseas féin an Dún an oíche Déardaoin sin.

Chinn ár gceannasaí, an Speallánach, tosnú láithreach ar ullmhú dá réir. Ach, toisc ráflaí éigeanta agus cogair a bhí ag teacht chugainn le roinnt laethanta roimis sin i dtaobh trioblóidí agus easaontais i mBaile Átha Cliath, agus ó ba rud chomh tábhachtach agus chomh lán de thuar oilc nó maitheasa dúinn i gCiarraí na hordaithe a tugadh dúinn, chinneamar gur ghnó réasúnta dúinne, an lucht ceannais i gCill Áirne, dul agus fios d'fháil an raibh nó nach raibh an tír ar fad le héirí amach. Bhí caint, leis, ag an dteachtaire a tháinig go Trá Lí go raibh sé rí-dheachair teachtairí iontaofa a fháil chun teacht le scéala fén tuath.

Chun fios cinnte d'fháil dúinn féin mar sin, do socraíodh go raghainn go Baile Átha Cliath lá arna mhárach. Roghnaíodh mé toisc an aithne a bhí agam ar chuid de lucht ceannais ann chun deimhniú scéil d'fháil uathu agus fios an raibh gach rud mar ba chóir. B'iad na ráflaí a chualamar fé ndeara dúinn é sin a dhéanamh.

Sular tháinig ordú don Éirí Amach ar an nDéardaoin, bhí socrú déanta agam go raghainn go Cathair na Mart i Muigheó mar a raibh Siobhán Ní Shúilleabháin ag múineadh. Bhíomar beirt luaite chun pósta ag an am. Toisc gur dóichí go mbeadh an tír in a círéib tar éis an Domhnaigh agus, go bhfios dom, go mb'fearr léi bheith inár dteannta i gCiarraí agus páirt a ghlacadh inár n-iarracht, do chuireas sreangscéal oiriúnach chuichi á rá léi bualadh liom i mBaile Átha Cliath. Níor sceitheadh aon rún sa sreangscéal.

Aoine an Chéasta

Bhí turas fada, mall sa traein agam Aoine an Chéasta. Shroiseas Baile Átha Cliath i meán tráthnóna agus chuas díreach go dtí Sráid Mountjoy. Is ann a fhanainn i gcónaí nuair a bhínn sa chathair. Bhíodh a lán

Ciarraíoch is Corcaíoch ann i gcónaí.

Bhuaileas le Gearóid Ó Súilleabháin, Fionán Ó Loingsigh, Diarmuid Ó hÉigeartaigh, Piaras Beaslaoí agus Fionn Ó Dochartaigh. Bhí seanchaidreamh agam leo uile. Fuaireas m'eolas ann láithreach: bhí an tÉirí Amach beartaithe go cinnte don nDomhnach, agus gur imigh an t-ordú san amach ar fud na tíre.

Síos fén gcathair bhuail Cathal Brugha agus Ó Rathaille liom níos déanaí is chuireadar in iúil dom go raibh bunús sna raflaí úd a bhí cloiste againn i gCiarraí: bhí "trioblóid" i mBaile Átha Cliath. D'insíodh dom go raibh Connolly gafa, Bulmer Hobson fé ghárda in áit éigin agus deacrachtaí leis an Citizen Army – eolas é sin ná raibh cloiste i gCiarraí againn. Chuir sé seo go léir imní agus díomá orm ach, in a choinne sin, bhí an t-eolas dearfa agam go raibh údarás an lucht ceannais ar fad agus Eoin Mac Néill leis an ordú don Éirí Amach. Bhí na comhráití sin ar fad fé dhiscréid agus in a chogar muiníne eadrainn.

Fén am san, bhí imní dulta i ngreim ionainn. Bhí fáscadh ar néaróga gach duine againn, bhíomar beag-chainteach i láthair an rúin diamhair a bhí eadrainn.

Níos luaithe an tráthnóna san, cheistigh Ó Súilleabháin, Ó Loinsigh agus Ó hÉigeartaigh mé an raibh aon tuairisc agam ar thriúr a chuaigh ó dheas go Chiarraí ar ghnó speisialta, agus ba cheart a bheith i gCill Áirne an mhaidin sin. D'ainmníodar iad agus an gnó a thug ó dheas iad, 'sé sin, an gléas *marconigram* a bhí san Atlantic College i gCathair Saidhbhín a fhuadach. Thuigeas gur chun scéal a chur go long nó longa éigin ar muir a bhí an gléasra ag teastáil. Ní raibh aon eolas ina dtaobh ar maidin mhoc an lae is mé ag cur chun bóthair go Baile Átha Cliath. B'é Con Céitinn an t-aon duine dóibh go raibh aithne súl agam air.

Tugadh le tuiscint dom go mb'fhearr gan dul ag lorg lucht ceannais na nÓglach mar go raibh an t-eolas a bhí uaim agam cheana. Chuas ansan go dtí 25 Cearnóg Parnell, oifig Chonradh na Gaeilge, agus tamall eile ag an tigh bídh a bhí ag Máire de Paor is a máthair i Sráid na Mainistreach.

San oíche, bhí scéala sna páipéir nuachta go raibh duine éigin anaithnid tagtha i dtír i gCiarraí agus é gafa ag an R.I.C.

Tamall ina dhiaidh sin tháinig Cathal Brugha chugam ar rothar agus é go mór imníoch i dtaobh an scéil sin. Dúirt sé ná raibh eolas dá laghad ag lucht ceannais na nÓglach cérbh é an duine úd ach go raibh eagla orthu go raibh baint ag a theacht le gnó na n-arm go raibh coinne leo i gCiarraí ar an nDomhnach. Mura mbeadh aon eolas cinnte roimh maidin Shathairn go mbeadh orm dul ó dheas ar thraein na hiarnóna chun fios fátha is eolas

cruinn a chur chúcu go Baile Átha Cliath ar an scéal.

Sathairn Cásca

Ní mór chodlata a dheineas i 44 Sráid Mountjoy an oíche sin. Bhíomar inár suí chun bídh go luath ach gan aon phlé ar imeachtaí toisc an cailín aimsire agus bean an tí, Miss McCarthy,[2] aintín Fhionán Uí Loingsigh agus Fhionáin Mhic Choluim, a bhí ag freastal orainn. Thuig Miss McCarthy go maith go raibh rudaí ar siúl ach bean dhiscréideach ba ea í. Ní raibh aon bhreis eolais i bpáipéirí na maidne i dtaobh an duine anaithnid a gabhadh i gCiarraí.

Bhíos féin is Gearóid amuigh go luath. Bhíos ag an ngeata agus Gearóid ag siúl síos-suas ar an gcasán amuigh. "Och," ar sé, "do theip ar an dtriúr agus is dóichí go bhfuilid go léir marbh!" Níor tháinig scéal a mbáite sa Leamhain go Baile Átha Cliath go dtí déanach go maith an tráthnóna ina dhiaidh sin.[3]

Tháinig Cathal Brugha chugam go luath is gan aon eolas breise aige ach go mbeadh orm dul ó dheas tráthnóna. Thuigeas uaidh gur ag trácht ar Eoin Mac Néill go speisialta a bhí sé maidir leis an uireaspa eolais. Bhí orm freastal in oifig Chonradh na Gaeilge ar chruinniú de Chomhairle na gColáistí Gaeilge ar an lá céanna mar theachta ó Choláiste an Daingin. D'órdaigh Cathal dom gan bogadh ón oifig go dtiocfadh sé arís chugam.

Bhí tuairim dosaen duine ag an gcruinniú. Is fíor-bheagán ceist a bhí á phlé. Ní raibh aon mhagadh ná greann ar siúl againn. Thuig gach duine cad a bhí le teacht. "Sceilg" [4] a bhí ina chathaoirleach. Cuireadh gnó éigin siar go dtí uair eigin eile. "Má bhímid ann an uair sin," arsa Máire Ní Shíocháin a bhí taobh liom.

Tuairim 2.00 tháinig Cathal Brugha arís. Bhí sé fós gan scéala ach thuigeas uaidh go cinnte go raibh sé tar éis teacht ó Eóin Mac Néill agus cuid éigin eile den lucht ceannais. Chaitheamar tamall maith ag ceapadh cód focal sreangscéil, eolas a chuirfinn chuige ó Thrá Lí. Thug sé seoladh tí agus ainm mná éigin i Ráth Maonais dom chun an sreangscéal a sheoladh chuici.

Nuair ba mhithid é, chuas go dtí stad na gcaráistí agus phiocas tiománaí le capall dealrathúil agus thugas liom é go dtí 44 Sráid Mountjoy chun mo mhála a bhailiú agus chuamar go stáisiún Broadstone [chun bhuaileadh le Siobhán]. De réir an chláir ama ní bhéadh puinn ama le spáráil ó theacht na traenach aniar agus imeacht na traenach ó Dhroichead an Rí aneas. Bhí an traein aniar déanach agus ní raibh ach deich nóiméid go maol againn chun dul trasna na cathrach agus breith ar thraein Chiarraí.

Chuamar de rás trí gach cóngar agus rugamar ar an dtraein le seans.

Bhí cuid mór mearathail ar Shiobhán ach níor cheistigh sí cad chuige an strus fiú sa charráiste toisc daoine eile a bheith inár dteannta ann. Nuair a bhí an chaoí chuige mhíníos an scéal di. Bhain sé geit aisti agus ghaibh sí leis an scéal go mórdháiríre.

Ag teacht dúinn i gcongar Mhala, bhí daoine a bhí ag teacht ar bord tostach nó, dar linn, scáfar agus ag cogarnaigh i dtaobh an fhir a gabhadh, an triúr a bhádh agus i dtaobh traenacha saighdiúirí a bhí dulta i dtreo Chiarraí an lá san, an Satharn.

Nuair a shroiseamar Mala cinntíodh dom scéal imeachta traenacha saighdiúirí go Trá Lí; go raibh trioblóid i dTrá Lí, gur imigh traein trí Mhala soir le 40 nó 50 den R.I.C. ar bord agus fear aonair gafa ina measc, an té, dar leo, go raibh an ráfla ann inné roimis sin ar a theacht i dtír. Bhí rud éigin eaglach tar éis a tharlú do ghluaisteán ag Baile an Bhuinneánaigh agus tuairimí eile scaipithe i dtaobh an eachtra chéanna.

Bhí sé ina oíche nuair a d'fhágamar Mala. Bhí na soilse sa charráiste go lag agus cuma duairc ar gach aon ní. Bhí beirt cheannaitheoir stoic inár measc. Is ó dhuine díobh a chuala an chéad scéal cruinn i dtaobh an ghluaisteáin – gur sa Leamhain ag cé Bhaile Uí Chiosáin a chuaigh sé uair éigin san oíche. Thuigeadar gur carr ar thuras éigin diamhair le triúr ó Bhaile Átha Cliath ar bord é.

Bhí Dónal Ó Duinneacha ag feitheamh liom ag stáisiún na Rátha Móire. B'é siúd an ceannaire ar Chomplacht Óglach Áitiúil agus duine d'fhoireann an stáisiúin traenach. Comhrá gearr a bhí eadrainn faid is bhí an traein ina stad. Bhí an Sáirsint O'Keeffe ár bhfaire ar feadh an ama a bhíomar ag caint ar an árdán. Bhí fhios acu siúd go maith gur i gCill Áirne ba chomhair domhsa túirling ach b'fheidir gur chuir an óigbhean a bheith i mo theannta cuma laetheanta saoire na Cásca ar mo thuras.

Bhí sé déanach san oíche nuair a shroiseamar Trá Lí. Dá dhéanaí é bhí cuid mhaith daoine ar na sráideanna agus cuid mhaith corraíola ar siúl ag cuid acu. Mná ba ea a bhformhór. Lucht cúl-sráide an bhaile agus, fós, lucht leanúna an airm, mná is clann na Munster Fusiliers a bhí go hiondúil i dTrá Lí, agus cuid mhaith droch-aigne acu dúinne, na hÓglaigh. Bhí saighdiúirí, leis, ar fuaid an bhaile. Le tacaíocht an airm a bhí tagtha go Trá Lí agus le droch-mhéin do na hÓglaigh, bhí cuid mhór do lucht leanúna an airm ag siúl na sráide i ngasraí agus fonn masluithe is dubhshlána fútha – iad ag béicigh go hárd:

"Why don't the Shinners come out now?"

"Now the Shinners are going to get it!"

"Now where is your Austin Stack?"

Shiúlamar go ciúin ón stáisiún go dtí an Central Hotel i Sráid Denny. Oíche Shathairn a bhí ann agus fuaireamar seomraí gan dua.

Tar éis greim bídh d'ithe, chuas ag lorg eolais. Ní raibh ag póirtéir an ostáin ach bailiúchán ráflaí. Bhuaileas amach sa tsráid agus tar éis tamaill bhuail duine de bheirt Éamon Ó Conchúir nó Joe Melinn liom (ní chuimin liom cíoca díobh). Fuaireas amach go raibh Paddy Cahill mar fhear ceannais in ionad Austin Stack agus go raibh sé agus Óglaigh eile sa halla ar a dtúgtaí an Rinc air; go raibh gárda ar an áit acu, go raibh ordú ag Óglaigh Thrá Lí go léir a bheith ar aire, agus ullamh dá dtagadh glaoch obann chucu agus gan a bheith ró-mhór le feiscint ag an am céanna.

Bhí sé tar éis an mheán oíche fén am san agus, ón eolas a bhí fachta agam, do cheapas go mb'fhearr ná bhfeicfí mé ag dul i dtreo an Rinc agus ag iarraidh dul isteach ann.

D'fhilleas ar an dtigh ósta. Bhíos féin is Siobhán ag cur is ag cúiteamh go dtí 2.00 am is chuamar go dtí ár seomraí. Is beag codladh a dheineas.

Domhnach Cásca

Tuairim 6.00 maidin Domhnach Cásca bhíos ag an Rinc. Bhuaileas cnag; loirg lucht faire focal aitheantais orm; scaoileadh isteach mé. Bhí Pádraig Ó Cathail ann is cuma suaite go leor air tar éis dhá lá is dhá oíche ag fanacht le treoir. Dream beag Óglach a bhí ina theannta. Bhí fear nárbh aithnid dom suite ann. Bhí lámh leis crochta i mbanda éadaigh óna mhuinéal. Chuir Ó Cathail in aithne dom é mar "Mr Moriarty", ach thuigeas ón tslí a dúirt sé é nárbh é sin a ainm go fírinneach.

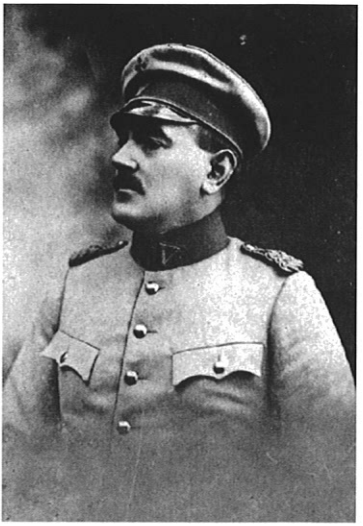
Ghlaos i leathtaoibh ar Phádraig agus d'insíos dó i dtaobh an uireaspha eolais ó Chiarraí a bhí ar Chathal Brugha agus an dualgas a chuir sé orm dul go Trá Lí ag lorg eolais agus an gá a bhí le freagra pras uaim!

Chonaiceas go raibh Ó Cathail beagán trí chéile. Stad sé tamall agus glaoigh sé mé féin is "Mr Moriarty" chun bualadh le cheile. D'ainmnigh sé é anois mar Robert Monteith.[5]

D'inis sé do Monteith go rabhas díreach tar éis teacht ó Bhaile Átha Cliath ag lorg eolais ar imeachtaí an Aoine anseo i gCiarraí. D'insíodar dom go raibh an t-eolas a bhíos ag lorg tar éis Baile Átha Cliath a shroisint ocht n-uaire a chloigh, ar a laghad, sarar fhagas an chathair agus, mar fhianaise ar sin, go raibh an bheirt ó Thrá Lí a thug an t-eolas leo ar an dtraein chéanna liom féin agus iad ag filleadh abhaile! D'ainmnigh sé Mullins, ab aithnid dom féin, mar dhuine acu.

D'insíodar dom i dtaobh teacht Monteith go Trá Lí maidin Dé hAoine

agus gur éirigh leis an Rinc a shroisint i ngan fhios don R.I.C. Chuala scéal uaidh ar a theacht i dtír ar an dtráigh in aice le hArd Fhearta; nár fhéad Casement, a bhí tinn, gluaiseacht níos sia agus gur fhan sé i bhfolach faid is a bhí Monteith agus an fear a tháinig leo ag dul i dtreo Thrá Lí ag lorg cabhrach; gur imigh Austin Stack agus cúpla duine i ngluaisteán ar mhí-ghléas; gur ghaibh an R.I.C. Casement, agus gur thugadar isteach é go dtí Beairic an R.I.C. Dúirt Monteith leis gur chun an tÉirí Amach a chosc a bhí Casement. Bhí uaidh scéala a chur go dtí Eoin Mac Néill ar an gcinneadh sin.



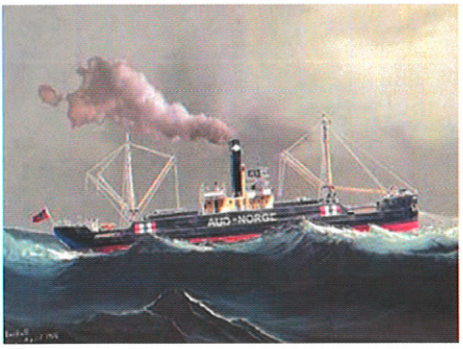
Pláta 2. An Captaen Robert Monteith

D'iarr Casement níos déanaí sa ló go dtabharfaí sagart chuige agus gur tugadh sagart d'ord na nDoiminiceánach chuige; gur thug sé fios a ainm fé dhiscréid dó agus loirg sé go gcuirfí scéal gan mhoill go dtí Eoin Mac Néill in Átha Cliath. Thug an sagart an t-eolas go dtí na hÓglaigh agus sheol Ó Cathail beirt theachtaire ó thuaidh leis an scéal. Mullins ab ainm do dhuine acu ab aithnid dom féin. Seoladh duine díobh i dtreo Chathair Luimní ar thraein agus an duine eile i dtreo Mhala ar thraein eile ar eagla go ngabhfaí duine díobh ar a thuras. Shroiseadar beirt Baile Átha Cliath go luath ar an Satharn agus bhaineadar amach an G.H.Q. Thugadar an teachtaireacht agus coimeádadh iad go dtí go raibh sé in am traein na tráthnóna agus gur thángadar beirt sa thraein céanna is a thángas féin! Bhuel, arsa mise, ní raibh an t-eolas san ag Cathal Brugha ná ag Eoin Mac Néill a raibh ag cuardach eolais ó mhaidin ar 2.00.

Bhí mearbhall orainn trúir agus mí-dhóchas ar Montieth go mór-mór. Ní raibh an bheirt teachtaire sa Rinc ag an am chun iad a cheistiú ar cé dó nó dóibh a thugadar an teachtaireacht a sheol Ó Cathail leo. Níor chuala riamh ó shin cé ghlac an t-eolas uathu.

Nuair a chuala Montieth uaim i dtaobh Connolly agus Hobson, méadaíodh ar a mhí-dhócas. Níor thuig sé nach Bleá Cliathach mé, ní foláir, mar thagair sé díom in *Casement's Last Adventure* mar "an teachtaire diamhair ó Bhaile Átha Cliath"![6]

D'inis Ó Cathail ansan dom go raibh Monteith ceapaithe le bheith i gceannas Óglaigh Chiarraí san Éirí Amach. Bhí ionadh orm é sin a chlos ach níor chuireas ceist cé cheap é. Is cuimhin liom gur ghearáin Monteith an cinneadh sin go géar agus dúirt sé gur rud gan chiall é féin a chur i gceannas toisc gan tuairim dá laghad aige ar eolas bealaí taistil, suíomh gach buíon Óglach, ná ainm an ceannaire ar gach aon bhuíon díobh. Cheap sé gur chuir imeachtaí an lae isteach ar gach plean a bhí le cur i bhfeidhm, go raibh fórsa mór saighdiúirí tar éis teacht go Trá Lí agus iad ar an *qui vive*; agus go raibh sé cinnte go raibh an *Aud* [7] gafa agus gur chuir san deireadh le gach plean míleata a bhí againn.



Pláta 3. An *Aud*

Dúirt sé leis gur féin-ídiú é an tÉirí Amach de réir na n-ordaithe agus an plean a bhí fós i bhfeidhm – ná bheadh ann acu ach sléacht ar fhir gan chosaint. Is le linn na cainte sin eadrainn triúr a tháinig beirt fhear ar rothair go dtí an Rinc. Teachtairí tosaigh ó chomplacht fear iad, tuairim is céad de réir mo chuimhne, a bhí tagtha do chos-mháirseáil i rith na hoíche ó Chorca Dhuibhne, gach complacht ó Bhaile an Fheirtéaraigh soir go dtí an Chom. Bhí na buíon díobh ag díriú isteach ar Chathair Uí Mhóráin i gcóngar Thrá Lí. Ní raibh arm ná gléas ag duine ar bith acu agus bhíodar traochta tar éis breis is tríocha míle a chur díobh.

Bhí Monteith i bhfeirg nuair a thuig sé an scéal. Cháin sé an díchéille a d'ordaigh an máirseail sin ar fhir go mbeadh orthu ina dhiaidh sin arís dul an lá céanna go Fianait, agus ansan go mbeadh orthu ina dhiaidh sin arís dul ar fheachtas dhianmhíleata. Ach pé ciall a bhí lena dteacht, nuair a bhí súil le hairm d'fháil as an *Aud* agus gan fórsaí an Rialtais ar inneall, ba rud díchéillí agus baolach anois iad a theacht nuair ná raibh airm le fáil acu agus fórsaí an Rialtais lán-aireach agus gníomhach. Bhíos féin ar aon tuairim leis.

Ní raibh fhios againn go cinnte go raibh an *Aud* gafa ón lá roimis sin ach bhí sí imithe ó radharc i mBá Thrá Lí agus ná raibh a mhalairt i ndán di.

Bhí na Duibhnigh buailte isteach ar an Rinc nuair a d'fhágas. Chuala

ina dhiaidh sin gur fhanadar ann i rith an Domhnaigh agus gur chuir mná Cumann na mBan cóir bídh ar fáil dóibh. Chodlaíodar ar fhleasc a ndroma ar an urlár agus d'fhilleadar abhaile ar thraein an Daingin ar an Luan agus an Mháirt. Ní bhfuaireas-sa fios riamh ó shin cé ordaigh an máirseail fada an oíche sin ach is dóichí go raibh sé sa phlean coitinn do Chairraí Thiar i gcóir an Domhnaigh.

Sarar fhágas an Rinc chuireamar teachtaireacht le chéile tuairim 7.30 maidir le heolas a bhí le cur go Cathal Brugha i mBaile Átha Cliath. Thóg sé suas le 20 nóiméad é a chur i gcód. Deineadh tagairt don '*operation*', ar 'Sheila', an '*patient*' agus na '*doctors*'. Cuireadh leide ann ar an scéal gur chuireadh teachtaireacht le beirt ó Thrá Lí maidin Shathairn cheana féin. B'é éirim mo theachtaireachta go raibh an scéal i gCiarraí gan leigheas. Chuir Monteith orm a rá go cinnte ann go raibh scéal an *Aud* thar dóchas. Ar eagla amhras a mhúscailt níor lig Pádraig Ó Cathail dom dul go hoifigh an phoist leis an sreangscéal. Thug sé é do chailín éigin chun é a sheoladh.

D'inis Cathal Brugha dom sa bhfómhar ina dhiaidh sin go bhfuair sé mo shreangscéal úd maidin Domhnach Cásca ach go raibh scéala an *Aud* fachta ag Eoin Mac Néill an oíche roimhré agus gur ó Chóbh Corcaí a tháinig an scéal í bheith ar thóin poill sa chuan.

Is é an tuiscint atá agam ó gach a tharla dom an dá lá úd ná gur cheileadh an t-eolas faoin scéal ar Casement agus an *Aud* i rith an tSathairn a seoladh ó Thrá Lí maidin Sathairn Cásca ar Eoin Mac Néill, Cathal Brugha is cuid eile Óglach dá saghas.

D'inis Pádraig Ó Cathail dom ar ghabháil Austin Stack. Cuireadh scéala amach ó bheairic an R.I.C. go raibh stróinséir fé ghábhail acu, go raibh sé siúd ag lorg agallaimh le Stack agus gur gabhadh Stack ann nó ar a shlí ann.

Tá fhios agam gur fíor é i dtaobh teachtaireachtaí a bheith á gcur amach ag lorg Stack. D'inis Mícheál Ó Floinn, a bhí mar mhúinteoir Gaeilge ag an gConradh i dTrá Lí, dhom go dtáinigh *Constable* chuige sa tsráid a dúirt leis a rá le Austin, dá mbuailfeadh sé leis, go raibh fear éigin sa bheairic acu a bhí á iarraidh go dtabharfaí Stack chuige. Thug Mícheál an teachtaireacht do Austin. Níl fhios agam ar thug éinne eile an scéal céanna do Stack nó ar ceadaíodh dó labhairt le Casement fiú nuair a chuaigh sé ann.

Dúirt Pádraig Ó Cathail liom go raibh Óglaigh Thrá Lí ag beartú ar bheairic an R.I.C. a ionsaí ar an Aoine agus gur éirigh leo ar shlí éigin scéal a chur go dtí Stack ina thaobh sin. Tháinig focal ó Austin gan an

t-ionsaí a dhéanamh. Ní raibh sa bheairic ag an am ach an gnáth-fhoireann póilíní. Ní raibh i mbeairic na saighdiúirí ach an gnáth-fhórsa chomh maith agus mheas na hÓglaigh go n-éireodh leo féin Casement a shaoradh, ach níor deineadh é toisc an moladh a tháinig ó Stack.

Pláta 4. Roger Casement

Tuigeadh dom agus Pádraig Ó Cathail na fáthanna a bhí, b'fhéidir, ag Austin gan an t-ionsaí a cheadú:

• Bhí coinne fós ag Stack go dtiocfaidh lasta airm an *Aud* i dtír i bhFianait agus go raibh gach socrú déanta i gcóir an Domhnaigh. Dá ndéanfaí ionsaí armtha ar an mbeairic ar an Aoine i dTrá Lí, mhúsclódh san lucht stiúrtha an airm chun saighdiúrí a chur go Trá Lí. Ní fhéadfaí gnó na Fianaite a dhéanamh fé rún ar an nDomhnach ansan i ngan fhios don arm Gallda.

• Ní raibh an tÉirí Amach le cur i gníomh in aon áit sa tír go dtí tráthnóna an Domhnaigh agus bhí an plean míleata ar fad i ndeisceart na tíre ag brath ar an last airm ón *Aud*. Dhéanfadh ionsaí ar an Aoine spior-spear don phlean úd.

B'shin é ár dtuairimí sa Rinc an mhaidin úd nár deineadh ionsaí ar bheairic an R.I.C. ar an Aoine nó maidin Shathairn. Nuair a d'fhágas an Rinc ar 8.00 an mhaidin úd thuigeas go raibh plean míleata an Domhnaigh ina chíorthuathail ar fad agus bhíos éadóchasach go leor.

Bhí orm filleadh gan mhoill ar an nDún agus an Complacht i gCill Áirne lenar bhaineas chun ordaithe na hoíche sin a tugadh dúinn a chur i gcrích. D'fhagas féin is Siobhán Trá Lí maidin Domhnach Cásca ar thraein na maidne.

Bhí Mícheál Ó Spealláin agus Michael John Ó Súilleabháin go mí-fhoighneach ag fanacht le mo scéal ó Thrá Lí. Tuigeadh dúinn triúr go raibh gach plean a tugadh dúinn le cur i gcrích ar an nDéardaoin gan éifeacht anois, ach ní raibh na hordaithe sin curtha ar ceal agus bheadh orainn iad a dhéanamh. Bhí ordaithe fós i bhfeidhm le bheith ullamh is fé arm is treallamh ar 6.00 tráthnóna.

Tar éis na hAifrinntí agus i rith an lae bhí fir chomplacht Chill Áirne,

breis is leath chéad nó mar sin, ag teacht agus ag imeacht ag an nDún. Bhí arm de shaghas ag tuairim dosaen acu – gunnaí, cairbíní, roithleáin (*revolvers*), beagán gunnaí spóirt, cúpla Lee-Enfield nó trí (ba liom féin ceann acu san). Bhí piléir de gach saghas gunna ar fáil. Ní fios dom cé mhéid. Fuaireamar amach sara fada go raibh a lán des na cairbíní lochtach – tar éis cúpla piléar a scaoileadh, d'éirídís chomh te go n-ataidís agus ná féadfaí piléar a chur isteach iontu go dtéidís i bhfuaire.

Bhí na gunnaí sin go poiblí ag urmhór na nÓglach timpeall an halla drileála [an Dún] i lár an lae Domhnaigh sin. B'é sin an nós coitianta a chleachtaimis ag an am sin. Bhí leis, ar an nDomhnach san, gasra don R.I.C. ar thaobh na sráide in aice geata an Dúna ag faire ar na himeachtaí ar fad – sin mar a bhíodh mar nós ag ár gcathalán sara dtéimis ar ród-mháirseáil fada gach Domhnach agus a bhí fógartha go poiblí againn a dhéanamh.

Bhí cúigear nó seisear againn, lucht ceannais, fé imní agus éigeantacht, ámh. Tar éis a thárla i gceantar Thrá Lí, bhí an cheist ann an gcuirfí ordú na Déardaoine ar ceal nó an raghaimis de réir na n-ordaithe ar 6.00 ag briseadh gléas teileagráfa oifig an phoist agus fios againn gur ghnó gan éifeacht é anois? Chuireamar Michael John Ó Súilleabháin go Trá Lí go luath agus ordú aige gan an Rinc a fhágáil go dtí a 5.00, agus teacht ansan fé dheabhadh leis an bhfocal deiridh sar a dtosnóimis an feachtas ag scriosadh.

Tuairim am dinnéir tháinig an bháisteach throm. I lar na báistí, tuairim 3.00, bhíos fillte go dtí an Park Palace Hotel mar a bhíos ag cur fúm. Tháinig gluaisteán go dtí an doras. Bhí Mícheál Ó Spealláin is triúr eile ar bord. Piaras Mac Canna ó Chaiseal an tíománaí. Bhí aithne pearsanta agam ar Phiaras tré chaidreamh i ngluaiseacht na Gaeilge. Bhí aithne ag an Speallánach leis air. Shín sé litir chugham. D'aithníos scríbhin Eoin Mac Néill láithreach. Nóta gearr a bhí ann á rá go raibh slógadh na Cásca á chur ar athló. Bhí fhios ag Piaras ar a raibh sa litir mar bhí litreacha mar í tugtha aige d'Óglaigh Chaisil agus i mbailte eile i gCorcaigh ar a shlí go Cill Áirne. Léigheas an litir ós árd do lucht an ghluaisteáin. Ní raibh oiread is focal asainn. Toisc a raibh titithe amach ón Aoine ní raibh aon ionadh orainn an t-ordú scortha san a theacht. Tuigeadh dúinn nach raibh a mhalairt le déanamh!

Bhí Piaras tuirseach go leor nuair a shrois sé an óstán. Chuireamar cóir air agus tugadh béile dó agus lig sé scíth faid is a bhí Dick Fitzgerald ag lorg peitril dó. Bhí na póilíní tar éis glas a chur ar chaidéil peitril is ar ghluaisteáin sa bhaile. Fuair sé an peitreal i ngan fhios ó Jack Thompson.

D'inis Mac Canna dom gur tháinig na litreacha chuige i rith na hoíche in aice le Caiseal; gurb é James McNeill, deartháir Eoin, a thug chuige iad. D'inis sé leis go dtiocfaidh an t-eolas céanna go Trá Lí *via* Luimneach agus is é Ó Rathaille a bhí á n-iompar. Ní raibh Mac Canna ach imithe ar a shlí abhaile nuair a tháinig beirt rothaí chugainn ó Thrá Lí leis an dteachtaireacht ceanainn céanna. Bhí uisce ag sileadh óna cábaí rothaíochta agus cairbín nó raifil ceangailte siar is aniar ar fhráma gach rothar acu.

Bhí an R.I.C. feadh na haimsire ár bhfaire i ngach áit sa bhaile ach níor chuireadar isteach orainn.

Ghlaoigh Mícheál Ó Spealláin na hoifigigh le chéile chun an t-ordú a thabhairt dos na fir scaipeadh. Bhí baill ós na complachtaí tuaithe inár measc agus cuireadh iad chun bóthair chun an t-ordú céanna a thabhairt leo fén tuath. Bhíomar ar fad lán de chrá chroí agus searbhas. Bhíomar buíoch, ámh, ná raibh an siúl oíche fé chlagarnach baistí go hÁth Treasna le déanamh! Mar sin féin deir mo chéile Siobhán gur ghoileas le crá-chroí. B'fheidir sin!

Luan Cásca

Bhí cruinniú bliantúil de Chonradh na Gaeilge ar siúl i gCill Áirne Luan Cásca. Bhí baill as gach craobh sa chontae i láthair in Óstán an Glebe. Bhí eolas ag muintir Chill Orglan ar an mbádh i mBaile Uí Chiosáin; go raibh corp Con Céitinn fachta agus aitheanta. Bhí Coiste Cróinéara ar siúl ann an lá céanna i gCill Orglan. Bhí scéal leis ann i dtaobh na beirte ón R.I.C. a maraíodh in aice na bhFoidhrí.[8] Ní raibh suairceas san aer ag an gcruinniú – bhraitheamar go léir fé bhagairt.

Bhí Caitlín, deirfiúr Shiobhán, ag an gcruinniú is d'fhan sí linn thar oíche. Bhí sé beartaithe againn triúr dul ar thraein lá ar na mhárach chun freastal ar shocraid an Chéiteannaigh i gCathair Saidhbhín. Nuair a stad an traein i gCill Orglan fuaireamar tuairisc ar gach a tharla le linn an Choiste Chróinéara. Níor tugadh eolas ann ar an ngnó ba bhun le turas an ghluaisteáin ach do tuigeadh go coitionn go raibh gnó mór i gceist ann. Bhíos ar shocraid Con Céitinn ar an Máirt. Adhladh é thall i gCill Mhearnóg tamall ó Chathair Saidhbhín. Bhí slua mór, tostach, gruama ann. Cé ná raibh fios fátha an scéil ag a bhformhór bhíodar buartha i dtaobh a bháis agus na nithe diamhra a bhain leis nár thuigeadar.

Nuair a d'fhilleamar ón tsochraid tháinig Diarmaid Ó Conaill, oide scoile agus fear gnótha sa bhaile agus ceannaire na nÓglach aitiúil, agus thug sé eolas dom go raibh an troid ar siúl i mBaile Átha Cliath ó mheán

an lae roimis sin agus gur Eugene Ring a d'oibrigh sa Stáisiúin Cábla i nDairire a thug an t-eolas dó. Bhí sé tar éis an scéala san a sheoladh go dtí John Devoy i Meiriceá. Bhain an t-eolas geit mhór asam agus d'fhilleas ar Chill Áirne láithreach.

Ní raibh aon eolas acu ann ar scéal Átha Cliath. Níor tháinig aon traein ná paipear ó dheas. Bhí scéala agam dóibh ó Chathair Saidhbhín toisc tuairisc Eugene Ring i nDairire. Ghoill an t-easpa eolais go mór orainn agus lean an t-easpa eolais i rith na seachtaine go léir. Bhí ceal treoir ag goilliúint orainn dá éagmais. Chuireamar teachtairí go Sráid an Mhuilinn ag iarraidh teangbhála le hÓglaigh Chorcaí agus teachtairí eile go Trá Lí ag lorg ordaithe ach bhíodar san féin gan scéala leis. Cuireadh Caitlín Ní Shúilleabháin chugainn ag fiosrú ar tháinig ordaithe chugainn ó Áth Cliath nó Corcaigh nó Luimneach?

Go luath ghaibh fear chugainn sa Dún agus scéal rúnda aige agus ordú chun Éirí Amach. Liam Ó Scolaí a ainm, ó Ghleann Beithe nó Gleann Cárthaigh dob ea é. Bhí amhras ar Mhícheál i dtaobh an ordaithe agus gan éinní i scríbhinn aige. Nuair a shrois Caitlín Ní Shúilleabháin Cill Áirne bhí scéala aici gur thug Liam an t-ordú céanna i gCathair Saidhbhín agus mí-mhuinín acu as an "t-ordú" san leis. Tuigeadh dúinn go cinnte ansan nach raibh aon bhunús lena scéal.

Múinteor Gaeilge ba ea Liam. Duine dúthrachtach ach bhí diamhaire ag baint leis ná tuigeadh daoine. Do maraíodh Liam, trócaire air, in ionsaí ar Bheairic an R.I.C. i gCill Mocheallóg i Luimneach tamall ina dhiaidh sin.

Ar deireadh tháinig scéal an ghéillte ó Bhaile Átha Cliath agus an céad nuachtán ó Chorcaigh. I rith an ama sin tháinig dream saighdiúirí, cuid do chath éigin Éireannach, Connaught Rangers is dóigh liom, anso go Cill Áirne agus chuadar i gcampa i "Demesne" an Iarla.

Pláta 5. An tSúir M. Aquin

Tháinig chugainn leis ordú nó scéala ar cad ba chóir a dhéanamh i dtaobh na hairm inár seilbh a thabhairt ar lámh do lucht an Rialtais.

Tar éis plé dian eadrainn chinneamar na cairbíní lochtach a thabhairt ar lámha don sagart paróiste, an tAth. Pádraig Mac Gearailt, ach na cinn mhaithe a chur i bhfolach, pé áit a oireadh do gach duine dínn. Bhí mo Lee Enfield i bhfolach i gClochar na Trócaire ag an tSúir M. Aquin, duine de Mhuintir Shiochrú ó

Oileán Dairire, ach b'éigean an stoc a ghearradh le toireasc chun go bhféadfadh Siobhán é a cheilt fén a casóg báistí tríd na sráideanna go dtí an gclochar. Mícheál Ó Riada, príomhoide na ceardscoile, a dhein an ghearradh ionas go bhféadfaí an stoc a chur ar ais nuair a bheadh úsáid chuige le himeacht aimsire.

Tuairim seachtain isteach i Mí na Bealtaine bhí rang Gaeilge agam lá i gClochar Loreto nuair a tháinig Óglach chugam ar shaothar á insint go raibh ball don R.I.C. agus dream saighdiúirí i mo chuardach san Óstán Park Place agus Óglaigh á ghabháil acu. D'fhanas go déanach san oíche roimh filleadh. Cúigear ceannairí a bhí gafa - Ó Speallaín, Ó Súilleabháin, Pat Ó Sé, Dick Fitzgerald agus buachaill, Will Horgan, a ghabhadh nuair a d'éalaigh a dheartháir Muiris uathu.

Chuala ó dhaoine áitiúla gur éirigh achrann idir Sáirsint Deasy an R.I.C. agus oifigeach an Airm toisc nár dheimhnigh Deasy go rabhas ann roimhré. Dhiúltaigh Deasy, leis, dul i mo lorg as san amach. Chuas saor an uair úd pé scéal é agus leanas ar an dtraein chéanna an dream a gabhadh is lucht a ngafa is iad á dtabhairt go dtí an mBeairic Míleata i gCorcaigh. Dheimhníos gur tugadh thar gheata na beairice isteach iad sarar chuas go dtí Ard-Mhaor Chorcaí, Mr [Thomas C.] Butterfield, thugas ainmneacha an chúigir dó agus gheall sé súil a choimeád ar a sláinte ann agus ar shláinte Ceannairí Chorcaí a bhí fé ghlas ann leo. Níor thuigeamar cúrsaí géibhinn an uair úd – luath go leor bhí taithí cráite againn ar fad ar an ngné sin chun smacht míleata na Sasanach a chur i bhfeidhm!

Pláta 6. An Seabhac, 8ú duine ó dheis, i bPriosún Durham 1918-19.[9]

Nóta Eagarthóireachta

Bhí alt an tSeabhaic scríte i gcainiúint Chorca Dhuibhne agus fágadh mar sin é cuid mhaith seachas aon shean-litriú nach bhfuil comónta inniu. Cuireadh ar fáil é, móide pictiúirí a bhain leis, ag mac dearthár an tSeabhaic, Pádraig Ó Siochrú ó Bhaile an Ghóilín, An Daingean.

Is ceoltóir, béaloideasóir agus gníomhaí teangan agus pobail é Feargal Mac Amhlaoibh a chuir eagar ar an alt. Tá cónaí air i nDún Chaoin, áit a bhfuil a ghnó clóchuradóireachta agus dearaidh leabhar, Inné, ar bun aige ó 1987.

Nótaí

1 *Beir Mo Dhúthracht,* 2014*:* An Seabhac, Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha (1883-1964), Caitríona Ní Chathail, eag., Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne, Baile an Fheirtéaraigh.

2 Myra Teresa McCarthy, féach: Daonáireamh 1901, Cartlann Náisiúnta.

3. Seán Seosamh Ó Ceallaigh (1872-1957), údar, foilsitheoir agus polaiteoir a saolaíodh i nDairire. Bhí sé ina Uachtarán ar Chonradh na Gaeilge agus Sinn Féin.

4 Do thóg an gluaisteán an bóthar mícheart go Cathair Saidhbhín agus thiománadar as Cé Bhaile Uí Chiosáin ar Aoine an Chéasta, 21 Aibreán, ar 10.00 san oíche. Bádh triúr, Con Ó Céitinn, iar-dhalta an *Altantic College* 22 bliain d'aois ón Rinn Ard, Donal Sheehan agus Charles Monaghan. B'iad seo na chéad iospartaigh san Éirí Amach. Gabhadh an tiománaí, Thomas A. McInerney, agus cuireadh go priosún é. Féach www.irishidentity.com/stories/sheehan.htm agus www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/1916-medal-to-go-on-display-in-kerry-museum-156210.html

5 Bhí an Captaen Robert Monteith curtha i gceannas an *Irish Brigade* sa Ghearmáin ag Casement. Iar-shaighdiúr in airm na Breataine le chéim 'Bombardier' ab ea é. Thaisteal sé féin agus an Sáirsint David Julian Bailey sa fomhuireán le Casement go dtí an Fhianait. Ó Bhaile Átha Cliath an bheirt acu. Thángadar ón bhfomhuireán i mbád beag a theip roimh teacht i dtír. Is cosúil gurb shin ba chúis nach raibh Casement in ann leanúint ar aghaidh níos faide agus gur ghortaigh Monteith a lámh. Scaradh Monteith agus Bailey ar chúis éigin – fadhb ghluaisteáin ag Baile an Bhuinneánaigh is cosúil – ar a slí go Trá Lí agus gabhadh Bailey. Níos déanaí sceith Bailey ar Casement agus thug sé féin na cosa leis. Féach: www.irishbrigade.eu/recruits/monteith.html agus www.irishbrigade. eu/recruits/bailey.html

6 Robert Monteith, *Casement's Last Adventure*, Chicago, Ill.: privately printed, 1932; revised and reprinted Michael F. Moynihan, Dublin, 1953.

7 Long Sasanach a bhí ann an chéad lá darb ainm *SS Castro* a ghabhadh na Gearmánaigh i 1914. Athríodh an t-ainm go *SMS Libau* ach, don dtuaras go hÉirinn faoi fhocheilt, tugadh *Aud Norge* uirthi, long san Iorua don ainm agus don dearadh céanna.

8 Constables McLoughlin agus Cleary. Féach www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0981.pdf

9 Óglaigh i bPriosún Durham, Bealtaine 1918 go Aibreán 1919, ó chlé: Frank McGrath, Éamonn Ó Duibhir, Dan McCarthy, Darrell Figgis, An Seabhac, Mícheál Ó Spealláin, Mícheál Fleming, Frank Bulfin (Snr), Séamus Ó Néill, Art O'Connor, Éamonn Bulfin (Jr), Éamonn Morkan.

PROCEEDINGS 2014

January 28
Annual General Meeting
TRALEE LIBRARY
Launch of *Journal* Series 2, Vol. 13, 2013

February 11
Archbishop Mannix and De Valera – A Unique Alliance
Patrick Mannix M.A.
KILLARNEY LIBRARY

February 25
The Cantillons of Ballyheigue
Bryan McMahon, Member
TRALEE LIBRARY

March 11
Irish Food Products from Ancient Times to the Medieval Period
Dr Liam Downey, Former Director of Teagasc
TRALEE LIBRARY

March 18
Ardfert Cathedral – Findings and Results
Fionnbarr Moore,
Senior Archaeologist National Monuments Service
and Leader of Project
TEAMPALL NA GRIFÍN, ARDFERT

March 25
DUBLIN OUTING and LECTURE:
Kilmainham Gaol and Museum
Sam Maguire – The Man
Donal O'Sullivan, Member
NATIONAL LIBRARY, KILDARE STREET, DUBLIN

April 22
Kerry Famine Girls – Ancestors of Generations of Proud Australians
Kay Caball, Member
AND
Mapping of the Great Irish Famine in Kerry
Michael Murphy, U.C.C.
TRALEE LIBRARY

May 5-9 — FIELD OUTING: *Away to Clifden*

May 16 — St Brendan's Mass,
ST BRENDAN'S CHURCH, TRALEE

May 27 — *The Elizabethan Campaign/with reference to Dún an Óir*
Prof. Ben Kiernan, Yale University, USA
KILLARNEY LIBRARY

June 1 — FIELD OUTING: *Kerry Head – Keel, St Erc's, Glendahillan Well*
Leader: Mícheál Ó hAllmhuráin O.S.

June 22 — FIELD OUTING: *Kilbrean More standing stones, Lissivigeen stone circle and Pikewood Mass rock*
Leader: Michael Leane

July 13 — FIELD OUTING: *Valentia Island – Tetrapod, Cable Station, Slate Quarry and Grotto*
Leader: Mícheál Lyne

August 4 — FIELD OUTING: *Killarney: Friary Gardens, Spéirbhean, Railway Station and Hotel*
Leaders: Fr Hilary Steblecki O.F.M. and Michael Leane

August 24 — FIELD OUTING: *John F. Leslie Woodland, Tarbert and Knight of Glin Estate*
Leader: Gerry O'Leary

September 14 — Field Outing: *Ballykissane, Keelacloghane Wood, Poll an Aifrinn*
Leader: Donal O'Sullivan

October 7 — COMMEMORATIVE LECTURE
The Battle of Clontarf 1014
Liam Irwin, U.L.
TRALEE LIBRARY

October 21 — *Centenary of An tOireachtas – Killarney 1914*
An Canónach Tomás Ó Luanaigh, Past President
KILLARNEY LIBRARY.
In honour of the late Paddy MacMonagle.

October 28 — BOOK LAUNCH: *Echoes of their Footsteps*
by Kathleen Hegarty Thorne;
introduction by Dr. Tim Horgan
TRALEE LIBRARY

November 4 — *The O'Rahilly*
Pádraic Ó Conchubhair O.S. Past President
LISTOWEL SEANCHAÍ CENTRE

November 9 — Annual Lunch / Presentation of Heritage Award
FELS POINT HOTEL, TRALEE

November 18 — *Tomás Ashe – The Patriot's Dublin Days*
Mícheál Ó Moráin O.S.
TRALEE LIBRARY

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Aguilera, Christina, 9 Cúil Fuine, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
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Tralee Credit Union, 45/47 Ashe Street, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
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Union of Sisters of Mercy, Mercy Convent, Balloonagh, Tralee, Co. Kerry.
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University of Notre Dame, Serials Acquisitions, 122 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame IN46556-5629, USA.

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