

AN NASC

D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies
Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia



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Volume 10, Summer 1997

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AN NASC was established as a link between the Chair of Irish Studies and those who are involved or interested in promoting Irish Studies and heritage in Canada and abroad. It also seeks to develop awareness of the shared culture of Ireland, Gaelic Scotland and those of Irish and Gaelic descent in Canada

AN NASC is provided free of charge. However, we welcome financial contributions which will allow us to extend the activities of the Chair of Irish Studies. A tax receipt will be issued for all contributions over \$10.00.

We welcome letters and comments from our readers.

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News from the Chair

This year we continue to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies in 1986. Highlights from the past year include the graduation of the first majors in Irish Studies and a successful series of public lectures.

Academic Offerings

During the 1996-97 academic year Irish Studies provided a wide selection of courses. Pádraig Ó Siadhail taught the following: An Introduction to Modern Irish (IRS 201.1); Modern Irish Language (IRS 202.2); Intermediate Irish I (IRS 325.1); Intermediate Irish II (IRS 326.2); Irish Folklore (IRS 430.1); and Gaelic Literature in Translation 1600-1800 (IRS 455.2). He also offered an Irish Studies Special Topics (IRS 451.2) course in Irish Folklore as part of the long-standing extension series sponsored by Saint Mary's University at the Spring Garden Road Public Library.

Irish Studies offered a number of courses in conjunction with other academic departments: Cyril Byrne lectured on Irish Drama (IRS 442.1) and Irish Short Stories (IRS 441.2), both cross-listed with English; Guy Chauvin discussed Politics and Government in Ireland (IRS 457.0), cross-listed with Political Science; and Michael Vance taught Ireland, 1600-1985: From Plantations to the "Troubles" (IRS 395.0), cross-listed with History. In addition, Paul Williams directed a second Special Topics course, entitled The Early Christian Church in Celtic Britain and Ireland (IRS 452.2).

Two new half-credit courses have been added to the Irish Studies Program: Irish Material Culture (IRS 397.1(.2)), which is cross-listed with the Departments of Geography and

Anthropology; and The Early Christian Church in Britain and Ireland (IRS 341.1(.2)), cross-listed with the Department of Anthropology.

Irish Studies Majors

When the Senate of Saint Mary's University ratified the Chair of Irish Studies' innovative program restructuring in 1994, this university became the sole Canadian university to offer a major concentration in Irish Studies. We have witnessed the results of these changes in the past year as three students have now received majors. At Fall Convocation in October 1996, Pauline Hingston, a native of Dartmouth, had the distinction of becoming the first Irish Studies Major to graduate from Saint Mary's University. Pauline, long active in Irish dancing circles in Halifax, is also a member of the Executive of An Cumann/The Irish Association of Nova Scotia. At Spring Convocation in May 1997, Colleen Ford, who had moved from Alabama to Nova Scotia in order to enrol in Irish Studies, and Halifax-native, Ann MacLean, graduated with Irish Studies Majors.

At present, Colleen Ford is applying for admission into the Irish Studies M.A. program at University College Dublin.

Publications and Awards

In the last year Pádraig Ó Siadhail published a new novel, *Peaca an tSinsir* (Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1996) and a short story, "Cór na Muanna" in *Oghma 8* (Dublin, 1996, pp 70-76). Another short story, "Gan AaTh", was awarded first prize at the 1996 Oireachtas Literary competitions. In addition, the book, *Edmonton: the Life of a City*, edited by Bob Hesketh and Frances Swyripa (Edmonton: NeWest, 1995),



Irish Studies' first graduate, Pauline Hingston, with Pádraig Ó Siadhail and Cyril Byrne.

which included Ó Siadhail's article "Katherine Hughes: Irish Political Activist" was the winner of the 1996 City of Edmonton Book Prize, sponsored by the City of Edmonton, Audrey's Books and the Writers Guild of Alberta.

Lecture Series

The Chair of Irish Studies organized a series of public lectures as part of the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Chair. The series of six lectures, which ran weekly from early February to late March 1997, featured a mixture of local and visiting scholars who dealt with aspects of the Irish experience both in Canada and in Ireland. Cyril Byrne opened the series with his talk on "James Louis O Donel: Canada's First Non-Francophone Roman Catholic Bishop" on February 4. The following week Michael Vance, Department of History at Saint Mary's University, discussed "Gaelic Sport and Irish Nationalism." On February 18, before a large audience, Francis J. Costello, author of *Enduring the Most*, a best-selling biography of Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork and Irish

Republican activist who died on hunger strike in Britain in 1920, and the recently-published *Michael Collins: In his own words*, spoke on "Michael Collins: A Vision for a Nation." In his March 4 talk, Robin Burns, Department of History, Bishop's University, Quebec, dealt with the transformation of Thomas D'Arcy McGee from Irish revolutionary to Canadian statesman. The following week, Marilyn Richtarik, Department of English, Georgia State University, presented in her talk, "Stewart Parker, The Northern Joyce," a fascinating glimpse of the work of Parker, a highly-respected Belfast dramatist. Pádraig Ó Siadhail brought the series of lectures to a close with his lecture: "The Self-Determination for Ireland League in Nova Scotia, 1920-1922."

Refreshments during the lecture series were generously provided by An Cumann/ The Irish Association of Nova Scotia.

Conferences and Lectures

In April 1997, Pádraig Ó Siadhail participated in the annual Irish Heritage Lecture series,

organized by the Benevolent Irish Society of Charlottetown, when he read a paper on "The Great Famine, 1854-52, and the Irish Folk Tradition." In the same month, he represented the Chair of Irish Studies at the Canadian Ethnic Studies Chairholders' Conference, entitled "Shaping Ethnicity Towards the Millennium." Sponsored by the R. F. Harney Professorship and Program in Ethnic, Immigration and Pluralism Studies of the University of Toronto and the Department of Canadian Heritage, the Conference brought together holders of the twenty-eight chairs that have been funded in part by the Multiculturalism Program. It gave the Chair holders an opportunity to renew old acquaintances, to meet recent appointees and to discuss the ongoing work of their chairs. Moreover, it allowed the Chairholders and representatives of the Department of Canadian Heritage to discuss recent changes in the Multiculturalism Program and the challenges ahead in explaining and promoting Multiculturalism.

Trade and Cultural Exchange Between Nova Scotia and Ireland

On October 9, 1996, members of a delegation from Belfast who were visiting Nova Scotia as part of a trade mission to North America, met with Cyril Byrne and Pádraig Ó Siadhail. The delegation included two Belfast City Councillors, Alistair McDonnell, Chair, Economic Development Committee and Alan Crowe; Tony McAuley, Producer, Irish Cultural Programming, Belfast; and Mr. Frank Costello, Director, International Creative Strategies, Belfast Representatives in North America, Boston.

In an attempt to follow up on these contacts and to explore other areas which will be a benefit to Irish Studies and Saint Mary's University, Cyril Byrne accepted an invitation to participate

in a Trade Mission to Ireland, organized by the Economic Renewal Agency of the Government of Nova Scotia, and led by the Premier, Dr. John Savage, in early June 1997.

Exhibition of Contemporary Art from Ireland

During the winter Cyril Byrne collaborated with Mern O'Brien and Susan Gibson-Garvey of the Dalhousie Art Gallery in preparing the Gallery's exhibition, "Human/Nature: Seven Irish Artists" which was on display from March 7 to May 18. In particular, Dr. Byrne and Ms. Gibson-Garvey, along with Dr. Ronald Foley-MacDonald of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD), worked at selecting a series of films and videos on various aspects of Irish cultural life which were shown at the gallery during the exhibition. Some of the videos were loaned from the Chair's collection; however, some twenty were acquired jointly by the Gallery and the Chair and will become part of the Chair's collection after the Irish Art installation is over.

Both Cyril Byrne and Pádraig Ó Siadhail participated in the exhibit's formal opening reception on March 6, along with Mr. Ronan Corvin of the Irish Embassy and Mr. Sean Lewis of the British Council which was responsible for a large part of the funding of the display. On April 8, in connection with the Irish Art exhibit, Dr. Byrne delivered a special lecture, "Hiberniores quam Ipsi Hiberniis: or how Irish are the Irish?" on the subject of Ireland's historic cultural ties with Europe.

Book of Kells Tapestry

In 1990 a tapestry artist from Cheticamp, Nova Scotia, Yvette Muise, minutely examined the facsimile copy of *The Book of Kells* on permanent display in the Patrick Power Library. Having pored over the designs for hours, she decided that a tapestry based on the Four

Evangelists would constitute her next project. After almost one thousand hours of intricate rug hooking by Ms. Muise, the Chair received the twenty-seven square foot tapestry on March 25. Generously financed and donated to Saint Mary's University by the Bank of Montreal, the tapestry will hang in the Saint Mary's University Library in a location close to the Book of Kells. An official unveiling of this work is scheduled for the Fall of 1997.

Luncheon in Honour of Dr. Seosamh Watson

On April 3 the D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies hosted a luncheon in the Private Dining Room, Saint Mary's University, in honour of Dr. Seosamh Watson. Dr. Watson is the past chairholder of the D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies (1991) and present Dean of Celtic Studies at University College, Dublin. The attendance included the President of Saint Mary's University, Dr. Kenneth Ozmon, Dr. Colin Dodds, Vice President, Academic and Research, representatives of An Cumann/The Irish Association of Nova Scotia and the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, as well as colleagues and students from the Irish Studies's program. Following lunch, Seosamh Watson gave a short presentation entitled "Speaking for Ourselves—The Gaels and their language."

Project on Nova Scotia's Irish

David Drury, a graduate student at Saint Mary's University, is researching the Irish community in late nineteenth/early twentieth Halifax. The focus will primarily centre around the experience of Catholic labourers, attempting to determine their occupational role as well as their impact on society. A good indication of their social importance may be measured by their levels of influence on the Church, local government and through institutions of their own like the Charitable Irish Society. Also, opinion expressed in local contemporary newspapers and other such sources should reveal something of the extent to which they were accepted as a part of Halifax society and culture; or whether there was any existence of an anti-Irish prejudice. If readers have, or are aware of, anything related to this field of interest, please contact David Drury by telephone, (902) 869-0169 or by E-Mail, D_Drury@tuna.stmarys.ca.

Travelling to Ireland?

For information please
contact:

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The Irish Tourist Board
160 Bloor Street, East
Suite 1150
Toronto, Ontario
M4W 1B9

Tel: (416) 929-2777

Fax: (416) 929-6783

The Great Famine: the aftermath

Cyril J. Byrne

Between 1845 and 1851 at least 800,000 people or 10 per cent of Ireland's population died from hunger and disease. Indeed, it is arguable that the figure could be as high as 1,000,000. This was a major catastrophe for Ireland. The Great Famine, as it is frequently called, exists as a metaphoric scorched earth dividing pre-Famine Ireland from that which came after it. From that point of view, it is the most traumatic event in Irish history making pale by comparison such earlier diplomatic and military black holes as the Flight of the Earls, and the defeat of Catholic power in Ireland in the 17th century. However, it is important to recognize that the death rate of the Irish Famine was not unique and had frequently been equalled in earlier European famines. It is possible that an earlier famine in Ireland, that of 1740-41, had been just as devastating. Despite death and emigration, Ireland's population in the 1851 census was 6.6 million, still one of the highest ever recorded. However, by 1911 the Irish population had fallen to 4.4 million. That severe drop in population is an indicator of the uniqueness of Ireland's long-term response to the Famine: a rise in the age at marriage, a decline in marriage and birth rates, and a static rate of death and emigration.

The cottier class referred to in the earlier part of this small essay (*An Nasc*, Volume 8, 1995) was devastated by the Famine. A simple statistic can help put it in some perspective: between 1845 and 1851 the number of labourers and cottiers in Ireland fell by 40%, the number of farmers by 20%; over the next 60 years the number of labourers and cottiers fell again by 40% whereas the number of farmers fell by 5%. This meant a revolutionary turnabout in rural Ireland: the

class balance swung very strongly in favour of the farmers and the swing went more strongly still in favour of the bigger farmers against the smaller. This sharp change in the face of rural Ireland is made the more remarkable when it is looked at in the light of a number of other demographic features with which it is intimately linked. The average age at marriage rose dramatically for both men and women from what it had been before the Famine — late teens to early twenties — to what it became over the next sixty years: late twenties for women and early thirties for men. Even more staggering was the rapid rise in the numbers of women who never married: 26 % in the 1911 census. Marriage rates themselves fell correspondingly. What all these figures represent is the almost complete reversal of patterns which had existed before the Famine when people married young and had large families of children which gave rise to the huge jump in population in the two decades preceding the 1840s.

These major changes can be attributed almost solely to the different way land was inherited before and after the Famine. Prior to it, the usual pattern was for a father to divide whatever land he had between all his sons, thus giving rise to youthful marriages and large families. The pattern of consolidation of land consequent to the Famine saw a farmer passing on his farm to a single son; the only thing left for the other children was emigration or lonely celibate life either on the farm or in some part of the burgeoning clericaly. The single inheritor had to wait till the death of an increasingly long lived parent before getting hold of the farm; this entailed, usually, a late marriage to an again,

usually, younger woman. An increasingly large number of widows inherited farms from their much older partners. These widows held on grimly to their control of the land against the encroachments of daughters-in-law whom the widows saw as rivals for the affections of their sons and the amenities of a house where they would not be relegated to a back room.

It does not require much imagination to get a sense of what the resulting emotional temper of this situation was. It was said that the average Irish peasant chose his mate with as clear a head, as placid a heart and as steady a nerve as if he were buying a cow at the local fair! Whereas, before the Famine, it was usual to have "love matches," the post-famine mercenary ethos saw the dowry bargained for in a consequently loveless marriage. Doubtless, there were marriages and families where love and mutual caring existed but the spectre which ruled over much of Ireland post-Famine was that of lust for land, companionless aridity and spiritual loneliness, reflected in Patrick Kavanagh's poem 'The Great Hunger' or his novel *Tarry Flynn*.

It is thus probably true to say that before the Great Famine the land in Ireland was subordinated to people, whereas after it people became subordinated to the land. Much of this had to do with the changes in the ownership of land after the Famine. Many of the smaller landlords had gone to the wall during the Famine attempting to deal with the debt and hunger which stalked the tenants of their lands. When these estates were sold, they were bought largely by native "gombeen men" whose greed and lack of care for the tenantry matched and many times exceeded anything experienced under the old landlords. The new Irish landowners simply adopted the vices of the old system and by their anxiety for a quick profit made them worse. Recent scholarship has shown how the Catholic Church became a very real power in Ireland after the Famine; certainly the Famine was not the

only factor which resulted in the rise of bourgeois Catholic values in nineteenth century Ireland. However, in terms of the radical change in how land came to be regarded post-Famine from what it had before, the Church clearly had a role. It is easy to place blame upon the Church for having exerted its spiritual power to enforce a set of puritanical, materialist values in the post-Famine world. However, the Church was caught up in the same vortex of change as the rest of society and just as powerless to challenge the economic forces which came to dominate nineteenth century Irish society.

Of all the changes wrought by the Famine, by far the most important were those on Irish cultural life in the broadest sense. We have looked at the way the social realities of farm and family life were affected. However, these cannot be looked at in isolation. Both farm and family life were part of an extremely well-knit and, as far as one can tell, quite happy functioning community life in pre-Famine Ireland. In this communal life the Irish language served as the central hub for everything else from childhood games to the more sophisticated pleasures of adult life. The decimation of communities wholesale during the Famine and the decade following it dealt a death blow to the Irish language and its dependent culture in the areas hardest hit by famine and emigration, areas where the Irish language had been strongest. The surviving remnants of these formerly thriving communities were harrowed by the loss of so much and with such shocking suddenness. A state of chronic melancholia fell upon large sections of the country. Gone were the children and teenagers and with them, as it were overnight, the old games, customs and pastimes which were the very fibre of their existence. The other important change that came about was the lowering of the formerly strong resistance of the Irish to leaving Ireland. In pre-Famine Ireland there had been an almost mystical tie holding one to the spot where

one had been born and raised. Indeed that tie existed and still exists but the barrier to cutting it was destroyed by the strong hand of necessity and grim death. The spiritual and cultural disaster which came with the Famine may in some ways explain the flight to grubby land greed which gripped rural Ireland in the decades after it.

Consequent to the flight from the land which was occasioned by the Famine came the political developments of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which led to the formation of modern Ireland. Rightly or wrongly, England was blamed for the catastrophe. Within Ireland and in every corner of the world to which the Irish Diaspora went, this hatred of England served as the cornerstones for various Irish political movements all bent on severing the ties with "the auld tyrant, himself." Whether it was the Young Irelanders, the Land League, the Irish Parliamentary Party, John Redmond Home Rulers or the "physical force" exponents of the Invincibles, the Irish Republican Brotherhood or the Irish Republican Army, the central psychic core can, without a doubt, trace itself to realities central to and intensified by the Great Famine.

The Irish Settlers Memorial

The Celtic Heritage Association for Prince Edward Island has announced plans to erect a memorial in Charlottetown, P.E.I., to honour the Irish settlers of the Island.

The appointment of Donegal-born Captain Walter Patterson as the first Governor, in 1769, marks the beginning of Irish immigration to Prince Edward Island. Eighteenth century Irish administrators, soldiers and settlers helped to institute the colony's civil government and established church, and in 1780 the Colonial Assembly actually re-named the original St.

John's Island *New Ireland*. The period from 1810 through 1835 saw a large influx of immigrants from southern Ireland: some had sojourned in Newfoundland, others sailed directly from the great ports of Cork and Waterford. Finally, between 1830 and 1850, at least four thousand settlers arrived from Monaghan and the neighbouring counties of Ulster.

From all walks of life and all thirty-two counties, about ten thousand Irish persons came to P.E.I. Although ninety percent of them were Roman Catholics, the Irish immigrants also included members of several other Christian denominations.

Pre-Famine immigrants vastly outnumbered Famine refugees in the Island's Irish settlement. These notorious "Coffin ships" of the Great Famine period (1845-1848) generally by-passed P.E.I. and disembarked their sick and dying passengers at stations in New Brunswick and Quebec. Only one large vessel — the *Lady Constable* in 1847 — sailed into Charlottetown, bringing victims of malnutrition and pestilence.

By the mid-nineteenth century, when immigration had subsided, Irish families comprised about one-quarter of the Island's population. Today, at least one third of the residents may claim an Irish ancestor.

For more information, please contact:

The Celtic Heritage Association for
Prince Edward Island
PO Box 2205
Charlottetown, P.E.I.,
Canada, C1A 8B9

JOE NEIL MACNEIL: GAELDOM'S PREMIER STORYTELLER



The passing of Joe Neil MacNeil ('Eos Nill Bhig') on October 14, 1996 at age 88 in Cape Breton marks — as effectively as the death of any one individual can — the end of a remarkable period in Gaelic history and an irreversible loss to the global family of regional, indigenous cultures. What will endure is a monumental contribution, mostly through tape-recordings in Gaelic, to our knowledge of one of the outstanding storytelling cultures to survive into the late 20th century. Our own Canadian context, however, reveals a sadder aspect: the failure of subsequent generations of Gaels and ex-Gaels, together with the education system, various groups and all the treasure spent in the name of Gaelic, to ensure the continuity of the same tradition.

His own story, Joe Neil always maintained, was an ordinary one. He was raised in Cape Breton by an older couple in a community largely settled by Gaels from the Outer Hebridean islands of Barra and South Uist. During the early 1900s

Gaelic was the preferred language (he acquired English around the age of 7 in school), and a number of highly accomplished reciters and singers lived and worked close by. Yet the conscious choice taken sometime during childhood to seek out the respected reciters in the community, absorbing and mastering a body of tradition already widely regarded by the elect as passé, turned out to be anything but ordinary. Some of the older people, at least, recognized an unusual talent, leading one old woman to say: "Remember your Gaelic is the highest feather in your cap. Don't forget to retain it in your memory and be loyal to it."

The degree of truth in the observation did not surface until nearly a half century later with the arrival of the Roots Phenomenon in the 70s and the partial rehabilitation of ethnicity in Cape Breton. Joe Neil's command of the language (once aptly described as "ringing Gaelic") was exceptional by any standard and led to his being

invited to participate directly in college-level language teaching. During this time systematic recording of his storytelling was carried out, revealing a repertoire of a range, quality and beauty far beyond anything expected for its time and place. Beside this emerged a no less formidable knowledge of songs, local genealogy, instrumental music and proverbs. Throughout, Joe Neil always gave generously of his time, energy and material, sharing his hope and conviction that Gaelic language and culture should have a constructive and vital part to play in Cape Breton in the years to come. His Gaelic perspective, always conveyed with wit and style, and his public affirmation of the rights and values attached to his language have had a lasting influence on those who knew and worked with him during those years. As a thinking man well versed in his own tradition, Joe Neil was not afraid to expose our Nova Scotia variety of tartanism for the cheap, second-hand brand of state culture that it is. A typical instance following a display of Victoriana from a publicly funded 'Gaelic' institution in Cape Breton was the dry observation that "they were accomplishing the same thing for Gaelic that the budworm has done for the spruce."

When wider recognition came a decade later, Joe Neil carried the awards with the same grace and humour that had served him in his life as an itinerant journeyman and occasional entertainer. His collection of folktales *Sgeul gu Latha/Tales until Dawn* (published by McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and University of Edinburgh Press, Scotland) was launched in the firehall of the parish of Big Pond where he heard many of his stories; his performances became a central attraction at the Toronto Storytelling Festival where he emerged as a major Canadian storyteller; during a visit to Scotland he contributed valuable items to the School of Scottish Studies' archive; in 1989 the Folklore Studies Association of Canada conferred on him

the Marius Barbeau Award, and although his formal education ended with elementary school, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, granted him an Honorary Doctorate (an honour sought after by innumerable full-time academics) for his services to Gaelic in Nova Scotia. Since then articles have appeared internationally in learned journals, his Gaelic expressions have been used extensively in a university language course in Scotland and his collection has for a number of years been required reading in a university Scottish folklore course.

Toward the end of his life Joe Neil was recognised by audiences and researchers as the leading Scottish Gaelic storyteller of his time, and in that respect should be regarded on a level with gifted and dedicated Cape Breton Gaels such as composer Dan R. MacDonald, violin players Màiri Alasdair Raghnaill and Angus Chisholm and singer Malcolm Angus MacLeod. He also had something else in common with such 'ordinary' Gaels: the understanding that their materials, art and skills are part of a larger community. As a *Gaidheal gu chùl* (a Gael to his backbone) Joe Neil's legacy as a storyteller and his gift to all of us is as much in his dedication to storytelling and the people around him as in the stories themselves.

John Shaw
School of Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh
Scotland

John Shaw, a former holder of the Chair of Irish Studies, translated and edited Joe Neil MacNeil's Tales Until Dawn/Sgeul gu Latha.

Irish Studies Timetable 1997-98

First Semester

Introduction to Modern Irish (IRS201.1)

Mon. & Wed. 5:30pm-6:45pm

Instructor: K. Curran

This course will introduce students to Modern Irish, with emphasis on the spoken and written forms.

Introduction to Scottish Gaelic (IRS304.0)

Tues. & Thurs. 5:30pm-6:45pm

Instructor: J. Murphy

This course provides an introduction to Scottish Gaelic, a language that holds the key to an essential part of Scotland's cultural heritage. Emphasis will be placed on the language in both its spoken and written forms.

Introduction to Mediaeval Welsh Language (IRS305.1)

Tues. & Thurs. 2:30pm-3:45 pm

Instructor: M. Harry

Mediaeval Welsh, a P-Celt language, is a valuable tool in the study of the Celtic Tradition, giving the student an insight into the non-Gaelic mediaeval cultures of Wales and southern Scotland, and the related culture of Brittany.

Irish Material Culture

(IRS 379.1/GPY379.1/ANT379.1)

Tues. & Thurs. 10:00am-11:15am

Instructor: D. Wyllie

This course introduces students to the landscapes of Ireland. Attention will be given to the different circumstances and life styles of people living in offshore islands and in isolated farms, villiages, towns and cities.

Ireland, 1600-1985: From the plantations to the "Troubles" (IRS395.0/HIS395.0)

Mon. & Wed. 10:30am-11:45am

Instructor: M. Vance

This course will concentrate on Ireland's transition from a colony for the English and Scottish Settlers, to an independent European community. Emphasis will be placed on the cultural and political legacy of the 17th century plantations, as well as the consequences of Irish nationalism for Britain and its empire.

Irish Studies Seminar (IRS400.0)

Tues 7:00pm-9:30pm

Instructor: C. Byrne

This interdisciplinary course will allow students to consider a section of topics relating to the Irish experience at home and abroad. Topics for discussion will be chosen by the instructor. Students will be required to research and write papers on selected topics and present them to the seminar for discussion.

The Irish Short Story (IRS441.1/EGL441.2)

Tues. & Thurs. 5:30pm-6:45pm

Instructor: C. Byrne

This course will examine the short story as a major form in the fiction (in English) of Ireland, tracing its development from the Irish folktale to the sophisticated modern stories of internationally read practitioners such as Joyce, O'Connor, O'Faolain and Lavin.

Second Semester

Modern Irish Language (IRS202.2)

Mon. & Wed. 5:30pm-6:45pm

Instructor: K. Curran

This course will develop the student's ability to speak, write and read Modern Irish.

Introduction to Scottish Gaelic (IRS304.0)

Tues. & Thurs. 5:30pm-6:45pm

Instructor: J. Murphy

This course provides an introduction to Scottish Gaelic, a language that holds the key to an essential part of Scotland's cultural heritage. Emphasis will be placed on the language in both its spoken and written forms.

Introduction to Mediaeval Welsh Literature (IRS306.2)

Tues. & Thurs. 2:30pm-3:45 pm

Instructor: M. Harry

This course will introduce students to the literature of the most important of the non-Gaelic Celtic languages, Welsh. Of the group of P-Celt languages, Welsh is the only one with a large extant collection of early and mediaeval literature. A study of Welsh literature, therefore, leads to an enhanced understanding of the Celtic identity.

Ireland, 1600-1985: From the plantations to the "Troubles" (IRS395.0/HIS395.0)

Mon. & Wed. 10:30am-11:45am

Instructor: M. Vance

This course will concentrate on Ireland's transition from a colony for the English and Scottish Settlers, to an independent European community. Emphasis will be placed on the cultural and political legacy of the 17th century plantations, as well as the consequences of Irish nationalism for Britain and its empire.

Irish Studies Seminar (IRS400.0)

Tues 7:00pm-9:30pm

Instructor: C. Byrne

This interdisciplinary course will allow students to consider a section of topics relating to the Irish experience at home and abroad. Topics for discussion will be chosen by the instructor. Students will be required to research and write papers on selected topics and present them to the seminar for discussion.

Irish Poetry (IRS 443.2/EGL443.2)

Tues. & Thurs. 4:00pm-5:15pm

Instructor: C. Byrne

Irish poets and poetry from ancient to modern times will be the subject matter of this course. Special emphasis will be placed on poets of the modern period from Yeats to Heaney, and the course will concentrate on the interaction of the patterns of Irish Gaelic sounds and images with those drawn from English language and culture.

To receive information about
registering for these courses,
please contact
Saint Mary's University,
Admissions Department,
(902) 420-5415

St. Columcille

This year the Christian world of the British Isles observes two important anniversaries both of which are linked in strangely ironic ways: the death of St. Columcille at his monastery on Iona and the arrival of St. Augustine on the shore of Kent in the year 597, fourteen hundred years ago. As Columcille was the *fons et origo* of what is called Celtic Christianity, so Augustine is regarded as the founder of Roman Christianity in England. The distinction between the two forms of Christianity was on matters of practice and not on doctrinal questions. Irish Christianity was organized on an early form of monasticism which was extremely ascetic and penitential. In the practice of the Irish Church the Abbot or Abbess was of greater importance than the Bishop whereas Roman Christianity organized on the still existing structure of Diocese and Parishes emphasized the role of the Bishop: this was in line with the secular political organization of the Roman Empire. There were other differences as well. The tonture (canonical cutting of the hair of ecclesiastics) was a shaving of the head from ear to ear in the Celtic observance, whereas it was the still familiar circular shaving of the crown in the Roman practice. Moreover, the date for the observance of Easter was calculated differently in the Irish and Roman churches. It was the latter difference which led to a clash between the two observances which had to be settled because Eadwin, the King of Northumbria converted by Irish monks had married a woman who followed the Roman style and was still in the rigours of her lenten fast when the King was observing Easter! The Synod of Whitby settled the matter in favour of the Roman practices. Nonetheless, the Irish continued to follow their own style especially in the monasteries which observed the rule of St. Columcille and his followers, that is those in

Scotland, Northumbria and northern Ireland. The Irish in the Southern monasteries appear to have adopted the Roman practices without much opposition.

Smith, the historian of the early English church, made the statement that St. Augustine may have converted Kent but the Irish converted England. There seems little doubt about this nor about the Irish having brought secular learning to the Anglo-Saxon world along with the Christian gospel. Much of this missionizing effort emanated from St. Columcille's monastery at Iona off the coast of Mull. Bede, the great historian of the early English Church, not always well disposed towards the Irish, had a deep appreciation of the mission of Columcille. Bede's account of Columcille begins thus in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*: "For in the 565th year of the Lord's incarnation (at which time Justin the younger, succeeding Justinian, received the governance of the Roman empire) there came to Britain from Ireland a priest and abbot notable by his dress and life of a monk, called Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, that is to say, to those that by high and hideous ridges of hills were dis severed from the southern regions inhabited by Picts ..."

Columcille was a member of the highest Irish nobility, he may indeed have been a *file*, an Irish poet, for at the Synod of Drumkit (574 or 587) his intervention saved the order of poets from being suppressed. His reason for coming to Iona may have been the consequence of his famous dispute over a copy he made of a psalter owned by another Irish monk, Finnian of Druim Finn. Finnian wanted his psalter back but insisted as well on having the copy Columcille had made. The dispute was settled by the King, Diarmaid mac Cearrbheoil, whose now famous verdict

was expressed as follows: "As the calf follows the cow, so the copy follows the original." Columcille was not pleased. He cursed Diarmaid and stormed out. War ensued between the King and Columcille's aristocratic allies. To gain victory Columcille fasted and prayed and an angel in the form of a giant soldier proceeded the army of Columcille's people and so frightened the followers of the King that three thousand of them lost their lives. In return for this battle favour the angel demanded that Columcille pay for it by going into permanent exile. Whatever the truth of this account, no mention is made of it in the life of St. Columcille written less than a hundred years after the saint's death by Adamnán, a monk from Iona. Adamnán simply states that Columcille left Ireland to be an exile for Christ.

Exile for Christ became a prevailing vocation for the thousands of Irish monks who became part of the exodus first to Britain and then in the succeeding centuries to the Continent of Europe. These monks brought with them the learning which was a distinguishing feature of the monasteries of Ireland. Many of them came from Iona or one of the numerous "daughter" houses of Columcille's followers which were dotted over Ireland, Scotland and Northumbria. In the sixth and seventh centuries, it was to this band of *peregrini* that Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul looked both for spiritual leadership and both secular and religious learning. The asceticism of the monks' lives impressed the materialistic culture of Gaul into which they went in the seventh century and they made many converts to their way of life which was remarkably Old Testament in its style even to the observance of the Mosaic Law concerning clean and unclean food. They seem to have taken literally God's command to Abraham: "Go forth from thy country from thy kin and thy family, to the country that I shall show thee" (Genesis xii.1) as a call to perfection that ought to be obeyed to the letter.

Because Columcille was seen as the first to have observed this call to exile, although he made many trips back to Ireland, his name was first in the calendar of Irish Saints wherever the *peregrini* went, and they went everywhere: to Paris, to Ratisbon, to St. Gallen, to Bobbio, to Lucca, even as far as the Ukraine. Founding monasteries, stirring up controversy and remaining as late as the early middle ages in the *Scottenklöster* of Germany, Irish monks were an important spiritual and intellectual force in the formation of European civilization.

CB.

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The Great Famine and the Irish Folk Tradition

Pádraig Ó Siadhail

You dirty clown,' says the Scotsdown, 'how dare you me oppose!

'Twas I supported Ireland when you daren't show your nose.'

... Out spoke the noble Champion, with courage stout and brave

Only I happened to sail over here, there'd be thousands in their grave.

(*Famine Echoes*, 58)

This fragment, which was recorded in County Westmeath over fifty years ago and which recounts a lively dialogue between two types of potatoes, the Scotch Down and the Champion (the Scotch Downs, along with the Lumpers and the Cups, were varieties that had failed during the Famine, while the Champion was a seed-potato introduced after the Famine) is a good starting-off point from which to investigate how the Great Famine is treated in the Irish folk tradition.

Between the 1930s and 1950s, the Irish Folklore Commission gathered accounts of the Great Famine as part of the monumental salvaging of folk material undertaken by the Commission's full-time and part-time collectors, and also through the use of questionnaires, and through its Schools collecting programme. The information collected is amorphous, i.e., no fixed shaped, as befits the living tradition but certain topics keep recurring in accounts of the Famine.

Apart from Roger McHugh's essay on "The

Famine in Irish Oral Tradition" published in 1956, there has been little attempt until recently to examine the treatment of the Famine in the oral tradition. In the last two years, Cathal Póirtéir has made available a selection of material from the Archives of the Irish Folklore Commission in two books, *Famine Echoes*, which deals with English-language material, and *Glórtha ón Ghorta*, which covers Irish-language material, while Cormac Ó Gráda has presented additional material, including poetry in Irish, with a fascinating commentary in his short book, *An Drochshaol. Béaloideas agus Amhráin*.

A question that arises immediately is why would one bother with folk memories when there is a massive amount of contemporary official, semi-official, and journalistic documentation available about the Great Famine, more than we have for previous famines not just in Ireland but worldwide.

Despite their value in recreating and understanding the circumstances of the time, what is missing from these written records is the real human dimension, the feelings, beliefs and pain of those, Irish speaking peasants for the most part, who died and of those who managed to survive. The accounts from the oral tradition one finds in the books noted above are gut-wrenching in many instances. They bring home in a dramatic way, as befits the folk tradition, how close the Great Famine is and how the so-called Celtic Tiger of the 1990s is no more than a short hop, skip and jump from times of hunger, death and calamity.

As to the question, can something about the experiences of the ordinary folk be salvaged from the unofficial records, the oral tradition, the

simple answer has to be a cautious 'yes' — and a wary 'no.' Nearly a century after the event, we are dealing with accounts somewhat removed timewise. This is merely one of the problems associated with accepting folklore as a legitimate record. One also has to accept that informants may not be very accurate when it comes to dates or the sequence of events—when they talk about famine, may they not be talking about one of the ten or so before the 1840s, or indeed about one of the local famines since the 1840s? (for example, as late as the 1920s, it was being reported from the west of Ireland that people were dying of starvation). One has to keep in mind that informants can be evasive and reticent about things that people did to survive or about even surviving at all, or about family/community members benefiting from others' misfortune. When there was a social stigma attached to death by hunger, is it not likely that people will claim that disease, which does not recognize class distinctions, killed one's people and not hunger? In fact, there is a clear reluctance to state that one's relations died during the Famine period; the dead are usually one's neighbours rather than one's own. Another example which attests to the difficulty of accepting automatically the accuracy of the folk tradition is that one finds stories from locals that their regions were not badly affected by the Famine, stories which, according to Ó Gráda, are firmly contradicted by census records. Indeed, it is clear that there was a form of Collective Amnesia about the Great Famine in Ireland until quite recently. There was no major commemoration on the occasion of the Centenary in 1940s. One account from Co. Laois sums up the above mentioned problems quite aptly: "I have been told that for many years after the Famine people didn't wish to talk about it, as it was considered a disgrace if it could be said of any family that their people took soup from the soup kitchens, or took the Indian meal or that any member of a family died of hunger; but they

were considered martyrs if they died of the fever." (*Famine Echoes*, 112)

One also has to keep in mind that much of what one encounters in the popular tradition in Ireland about the Great Famine is not part of the genuine oral tradition. Christine Kinealy writes in her recent book, *This Great Calamity. The Irish Famine 1845-52*: "The popular imagery of the Famine remains vivid even today. Mass graves, wholesale evictions, emaciated people helplessly and hopelessly searching a barren land for potatoes, desperate and diseased masses flocking to the ports in an effort to be anywhere but Ireland, and the so-called 'coffin ships' leaving the country alongside corn-laden vessels—these are powerful and enduring images of the Famine." (xvii) While there is enough historical fact in all these images, one must recognize that much of this popular imagery has not come down directly from the oral tradition, but moved from the literary tradition, in the shape of histories and accounts by commentators hostile to British rule in Ireland, into the oral tradition and that the lines between genuine oral traditions and history (and propaganda) have become blurred. "The Almighty indeed sent the potato blight, but the English created the Famine" wrote John Mitchel, the Irish republican, and this statement, and other similar ones, have greatly affected the popular tradition about the Great Famine.

The influence of the literary tradition on popular conceptions is evidenced in the cast of villains. It is worth noting at this point that the person most closely associated in the popular mind these days with a policy, real or imagined, of genocide, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Permanent Secretary at the Treasury, does not figure in oral traditions about the Famine. He has entered the popular consciousness indirectly, via the writings of Irish nationalists and the recent song, *The Fields of Athenry*. In addition, one can detect the influence of Irish nationalist writings on the popular consciousness in the portrayal of Queen

Union, it would never come into effect because "it was impossible that a kingdom which revelation showed to be under the special favour of Heaven, could be absorbed in one of the ten kingdoms typified in the image of Daniel."

In 1771, an English-born Catholic bishop, Charles Walmsley, published, under the pen-name 'Pastorini,' *The General History of the Christian Church, from her Birth to her Final Triumphant State in Heaven* (1771). 'Pastorini', citing Biblical sources, maintained that Catholicism would emerge supreme in 1825. The prophecies of Pastorini, and other similar ones falsely associated with Colm Cille, St. Columba, were exceptionally popular amongst Irish Catholics, largely disenfranchised and economically and politically deprived in their own country. Pastorini's Prophecies were in such a demand that a 6th ed. was published in Cork in 1820.

Thus, an atmosphere existed in which there was a strong sense in Ireland in the 19th century of the power of Providence to influence Nature and the course of history for better and — by extension — for worse.

However, the truly interesting element of this view of punishment is that it fits into the contemporary English Providentialist view that God was punishing the Irish, not just the peasants but Irish landlords as well, for not being progressive and industrious, i.e., for not being English. As the British government had the responsibility for responding to the challenge of dealing with the potato failure, its response was going to be influenced by the fact that part of the British establishment saw the Famine as God's judgment on the Irish.

In a recent commemoration of the Great Famine by the Church of Ireland, it is reported that Archbishop Robin Eames of Armagh spoke of regret of soup being used to persuade a starving people to change faiths. While he noted that forty Church of Ireland clergy died of fever while

assisting Famine sufferers, he went on to declare that he did not "seek to excuse so much of which was done, either as deliberate policy or through sheer neglect."

The actions of those who used hunger as a means of proselytizing and the dilemma of those who had the choice of starving or receiving food for converting to Protestantism form debatedly the most lasting feature of the Great Famine in the public memory, the stigma of 'Souperism.' One hears to the very day the negative comment: "His people took the soup."

One can divide Relief during the Famine period into three kinds: 1. Government financed and sponsored relief in the form of soup kitchens and public works, part of which links with the Poorhouse/Workhouse; 2. philanthropic organizations and individuals: the Society of Friends, the Quakers, for example, who had no real agenda apart from assisting the destitute and whose relief efforts frequently included the setting up of soup kitchens; and 3. Protestant Evangelical groups who, believing that the Famine was God's way of punishing lazy, idle superstitious Catholic peasants, used the opportunity to proselytize in the hope of eradicating Catholicism.

It is this third group which gave rise to 'Souperism,' though it should be noted that in the reaction to Souperism, non-Evangelical groups from #2 were unfairly associated in the popular mind and tainted with having been connected with the policy of the Evangelicals.

Behind the folklore anecdotes and local accounts one find of soup kitchens established as an instrument of proselytizing lies a "vast institutional and ideological machinery" which sought to make Ireland a Protestant country (Whelan, 136). Attempts to convert the Irish to Protestantism were not new. They were as old as the Reformation. Elizabeth I had ordered the translation of Protestant religious material/ catechisms into Irish as far back as 1571 as a

Victoria, of whom there is no mention in oral tradition. Christine Kinealy notes: "Queen Victoria is often depicted as one of the villains of Famine mythology. A popular belief is that she gave a mere five pounds to help the starving people of Ireland but simultaneously donated a far larger amount to a dogs' home. In fact, the Queen donated over two thousand pounds to Famine relief and, in the face of hostile British public opinion, issued a Queen's Letter asking for more public donations. Furthermore, when Victoria visited Ireland in 1849, she was given a rapturous welcome." (xviii)

The vulnerability of the folklore tradition to the influence and/or subversion and/or propaganda of the literary tradition and of those who, for better or whose, have an agenda, is witnessed in the question of how one describes the Great Famine. Over the years, despite 'revisionist' historians' attempts to downplay the negative role of the British government during the 1845-52 period, a number of words have come into the popular vocabulary in Ireland to describe the Great Famine. When one hears mention of 'genocide' and of 'holocaust' one cannot be sure what that demonstrates. Is it an attempt to describe the extent of the disaster? Or a symptom of the impoverishment of language? Or a reflection of awareness of connections with other victim groups, such as the Jews or North American Indians (without doubt, one of the most influential books in Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s was Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*)? Whatever the reason, it is worth noting that the form used in Irish speaking communities to describe the Great Famine — 'An Drochshaol' (literally, the Bad Life or Times) — is a clear euphemism which suggests a lack of willingness to confront the reality and the scale of the disaster.

[In parenthesis, it should be added that one finds reference to local names for part of the Famine period: in Inis Eoghain, Co. Donegal — *bliain na scidín* (1846, the year of the small

potatoes); or to other famine years (not specified) in Cork as *bliain na dturnaípi* (the year of the turnips) and *bliain an bhrain* (the year of the bran) in Kerry.]

In Cathal Póirtéir's volumes, *Famine Echoes* and *Glórtha ón Ghorta*, one finds material relating to an extensive range of topics: from the stigma of the Poorhouse to experiences building roads as part of the relief effort; from descriptions of death by fever to harrowing accounts of forced evictions and 'voluntary' surrendering of land; from the plight of those who died from the effects of eating raw uncooked Indian meal to emigration. One finds examples of the lesson of thrift: that one should never throw away a small potato, a lesson similar to one I have heard from people who lived through the Great Depression in Canada. Yet, while one finds gruesome accounts of people being buried alive, one has to admit that, as one would expect in the storytelling tradition, there is at times a fair amount of black humour associated with the accounts. For example, one hears mention of a character by the name of 'Yellow George' whose task it was to remove corpses from Tullamore workhouse. He is said to have replied to the protests of a man whom he was trying to bury that the doctor knew best (McHugh, 423). In a similar vein, one finds a story from West Cork, from Skibbereen, an area hit hard by the potato blight and famine. A child, presumed dead, was brought with corpses to the Abbey graveyard where many famine dead are buried. The child's legs were broken by the gravedigger's shovel before anyone realized that the child was alive. The child survived the Famine and lived a long life, but a verse was attributed to him to explain his bandy walk: "I arose from the dead in the year '48/ Though a grave in the Abbey had near been my fate ..." (McHugh, 424).

In the space available, it is difficult to do justice to the range of material covered in the Irish tradition. Instead, a limited sample — the

explanation for the Famine in the folk tradition; the other major stigma from the period of the Great Famine: the stigma of Souperism; and villains and heroes of the Famine — gives the flavour of the material, while allowing us to explore some of the issues that arise from these examples.

The following account from Co. Wicklow tells in suitably dramatic — indeed, apocalyptic — fashion the arrival of the potato blight:

Everybody was remarking to each other how dark the sky was. The old people all said they never saw such a coloured sky before. The wise or rather 'learned' people all said it was an eclipse of the sun. It was the topic of conversation with everybody. By night a thick blue fog had descended on the countryside and visibility was very poor.

The people went to bed in fear and dread that some great calamity was about to befall them. Next morning when they awoke and went out, to their consternation their lovely potato plants, which were in such bloom and showed such a promise of beautiful crops the day before, were all covered over with black spots and the leaves and stalks hanging down as if dead. (*Famine Echoes*, 34/5)

In the oral tradition, people attempted to make sense of a private tragedy, such as an infant's sudden death, by declaring that the fairy folk have taken the child. Similarly, the communal tragedy of the potato blight and famine are not explained as Nature's doing. Though one comes across a suggestion that the blight was caused by lack of abstinence from alcohol (McHugh quotes the following verse from a ballad in Kerry: "The pledge we've violated/ Blest Father Mathew gave us/ And that brought desolation/ To our poor country —"[395]), it is frequently stated that it was God's punishment for abusing his abundance. Time and time again, it is reported that potatoes were so abundant in the period directly before 1845 that people starting

destroying them. For example, there is an account from Co. Westmeath: "[There was] such a plentiful crop of potatoes that when they had them dug they didn't know what to do with the ones they didn't want, and they filled gaps with them, and they put more of them in heaps in the fields and set fire to them and burned them" (Ó Gráda, 20). While the following is from Co. Cork: "Old people said it was God's will to have the famine come, for people abused fine food when they had it aplenty. I heard it for a fact, that spuds were so plentiful that they were put out on the fields for manure." (Ó Gráda, 20)

As Cormac Ó Gráda notes in his study, *An Drochshaol. Béaloideas agus Amhráin*, there is no clear evidence to support the argument that there was any significant abundance in the period directly before 1845. What we have here is an attempt to explain the abnormal and to make sense of the disaster.

This question of Divine retribution for human folly fits into the broader element of millenarianism in contemporary Irish society. Millenarianism, the belief that cataclysmic events such as the Second Coming of Christ or the end of the world are imminent, is not a 20th Century phenomenon. In Ireland, in the year 1096 AD, there was general pandemonium as it was believed that Mogh Ruith, the Irish sorcerer credited with beheading John the Baptist on behalf of Herod Antipas, had brought a curse on Ireland. Nor were beliefs within Ireland in millenarianism limited to those who could be dismissed as ignorant clergy-ridden peasants. The Victorian historian, W. E. H. Lecky, notes in his famous survey of Ireland in the 18th century that the Irish M.P., Francis Dobbs, spoke against the Act of Union between Ireland and the United Kingdom in 1800 because "the independence of Ireland was written in the immutable records of heaven." Dobbs believed that the Messiah would soon come and reveal himself on a hill in Armagh and, though Parliament might pass the Act of

means of spreading Protestantism — although the only serious attempt to convert Catholics was that of the Methodists under John Wesley. However, in the post-Act of Union period, Protestant fundamentalists launched serious attempts to convert Irish Catholics. In the 1830s — at least a decade before the Great Famine — one finds Protestant evangelical groups setting up “colonies” as bases from which they could set out to proselytize and as refuges for converts.

One of the most fascinating features of this whole crusade is that much of the energy of these groups was focused on the west of Ireland, which was almost exclusively occupied by Irish speaking peasants. Due to the impoverished conditions in which the ordinary people lived, the institutional weakness of the Catholic Church and the paucity of Catholic clergy, and the support of large Protestant landlords (and their wives) who were sympathetic to the evangelical crusade, these radical Protestant groups believed that the West of Ireland was for turning. The most famous of the evangelical colonies were at Dingle, Co. Kerry (1831), and Achill, Co. Mayo, (1834), both established before the Great Famine.

While locals who converted to Protestantism were housed within these colonies and received, according to popular accounts, both financial rewards and education opportunities denied to the rest of the people, there was a price to pay for this in that it seems that the converts were ostracized by their neighbours.

Whatever about people converting to Protestantism for either educational or ideological reasons, what really got these colonies a bad name was the suggestion that they were using hunger and need as a method of proselytizing. While it may well be the case that individuals changed their faith for ideological reasons, it cannot be denied that many converted in order not to die of hunger or disease. From the Clifden area of Co. Galway, one gets the following account from a priest in 1849. Protestant evangelicals

were traveling from cabin to cabin, he wrote, “proffering food and money and clothing to the naked and starving on condition of their becoming members of their conventicles.” (Whelan, 147)

There is quite an array of similar reports from Catholic priests about the actions of the evangelicals and their success in using food as a weapon. While these priests can be challenged as being subjective, the evidence all-round supports the view that these Protestant fundamentalists, with their view of the world as a conflict between their righteousness and Catholic idolatry, could rationalize their policy of Souperism.

One finds mention of Scoil an tSúip (“the soup school”) as the local name for the small Protestant school on the remote Blasket Islands; and Páirc an tSúip (“the soup field”) also in West Kerry. One finds reference to curses placed on soupers by priests. While there are contemptuous attacks in the oral tradition on “soupers” and “jumpers”, “turners”, and “cat breacs” [speckled cats] — in fact, the word “pervert” seems to have been used on occasion — and on those, who according to the couplet recorded in Co. Longford “... sold their souls for penny rolls, / For soup and hairy bacon,” there is a lack of uniformity in the oral tradition. Sometimes, names are mentioned; frequently, they are not, not because they would not have been known locally, but because people were reluctant to give details to strangers and to offend neighbours. In some areas there is an understanding that many people had no choice. Not surprisingly, there is a number of trickster anecdotes about people who turned temporarily, i.e., once they could feed themselves again, they reverted to Catholicism. There is a well known story from Cork about locals being dressed up in fine clothes by the local Evangelical clergyman prior to the arrival of his superior. The locals are converted but the following Sunday they turn up in their fine clothes at Mass in the Catholic church where they proceed to renounce their conversion

as one caused by hunger. One informant notes that in areas where the newly converted Protestants remained Protestants, the locals refused to class them as 'real' Protestants.

It is impossible to say how many people 'took the soup' during the Famine years or how many of these remained Protestants subsequently. Reports in Evangelical journals of whole communities converting do not seem to have been accurate. In the Clifden area of Co. Galway, a major centre of this Protestant crusade, it was estimated by one Catholic source familiar with the region that by 1852 out of a population of 11,000, almost entirely Catholic, between 300-400 had been converted. After two decades of proselytizing and six years of food shortage, this amounted to less than 5% of the population.

After 1850, the Catholic hierarchy mounted what was essentially a counter-Reformation campaign, what Irene Whelan calls a "religious blitzkrieg," against the Evangelicals. One aspect of this was the campaign to build Catholic churches in the West. While the actions of the Evangelicals were sufficiently strong to make a lasting impression on the Irish folk tradition — to turn the stigma of Souperism into a genuine folklore motif — the force of the Catholic hierarchy's *blitzkrieg* strengthened the negative image of soupers and Souperism in the Irish Catholic consciousness. Once again, we see a non-folklore element — in this case, the Catholic Church's attitude — influencing the folklore tradition. And, in a related way, one can contend that the Catholic Church as an institution benefitted from the Famine. It was able to tap into the collective guilt of those who survived, and the fear of further horror, to encourage prayer and attendance at Church as a means of atonement for what had happened.

There are many accounts in the oral tradition of local landlords who evicted tenants, of 'gaimbín' men who took advantage of people's desperation, or of 'grabbers' who seized land

from unfortunates who could not manage the rent. In general, the villains in the oral tradition were those close to the ordinary people, rather than distant figures in London such as Robert Peel or Charles Trevelyan. While many stories deal with villains who are of Planter stock, it should be noted that many of the villains were also Irish Catholics. There is the strong sense that the Great Famine destroyed permanently bonds in the community, that in neighbours and family members having to do what they had to survive, this invariably meant turning their backs on their own at times (Ó Gráda, 3). This is summed up in the following reference from Sligo: "every man had to do for himself, and when a person died, not even his nearest relation would darken his door" (Ó Gráda, 24). Or in the following from Cork: "In my young days I used to hear old people discuss the awful cruelty practiced by farmers who were fairly well off against their poorer and less comfortable neighbours. The people who were old when I was young were never tired discussing how some of those taking advantage of the poorest of their neighbours used to offer the rent of their farms to the landlords and grab their farms..." Or from the same source: "Several people would be glad if the famine times were altogether forgotten so that the cruel doings of their forbears would not be again renewed and talked about by neighbours." (Ó Gráda, 24)

As in the case of those who took the soup, there is often more emphasis on the phenomenon of villainy than specific verifiable details of those who took advantage of others' misfortune. Frequently nicknames rather than full names are attached to these villains: 'the crony Byrne,'; or 'Peadar na Splainnce,' whose specialty was setting fire to the houses of those to be evicted; or 'Paddy the Puncher', a local gravedigger in Co. Tipperary, who according to the account recorded "earned this title from the manner in which he used to dispatch to eternity those poor people

who were on death's doors."

One particularly interesting named example is of a Father Naughton in Co. Cork who was responsible for distributing meal in his area. The informant recalls:

Instead of dividing the meal and stirabout honestly to the worthy and poor, he gave large quantities of it to relations of his called Gormans, who used it for fattening pigs and grew rich on account of it, so that they bought the land of Moule near Boherbue and grew rich and important on the spoils of Fr. Naughton's misbehaviour... I understand there are Gormans in Moule to this day, so that all people who do wrong and profit by it don't disappear from the earth in a generation or two. (*Famine Echoes*, 144)

This last comment refers to the general view in the folk tradition that not merely does bad luck follow those individuals who benefited from others' woe, but that there would be no descendants of these individuals. This is summed up in another story from East Cork, where the meal distributor, Den Dunlea, fed the meal to his animals and sold the remainder at a high price. "It was said that the priest cursed him and that there would not be one of the name in the place, and now the name has disappeared in the district." (*Famine Echoes*, 143)

There is a belief in the Irish tradition that local saints protected their region and community from attack, whether from hostile human aggressors or pestilence and plague. There is little obvious suggestion of this in traditions relating to the Great Famine. However, one finds a range of stories which tell about a charitable character, usually female, who provides food for the hungry. We have clear elements of traditional folk tales in these stories, as illustrated by the one dimensional characterization: the miserly husband versus the generous wife (McHugh, 405; Ó Gráda, 27-8). As Ó Gráda notes, these are versions of stories associated with Saint Brigid

which have been secularized and adapted to the specific circumstances of 19th century Ireland (Ó Gráda, 31).

Just as a curse followed those who did harm to others, there is a belief in the tradition that good luck followed those who helped the hungry and the sick. Interestingly enough, despite the subsequent popular perception, one finds accounts of good charitable landlords, with names cited.

It is important to recognize that the Great Famine also harmed the folk tradition of Ireland. Leaving aside its massive negative impact on the fortunes of the Irish language, the scale of the disaster, the sheer number of deaths, the fear of disease, and the mere task of continuing on led to disruption in customs associated with death. There was so much death in the west and south that people were buried in unmarked graves or in mass graves (e.g., Reilig an tSlé, outside Dungarvan on the main Cork road). One finds references to mass graves beside many of the poorhouses. It is said, according to one commentator: "People dying in Castlerea workhouse were put into a room along whose sloping floor-boards they could be slid into a grave-pit outside the gable; the gable grew black from the lime used and was called the Black Gable" (McHugh, 424). One particular area worth noting — as it fits into this argument that the Catholic authorities benefited from the horror — is that of the wake. Seán Ó Súilleabháin's *Irish Wake Amusements*, his English language translation of his book *Caitheamh Aimsire ar Thórraimh*, with its colourful accounts of the activities practiced at wakes, is a testament to the way in which in traditional Irish society people viewed the wake not just as a means of bidding farewell to the deceased, but as a way of helping the survivors cope with the grieving process. As such it served a basic psychological need in the community.

From the Church's perspective, the keening,

the drinking and the folk drama were dangerous pagan abuses. Ó Súilleabháin gives a selection of pastoral letters and decrees from synods, dating from the early 17th century to the early 20th century, condemning keening, drinking and forbidding young single people from attending wakes. One can surmise from the fact that the bishops kept issuing these condemnations over a three hundred year period that they had not been very successful in curbing the activities at wakes.

Although elements of the traditional Irish wake have survived into our own times, the Famine signalled the beginning of the end of this ancient custom. It is worth noting, however, that as chain emigration spiralled after the Famine, the term, the 'American Wake', referring to the send off for those going into exile, comes to the fore. In times gone by, the departure of one's loved ones to the New World was the equivalent to their death. Once again, this form of the wake sought to console those who were left behind.

In conclusion, one can state the following about the vast range of material in the Irish folk tradition about the Great Famine. The emphasis is always on the local, never on the distant or the abstract. The Famine transformed the folk tradition, as it transformed Ireland. Just as many people lost and some benefited from the Famine, the oral tradition both gained and lost by the events of 1845-1852.

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Irene Whelan, "The Stigma of Souperism," in Póirtéir, *The Great Irish Famine*, 135-154.

This is an edited version of a paper delivered at the Famine 150 Conference in Saint John, New Brunswick, June 1997.

Irish Videotape Collection

During the recent exhibition of Irish Art at the Dalhousie University Art Gallery, the Chair of Irish Studies assisted in a small way in arranging the showing of a number of video tapes on a variety of Irish subjects. These were acquired jointly by the Art Gallery and ourselves. Following the exhibition it was agreed that the videos would become part of the Chair's Audio/Visual collection. We are extremely grateful for the Dalhousie Art Gallery's generosity in this matter. Special thanks to Curator Mern O'Brien and facilitator of the Irish Exhibition Susan Gibson-Garvey.

We would like to make these videos available to anyone interested in seeing them. To this end the videos are listed below and if you would wish to arrange to view them, please contact the Chair of Irish Studies Secretary at (902)420-5519. If you have any video tape material on an Irish subject which you might wish to add to our collection, please contact us at the number listed above.

The Irish Country House; Man of Aran; The Curse of Cromwell; Ballad of the Irish Horse; The Penal Days; Mother Ireland; Men of Ireland; Irish Homecoming; When Ireland Starved; Derek Mahon; Eavan Boland; Seamus Heaney; Oileán Eile; Michael Collins-The Shadow of Béal na Bláth.

1664 Hearth Money Roll for the Baronies of Ida and Offa, Co. Tipperary

Cyril J. Byrne

By an Act of the Irish Parliament of 1662, it was declared that "From and after the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and sixty two, every dwelling and other house and edifice that are or hereafter shall be erected within this Kingdom of Ireland, ... shall be chargeable ... and are charged ... for every firehearth, and other place used for firing and stove within every such house and edifice as aforesaid, the sum of two shillings, sterl. , by the year, to be paid yearly and every year at the feast of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin St. Mary, and the feast of St Michael the Archangel, by even and equal portions." This tax was payable by the tenants and not the landlords. Those liable to pay were entered in lists according to the county, barony, parish and townland in which they lived. These lists are known as "Hearth Money Rolls."

The originals of the HMR were all destroyed in the conflagration which destroyed the Four Courts at the start of the Irish Civil War in 1922. However, before their destruction, some copies were made by local historians such as Canon Carrigan (*History of the Diocese of Ossory* [Kilkenny]) and Laffin (*Tipperary Families*). Canon Carrigan's transcriptions for Co. Kilkenny have been edited and published in *The Irish Genealogist* 1974-5 (Volume 5, Nos. 1 & 2). Canon Burke for his *History of the Town of Clonmel* included an appendix with the 1664 Hearth Money Rolls for the Baronies of Ida and Offa. These two Baronies include the towns of Clonmel and Carrick and contingent townlands whence numerous immigrants came to Atlantic Canada in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. It is of interest to note, for example, the five O'Donels (with the varied spellings of the surname) in the Knocklofty area because it was there that Bishop James O Donel, first Catholic Bishop for Newfoundland, was born. While no definite connection between the Bishop and the O Donels listed in the 1664 HMR can be established, the HMR confirms the family's strong presence in Knocklofty almost a hundred years before the Bishop's birth. Similarly, it may be possible to establish a probable connection for other families who know their approximate place of origin in Co. Tipperary. For that reason we are including Canon Burke's HMR list from his now out-of-print and difficult of access history. Who knows, someone may be able to extend a family tree, however provisionally, by making a close scrutiny of this list.

The list is published as it is in Canon Burke's history. Since many of those who are listed there were Irish-speakers, their names are in an obviously attempted anglicized version of the names and care should be taken in attempting to rationalize the modern spellings of surnames with what is in the 1664 list. It is interesting to note the extensive use of Norman "fitz" for "son of" when indicating a line of descent and it is important to emphasize that generally these are not surnames as are Fitzgerald or Fitzmaurice but simply the continuing legal use of the form "fitz" instead of "son of."

(p) In the H.M. returns where there is more than one hearth, the number is indicated in brackets. *Carrick* - Daniel Connelly, Daniel Maher, Donough Flynn, David Magher, John Pendergrast (thirteen obliterations), Henry Davies, John Bryan, John the hatter, James Mortimer, James Linch (2, an oven and a kiln), John Faker (2), James Neale junior (3), John Potter, John McGrath junior, John Carew (2), John Corrigan, Ignatius Driver, John O'Fyne, James Paton, John Fline, John Fitzmurray, John McGrath junior, John Cudihy, James Comerford, James Meagher, John Slane, John Pill, James Neale jun., Giles Daniell, John Brenoge, James Canane, Corn. Bryan, Kenedy Quin (2), Michael Samott (3), Morish Mahony, Morish Whelahan, Marcus Henrahan, Michael Lynch, Philip Brenagh, Peter Cahoe (3), Peter Linch, Peter Cullnane, Phillip Brenagh, Peter Brenagh, Peter Milward (3), Paul Dugin, Richard Dixon (3), Richard White, Richard Dowly, Richard Conway, Robert McTeige, Richard Brenagh, Robert Butler, Thomas Shephard (3), Thomas Reyly, Teig Hickey, Thomas Gaule, Thomas Kerwicke, Thomas McGrath, Thomas Stasie, Thomas Neale (3), Thomas McDanniell, Thomas Mortimer, William Headin (3), William Barnard (4), Walter Wallice (3), Walter Neale (3), Walter Cleare, William Hennard (2), Walter Deveran (3), Walter Andren, Walter Callure, William Kennedy (3), Walter Pollane, James Hartrey, William Clayton (2), Katherine Sutton (5), William Hackett, Teig Kealy, Thomas Kealy, James English (2 and a forge), William Ryan, William McEdmund, Walter Butler, Donnough Dwyre, Thomas Welsh, Phillip Kennedy, Edmund Wedner, David Woodlock, Edmd. McCleare.

(q) *Richardstown* - Bryan Hogane (2), William Shea, Dermot Costello, Dermot Neale, William McDavid, John Duigin, Thomas Cantwell, William Donoghov, two waste houses. *Mainstown* - Pierce Neale (2), John Connolly,

Morrish Linchey, William McJohn, John Neale, Thomas Neale, Teige Carrow, three waste houses. *Butlerstown* - Edmund Mandeville (2), Edmund Laffan, Brennen Helane, John Power, Dermot Funell, Morish McThomas, Teig Micane, Phillip Dempsey, three waste houses.

(r) *Ballyneale* - John Shaw (5), John Carroll, William Sexton. *Lisdobur* - Lewis Davy (2), Brian Meane, William Mahoony, Daniel Sexton, John Welch, Thomas McWalter, Phillip Kennedy, James Daton, Philip Meane, William Neale. *Mologh* - James Blanchfield (2), Patrick Quean, Donogh Kelly, Edmond Clenane, William Dergan, Ellice Carrew. *Figlassy* - John Neale (2), John Shea, David Neale, Nicholas McDavid, William Hogan, James McJohn, John Quine, Dermot Morrish, Teig Dowley, Richard McWilliam, waste four. *Ballyneecloony* - Pierce Daton (2), Richard Hanyne, Philip Hanyne, James Welsh, Thomas Shea, Ellen Mahoony, William Webstere, Richard Hogan, three waste. *Ardcollum* - Thomas Quoan (2), waste house. *Ballynoran* - John Butler (2), Thomas Browder, William Leahy, Morris McEdmund, waste house. *Balynemony* - Nicholas Roche (2), John Twohy, Thomas McGrath, John Phelane, two waste. *Curraghdobbin* - Thomas Mandeville (2), Morris Power, Lewis Walsh, William Gonigh, Peter Wall, John Morris, two waste. *Muerety* - Walter Elmer (2), John Phelan, James Dwyer, Nicholas Knaron, John Mahoony, David Hennessy, John Butler, Mologh Phelan, Morris Guise, three waste. *Contagh* - Thomas McGrath (2), John Murphy, Francis Thomas, Darby Murphy, Edmund Bourke, William Kenna, three waste. *Ballythomas* - Murtagh Doran, Edmund Tobin, Thomas Davin, Moris Shulavan, Thomas McEdmund, John Burke, three waste. *Ballydine* - James Mandeville (2), James Morrish, David Cowny, John Cowny, Michael McTeig, Richard Birne (a forge), Edmund Hogan, John Carby, William Hogan, Morris Walsh, one waste.

(s) *Maganstown* - James Dwan, David Seaton, Philip Seaton, one waste. *Kilsheelan* - William Mulloony, Thomas Leamy, William Burke, George Clarke (2), John Wall, James Meagher, three waste. *Ballyneraha* - John Mandeville (5), John Cooke (2), Richard Cormac, Connor Carroll, Rowland Cooke, Edmund Kennedy, Cormack McDonnell, David Ryan, John Gow, Darby Quidehy, Edmond Mire, James Melode, Edmond Hogan, Thomas Shea, Richard Maloony, Mrs. Mandeville (2), four waste. *Poulekerry* - Thomas Webb (2), James Dalton, David Hogan, Peirse Neale, Noany Hally, two waste. *Newtown Anner* - Michael White (4), Edmund O'Mooney, John foley, Thomas Walsh, Daniel O'foley, Neal O' Daniel, Darby Cleare, Ellen Breen, two waste. *Ballinamore* - Dermot McGrath, John Daniell, Richard O'Mullryan, James O'Daniell, Edmond Hogan, Donough Hogan, one waste. *Seskin* - Philim O'Neale (2), Peirse Conway, William Trehy, William Loghnane, William Rea, Turlogh Daniell, David Connell (a forge), Mclaghlin Forin, three waste. *Ballyglasheen* - Mrs. Valentine Blunt (5), James Heelan (2), Donogh Dwyre, William Connell, John Kennedy, Philip Dempsey, Pierse Dempsy, William Godfrey, John Maher, Richard McJohn, Ellen Kelly, two waste.

(t) *Milodstown* - Thomas Clarke (2), Richard Thompson, Edmund Hanye, Dermot McGrath, James Clancy, William Quinlan, two waste. *Kilnoryse* - Donough McWilliam, James McJohn, James Comerford, Richard Harrell, two waste. *Cloughcorrigeen* - Francis Neale (2), Paul Roughan, John Hogan, Catherine Wall, Ellice Brittan, Ellen Quirke, Margaret Wall, William Cooney, Thomas Butler, three waste.

(u) *Templeheny* - Michael Gwin (2), John Bawn, Hugh Bee, Connor McDonough, Josneagh Egane, William McTeige, Edmund Duggin, Richard McTibbott, John Bevane, John Gegan, Thomas Crottie, Darby Skehane (a forge) two waste.

Ballyboe - Edmond Bacon, Loughlin Quigley, Thomas Friscan, Roger Murphy, Hugh Quin, William Loghlin, Thomas Anglasny, Margaret Butler, Edmond White, John McThomas, Edward Mandeville, Catherine McRichard, John McOwen, Teig McJohn, Owen Walsh, four waste. *Killorney* - Oliver Walsh (2), Richard Morrissy, Edmond O'Shehan, Morris Currin, Margaret Ultagh, Edmond Wall, John Healy, James Dempsey, Theobald Butler, Thomas Fennessy, Walter Welsh, William Connolly, John Crehane, Derby Clansy, Jane Neale, Pierce Connor, David Helane, Teige Moloughny, Connor McRyan, James White [44 names obliterated], Stephen Cooke, James Roe, James Walsh, Thomas McJohn, Michael Spillane, Owen Quigley, Murtogh Mahony, Donough Morrissy, Daniel Mahony, Elizabeth Brenoge, Teig Maher, Thomas Shea, More Dungane, Donough Egane, Pierce Dalton, Donough Clovane, William Mongan, Augustus Kehoe, Teig Trohy, John Evistin, Edmund Helane, Thomas Mahoney, Jeffrey Walsh, William Grady, Giles Kelly, Patrick Henden, Thomas Royly, Dermot Boggy, Thomas Massan, Richard Lundy, Terlogh Dulane, Daniel Dwyne, John Magher (a forge), David Stoake, five waste. *Coolonan* - James Walsh (2), William Connell, Edmund Brittan, Donogh Grady, William Welsh, John O'Fennessy, two waste. *Lisnetubrid* - John Butler (2), Pierse Butler, Pierse Cantwell, Donogh Cleare, Pierse Butler, John O'Mahone, Philip Phelane, James Poore, William McDonnell, Andrew Bushell, Catherine McPhilip, Thomas Healy (a forge), William Kelly, Robert Poore, John Connell, William Roe, William Morrissy, Constance Duevane, Edmund Mulcahey, William McBryan, James Stapleton (2), Ellen McJohn, six waste. *Templny* - Darby Quin, Mary Welsh, David Lyne, Elizabeth Quin, Jeffrey Walsh.

(v) *Breanermore* - William Lunny, Richard Dan, John Hine, Dermot Dolohanty, John McDarby, John McPhilip, James Morris, Phillip Meagher,

Morris Reily (2), two waste houses, the mill of Kelleagh. *Tulaghea* - Piers Butler (2), John Daniell, John Croake, Richard Daw, Morris McEdmund, Robert Patrick, William Kervicke, three waste.

(w) *Priortown* - Owen Hogan, Daniel Higgin, John Flahertie, Danil Givey, two waste. *Butlerstown* - Mr. Thomas Mandeville (2), Peter Wall, Simon Forestall. *Kilolane* - John McDermot, John McTeig, one waste.

(x) *Glenleamy* - John Murphy (2), Pierce Richard, John Maxy, William Bough, Connor Bane, Teig Meagher, three waste. *Powerstown* - Teig Murphy (2), Edmond Connor, John Mackey, Joane Cones, two waste. *Redmondstown* - Edmond Phillip (2), Darby Meagher (a forge), William Kearne, David Hennessy, James Welsh, David Dorney, John Rissord, Thomas Welsh, Thomas McRichard, three waste. *Ballivoher* - Donough Edmund, John Meagher, Thomas Meagher, John Currane, three waste [five obliterations]. *Rathkivan* - John O'Neale (2), one waste. *Ballinmony* - John Mullraine (2), John Meagher, James Deraley, John Moholohane, two waste.

(y) *Rathronan* - Henry Thompson (2), Daniel Ryan, Daniel Deane, Logh Shellane (a forge), Loghlin Hicklane, John Dwire, Darby Raghter, Donough Meagher, Thomas Bourke, Thomas Heale, John McRichard, two waste. *Orchardstown* - Richard Kelly, Darby Meagher, John McDonogh, Edmd Kelly, two waste. *Lawlestown* - Walter Dowgan, John Neale, two waste.

(z) *Lisronagh* - Teig Carrol (2), Edmond Heffernan, William Cassin, Darby Carroll, William Gowe (2), Daniel Cleary, Ellen Horner, William Curran, William Burke, Theobald Burke, Richard Howett, David Hogan, Daniel Carroll, David Hoghy, Teig McEdmond, Daniel Helane, John Dughey, Redmond Howett, Margaret Lonergan, John Neale. *Monemehill* - Henry Francis (2), Pierce

Daw, Teig McJohn, two waste. *Cahirclough* - William Dwyre (2), Edmond Helane, William Helane, Morris Murphy, James Wodloke, Teig Neale, Thomas Keating, Darby Hogan, Thomas Dwyre, Joane Daniell, John Dorny, four waste. *Killmore* - David Welsh (2), Philip Connell, Bryan Daniell, William McTeig, John Hogan, Constance Hogan, Edmond Hackett (2), John David, Owen McRichard, John McRichard, Thomas Butler, Connor Mulryan, Daniel Heffernan, Richard Power, four waste. *Garranmorhy* - William Edmond (2), Walter Welsh, James Keyley, Thomas Brenane, William Richard, William Clensey, Morris Dowell, John Rowe, Philip Rowe, John Allen, John Mullryan, Donogh Meaghan, Constance Daniell, four waste.

(aa) *Ballygarrane* - Philip English, gent., John O'Fahy, Bennet White, Edmond Brennock, Donogh Heine. *Garryroe* - Brian O'Lonergan, Edmund fitz Maurice and Kenedy ni Davy Lonergan, Francis Hurley, Donal O'Hogan - Fiants Elizabeth.

(bb) *Knockenana* - Pardon to Piers Butler and More ny Brean his wife, 1599. *Ballytarsney* - Nicholas Hackett, gent., Richard Hackett, kern, Connor O'Meagher, Thomas Butler, gent., Richard fitz John O'Maher, yeoman, John Kearney fitz William, Walter fitz Redmond Hackett, yeoman. *Mollaghoney* - Edmond, Walter and Thomas Butler, gentleman. - Ibid.

(cc) *Ballyclearahan* - James Ballaughe Butler, Richard fitz Edmd Tobin, Morough McCahill, kerns, Patrick Purcell, Gibbon Blanchfield, horsemen, Edmond and Jeffry Mockler, James and Nicholas McCodie, yeomen. - Fiants, Elizabeth.

(dd) *Moortown* - Richard Keating, gent., John Keating fitz Richard Duf, and David Burke, yeoman, Thomas and William Brenagh,

husbandmen. *Kilballynemona* - Morish and Derby Buren, Robt. reough, Garret fitz Edmund Prendergast, Garret Fennell, Dermot O'Donnell, Mlaughlin and Terence McShane O'Donnell, Conor fitz John Daniel, yeomen, William McDonough, Thomas O'Kennedie, Thomas Burke fitz Richard, Edmund Burke fitz Edward. - Ibid.

(ee) *Ballindoney* - Morris Phelane, husbandman, Richard roe Keating, gent., Mahon O'Hogan. *Ballythomas* - William Bourke, Loughlin O'Mulrian, Morish English, Donagh McQuin, yeomen, David McHenry Bourke. *Nicholastown* - John Keating, Richard Keating, gent., Edmund Keating, yeoman, William Keating, John Bourke, yeoman, Robert Keating, yeoman, Richard Butler, gent. *Garryroe* - Edmund fitz Maurice Lonergan, farmer, Richard Burke Dermot, Francis Hurley, David Hurley, Daniel O'Hogan, Kennedy McDavid Lonergan, Brian O'Lonergan, John Daniel, John McSheehy, Edmond and Barnaby Karney fitz Philip.

(ff) *Cahir and Mortlestowne parishes* - Edmund Daniel (3 and a kiln), Thomas White (2), Richard Goulding, Mathew Evans, Walter Poore, Leonard Creagh (2), Thomas Carroll, Thomas Cooke, Constance Daniell, Walter Nory, William Murphy, James Murphy, Patrick Shurthall, Thomas Meagher, Nicholas Butler, Nicholas Morony, Thomas Kearney, Daniel Hickey (a forge), Edmund Tobin, Thomas Cohane, Philip McWilliam, Connor Duffe, Daniel Hickey (a forge), John Pendergrass, James McWilliam, Thomas McAdam, Thomas Roe (2), Thomas Tobin, Piers White, William Hogan, John Browne, Philip Mullany, Edmund McAdam, (six illegible), William Roe, Thomas Powell (four illegible), John Riddle, Garret Mageon, John Milode, William McEdward, Walter Morrishy, Philip Meagher, Phillip Corane, Thomas Dee, Edmund O'Quirke, Roger Keneghane, Daniel Meagher (a

forge), William McQuin, Andrew Laid (3 and an oven), Phillip Keatinge, Patrick Tobin, David Hickey, six waste. *Cahir Abbey* - Jeffry Mockler (2), John Scolane, Piers Butler, Teig Gow (a forge), James Walsh, David McShane, William McTeig, Daniel Clavane, Thomas Scolane, John McKelly, David Bourke, James Bath, Millany Lorkane, Roger Lonergan, Richard McShane, Richard Toben, Joane Luby, two waste. *Ballybradoc* - Edmund Keating (3), John Carroll, Teig Maher, William Heany, John Dowdy, Manus Lahy, Evans David, William Meagher, Murtogh Phelane, Richard Hennessy, two waste. *Kilcommonbeg* - John ffennell (5), Richard Valkine, Brian Daniell, Edmund Daniell, William Boy, Morish Daton, David Hickey, John McMahon, John McTeig, John Cahasy, Conor Dugan (a forge), one wate. *Clonmore* - Darby Leagh, Darby Doorane, David Hogan, David McWilliam. - H.M. Returns

(gg) *Rochestown* - William English fitz Eustace, gent., John English, John Wall, Redmond English, Edmond Keating, Teig Etermen McGillepatrick, Edmund English fitz John, horsemen, Edmund English, gent., and Ellen Morris, his wife, John Piers, and James his sons. *Ardfinnan* - James and David Gall, horsemen, David Agherane, Brian O'Byrne, Edmund Brenagh, James Butler fitz Theobald, William fitz James Brenagh, John Butler, gent., James Tobin, John O'Donil, David Hickey fitz Thomas, Piers Forstall, Thomas O'Comyn, Edward Blake. *Clonacody* - Edmund Butler fitz Theobald, Derby Meagher, Philip McTeig O'Meagher. - Fiants, Elizabeth:

(hh) *Neddans* - Teig Duff McDonogh, James Ronane, vicar, Edmund and Jeffry Prendergast, yeoman. *Lackmackorish* - Richard Prendergast fitz Maurice, gent. *Rathogally* - Thomas Prendergast, Robert Prendergast, husbandmen, John Prendergast, Thomas fitz John, Robert fitz John, kerns, Robert fitz Thomas, yeomen. *Cloghcully* - Patrick English, kern, Laurence

Brennagh, horseboy, Derby McDonil, David fitz Morris, yeoman, Edmund Butler fitz Theobald, Thomas Fennessy, William Kelly. *Mollough* - Walter Prendergast, yeoman, David fitz Edmund O'Donnell, William Flaghie, John fitz Morris McDermodie, David McShane and John McRorie McGrath. - Ibid

(ii) *Knockeen* - Donel reogh O'Keanedy, husbandman, William Hykey, weaver, William McEvarde, husbandman, Morris fitz Robert Prendergast, yeoman. *Tullaghamelan* - William Wall, horseman, Edmund Prendergast, clerk, Donagh O'Glissan. *Ballymorris* - Daniel McPhilip McRorie McGrath, gent., Brien Kennedy, Teig O'Brien, Turlogh O'Kennedy, William Cleary, Ulick Burke, fitz William fitz Thomas and Honor Kennedy his wife, Edmund fitz Philip Prendergast, John Birne, Conor O'Meagher, Thomas fitz John fitz Geoffry, William and John fitz Thomas McGrath. *Ballybeg* - Gerald Prendergast fitz Philip, Edmund and Jeffry fitz James Prendergast, yeoman, Catherine Margaret and Grany, daughters of Donald O'Trohie, physician, James Fennell, physician, Symon Cantwell. *Graig* - David McEdmond Galdie Burke, gent., Patrick fitz David, Gillepatrick O'Dowle, Edmund O'Rian, Edmund O'Farrell, Conor Tenors, yeoman, Richard Grace, gent., Thomas Butler, Rorie O'Brien, yeoman, Richard Hackett fitz Philip. *Knocklofty* - Thomas Keating, John and Manus McHugh O'Donnell, Dermot McCon O'Daniell, Edmund Prendergast, Morris fitz Robert Prendergast, yeomen, Rorie McDonil O'Meagher, goldsmith, James Butler alias Goldie, gentleman, Dermot McQuin O'Donil, Donogh O'Donell, James English fitz Walter, William reogh O'Mehollaghan, James Keating fitz Richard, yeoman. - Ibid.

(jj) *Newcastle* - Geffry Prendergast, gent., John fitz James Prendergast, James fitz Thomas Prendergast, yeomen, Philip and Hugh

O'Meagher, carpenters, Morris Prendergast, carpenter, Owen McDonogh McGrath, Morris Brenagh, Morris Byrne, husbandmen, William Gorman, William Keating, James Prendergast, gent., Owen and Morris Aherne, Geoffry brack Prindergast, John McDonel Aherne, Maurice McRedmond Condon, William McMorris Tobin, Teig McDonel Jenowan, Thomas Morcho, kerns. *Kilnecarriga* - Richard fitz Morris Prendergast, yeoman, Edmund Prendergast, gent. *Croane* - Thomas fitz Robert Prendergast, horseman, Garrot Prendergast, Walter Prendergast, husbandmen. *Clasgany* - William Birran fitz Richard, husbandman. *Garryduff* - Thomas leith Prendergast, Thomas O'Keating, husbandman, Morris Kinagh Prendergast, William fitz Thomas Butler, Theobald Butler, sheriff, Thos. McGilleniff O'Dwyer, yeoman, Derby O'Dwan, harper, William Burke, gent., Thomas Berran fitz Richard. *Curraghcloney* - Donogh ap O'Hallinan, yeoman, Connor O'Cullinan. *Ballysallagh* - James fitz Geoffry Prendergast, William O'Carran, Edmond Keating, farmers, John fitz Robert Prendergast, Morris Carragh Prendergast, husbandman. - Ibid.

(kk) *Gormanstown* - Thomas Keating, James Keating, Kenedy O'Lonergan, husbandmen. *Tullagh* - Nicholas Daton, James fitz William oge Butler, David Fanning, Thomas O'Cashen, Donal McEa buy, Edward Kelly fitz Barnaby, John Keating, Turlogh O'Haleghan, Thomas O'Haleghan, Edward Keating, Edward Prendergast. *Kildonogh* - Theobald McWalter, Brian O'Donel, Edmond fitz James Prendergast, horseman, Geffry and Robert fitz James, kerns, James Nevill Prendergast, Thomas Prendergast. *Garryroe* - Richard Burke Dermot, Francis and David Hurlie, Donal O'Hogan, Kenedy McDavie Lonergan, Brian O'Lonergan, Edward fitz Maurice Lonergan. *Frehans* - Thomas Prendergast fitz Robert, gent., Thomas Wall, John O'Kenedy, Conor McGranell, Alstrum Bourke fitz Richard, Walter Prendergast, gent., Felix O'Mulryan and

Simon Lonergan, kerns, Thomas O'Morrissey and David Healie, horsemen, Jeffry Prendergast, yeoman. *Killmeen* - Thomas roth fitz James Prendergast, gent., Edmund Prendergast, husbandman. *Ballyhestie* - David and William Bourke fitz Thomas. - Ibid.

(ll) *Burgess* - John McGrath McEneas, gent., Rory McEa McGrath, Hugh McRorie McGrath, John fitz Thomas Lonergan, yeoman. *Kilcoran* - Donogh O'Dowdy, husbandman, Mahon O'Dea, husbandman. *Whitechurch* - Richard fitz Maurice Prendergast, Manus McShihie, yeomen, William O'Corban, husbandman, Redmund and William English, kerns, Walter fitz Henry. *Rehill* - Teig O'Heffernan, Walter Neale, James O'Haghir, James Helane, Patrick O'Haghir, Hugh Keogh, John Bathe, Owen Clancy, yeomen, John fitz William Burke, Edmond O'Donull, John McDonogh, Darby O'Meagher, James Hickey, Philip Braghan, William McOwen, husbandmen. *Roosca* - Redmond Comyn, Thomas fitz Theobald Purcell, William Butler, Edmund McShihie. *Ballydrenan* - David Oge Lonergan, horseman, John fitz William Lonergan, husbandman, Donogh O'Fennesy, smith. *Tubrid* - Philip Oge Lonergan, yeoman, William Greehan, Daniel O'Reilly, husbandmen, Donogh Moel McGrath. *Ballylomasna* - Owen McGrath, John McOwen McGrath, gents, John McTomie, Flan McOwen and Rorie McThomas, farmers. *Drumloman* - William McDonnell, Teig O'Lonergan, horseman, William McShane McGrath, William McThomas, Donogh O'Kennedy, Donogh O'Loughnan, John Loughnan, husbandmen. *Ballingarran* - Daniel O'Heyn, William Lonergan, husbandmen, Philip English, Owen J. Connerie. - Ibid.

(mm) *Shanraghan* - Richard Keating, gent., Richard more Tobyn. *Carrigvieale* - Donogh MacShane oge Barehie, gent. *Coolenaallagh* - Patrick English, Donnell reagh O'Kenna. *Clogheen* - John O'Hylane, shoemaker. *Ballyboy* - Maurice

fitz Edmond fitz Gibbon, gent., Thomas O'Hogan. *Castlegrace* - William O'Mighan, yeoman, William McTeig O'Gorman, Dermot O'Ryan, John O'Hickey, carpenters, Owen Corban and John Butler, butchers, Philip McEdmond O'Lonergan and William McGrath, tailors, Dermot Ahearne, weaver, Gillpatrick O'Hickey, smith, Richard English, Garret McThomas McGrath, John O'Sheelly, Mathew Flyn, husbandmen, Dermot O'Donnell, John English, yeoman, Donogh Molony, goldsmith. *Carriganroe* - Patrick English. *Garryduff* - Derby O'Dwan, harper.

Some of the townlands enumerated in Shanraghan parish belong at present to County Cork.

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