

Covers: Ordnance Survey of Millstreet Town, surveyed in 1902, revised in 1933

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M I L L S T R E E T
M I S C E L L A N Y

(7)

edited

by

Jack Lane

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WHY QUEEN VICTORIA DIDN'T STOP TO SAY HELLO?

When Queen Victoria visited Killarney in August 1861. She travelled by train and was expected to make a stop at Millstreet station to acknowledge the greetings of her local loyal subjects. However, she did not stop, no doubt to the great disappointment of those who had looked forward to such things. The possible reason for her uninterrupted journey became the subject of a court case the following month which was reported as follows in "The Cork Examiner" (10 September, 1861). A disloyal reception had been feared.

A charge of rather an unusual nature was brought before the Petty Sessions, at Millstreet, yesterday. It was against Mr. James Cooper, shopkeeper, Millstreet. The summons was instituted in the name of "the Queen at the prosecution of the Millstreet Constabulary" and was to the effect that the defendant did, "on Sunday, the 25th day of August, 1861, at Millstreet, unlawfully and maliciously post, publish, and exhibit, and did cause to be posted, published, and exhibited, on the outside of one of the windows of his house, a certain placard containing a seditious libel on her Majesty the Queen, contrary to the statute in such case made and provided." The summons was signed by Mr. F. J. Davys, R.M. The interest excited in the case was, it is needless to say, very great, and the Courthouse was filled to crowding with inhabitants of Millstreet and the neighbourhood. The magistrates presiding were: - Mr. McCarthy O'Leary and Mr. F. J. Davys, R.M. The case commenced about one o'clock.

Mr. Byran Gallwey, Sessional Crown prosecutor, conducted the prosecution, and Mr. Allen, appeared for Mr. Cooper.

Mr. Gallwey stated the case. "He appeared," he said, "on behalf of the Crown, and by direction of the Government to apply for informations (criminal charges /accusations. J. L.) against Mr. James Cooper, for having written and published a seditious

libel. On Sunday the 25th August last, being the day preceding that upon which it was publicly announced that her Majesty was to stop at the Millstreet station, on her journey to Killarney, a placard appeared upon the window of the house of Mr. Cooper, who had a shop in the town. The placard was taken down shortly by the police. Immediately afterwards, however, a second placard was put up, and a copy of this was also taken down by the police. Cooper upon the first being taken down, went to the police and said that he was the author of it, and wanted to get it from them. They refused to return the placard. He would read the first placard to the Bench; it was as follows:-

" Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah for
Repeal!
Away with the 'Tithes' bill! Down with the
Tithes!
Three cheers for the Pope, Christ's vicar
on earth!
Three groans for the English who try to
hurt him on earth!
Let these be your watchword, my brave
Celtic boys,
While no confusion you 'll scare all time-
serving slaves,
You know the dire wrongs that on your
country have fallen,
To redeem her at once on her brave sons
she is calling,

*Not by blood does she hope these blessings
to gain,
Nor by slavish jubilations, as Royalty
passes by train,
But by united demands her rights to obtain,
All of which in one word are contained in
'Repeal,'
Less than which neither now nor forever
will satisfy any honest true Gael "*

The second one was an exact copy of this,
with two additional lines at the foot:-

*"If tomorrow then is fine boys,
I'd have you mind your hay,
No slavishly going about
to see the bye play*"*

Mr. Gallwey then proceeded to give the Bench the definition furnished by the best authorities in criminal law as to what sedition was. Russell said: "any words, act or writing, tending to lessen the Sovereign in the esteem of her subjects, or calculated to bring the sovereign into contempt or ridicule," and Starkey, another able writer, stated it to be "anything done tending to alienate the affection of the people from the Sovereign, or to weaken the ties of allegiance and loyalty." Now, when the time and the occasion on which these placards were put out, were considered, a Sunday, while the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood were returning from their respective places of worship, and the day just previous to her Majesty being about to appear at the station, where preparations were being made for her reception, the seditious tendency of these placards would be at once seen: for what can be more calculated to bring her Majesty into ridicule and contempt than to have it said in effect that the unanimous and cordial loyal feelings exhibited by all classes of Irishmen was "slavish jubilation!" And again the people were advised to abstain from paying the respect and loyalty due to her Majesty,

thereby, to use the language just quoted, endeavouring," to alienate the affections of the people from their Sovereign, and to weaken the ties of loyalty and allegiance."

Having made these few preliminary observations, he would "proceed to lay the evidence before the court, and would then call on the Bench to take information against the defendant."

Head Constable John Sherin was then sworn and examined by Mr. Gallwey.

"I reside in Millstreet and am Head-Constable in charge of the Millstreet party of constabulary; I recollect Sunday the 25th August last; on that day about 3 o'clock I saw a placard on the window of the house of James Cooper; it was outside; there were a crowd of persons about the window reading the placard, when I saw it." "Did you order the placard to be taken down?" Mr. Allen objected:- "The head - Constable's orders had nothing to do with the issue."

Examination continued.

"The placard was taken down by the police; I shortly afterwards saw a second placard up in the same place; that was not ordered to be taken down as it was a mere copy of the first with the addition of the two lines at foot (identifies the placard, which was written on calico about two feet long and eighteen inches broad); that was taken down by Constable Curran."

Mr. Allen: "A good name to be linked with such a thing."

Witness: "Ordered him and Constable Leary to do so; afterwards I heard Cooper say he had told the police that he was the author of the placard."

Cross-examined by Mr. Allen: "How long are you in the force?" "Twenty- two years." "Were you ever at any of the Repeal meetings?" "No, I was not." "Did you ever hear Mr. O'Connell make a speech?" "I did once, in Bandon." "Now will you take that valuable document in your hands (the placard) will you point out to me what you complain of

in it?" "I don't complain of anything, in it."
"What did you do with it when you got it?" "I reported it to the Government. I thought it was an ill-advised thing, to have posted up." "What is the part of it you think ill-advised." "I thought the whole tenor of it so." "You say you heard Mr. O'Connell in Bandon - now in his speech, as a loyal constable, I ask you, didn't you hear five times as much want of loyalty as there is in that entire document?" "I cannot recollect now." "Try; a policeman never forgets." Mr. Gallwey; "No matter, that is no justification for this."

Mr. Allen: "Did you hear your respected Attorney- General in Tralee making his speech?" "No." "Did you read his speech." "I might have," "You heard the doctrines he propounding there?" "I did not mind them." "Did you attend next day at the station when the queen was passing by?" "I did." "Did you see any want of loyalty there?" "Nothing whatever. I think it was as loyal and respectable a demonstration as ever I saw in my life. There was nothing but the greatest respect paid. I saw nothing else." "Do you know Mr. Cooper's apprentices?" "I do." "Did you see them there?"

Mr. Gallwey objected to this question being put. "This was a charge against Mr. Cooper, not his apprentices, and their acts could not affect him." Mr. Allen: "I am going to show that there was no want of loyalty on the part of the inhabitants of Millstreet. An act can be nothing unless you draw an inference from it, and I am drawing the inference that there was no intention on the part of Mr. Cooper to throw insult on the Queen, by the placard, or to create disloyalty by it."

Mr. Gallwey: "The intention is nothing; it is the act that we deal with."

Mr. Allen: "You have quoted an authority coming I suppose red-hot from the Attorney-General and the words of that authority are 'tending to draw the Queen's

name into disrepute.' How then can I show that there was no disrepute ensued, but by the consequences of the act?"

Mr. McCarthy-O'Leary: "I think you may have argued that, Mr Allen, if the placard had remained up, but, you know, it was taken down."

Mr. Allen: "But I am going afterwards, sir, in my statement to you to show you that this document however foolish and ridiculous it may be, does not contain anything, either seditious or libellous even if it had remained up. I want to show, sir, it was not the intention to put the construction on it that Mr. Gallwey infers from it, and that it had not the consequences referred to. Davys: "It is not with the effects of it we are dealing, Mr. Allen, it is with the placard itself." Mr. Allen: "How can I give better evidence as to that than by showing the party had no such motive as is imputed?" Mr. Gallwey: "The placard speaks for itself" Mr. Allen: "Well then, do your attending here on the part of the Government and Attorney-General object to my putting this question?" Mr. Gallwey: "I object altogether to the acts of other parties being given in evidence in this case. It is simply a charge against Cooper himself."

Mr. Allen: "And is it not the act of Mr. Cooper to permit the men from his shop to attend at the station?"

Mr. O'Leary said he thought Mr. Allen might argue that point in making his defence. But at present the Bench considered it was premature. Mr. Allen: "Very well, sir."

Cross-examination continued: "I sent the placard to my officers; it was sub-constable Curran and Haly drew my attention to it." "Is Curran long in the force?" "He is some time." "Is he a candidate for the stripes?" "Oh, we all are candidates for that." To the Bench: "It was outside the window the placard was placed."

Mr. Cooper (to witness): "Did I ever assist you in putting down riots?" Witness: "I was never engaged in putting down

disturbances of any kind or on any occasion whatever that you did not come forward and assist me. I have found Mr. Cooper at various times to come forward and support me in the discharge of my duty."

Sub-Constable Curran was next sworn and examined: "I am stationed in Millstreet; I was out on town duty on Sunday the 25th August last; I saw a crowd of persons round James Cooper's window reading the placard; I saw Mr. Cooper reading the placard for the people; the crowd seemed to enjoy the reading; I subsequently took down the placard (identified it) it was bound with red tape and fixed to a frame; it was leaning on the window sill; after I took it down Mr. Cooper asked me where I was taking it; I said I was going by order and that I would keep it; Mr. Cooper said it was his property, that he wrote it, but that he knew the police should do their duty and that he would see about it; I shortly after saw a second placard up in the same place; I did not take down the second placard, as it was a copy of the first, but when I went there the next morning it was gone.

Mr. Allen objected to the nature of this document being stated when it was not produced. All he would permit to be stated was that there was something put in place of the first placard.

Cross-examined by Mr. Allen: "That document was out of my custody for nearly a week; that is the same document I swear; I did not initial it; I often heard a ballad singer in the street, and saw a crowd around him. They were laughing, I believe?" "You were the only sober face in the crowd; you looked daggers I suppose?" "I laughed too" "Did Mr. Cooper say he thought there was no harm in it at the time?" "He did."

Mr. Gallwey: "Even if he did it would not make the slightest difference in the world."

Sub-Constable Philip Howlett was sworn in: "I am stationed in Millstreet; Sunday the 25th was the day before it was

publicly announced that Her Majesty was to stop at the Millstreet station on her way to Killarney; preparations were made for her reception there; when the placard was taken down I heard Cooper say he knew the police should do their duty, but that that was his property; on the evening of the 29th August I had a conversation with Mr. Cooper; he said on that evening that he must bring an action against the police for taking down his placard; I said that the police didn't care whether he did or not; I also said he put up a second, and he said he put up nothing but what was legal and constitutional."

Mr. Allen: "Was it not the fear of the action made you send this up now?" "No, indeed, it was not."

- Mr. Cooper: "Didn't you know I was funning about the action."

Sub-Constable James Morrigh was next examined: He proved Cooper's admitting the placard was written by him. Saw a second placard the next morning in the same place. I have a copy of the second placard (produced).

Mr. Allen objected to this being received: "It was illegal and improper evidence. They were called there, firstly, to receive evidence of one placard, and, secondly, he objected to the production of secondary evidence when the original placard was in existence."

Mr. Gallwey contended that they could put both placards in evidence, and then choose the most seditious. Mr. Allen: "That is most improper statement." Mr. Gallwey said he repeated it advisedly: "They could select the most seditious and found their charge on it. As to the other argument, evidence could be given of the nature of a written document."

Mr. Davys said: "A document had been handed up which it was proved was posted on Cooper's house, and he thought they ought to only receive that placard. It was open to Mr. Gallwey, on the part of the Crown, to

issue a second summons for the second placard, but at present the Court could only consider the first." Mr. O'Leary expressed the same opinion. Mr. Gallwey said of course he would not press the point, as the Bench decided against him. This concluded the case for the prosecution.

Mr. Allen then proceeded to address the Bench on behalf of Mr. Cooper. He respectfully called on them to dismiss this most foolish and trumpery case. He knew his client would be angry with him for using these terms, but he thought they were the proper expressions to designate the action. In this document he did not think there was a single word from beginning to end likely, or calculated to bring her Majesty into disrepute. He thought it would have been better and wiser for the police not to have acted as they had done in the present case, and have contented themselves with their ordinary duties. But they were really not the parties to blame after all; and most decidedly there was blame to be attached somewhere in trying to fix a peaceable and orderly district as the spot for the commission of the act charged in this case. The Attorney-General ought to have the common sense of any man and have said at once this was one of those ridiculous emanations that proceeds from parties of very strong feelings. He believed there was no man in the community had made use of stronger language than the Attorney-General.

Mr. Davys: "Perhaps you had better not make any allusion in that way, Mr. Allen," Mr. Allen: "Let him be five times as high as he is, he deserves reference to when he does an act that deserves censure." Mr. Gallwey: "The Attorney-General is not on his trial here."

Mr. Allen continued to say that the man who directed a prosecution in such a case as the present deserved censure. Line after line in it there was nothing, to cause any man to commit even a breach of the peace, which was

the lowest ground it could be taken in; he was convinced they would scout (reject/dismiss. J. L.) the case from court, and say that it was never intended to commit an act of sedition or libel on her Majesty.

Mr. Gallwey called on the Bench with great respect to receive the informations. What was the object of Cooper's publishing, and posting this placard on the Sunday when all the people of the town and neighbourhood were returning from their respective places of worship and on the day preceding that on which it was announced that her Majesty would appear at the Millstreet station? What could have been his meaning in the words "No slavish jubilation, when Royalty passes by train." Surely such words as these were calculated to bring ridicule and contempt on the Queen.

He submitted that they had most unquestionably "a tendency to alienate the affections of the people from the Sovereign," which was the charge in this case. They were in the position of a grand jury. Their duty was merely to say whether the Crown had made out a prima facie case for informations being taken; thereby putting the case in train for trial before a judge and jury who would give the accused the full benefit of Mr. Allen's objections; and if his construction of these documents were the correct one, the case would of course be decided in his favour. With reference to the conduct of the police he did not think it deserved the observations of Mr. Allen at all. He had known the head constable of the district for the last 22 years, and a man more efficiently and impartially fulfilling the onerous duties of his office he was not acquainted with, nor did he think there was in the entire force.

Mr. Allen: "Oh, I make no reference to him. I have known him for fifteen years and I could give the same character to him." This concluded the case on either side, and the Bench consulted.

After about 20 minutes deliberation, Mr. McCarthy O'Leary said: "In the case we have given a great deal of consideration to all the circumstances regarding it, and as has happened sometimes to juries, there is rather a difference between my brother magistrate and myself. We do not agree in this matter; and, I believe, we must make no rule in the case at present"

Mr. Gallwey: "That leaves the case open to be brought into this court again, of course, your worships."

Mr. Allen: "Well, I hope the proper authorities will not bring it before the court again. I distinctly disavow all treasonable intentions in the matter." Mr. O'Leary: "It settles the case with regard to this day's proceedings, at any rate." Mr. Gallwey: "Oh, of course, sir." This terminated the case and the court proceeded to the hearing of other summonses.

*Distraction/sideshow

AFTER MARCH FAIR, 1778....

"Last Monday, at the fair of Millstreet, a scuffle happened between four or five soldiers quartered there, and some country people. A sergeant, who had the command of the barrack, and who had been in the fray, ordered the soldiers to load, and return back to the fair for satisfaction; but they were luckily prevented from doing any mischief by an officer, who was on his way to Ross Castle.

In the dusk of the evening, knowing that the officer had gone off, the sergeant, with four soldiers, came out of their barracks with loaded muskets, and seeing the people had quitted the fair, they ran to the end of the village, where they fired, and killed a Mrs. Carroll, who was big with child, by shooting her through the heart; and killed a poor labourer on the spot.

How melancholy soever the death of these innocent people may be, the consequences would have been still more fatal, but for the authority of Dennis O'Leary, Esq., of Millstreet, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace by whose interpolation tranquillity was restored, and the delinquents apprehended. The sergeant and four soldiers were conducted yesterday to the City, and lodged in South Gaol."

(WALKERS HIBERNIAN MAGAZINE, 5 March, 1778)

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MAP OF RIC BARRACKS (1852)

The Constabulary map overleaf illustrates the distribution of 1,590 police stations across the country, with a total force of 12,501 (7,798 Catholics, 4,703 Protestants). At last count, there were 703 Garda Barracks in the Republic today with 14,441 officers.

The map and information is from "A Fortnight in Ireland" by Sir Francis B. Head, 1852.

TENANT- RIGHT MEETING REPORT

This very detailed report of a Tenant-Right meeting in Millstreet held on 21st September 1858 that appeared in *The Tablet*. The paper, then a lay Catholic weekly paper, attached great importance to this meeting as the beginning of a new movement in Irish politics that would be based firmly on the tenant-right movement. In the same issue it editorialised at some length on the issues discussed which summarised and articulated the main issues of the day. Essentially they all centred on the rights the Irish tenant farmers.

At the time Irish politics was in a dire state. The Fenian movement had not yet fully evolved from the suppression of Young Ireland and parliamentary politics was a shambles because two leading members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Sadler and Keogh, had been disgraced by the exposure of their corruption and betrayal. The Church was therefore about the most effective force in the country and it was filling a vacuum. *The Tablet* in particular had played a part in exposing and discrediting Sadler. Therefore it had the moral high ground and sought, naturally, to increase its influence by helping direct the tenant-right movement.

The editorial praised the meeting for also highlighting as the main issue of the day an issue, not just tenant-right, but something even more important and that is as relevant today as it was then, namely - what type of people should you elect to represent you? It said of the meeting that:

"It dealt with the great question which in Ireland is the question of questions - what are the principles which are to govern a constituency in the choice of its Members? Shall private virtue and public eminence - shall ability and amiability, or any combination of good qualities, however desirable they may be in a representative, be suffered to atone for the one great defect - that the politics of the electors are opposed to the politics of the elected? All other things are good, and fairly to be estimated when the essential condition is fulfilled of agreement as to the service which are required on the one part and to be rendered on the other. But can anything be more absurd than that people should, meet at an election to return their Members and then send to Parliament as their representatives not those who agree with them as to the course to be pursued, but those whose professions and whose practice are directly contrary to the strongest wishes of their supporters? Yet at how many elections has this very thing been done!"

How very true! Some things never change!

THE TABLET, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1858

A great public meeting, in furtherance of the Tenant-Right cause, was held on Tuesday, the 21st ult. at Millstreet, county Cork, as mentioned in our last. It was organised by the Independent Club, and was attended by 6,000 friends of the cause.

The chair was taken by the Very Rev. J. Fitzpatrick, P.P., Y.F.

Mr. McCarthy Downing proposed the first resolution, seconded by the Rev. E. Walsh, P.P., Rathmore :—

"That a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the land question would greatly tend not only to add to the wealth of Ireland, and to promote the happiness and prosperity of her people, but also to give increased strength and stability to the British Empire." ("Hear, hear" and cheers.)

Mr. McCarthy Downing quoted the report of the Devon Commission (Lord Devon, Sir E. A. Ferguson, Geo. A. Hamilton, Sir Thomas Bedington, and Mr. Wynne, all large landed proprietors). That document states :—

"It is well known that in England and Scotland before a landlord offers a farm for letting, he finds it necessary to provide a suitable farmhouse with necessary farm buildings for the proper management of the farm. He puts the gates

and fences in good order, and he also takes upon himself a great part of the burden of keeping the buildings in repair during the term, and the rent is fixed with reference to this state of things."

"In Ireland the case is wholly the reverse."

It proceeds :—

"In most cases, whatever is done in Ireland, in the way of building or fencing, is done by the tenant, and in the ordinary language of the country, dwelling-houses, farm-buildings, and even the making of fences, are described by the general word 'improvements,' which is thus employed to denote the necessary adjuncts to a farm, without which in England or Scotland no tenant would be found to rent it" (Hear, hear.)

He said—I have been asked why I should, as the owner of property, advocate those measures. My answer was—Because justice demands that advocacy, because my own observation satisfied me that without legal protection for the improving tenant, he was liable to be deprived of the fruits of his outlay and labour, and because I am satisfied that so far from doing myself an injury, I was advocating a measure that would tend to my advantage. (Hear, hear.) I found that I was sus-

tained by a greater weight of concurrent evidence than perhaps could be obtained on any other subject; for, out of 42 witnesses examined on the point before Lord Devon, many of whom were deputy lieutenants, and all either landlords or landowners, 38 were in favour of the principle. I found that the Commissioners arrived at the same result and reported thus :—

"The tenants' equitable right to a remuneration for his judiciously invested labour and capital is not likely to be disputed in the abstract. This property is undoubtedly his own. If it be employed on the estate of another person, and with that person's concurrence, it might still be respected and preserved to him; and if their intercourse or joint co-operation should for any reason terminate, it ought not to be without a just settlement of the accounts between them.

"And when by the very general neglect of making any such distinct arrangement much natural inconvenience and disorder is proved, the only remedy that remains is that of legislative interference.

"It is essential to the proprietor, as well as being the substantial interest of the occupier, that a distinct, a judicious, a definite, and a liberal tenant-right should be introduced, one which shall secure to the tenant a return for his labour and money, without abstracting from what belongs to the proprietor. And it concludes in these forcible words

"We therefore earnestly hope that the legislature will be disposed to entertain a bill of this nature, and to pass it into a law with as little delay as is consistent with a full discussion of its principle and details."

Many say—"How can you countenance the Tories in power who won't appoint a Catholic or a liberal Protestant to any office, but will pack the bench with partizans." I answer that I am sorry to see religion made an exclusion from office by any party, but I would rather see justice, long delayed, done to the millions who have been always placed in front of our political struggles, than see all the judges and assistant-barristers in Ireland Catholics. (Hear, hear.) Besides, I by no means admit, because a man is a Conservative and a Protestant, that he may not be a just and a conscientious judge. One has lately passed away, and a more upright, conscientious, or unbiassed judge never lived—I mean Judge Jackson. (Hear.) We have, too, an upright and distinguished judge in the person of the venerable Chief-Justice Lefroy, who, in religion and politics, held very extreme opinions. Therefore, I say, if we must have an alternative—"full justice to the improving tenant and the Tories, or a continuance of injustice and Whig place-men." (Hear, hear.) I don't hesitate to bear aloft the flag inscribed with the first motto. I must say that I fear the Tories will not offer a bill which we can accept; they will, I apprehend, introduce some half-measure so hampered with plans, specifications, notices, and counter-notices, that one out of every hundred farmers could not avail himself of its provisions. But it is our duty to warn the present Government that we will not be cajoled—that we are prepared to give them, at all events, a neutral support if they will pay for it, in ready money, by bringing in early next session a good and substantial measure, and giving it the support of their party, if not, that our non-intervention shall be turned into active opposition. (Hear, hear.) By the 14th and 10th Victoria, a tenant is empowered, when he erects any farm buildings, with the consent in writing of his landlord, to take down and remove the same as his own property, with the proviso that if his landlord wishes to purchase the same, he is entitled to do

so, upon a valuation to be made by two arbitrators. Now, the glaring injustice of that law is manifest; it gives the landlord the right to purchase, but gives no reciprocal right to the tenant to oblige him, and of course the landlord can have the improvement at his own price, for what would the materials of a house be worth to a poor tenant on quitting his farm, while on the farm it is worth its full cost to the landlord? (Hear, hear.) -But this enactment is important in another point of view. It fully acknowledges the principle of valuation by arbitration, which was loudly denounced, as contained in the first bill prepared by the Tenant League. This I always conceived to be the principle on which legislation should be based—some standard of the valuation to be taken when the lands were first let, the same to be applied at the end of the tenancy; and then, if no new arrangement was entered into, that the tenant should be paid for the increased value of the land by arbitration, or have the right of selling the same, giving the landlord the right of preference. I can see no difficulty in preparing such a measure, the machinery for carrying it out being already constructed under the ordinance and valuation enactments.

Mr. J. F. Maguire, M.P., proposed the second resolution :—

"That, though we are firmly convinced that a measure providing compensation for improvements already made, as well as for improvements to be made, would alone do justice to the Irish tenant, yet we look forward with natural anxiety to the promised bill of the Government, in the earnest hope, that it may be acceptable to the people of Ireland."

In the course of a long and eloquent speech, Mr. Maguire said—I regret to state my profound conviction that, in the present state of things, and under the present circumstances of the country, and of the existing political parties, it is utterly hopeless to expect that Urge measure of justice which every honest and intelligent man is ready to defend before any court of conscience or of equity. (Hear, hear.) But then the practical question comes—is it because we cannot get all that we have a right to demand, that we are therefore to accept none? (Cries of "Hear, hear.") Is it because we cannot realise all our hopes, that we are not to realise some of the hopes of those who have dwelt so long in humble and painful expectation? (Hear, hear.) It has been asserted that we, the independent party, abandoned the retrospective clause. It is a lie. (Hear, hear.) Who did abandon it? The men who betrayed you four or five years ago—(hear, hear)—the men who are in office—(hear, hear)—the men who took place—(hear, hear)—and not the men who remained pure and stainless before the country. (Loud cheers.) It did not depend on us whether this clause was to be obtained. Parliament decided against it—the leaders of each party decided against it—an overwhelming majority decided against it—a landlord House of Commons declared its hostility to it. (Hear, hear.) What, against such a power, was a scanty band to do? I say it is utterly impossible to get a retrospective bill from Parliament with such means as we possess; and, therefore, it being impossible to obtain all that we ask for, it is a matter of good sense and wise policy to see and obtain that which is really possible of attainment. (Hear, hear.) We now have to ask ourselves, what is it we have to hope for in the next session? There are some persons who, perhaps from not being so sanguine as I am, say we

will get nothing. Well, all I can assure you is this—it has been stated to me in private, as well as stated to Parliament and the country in public, the tenant question will positively be taken into consideration in the recess, and that the bill will be brought in next year by the Government, with the object, if possible, of settling the question finally. A promise has been made to us; and if that promise be violated, instead of redeemed, the fault will lie with those who violated their word, and not with those who believed in their honour. (Hear hear.) Of one thing, however, I can assure you, if there be one deception, there never will be a second. (Cheers.) It is no disgrace to be deceived once; the disgrace lies then with the deceiver; but if there be a second deception, the disgrace lies with the party deceived. (If there be no bill brought in, or if the bill be not such a bill as the true friends of the country can honestly accept on behalf of the people—in that case the independent members, whose attitude towards the Government was one of qualified support, will, to a man, change that attitude into one of active and persistent hostility. (Cheers.) For my part, gentlemen (continued the speaker), I shall persevere, with the help of God, in my demand for justice for the most helpless class of my fellow-countrymen; and until that justice is done them, by a fair settlement of the land question, I shall continue to maintain the position which I feel you are ready to give me credit for having hitherto maintained—that of a fearless and a faithful representative. (Loud and continued cheering.)

The Bev. Mr. Green seconded the resolution.

The Rev. J. Fitzpatrick, P.P., of Middleton, proposed the following resolution:—

"That, being convinced that justice can never be obtained for the Irish tenant from a British Parliament, except by the united exertions of an independent party in the British House of Commons, we now pledge ourselves to use our best efforts to return to Parliament in the representation of this great county, whenever vacancies shall occur, none but gentlemen who shall profess, and who from their position and character shall give us good reason to hope that they will carry out into practice the policy of independent opposition; and in order to complete an organisation already made by the County Club, we now invite persons who may desire to represent our county in Parliament, to make known their principles to the County Club."

"This resolution," said the Rev. speaker, "supposes that you are already convinced that you cannot get justice from an English Parliament, except by the united action of an Irish independent party, who will hold themselves independent of, and in opposition to, every Government that will not support a good, honest bill. (Cheers.) You are called on to pledge yourselves here to-day that you will assist in strengthening such a party, by sending to Parliament those men only who will join, that independent Irish party. But as the reasons upon which your convictions are based are questioned by some of our Whig friends, let us glance at those reasons. The policy of independent opposition, and the principles upon which it is founded, are recommended by great names and enforced by conclusive argument. This policy was recommended by the great meeting held in Dublin, on the 23rd August, 1851; over which the then Archbishop of Armagh presided, as the only means by which the grievances of Ireland could be redressed; this policy was re-affirmed at the great meeting held at the Rotunda, Dublin, in 1852; this

policy was acted on by O'Connell at the Clare election in 1828, by which he gained Emancipation. (Loud applause.) It is the same policy which Bright and Cobden pursued in seeking the repeal of the Corn Laws, and it is that which the Whigs themselves now pursue towards Lord Derby, and by which they endeavour to eject him from office. (Renewed applause.) It got emancipation for us—it got the repeal of the Corn Laws; whilst the Irish party of '52 adhered to it, the Whigs showed every determination to settle the land question, and the present Chancellor (Napier), when Attorney-General of the Derby Ministry, brought a bill into Parliament, in which there was a clause securing compensation, not only for prospective, but also for retrospective improvements. His words, when introducing this bill, were remarkable. He said—"Compensation for future improvements may be a matter of expediency; but, compensation for past improvements is a matter of justice." (Cheers.) I am convinced that the Derby ministry would not promise to bring in a bill on the subject in the next Parliament, if we had not still a few honest men in Parliament who have acted up to the promises made in 1852. (Great cheering.) There is a party in Ireland, and some of this party are to be found in our own country, who think a different policy from that which we have adopted, would more effectually attain the object which we have in view. This party professes that they are just as anxious for justice to the tenant farmer as we are, but they seek it by different means. (Hear, hear.) The representative who seeks for a place for himself or for any of his constituents, however insignificant that place may be, loses his own independence, and must become the slave of the minister from whom he solicits such place. (Hear, hear.) The elector, too, who solicits a place from his representative, thereby puts himself under an obligation to him, and there is then a tacit compact that he will, in turn, support him when it may be necessary, or, at least, that he will not oppose him. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, it would not seem honourable to oppose a man after placing oneself under an obligation to him. The minister promises a place to the member for his support, and the member, in turn, gets a few paltry places for his constituents, and holds out to hundreds expectations that never shall be realised. (Hear, hear.) We send, in fact, a representative to Parliament, who promises to advocate the measure and vote for it, when introduced; but wanting himself a favour from the Minister, he becomes one of his followers, and he will give him a general support, but particularly if the existence of his ministry be in danger. Is it likely that such a representative will ever obtain justice from an unwilling minister? (Cheers, and cries of "No, no.") Not to go beyond our own country, is not this the policy that has been acted upon and carried out by one of our representatives—Sergeant Deasy? (Groans.) I don't charge Mr. Deasy with any breach of promise; I don't charge him with any dishonourable act—I talk of Mr. Deasy as a public man, as a representative of the County of Cork, and I claim the right of an elector to criticize his public Parliamentary acts. (Cheers.) There is not to be found in the British House of Commons any man more hostile to Ireland and to her interests than Lord Palmerston. (Groaning.) I won't now refer to his hostility to Catholicity, or to his efforts and intrigues to revolutionize Catholic Europe. I will con-

fine myself to his opposition to every measure calculated to improve the social and physical condition of the Irish farmer. His hostility to any just or reasonable measure of relief to the Irish farmer, he has exhibited in a variety of ways. When a committee was appointed to inquire into the land-question, he opposed every suggestion made by the late Frederick Lucas. He has refused to introduce any bill that would secure compensation to the tenant farmer for his permanent successful improvements, though waited on by many of his own supporters. Yet there are people who have said and do say that the best means of obtaining justice for the Irish tenant is to support in power this man, who is their very worst enemy. (Oh, oh.) This, too, is the policy which has been pursued by one of our own representatives—Sergeant Deasy. He has been one of the most active and faithful supporters of the Palmerston Ministry; he was, in fact, one of the sharpshooters, one of the men selected by that party to aim a mortal blow at the head of the Derby Administration; and in performing the part allotted to him in that proceeding, whilst he was the advocate of tenant right at home, he became the advocate of confiscation and spoliation in India. (Loud cheers.) The despatch of Lord Ellenborough to mitigate the confiscation proclamation of Lord Canning, was an act of humility, of justice, and the vote of censure proposed by the Whigs against this very act was about as unprincipled a party dodge, as was ever attempted, and that which has lowered Mr. Deasy most in the estimation of his political friends and admirers was the part he took in the proceedings. (Cheers.) It only shows what an honourable man will sometimes do, when he associates himself with a bad and unprincipled party for the promotion of his own personal interests. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) If the Whigs had succeeded at that time, Sergeant Deasy might have secured a high position for himself as the reward of his services. But what would have been the consequence to the people of Ireland? Lord Palmerston would again have his heel on our necks, he would have resumed the reins of office with increased insolence; we would have had no promise of a tenant bill in the next Session of Parliament; no adequate provision for the spiritual wants of our Catholic soldiers and sailors would have been made; no modification for the better regulation of those schools for the education of the children of soldiers would have taken place; no consideration of the discipline of the English prisons, with a view to the free admission of the Catholic Clergy to all Catholics therein confined. (Cheers.) It was, therefore, most fortunate for the people of Ireland that the resolution of Mr. Cardwell and Sergeant Deasy failed, that the Whigs were disappointed, and that they still continue to sit on the benches of the Opposition. (Hear, hear.) The policy of the Whigs towards Ireland has been to pension a few respectable Catholics, to provide them with places of emolument, thus to secure their confidence and support, and through their influence to silence the murmurs and complaints of the people, thus to divide and weaken the Liberal party in Ireland, and, at the same time, to refuse justice to and oppress the masses. I ask you here, to-day do you approve of that policy? (Cries of "No, no," and cheering.) We have no objection that Catholics should be raised to those offices in the State to which their position in society and their intelligence entitle them; we do believe

that a man's religion or politics should not place a bar to his preferment; but in order to obtain preferment for a few respectable Catholics we will not consent to sacrifice the interests of the masses. (Applause.) We have a right that ample provision should be made for the Catholic subjects of the Queen, whether they be on board her Majesty's vessels, or confined in an English prison or poor-house, or standing before the cannon's mouth in India or China, ready to sacrifice their lives in the defence of Great Britain. (Loud cheers.) We have a right that the education of Catholics in the army and throughout Ireland should be fenced round by sufficient security against any and every inroad on their faith and morals. (Hear.) Whilst seeking all those benefits, by constitutional means, we would be glad respectable Catholics would get those places to which their position in society and intelligence give them a claim; but if we cannot succeed in gaining all we require, and all that we are entitled to, we would rather postpone the claims of the few and assert the rights of the masses. And as you are convinced that justice cannot be obtained but by the united action of an Irish party in Parliament, you are here asked to-day to pledge your best assistance in organising and strengthening this party. (Cries of "We will"); and you promise here to-day, that you will return none to Parliament, as your representatives, who will not join this party. ("Hear, hear," and cries of "We do, we do.") The Whigs will not be content to remain much longer on the Opposition benches, and, therefore, you may rely on it, that very soon after the meeting of Parliament in February next, they will use all their efforts to eject Lord Derby from office, and should they succeed in outvoting him, it is not likely that Lord Derby will retire without an effort.

(Hear, and laughter.) He will in such case, in all probability, dissolve—and then will come the tug of war. (Cheers.) We are now organised, and the candidates whom the club would put forward, would not lose much, even if there were a contest. Nor would it be right that the people should require a representative to pay for the honour of serving, them in Parliament. (Cheers.) The question has been asked of members of the independent club, "Where is your man, in case a vacancy occurred?" To enable us to answer this question satisfactorily, we to-day invite those who have adopted the independent policy, and who would be ready to serve the people in Parliament, and whose position and circumstances fit them for that high position, to communicate their feelings on this subject to the County Club. (Cheers.) We know that candidates will not be wanting, but we do not wish to be waiting for the last moment, and it would be desirable that we had an early intimation of their intentions, that thus our organisation may be complete, and that we may be enabled to answer the enquiries of our friends. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Hugh Kelly, Kanturk, seconded the resolution. —The Rev. Mr. Beechinor, P.P., Newmarket, proposed the next resolution:—

"That as the right of suffrage, cannot be exercised with freedom and independence, without the protection of the ballot, we shall be ready to co-operate with any parties in England or Ireland holding the same views, in obtaining this necessary protection for the tenant elector in the exercise of his franchise."

It was seconded by Mr. John O'Connell, of Altamont, Mill-street.

The Rev. Mr. Murphy proposed the next resolution:—

"That the ejection from office of the late Administration has been received with feelings of satisfaction by the people of Ireland. That the Independent Irish Members of Parliament exercised a prudent discretion in affording the Derby Ministry a fair trial, and that the re-admission to office of the Palmerston or any other Whig Ministry, without any alteration of their former policy, or without any security of their granting justice to Ireland, would be a grievous calamity to this country."

He said—It might seem strange why the true Liberals of the country looked with delight on the defeat of the Whig party and gave their support to that party who advocated Conservative principles, and were regarded as the hereditary enemies of Ireland. Yet, so it was; and he could easily explain that circumstance. Lord Palmerston was hurled from office and his party were deprived of the places they occupied, because, although by their professions they advocated liberal measures, by their acts they belied those professions. They expressed a wish to advance the social interests of the country, but they opposed every measure of amelioration. They professed equal justice to all denominations, and yet they were the bigotted enemies of Catholics. A short time ago the people of Ireland returned forty members to Parliament pledged to opposition. The names of those who broke that pledge would be handed down to posterity as traitors. Disgrace and infamy attached to all who received bribes—(Hear, hear)—and the names of the Whigs who bribed and corrupted the Catholic representatives and these representatives themselves would go down to futurity branded with disgrace. In conclusion, he (the Rev. Mr. Murphy) would impress upon the people of Ireland the necessity of organisation. One year before emancipation passed the Duke of York made a solemn oath that he would never allow it to be passed; and in twelve months after that he had to eat his own words. (Cheers.) The combined action of the people, led on by the Priests, wrested from Government the people's rights. What was done before could be done again. Let there be a combined and firm perseverance on the part of the people, and though they might take an instalment of what they looked for, let them never be satisfied until full justice was done them. (Cheers.)

Mr. Florence Riordan seconded the resolution.

Mr. Patrick Murphy, of Carrigaline, proposed, and the Rev. Mr. Maginn C.C., Millstreet, seconded the next resolution:—

"That the thanks of this meeting are due and are hereby given to the Irish Tenant League. By their perseverance under the most discouraging circumstances and in the face of the most trying difficulties they have succeeded in keeping before the attention of the public the reasonable demands of the Irish Tenant; in pressing them on the consideration of a hostile legislature, and in obtaining from the Derby Ministry a promise that the question shall receive the early and deliberate attention of the approaching Parliament. Believing the existence of this body essential to the organisation and union of an Irish party in Parliament, as well as to the ultimate success of the cause, we now pledge ourselves to lend it our best support"

The last resolution was proposed by the Rev. Justin McCarthy, P.P., Mallow, and seconded by Mr. John Pigott:—

"That whilst grateful to the Derby Ministry for the arrangements made by them in reference to Army Chaplains, and for the alteration in the discipline of military schools, as far as regards the religious instruction of the children of Catholic soldiers, yet we are bound to declare that even the improved arrangements in the regulation of military schools do not afford sufficient security for the preservation of the faith and morals of the children attending these schools; and we feel that we have much reason to complain that no provision has been made for the spiritual wants of the sailors of Her Majesty's navy, when out of port, or for the Catholics confined in the gaols and poor-houses of England."

The Rev. Mr. Murphy, of Youghal, having moved the Very Rev. Mr. Fitzpatrick from the chair, and Dr. Ryan, of Macroom, thereto, the thanks of the meeting were enthusiastically accorded to the venerable chairman.

The meeting then separated.

At the dinner which followed, the Rev. Alexander Peyton, P.P. Blarney, being in the chair, the following letters were read:—

The Right Rev. Dr. Delaney, Bishop of Cork, wrote:—
"Other engagements put it out of my power to be present. I hope, however, that it is unnecessary to add that I strongly participate in the desire to see the tenantry of our country enjoy the security as well as the comfort to which they are justly entitled."

The Right Rev. Dr. Keane, Bishop of Cloyne, wrote:—

"The persevering earnestness with which justice is sought for the oppressed Irish tenant, merits respect and success. Every year's delay in the settlement of the great question that has taken so firm a hold on the public mind, implies a national loss. So keen has the necessity for better tillage been felt, that, even without the guarantee of legal protection for the enjoyment of a hard-earned reward, farmers have in various parts of the country been unable to resist the temptation of reclaiming and improving; and yet, strange as it may appear, the labour and the toil that merited a different return, brought on increased rent or eviction, and, not unfrequently, in the poor-house, expatriation, or death. The time has come when, for the benefit of the nation, the treasures that are hidden under the surface of the land should be unlocked—when the tenant ought to be protected from the cruel visitations to which he has been subjected; and when, in struggling for the rights of his country, he should, as an elector, be no longer obliged, without defensive armour, to bear the brunt of the battle. No one thinks that in due time all classes should not in the public offices of the State have a share proportioned to their talents and acquirements. The only question is—who are they that ought to be first consulted for? Is it the candidate for personal advancement, who, already well off, can afford to wait for a short time? or, is it the thousands of tenants, for each of whom his farm is his all, while on his industry and on his vote the liberty and happiness of the nation depend? Only a few years ago, they on whom the solution of this question depended, came to the determination of putting all other pursuits in abeyance till they would have brought about its final settlement. Had that determination been kept with calm and dignified consistency, there is no doubt but that before this success would have crowned their efforts, and they might now with honour accept of State

patronage. It was, however, not kept. And what is the result?—a few appointments—so few that they may be counted—as a set-off against the loss of the immense benefits that would necessarily follow from the large and comprehensive measure in which a nation's hopes had been centred."

The Right Rev. Dr. O'Hea, Bishop of Ross, wrote :—

"I beg to assure you that the object of the meeting to be held in Mill-street meets with my unqualified approbation. We have all of us had to deplore, these years past, the want of proper understanding, the actual dissension existing among those who put themselves forward as the friends of Ireland, and the thorough supporters of the long-oppressed Tenant Farmers of our country. It is unnecessary here to make the slightest allusion to those unprincipled men who, from selfish motives, introduced discord into that formidable and serried phalanx, the Irish Party of 1852, which, had it been true to itself and to those promises so solemnly made, would have long since forced any Government in England, Whig or Tory, to grant such a Tenant-Right Bill to our fanners as would secure them in their holdings, and fully compensate them for the outlay of industry and money, made from year to year, on lands which the mere sufferance of the landlord allows them to cultivate and to improve. It should be the study of all good Irishmen to resist the promptings of this narrow and cursed spirit of self-aggrandisement at the sacrifice of the welfare of the country; to put in abeyance their hopes of preferment, and to co-operate honestly and zealously in seeing that, even at the eleventh hour, justice be done to a class that have enabled us to obtain every social, every political, nay every religious privilege we at present enjoy; and whose heroic sacrifices in the cause of religion and country, find no parallel in the history of any other people in the world. The object of the meeting over which you, Very Rev. Dear Sir, are invited to preside on Tuesday next, is to press on the Legislature of the country the propriety, the necessity, and the advantage of ameliorating the condition of our tenant farmers, by just and equitable laws. The Catholic Priest, the Catholic Prelate, who are so largely indebted to that much aggrieved class, on whose healthy state the prosperity of any country so much depends, must naturally be ever ready to lend their aid to such a praiseworthy movement, and, with all the sincerity of their hearts, wish it "God speed." There never existed a more favourable time to bring to a successful issue efforts more than once scoffed at and ridiculed by hostile governments and treacherous friends, if we be true to ourselves, and determinedly united; if we only unflinchingly adhere to a principle based on justice and on gratitude. Our political enemies are shivered into insignificant fragments; powerless and unable to hold the reins of government, if not supported by the few that have been in her struggles so gloriously and so perseveringly faithful to Ireland. Let the numbers of the latter be increased at our next elections; let fresh blood be infused into their body, and then in the hour of his difficulty the Coryphaeus of either the Whig or Tory party will be easily forced to capitulate, and yield to terms which must be both honourable and beneficial to the country. Tenant Right once carried, the path to place and preferment will become quite open to the man of laudable ambition; minor grievances will be gradually removed; penal

laws expunged; the Catholic and Protestant Irishmen, as brothers, will unite in claiming for themselves equal rights, equal laws, with those enjoyed by the favoured inhabitants of England. We all should hope, should work to see this "desideratum" realised. Any influence I possess is hereby proffered for that purpose. It shall be always considered by me a duty, an honour to contribute my mite in advancing a cause so closely connected with the prosperity of my native land—a cause so good, so just, as to secure for itself not alone the support of true and disinterested patriots of every class, but also the advocacy of distinguished and venerated clergymen like yourself, whose zeal for religion has been ever as sincere and as active as their love of fatherland."

The Chairman, after a suitable preface, proposed the health of "The Queen, may she long reign in the hearts and affections of the people, and preside over them with justice and clemency."

The Chairman again rose, and proposed "The Catholic Hierarchy."

The Very Rev. Justin McCarthy said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, no class of Irishmen can sympathise more sincerely with us in the promotion of the object for which we assembled at Mill-street to-day, than do the Prelates of the Irish Church. None desire so ardently the redress of the grievances under which the tenant farmers of Ireland suffer than they do. Of this they afforded practical evidence in the strong language of the address they put forward to the people of Ireland, when they met in the National Council at Thurles in 1850. In that document they state :—"We behold our poor not only crushed and overwhelmed by the awful visitations of Heaven, but frequently the victims of the most ruthless oppression that ever disgraced the annals of humanity. Though they have been made in the image of the living God, and are purchased by the blood of Calvary, though the special favourites and representatives of the Saviour, we see them treated with a cruelty, which would cause the heart to ache, if inflicted on the beasts of the field, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel, save in the atrocities of savage life. The desolating track of the exterminator is to be traced in too many parts of the country, in those levelled cottages and roofless abodes, from which so many virtuous and industrious families have been torn by brute force, without distinction of age or sex, sickness or health, and flung upon the highway to perish in the extremity of want." (Cheers.) These sentiments of warm sympathy have been expressed in another address put forward on a more recent occasion in 1856. (Hear, hear.) We then see, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the extent to which the Catholic Bishops of Ireland afford us approval and encouragement, and the strong claims they have established to ebullitions of feeling strong and warm such as are those with which I am glad to perceive the present assemblage greets the announcement of their names. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, if by their aid and counsel in the advancement of our temporal interests they deserve our affectionate gratitude, have not the Irish Hierarchy also pre-eminently entitled themselves to our warm admiration, for the heroism and fortitude with which they preserved the faith we so dearly prize? (Hear, hear.) What Church for the last 300 years presents so glorious a his-

tory as ours? (Hear, hear.) Has not the Irish Church, during that period, exhibited an array of martyrs, little inferior to that which sheds such lustre on the annals of early times, either in numbers or in the constancy with which they endured tortures in duration and acerbity equal to any that were devised by Pagan Rome? (Hear, hear.) And who led the van in the glorious conflict? Were they not the Bishops? (Cheep.) As the victories achieved by valorous armies are in part ascribed to the wisdom and energy and other high qualities of those who command them, so may the glories the Irish Church brought out of the contest it waged so long against the powers of darkness, be ascribed to the enlightened zeal and pious fortitude of the Bishops who governed it. There is no portion of the Irish Church that has not been rendered illustrious by their virtues or crimsoned by their blood. Nor has our country been less illustrious than others in these regards. Not many miles from the spot where we are assembled, at Carrigrohoid, the Venerable Prelate Botetius M'Egan, who governed this portion of the vineyard, was martyred by the infamous Lord Broghill, for his attachment to his country and his faith. The leaders of the Parliamentary party wished him to counsel a truce that would facilitate Cromwell's operations before Clonmel, and because he refused, and because he was a Catholic Bishop, they hanged him from a gibbet. The sainted O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross, because his zeal prompted him to become one of the representatives of the Irish Church in the Council of Trent, was made to die under tortures from the recital of which the heart recoils. It is true that these times, have passed by, and that advancing civilisation renders the recurrence of such atrocities henceforth impossible, and that the Irish Church will never more have, I trust, to go through such an ordeal. It has still, however, to complain of many wrongs unredressed and many privileges withheld. England seems to cling with more tenacity than most other countries to one-sided legislation in matters of religion. Catholic soldiers and sailors who fight her battles by land and sea, have not yet had a full recognition of their rights as British subjects, though their blood flows more freely and tends to cement more copiously than that of any other class of her Christian subjects, in proportion to numbers, the various portions of her colossal empire. (Hear, hear.) The system of elementary education, that was never framed with as much consideration as it ought to be for our religion and nationality, has been perverted—more, I should hope, than was intended by its projectors—into an instrument of perversion and injustice. However, our hierarchy will direct their attention to these matters. They are the watchmen on the Towers of Israel, and we can never go astray under their guidance. (Cheers.)

The Chairman said: The policy of Independent Opposition has received the sanction of the Hierarchy, the Clergy, and the people of Ireland. We still rank among our friends Irish members of sterling integrity and long-trying fidelity, whose advocacy of the tenant cause is ennobled by the purity of their motives, and their perseverance rewarded by the approbation of their confiding constituents. (Loud cheers.) These men do not yearn for the blandishments of the court; they do not ambition the patronising nod of the Prime Minister or his whipper-in; they see the attractions of power and place inviting them to partake of their charms, but

they know their duty to their country, and, until they have faithfully discharged their obligations, and triumphantly succeeded in obtaining justice for the farmers, they will spurn the tempting veils of perfidy and dishonour. (Cheers.) It is true their ranks have been thinned by the defection of the base and corrupt; but there still remains a sufficient number to assert the rights of "the people, and to insist on justice to the country. (Hear, hear.) All honour, then, to those independent members who have never swerved from their principles and professions, and who, through good report and evil report, are the faithful and consistent advocates of Ireland's rights, I give you, gentlemen, "The Independent Irish Members."

Mr. Maguire, M.P., returned thanks, and, after alluding to a report that he had been appointed to the non-existing office of paid Catholic Commissioner of National Education, continued: Gentlemen, I have no hesitation in speaking plainly and above-board, as I trust I have always done—(hear, hear)—and say the time may come when those holding my opinions can accept office without dishonour. (Hear, hear.) But that time has not come, and, for my own part, I here not only admit, but distinctly assert, that if I yielded to any such "tempting bait," as you, Sir, have referred to, and that if I accepted place, or office, or emolument, while the cause of the tenant farmers was still unobtainable, I would consider myself to be one of the blackest rascals in all Ireland. (Enthusiastic cheers.) When that cause has been gained, and when the Irish farmer is safe under his roof-tree, then, Sir, and not till then, may those who hold my policy determine whether the acceptance of public office would be consistent with their personal honour or beneficial to their country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Maguire again rose, and proposed the health of the Chairman, briefly alluding to his services, his talents, and the steady and unswerving fidelity he had ever shown in the national cause.

The toast was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The Chairman responded in a brief address, and proposed, "The Tenant League," which the Rev. Mr. Beausang acknowledged in an eloquent speech.

The Chairman next gave, "The County Club," to which J. Moore, Esq., solicitor, responded.

The Rev. T. Murphy, P.P., rose and said that all present regretted the absence of the very venerable Parish Priest of that parish. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear;") Father Fitzpatrick had distinguished himself as a patriot in every movement that had been carried on for the benefit of the country for the last forty years. (Cheers.) He stood by O'Connell in every struggle. (Cheers.) He was engaged in every agitation for the liberties, the welfare, and the religious equality of the people of Ireland. (Cheers.) And the fact of his coming to the meeting of that day, like a Nestor to preside with the wisdom of years, and to show that the spirit of patriotism was still alive, would be an example to the coming generation, proving that the infirmities of an octogenarian Priest would not deter him from coming forward to advocate the rights of his country and the social and political amelioration of the people. (Loud cheers.)

The Chairman next proposed the toast of "The Independent Catholic Press of Ireland," which was briefly responded to, after which the assemblage separated.

A CURIOUS STATISTIC

The following is a correspondence with Simon Coveney, the Minister for Agriculture, Marine and Food and is self-explanatory.

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**AUBANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AUBANE,
MILLSTREET,
CO. CORK.**

12 December 2011

Simon Coveney,
Minister for Agriculture, Marine and Food,
Dail Eireann

Dear Mr. Coveney,

I was very interested in a point you made in your address to the I.C.M.S.A. General Meeting in Limerick on 19th November, 2011.

You said that the typical field in Ireland changed hands/was sold, on average, every 400 years compared with France where it happened, on average, every 70 years.

As I and other local historians are very interested in such issues as the history of land and farms I would be grateful if you could elaborate on this and indicate how you came to that conclusion. It would be of immense interest to very many people if the ownership of typical farms and fields can be traced so clearly across 400 years.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Jack Lane

15 Dec 2011

Jack,

Thank you for emailing Minister Simon Coveney TD.

From memory that statistic came up in the course of a meeting on farm partnerships but I've asked the officials present to check out where it originally came from. I'll come back to you as soon as I have that information.

Regards,

Caitriona Fitpatrick

3rd January 2012

Dear Catriona,

Thanks for your reply of 15 December.

Happy New Year to you and your colleagues.

I wondered if there had been any clarification forthcoming from officials on the query I raised a few weeks ago about the continuity of land ownership in the country as stated by the Minister, Simon Coveney. I was reminded of it again when I noticed that Mr. Coveney returned to the issue in his last statement in the Dail before Xmas which was a sort of summing up of his Department's work and policies. He clearly thinks this is a very significant matter and so much so that it is made a basis for a very important part of the Department's future policy towards farming and agriculture - as he explained. I think that alone makes it important that the matter is clarified so that any Government policy can be seen to be soundly based.

May I quote what the Minister said:

"The budget has done a significant amount to reshape the system, particularly in terms of reforming the land mobility market in order to get land moving. I often point out that the average field in Ireland is sold once every 400 years, while the average field in France is sold once every 70 years. That is because land remains in the ownership of families in an intergenerational way in Ireland. There is almost an obsession with land ownership. That is an issue we are seeking to address in this budget." (14 December 2011, Vol. 750, no.1)

Apart from the 'high policy' implication involved, I am interested in this at a more mundane level - local history and identifying sources for tracing the history of such things as fields, farms, families, businesses, etc. This type of work is our 'bread and butter' and I think it might be very helpful if I and colleagues knew the methodology that established such amazing continuity of land ownership at the micro level across 400 years, i.e., since 1611 and before. It would also be of great value to the 'genealogy tourism' industry which has become such an important feature of the tourism industry itself

As I doubt that I could establish such continuity of ownership for a single field or farm that I know of, I am keen to know of any method(s) that could assist in doing so. The Department's clarification of how this interesting statistic was arrived at would seem to be, potentially, a very useful tool in this regard.

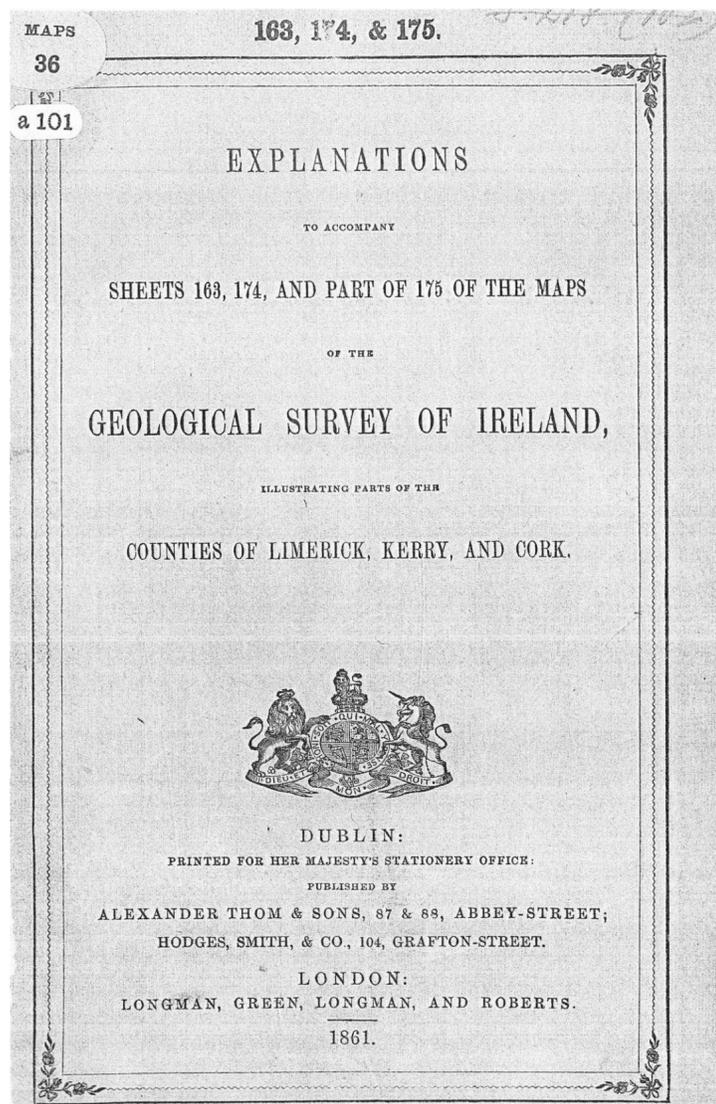
I look forward to hearing from you.

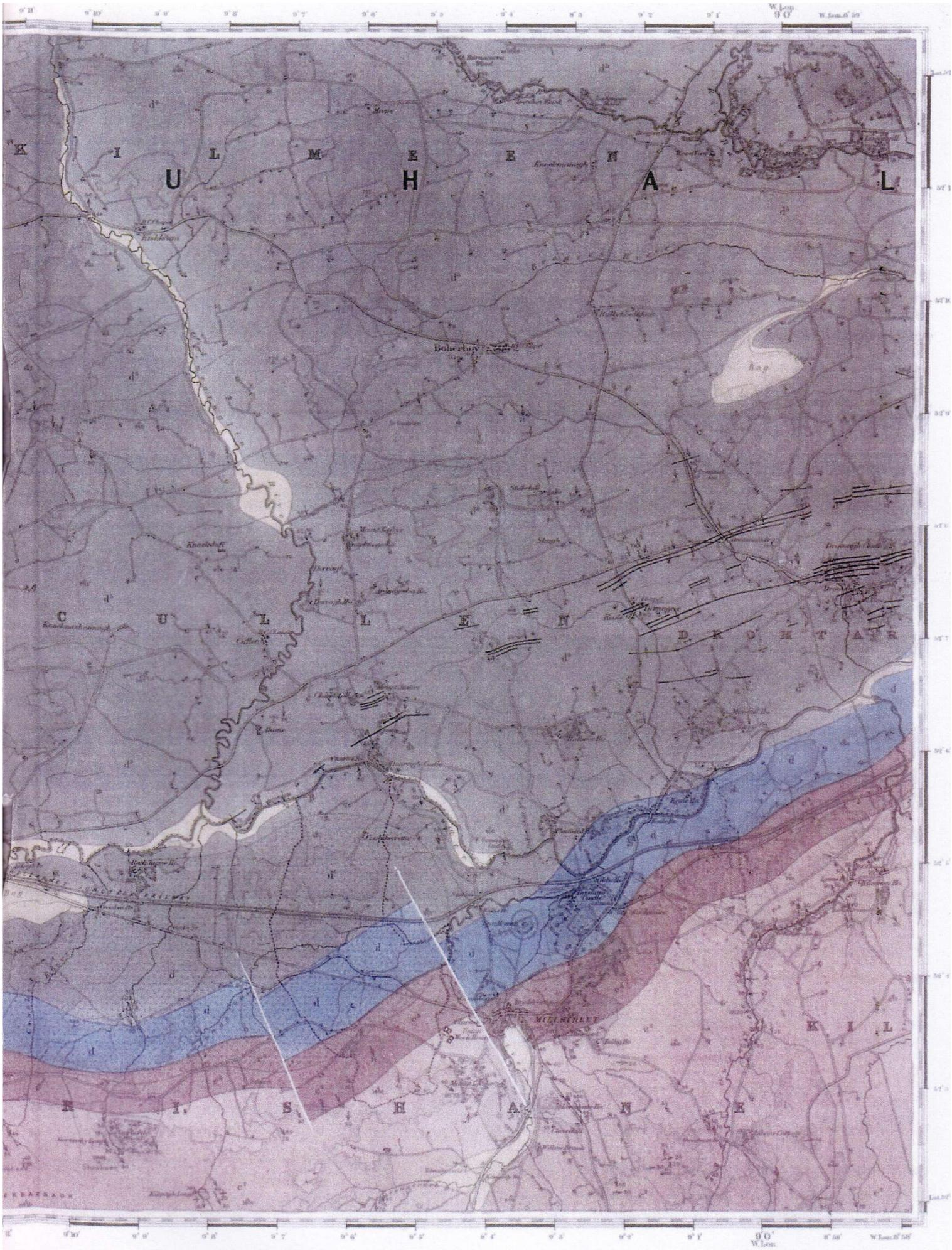
Yours sincerely,

Jack Lane

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, LOCAL EXTRACT

Overleaf is an extract from the map of the Geological Survey of Ireland and below is the title page of accompanying "Explanations to accompany sheets" of the map, in this case sheet 174, published by Alexander Thom and Sons in 1861.





Scale to a Statute Mile

3" = the length of the Scale of the One Inch Map

10	20	30
40	50	60
70	80	90

Approved by the ORDINANCE SURVEY OFFICE Dublin under the direction of Captain General G. J. Theobald by James Barry, the Surveyor General, the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin.

Published by Long's Colonial Stationers, S.E. P.S. No. 11, in the Department of the Ordnance Survey.

GEORGE EGERTON IN CARTOONS



When George Egerton became famous with the publication of her ground breaking 'Keynotes' written in Millstreet in 1893 she was lampooned mercilessly in the satirical magazine 'Punch' with a series of mocking parodies of her writing beginning on March 4th, 1894. This was a great back-handed tribute to the impact she had made as the people satirised in that magazine were the movers and the shakes of their day.

The series was titled '*She-notes*' by '*Borgia Smudington*' Practically every word was foil of innuendo and was a subliminal and crude disparagement of her and everything she represented. The very title and 'author' hinted at a smutty she-devil named Borgia and everyone knew what that word symbolised - the ultimate in degeneracy and debauchery.

As the original 'Keynotes' had a cover illustration by the well known erotic illustrator Aubrey Beardsley these '*She-notes*' were illustrated by '*Danby Weirdsley*,' '*Aubrey Beer de Beers*,' '*Mortarthurio Whiskersley*.'

The first illustration above painted Egerton as a smoking harridan. Women smoking publicly was an obligatory, ultimate symbol of the degeneracy and decadence associated with the 'New Woman' movement which Egerton personified.



The cartoon above made use of her Irish background and the 'story' that ran with the cartoon above began with "She is lying on her back in a bog-stream. Strangely enough there are white clouds waltzing along the sky." And everyone knew that bogs were intrinsically Irish and therefore the only people who were associated with them had to be Irish and never a positive association as in the notorious description of O'Connell by *The Times* after his win at the Clare election as "*scum condensed of Irish bog*." So Egerton was a female bogtrotter to boot!

The message in the parodies was that she a mixture of sex-mad, foolish, loose woman who was not quite right in the head. She was at the same time both very silly and very dangerous and horrified all concerned with public decency. Note again the obligatory and ominous cigarette - say no more!

The cartoon below is clearly based on a passage from one of her stories:

"And she can feel now, lying on the shade of Irish hills with her head resting on her scarlet shawl and her eyes closed the grand intoxicating power of swaying all these human souls to wonder and applause. She can see herself with parted lips and panting, rounded breasts, and a dancing devil in each glowing eye, sway voluptuously to the wild music that rises, now slow, now fast, now deliriously wild, seductive, intoxicating, with a human note of passion in its strain."



*

THE 'SAGART MOR' OF MILLSTREET

He was called by his people 'An Sagart Mor;' he was their banker, their law-giver, their adviser and their leader in every way. They pleaded their disputes before him and gave justice and mercy to all; he fought their battles against the tithe proctors, and all the ills of the time. For 45 years he ministered to them as their pastor. When he died in 1865 the parish and the people of Millstreet had been transformed. In the church which he had built there is a memorial to him, unveiled by the Bishop of Kerry, Dr. David Moriarty, whom he had baptized and who had become his intimate friend.

CAME AGAINST HIS WILL

It was against his will that Fr. Patrick Fitzpatrick came to Millstreet. At first he refused to come, and when he did come, it was with considerable reluctance. He was Parish Priest of Kenmare in 1820 when the people of Millstreet (which is situated in the ancient parish of Drishane, Diocese of Kerry) sent a deputation to him to implore him to come as their pastor. Life was hard in the united parishes of Drishane and Cullen at the time, harder than it had ever been. There was no Priest's house in the parish, no school, and only a small thatched chapel. The Parish Priest though a young man was an invalid - he was to survive until 1857 - and the incoming priest would have to provide a pension for him of £25 a year. Patiently Fr. Fitzpatrick explained to the deputation that financially it would not be possible for him to run the parish. They listened to him, and nodded. Sadly they turned away. Then one day, courage ebbed back into them and they rode over again to Kenmare. They offered him everything they had.

GAVE THEIR ALL

That day by the Sea of Galilee Our Lord must have smiled when Simon Peter reminded him that he and his fellow fisherman "had given up everything" for the Lord. It was indeed true that Simon and his partners James and John, the sons of Zebedee, had left all things and followed the call of the Redeemer. "And having brought their ships to land, leaving all things, they followed him," but when we come to consider what "all things" meant, we must accept that the few broken nets and the antiquated boats that they abandoned on the shore at Genesareth would not have added up to much in a worldly sense. And When Fr. Fitzpatrick listened to men of Millstreet as they told him that they would give him everything he needed if he came to them as their pastor, he too must have smiled gently, because the "everything" they could afford would also have added up to little in a worldly sense. But the optimism of the men of Millstreet had the quality of Simon's rock-like faith, and so Fr. Fitzpatrick agreed to come. In a short while they were back again in Kenmare with carts to bring his furniture. He came on horseback, carrying a breviary and a blackthorn stick. It was 1820.

GRIM OPPRESSION

The long drawn out agony of Ireland had reached one of its many critical stages. in 1820. There was open insurrection against all forms of authority. The labourers and the tenant farmers had been driven to desperation by oppression. The only answer the government had was more troops and a new Insurrection Act that branded every prisoner a murderer; scaffolds were erected at many crossroads and sometimes as many as seven young men were hanged at a time.

It is not given to us to understand the thoughts that must have passed through the mind of the 33-year-old priest that day in 1820 as he rode into his new parish. In the town of

Millstreet there were some 300 houses, almost all thatched. There was a police barrack and a military barracks that had been built in 1798 to house six officers and a hundred men. A large flourmill gave good employment when the country was not disturbed. There was a courthouse and a bridewell. Almost a thousand persons lived in the town. It was pre-Famine times.

Fr. Fitzpatrick had been born on St. Patrick's Day, 1787, at Dromahoe in the parish of Dromtariffe (county of Cork but diocese of Kerry). He was educated at Killarney, Douai and Maynooth and was ordained at Killarney on February 5, 1810 by Dr. Sugrue, Bishop of Kerry. He served in Rathmore, Lixnaw (where he baptized David Moriarty, future bishop), Fries, Dingle, whence he was promoted parish priest of Kenmare at the age of 32. Less than two years later the Millstreet men knocked at his door.

Within ten years of having come to Millstreet he had craftsmen at work on the church, the Presentation Convent, the boys' school, the presbytery and on laying out the cemetery. The men of Millstreet were true to their word. They gave him all they had, and all he needed. They gave their labour, their skills, their horses and carts, and their prayers. Fr. Fitzpatrick employed no contractors; every piece of work was supervised by him, and every stone remains as a memorial to him to the labourers and craftsmen of the parish.

LIVED WITH PARSON

Fr. Fitzpatrick had no house when he came. The Church of Ireland rector had his residence in the Glebe Field, near the Lower Lodge of Drishane Convent. He offered shelter to Fr. Fitzpatrick and took him in. There is now no trace of the parson's house, but the trees which sheltered it still stand; it must have been a large house, and priest and parson shared it for a time. Then Fr. Fitzpatrick went to live at the Priest's Cross (where later there was a soup kitchen during the Famine) and later took lodgings in an inn opposite the site of the church he was to build.

By 1840 the group of buildings was complete. On May 27 in that year the first four nuns came from Killarney Convent, one of the first daughter houses of Nano Nagle's foundation in Douglas Street in Cork. It may well have been that it was some of Nano Nagle's money that was used to endow the new foundation in Millstreet. The presbytery and the ground were Fr. Fitzpatrick's own property; the site for the church and convent at Coomlegane is referred to in the records as the Chapel Field; it was given at the very low rent of £5 a year by the McCarthy-O'Leary family.

BREVIARY MEMOS

For many years Fr. Fitzpatrick had no place to keep his personal papers or his parish accounts except in his pocket. On interleaved pages in his breviaries, which still survive, is written the story of those heroic years in Millstreet a hundred and fifty years ago. From the breviaries we may take one story that gives us an insight into the faith and courage of one priest leading his people in the fight for Catholic Emancipation. In the fight against unjust tithes, in the fight against famine and cholera, in the fight against unfair rents, all the time trying to make his little money go further than it could, but never being disappointed. There is no explanation of it in English; in Irish we say: *Bhi Dia buioch don Sagart Mor.*

He spent the money as it came in; the needs of the parish and of the parishioners were great. Wherever he could he borrowed from his fellow priests, paying back the loans at 5 per cent interest. To complete the Presentation Convent he had borrowed £1,000 from a banker in Cork; he still owed £700 to the banker when Dr. Egan, Bishop of Kerry, came to his aid and gave him £700 to clear the debt. The money was part of the endowment of the Presentation Convent and, of course, Fr. Fitzpatrick had to find the £35 interest due every year to go to the support of the nuns. He also had to ensure that the full £700 would be kept

safe for them. As security for the loan he took out an insurance policy with the Royal Exchange Insurance Office in Cork on the life of a young lay sister in the Convent. The annual premium came to £17/17s./0d., and this with the £35 interest a year, absorbed all the money collected at the church door on Sundays and Holydays. Providentially the young nun died in a short time and so lifted a heavy burden from his shoulders.

FRIEND OF O'CONNELL

He was very friendly with Daniel O'Connell, who often visited him in Millstreet, as the Kerry coach stayed there overnight. He organised the people of the parish behind O'Connell's struggle for Catholic Emancipation and he was one of the first to join the Repeal Movement.

His membership card, which survives, is dated 1841. There are records of two large Repeal meetings which he organized in Millstreet attended by O'Connell, Tom Steele, Villiers Stuart, Charles Bianconi, O'Donoghue of the Glens, and many of the local gentry. Fr. Fitzpatrick inclined more to the Young Irelanders in later years and he sheltered Michael Doheny when he was on the run after the failure of the rising in Ballingarry in July 1848.

On that memorable day in May 1840 when Bishop Egan rode into Millstreet accompanied by four members of the Presentation Order from Killarney, the furniture available to the sisters was scant and very plain, but within a month they had they had opened the schools, and children came flooding in, their numbers growing every day.

The first postulant came in September. She was Alicia MacCarthy, a niece of the Liberator, who was her mother's brother.

In 1841 came the second postulant, Ellen Doheny, a sister of Michael Doheny. She had another brother, an inspector of national schools, who had introduced her to the convent. In the autumn of 1848 when, pursued by soldiers and police, Michael Doheny turned to Millstreet to visit his sister, then Sister Mary John, Fr. Fitzpatrick welcomed the fugitive and sheltered him in the presbytery. A friendly officer in the barracks sent word to Fr. Fitzpatrick whenever the presbytery was about to be raided for Doheny, who would calmly cross the convent wall and spend the time with his sister until the raid was over.

THE WIDOW'S COW

In Millstreet they still talk of Fr. Fitzpatrick's deeds, but of none with greater appreciation than his rescue of the widow's cow. It happened in 1833 when the tithe war was raging. Fr. Fitzpatrick was supervising the work of building the church when word was brought to him that the tithe proctors had distrained the only cow belonging to a poor widow and had driven it away to be sold at the fair of Macroom. Ordering as many men as possible to follow him, Fr. Fitzpatrick jumped on his horse and rode off towards Macroom. After some time he saw the two proctors ahead of him driving the cow. He remained behind until they came to the top of Gurteenroe Street (then Pound Lane); then he rode out in front. As the curious spectacle of the procession of priest, followed by cow, followed by the tithe proctors, headed into the crowded street of pre-Famine Macroom, the people surged around them and the two Proctors were glad to escape. Using his stick with practiced effect Fr. Fitzpatrick turned the cow around and headed her back towards Millstreet.

In the meantime, thousands of his Parishioners had been gathering and were coming to his aid, as he unhurriedly walked behind the cow. With drums and banners and lighted torches they had set out as fast as they could be mustered to march to Macroom. Fr. Fitzpatrick was already half-way home with the widow's cow when he was met by the cheering crowds and escorted home to the widow's house. That was the end of the proctors' activities in the matter.

FAMINE HORROR

During the Famine years Fr. Fitzpatrick tended unceasingly to the desperate needs of his people. His breviaries show the many orders that he gave for food, the innumerable sums of money lent, and the provision of free meals in the schools. These grim accounts show that he bought two public coffins in 1847 at 10/-each and that he had four charity collection boxes made.

By his will he sought to leave a residue to establish the Irish Christian Brothers in Millstreet but there was no surplus and no money to start a school for the Brothers. The will was in the possession of Miss Kathleen Linehan until a fateful night, November 20, 1920, when it was destroyed by the Black and Tans in a drunken attack on the business premises and home of the Linehan family in Millstreet. Miss Linehan's father was a nephew of Fr. Fitzpatrick and I am indebted to her for much of the information in this article.

Fr. Fitzpatrick died in Millstreet on Monday, March 6, 1865, and in an obituary of him in the "Cork Examiner" two days later it was stated: "Fr. Fitzpatrick was unquestionably a remarkable man, of a robust frame and giant constitution; possessed of an extraordinary fond of sound, solid common sense, and profoundly religious; he was, in truth, a faithful, zealous, watchful pastor, noble-hearted, enthusiastic, uncompromising, incorruptible patriot, a sound, enlightened politician, an honest, straightforward, independent man and a genial companion."

Padraig O Maidin, Cork Holly Bough. 1971

- * Around the Cork-Kerry Border - recalling the Rambling House by *Dan Cronin*.
- * The Poems of Geoffrey O'Donoghue by *John Minihane*
- * Sean O'Hegarty, O/C 1" Cork Brigade IRA (Second edition) by *Kevin Girvin* "Lest we forget" (leaflet), Cork City Hall, 8 November 2008
- * The Fighting Irish and the Great War
- * Coolcrease: The True Story of the Pearson Executions - an incident in the Irish War of Independence by *Paddy Heaney, Pat Muldowney, Philip O'Connor, Dr Brian P Murphy, and others*
- * The story of the Moving Bog by *Joseph Dinneen*
- * More espionage reports from Ireland to Winston Churchill by *Elizabeth Bowen*
- * Elizabeth Bowen: "Notes On Eire". Espionage Reports to Winston Churchill, 1940-42; With a Review of Irish Neutrality in World War 2 (3rd edition) by *Jack Lane and Brendan Clifford*
- * Danta/Poems by *Eoghan Ruadh O'Suilleabhain translated by Pat Muldowney*
- * Sean Moylan: in his own words. His memoir of the Irish War of Independence
- * An affair with the Bishop of Cork, *various authors*
- * From Cologne to Ballinlough - A German and Irish boyhood in World War II and post-war years 1946-149 by *Herbert Rimmel*
- * The Famed Hill of Clara, its poetry, history and the heritage of its environs by *Fr. Sean Tucker*
- * A Millstreet Miscellany (3) by *various authors*
- * An affair with the Bishop of Cork, *various authors* (second edition)
- * An Argument Defending the Right of the Kingdom of Ireland (1645) by *Conor O'Mahony*. First Publication in English, translated and introduced by *John Minahane*
- * William O'Brien, MP by *Brendan Clifford*

B O O K R E V I E W :

"The Battle For Cork, July-August 1922" by John Borgonovo (Mercier 2011)

About half of this book is about responses to the Treaty of December 1921, and the other half is about the short battle for Cork City in early August 1922. The battle for the City was short and bloodless because the military leader in the War of Independence decided not to contest the conquest by the Treatyite leaders of the part of the country allocated to them by the 'Treaty', despite the fact that the 'Treaty' was granted on the condition of disestablishing the Republic of 1919-21 and replacing it with a new State under the authority of the Crown.

That military leader was Sean O'Hegarty. O'Hegarty was closely associated in war and politics with Florrie O'Donoghue, who handled Intelligence during the War of Independence. O'Hegarty and O'Donoghue, who both rejected the 'Treaty', tried during the first half of 1922 to negotiate a compromise with the Treatyites by which the Republican Army would remain intact under a political arrangement which left the Treatyites free to go ahead with the amendment of the Dail Eireann Government into a Government which acknowledged the sovereignty of the Crown.

The Treatyite Defence Minister, Richard Mulcahy, also said that it was his intention to maintain the unity of the IRA as the 'Treaty' was implemented, but at critical points he did not follow through on agreements.

O'Hegarty said he did not care what name the state had, as long as the substance of independence was maintained. He worked industriously and imaginatively on arrangements which enabled the Treatyites to go ahead with implementation of the 'Treaty', while preserving the Army whose proven fighting power was the only reason why Britain had offered the 'Treaty' terms.

When it became evident that the Treatyite leadership was driven by a will to

war, and that no political expedient would divert it from the object of crushing the Republican Army, O'Hegarty and O'Donoghue resigned from the IRA. The replacement leadership then offered no effective resistance to the Treatyite invasion of early August.

The real story of the *Battle for Cork* is why there was nothing deserving the name of a battle. And that is the story of O'Hegarty and O'Donoghue, of which the reader could get no adequate idea from Borgonovo's cursory remarks. There is a biography of O'Hegarty which goes into his actions in those crucial six or seven months after the Treaty - Kevin Girvin's *Sean O'Hegarty, O/C First Cork Brigade, Irish Republican Army*, published by *Aubane*. Borgonovo does not refer to it, or even list it in his Bibliography, even though it is the only book on O'Hegarty, and O'Hegarty was indisputably the central figure in the Battle for Cork.

Borgonovo quotes a paragraph from O'Donoghue on the position of the Army in the State established in accordance with the electoral mandate of 1918:

"IRA officers in Munster remained incredulous that they were not consulted before the Treaty was submitted for ratification. Writing in 1929, Florrie O'Donoghue expressed this militarist view:

"The Army created Sinn Fein in the country: the Army created and controlled every national activity from 1916 to the truce of 1921. The Army was the deciding factor in the 1918 elections; it made and largely manned the Dail and the Government of the Republic. The Army put the Dail in power and kept it there; it directed and controlled every department of that government. The Army policy was the policy of the government. Everything else was subservient to it; it was the driving force of the whole movement for independence. To

misunderstand this would be to misunderstand the whole position of the Army"..." (p28).

The reference for this is "notes... on *The American Commission... papers of Terence MacSwiney's biographers, UCD*"—private notes written seven years after 1922, and therefore not a militarist view expressed in 1922 and influencing developments then.

But, (leaving aside the time warp), in what way is this view militarist? All I can see in it is a factual description of the part played by the military element in the development of the Independence movement as a consequence of the well-established British position that it would never concede Irish independence to a mere vote.

The Army was formed late in 1913, in support of Home Rule, in response to the formation of a Unionist Army to prevent the implementation of Home Rule, even if enacted by Parliament. It was in the first instance a Home Rule Army. It was formed independently of Redmond, but he demanded, and gained, control of it in 1914. When he urged enlistment in the British Army in September 1914, a small group split off and began to prepare for insurrection. The bulk of the Volunteers stayed with Redmond, and he held a great Review of them in 1915, at which belligerent speeches were made against the Unionist Volunteers, even though they were allies in the war on Germany and Turkey. (See Pat Walsh; *The Rise And Fall Of Imperial Ireland*.)

The Government, perhaps realistically, did not treat the split in the Volunteers as a substantial fact, and did not suppress the Volunteers who were preparing an insurrection, lest this should upset the Volunteers who were supporting it in the War. Thus Redmond's Volunteers provided cover for the 1916 Rising. After the Rising, it was around the survivals of the insurrectionary Volunteers that Sinn Fein was constructed into a viable political party as the Home Rule Party was undermined by the Conscription Act.

The new Sinn Fein party then won the Election and sent delegates to Paris to get Irish Independence recognised by the Powers that had just won the Great War for democracy and the rights of small nations. Britain vetoed Irish Independence at the Peace Conference and continued governing the country in defiance of the Election. And that, of course, made everything depend on the Volunteers once more.

That is the situation described by O'Donoghue seven years after he retired from the Army rather than engage in a war of resistance to the new Army authorised, financed and armed by Britain.

Neither that description, nor O'Donoghue's actions in 1922, could be described as "militarist" without a gross perversion of language. Perhaps Borgonovo has evidence which he does not present that O'Donoghue was militarist, but to the best of my knowledge O'Donoghue's attitude, especially in 1922, was the opposite of militarist. It was not even military.

Militarism—a preference for military action as a means of dealing with a problem when other means are available—was, however, strongly present in the Treatyite approach.

(I use the term "militarism" as I have seen it used over many decades, but I looked up some dictionaries to assure myself that I had not picked it up wrong. (I am uneducated after all.) Here is what I found. *Shorter Oxford*: "the attachment of (undue) importance to military values and military strength". *New Oxford*: "the belief or desire of a government or people that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests". *New Penguin*: "a policy of aggressive military preparedness; the glorification of military virtues and ideals".)

A better case might be made that O'Hegarty sometimes tended towards militarism. It would be superficial, but the

case with regard to O'Donoghue is not even that. O'Hegarty made his views on the 'Treaty' known to Cork TDs during the weeks between the signing of the document at the orders of Lloyd George and Dail discussion of it. Cathal Brugha, who was still Minister for Defence at the time, instructed the Chief of Staff, Mulcahy, to censure him:

"This officer requires some enlightening as to the scope of his duties. You will now kindly define those duties for him and inform him that sending reminders to public representatives pointing out what he, or those under him, consider those representatives should do in crises like the present in not one of them..."

But O'Hegarty would not accept censure on the point. He wrote to the Divisional Adjutant on 19 December 1921:

"The circumstances cannot be judged as the ordinary political variations of a settled country. Here is no ordinary change. What is contemplated in these proposals is more than that. It is the upsetting of the constitution—the betrayal of the Republic. Who better than those who fought to maintain it have a right in this crisis to uphold the Republic; to make clear to those who have the decisions in this matter what their duty is..." (see Kevin Girvin, *Sean O'Hegarty*, p92-3).

Girvin comments:

"In the past, the IRA had distanced itself from... politics in general. However, the signing of the Treaty saw the Volunteers becoming actively involved in the issue... There was military interference on behalf of both sides with resolutions—either pro- or anti-Treaty—being passed throughout the country..." (p95).

In May 1922 this was O'Hegarty's view of the conduct of the Dail:

"For six months they have indulged themselves in bitter verbal attacks against each other, while failing to achieve anything constructive... The country was heading towards war and, if a solution was to be found,

it would come from the Army and not from the politicians..." (p95).

This was said while O'Hegarty was engaged in an Army initiative that almost brought the Dail together in defence of its Constitution, but which failed because the will to war prevailed in the Treatyite leadership.

Can all this be reasonably described as "militarism" on O'Hegarty's part—a preference for military action over political action? Is it not the duty of the soldier, as Brugha said, to be an obedient instrument of the Government of the day, and to act in response to orders without questioning the reason why?

That is certainly what is said in *kindergarten* textbooks on Constitutional government, but it is not the way of the world.

What was at stake in Ireland following the signing of the Treaty by Collins was the existence of the State which the Republican Army served, and which could not have been established, when the British democracy decided to take no heed of the Irish vote, but for the prior existence of the Republican Army.

When Brugha ordered O'Hegarty to be censured he acted within a structure of formal authority whose basis had been put under question by the Treaty'. Six months later he died fighting the Treaty' authorities, while O'Hegarty, having seen those six months wasted by the politicians, declared neutrality in the Treaty War in order to preserve something Republican from destruction.

Mulcahy, who replaced Brugha as Defence Minister, said it was his object to keep the Republican Army in being. At first he supported the calling of an Army Convention for this purpose, but then he banned the Convention. The Convention was held regardless (late March). Borgonovo comments: "*In defying the government ban, they had essentially repudiated their fealty to the civilian authority*" (p17).

"Civilian authority" was in utter confusion at that juncture. The elected Government of a Republic, whose actual existence had been made possible by the Republican Army, had been replaced by a "Provisional Government", functioning on British authority within the sovereignty of the Crown. British authority was conferred when the small majority which supported the Treaty' in the Dail met under Crown authority as the *Parliament of Southern Ireland*, which was also attended by a number of Unionists elected by the elite electorate of Trinity College.

The Provisional Government claimed a kind of double mandate, Irish as well as British. It had got its small majority in the Dail before meeting, along with others, as the Parliament of Southern Ireland, to ratify the Treaty'. (The Dail, not being recognised by Britain, could not have ratified the "Treaty", although Borgonovo says that it did, page 34.)

While saying that the Army repudiated "fealty" to the civilian authority by meeting without the approval of that authority, Borgonovo also concedes that "the state's constitutional status was open to question" (p34). So what the Army refused "fealty" to was a questionable civilian authority.

Now the Treaty' leaders did gain a majority in the Dail before going on to have British authority conferred on them in another assembly, and that fact has been presented as the founding act of democratic legitimacy by many recent writers, headed by Professor Garvin. On the other hand, Professor Garvin had ridiculed the idea that the Dail elected in 1918 was a democratic assembly at all. As far as I recall, he described it as a facade on the Army, largely constructed by election rigging. It had no democratic legitimacy from January 1919 to December 1921, when it acted by consensus in the construction of Republican government, but it acquired morally binding legitimacy in January 1922 when a small majority agreed, under threat of British

reconquest, to replace the Republic with a new Government under the authority of the Crown. (And this suddenly legitimised democratic assembly had been renewed in the 1921 Election without a single vote having been cast for it, none of the seats having been contested against the Republicans.)

Going beyond Constitutional formalities to Constitutional substance: this Crown Government—with which a Dail majority agreed to replace the Republic—did not have the means of governing by its own resources. It did not have an Army. The Army which had made it possible to give effect to the electoral decision to establish a Republic was not available for the replacement of the Republic by a Crown Government.

We are told that Collins was the practical man of action who saw the substance of things. He had taken the affairs of state into his own hands in early December 1921 with his decision to sign the 'Treaty' without submitting it to his Government, and to browbeat his colleagues in London to do likewise. It has been suggested that he was right to do this as the Irish Government was only make-believe. And yet it turned out very quickly that Collins, the strong leader who had no patience with constitutional quibbles, had lost the Army—because the Army took itself in earnest as the servant and protector of the Republican Constitution. All Collins could retrieve from the Volunteer Army was a cadre around which to construct a paid Army (with British support), whose only obvious purpose was to break the Volunteer Army that had fought the war against Britain. And he gained that cadre by persuading some Volunteers that he was accepting the Treaty only in order to acquire the means of breaking it before too long.

And so, in the Summer of 1922, Collins had to use the Army, that Britain enabled him to form, to conquer the country from the Army that had fought Britain and

obliged it to negotiate. In June Britain insisted that he should do this, and he was in no position to refuse.

Midway through the development from the "Treaty of Peace" to "Civil War", De Valera said that the majority has no right to be wrong, and "there are rights which a minority may justly uphold, even by arms, against a majority". In recent times this has been held to be a disgraceful statement, despite the many instances in which the truth of it is not questioned. The British Unionist Party acted on that principle from 1912 onwards and was proved right in the only way in which such a thing is ever proved. Within three years it had got the better of the majority that it said was doing wrong.

As the Treaty dispute dragged on, and as Free State power was built up, there is little doubt that the majority became willing to settle for the Treaty. But it never became an overwhelming majority, a consensus majority, such as the majority for the Republic had been in 1919-21. And De Valera proved himself right by overturning the Treaty majority within ten years, and challenging it from a position of equality within five, causing Treatyism to undermine itself by the means to which it clung to office in the last five years.

The British presence is missing from Borgonovo's account of the War, apart from an incidental reference to action by the Royal Navy (which continued to be based in Cobh) in support of the Treatyites. But the development from "Treaty" to "Civil War" is not comprehensible if the conflict is taken to have come about through disagreement between Irish parties acting autonomously.

A couple of years ago I commented on a statement by Borgonovo that the 'Treaty' conflict was foreshadowed by divisions within Sinn Fein during the War of Independence. I had been able to find no such divisions in 1919-21 and concluded that the 1922 division as brought about by the partial British concession backed by a ferocious ultimatum.

I looked in this book for some argument that the 'Treaty' division was the working out of a division that had been suppressed in 1919-21, but there isn't any.

If independence had been achieved, differences would no doubt have arisen over how the State should be conducted, but independence had not been achieved, and the difference that arose had to do entirely with the British threat of barbaric war on the lines of the war in South Africa twenty years earlier. Redmondite and West British remnants attached themselves to the Treatyites. But these elements, though wealthy, had little or no influence on Sinn Fein politics before the 'Treaty'. They jumped on the 'Treaty' bandwagon, but they had not set it rolling.

Borgonovo writes that, in the Spring of 1922: "Only three options lay open to Cork Republicans: to secure a compromise with their pro-Treaty opponents that satisfied their principles; to re-launch the war with the British to unify the country; or to physically resist the Free State" (p33).

But it was not on the issue of unification that the British ultimatum was active. It was on the issue of the relationship of the 26 Counties with Britain. Partition figured marginally in the Treaty Debates. It was an accomplished fact, which all accepted with a degree of *de facto* resignation. And the ending of it was not something that might simply be conceded by Westminster. British policy over the centuries had brought about a situation which the British Government could not simply conjure away in the early 20th century.

And Partition was not the issue on which the 26 Counties was driven to 'Civil War'. Lest we forget, the issue was the Oath to the Crown. And that was something that Britain might have abolished with the stroke of a pen.

The Cork Republicans tried their best to "secure a compromise with their pro-Treaty

opponents that satisfied their principles". And their pro-Treaty opponents tried their best to arrange that compromise. But every compromise initiative was thwarted by the inflexible will to war in Whitehall, which at every critical juncture determined the action of the Treatyites in Dublin. And when Collins fired the first shot, it was under threat that, if he did not do so, the British Army—which had not gone away—would take command of Dublin immediately. Such was our 'Civil War'.

Britain was not going to have in the Irish State, however Oath-bound, the Army that had fought it and driven it to the negotiating table.

Brendan Clifford

Sean O'Hegarty, O/C First Cork Brigade, Irish Republican Army by *Kevin Girvin*. Index. 248pp. ISBN 978-1-903497-30-2. Aubane Historical Society. 2007. €20.

The Grammar Of Anarchy: Force Or Law—Which? by *J.J. Horgan*. Unionism, 1910-1914. Introduction by *Brendan Clifford*. ISBN 1 874157 15 4. 64pp. ABM No. 28, May 2006. €6.

Propaganda as Anti-History: Peter Hart's 'The IRA and its enemies' examined. *Owen Sheridan*. 100pp. ISBN 978-1-903497-41-8. AHS, 2008. €15.

Troubled History: A 10th Anniversary Critique Of *The IRA & Its Enemies* by Brian Murphy, OSB and Niall Meehan. Introduction Ruan O'Donnell. 48pp. ISBN 978-1-903497-16-3. AHS. May 2008. €10.

The Rise And Fall Of Imperial Ireland. Redmondism In The Context Of Britain's War Of Conquest Of South Africa And Its Great War On Germany, 1899-1916 by *Pat Walsh*. 594pp. Index. ISBN 1 0 85034 105 1. AB, 2003. €24.

Northern Ireland What Is It? Professor Mansergh Changes His Mind by *Brendan Clifford*. 278pp. Index. ISBN 978-1-874157-25-0. A Belfast Magazine No. 38. 2011. €18.

M O R E V I S I T O R S

The following is another collection of accounts by people who visited the area and left their comments.

An anonymous 'American Gentleman' on the Butter Road (15 July, 1804).

He left Cork on 15 July 1804 travelling via Blarney on his way to Killarney and stayed the night at the inn in Millstreet. This is his account of the journey along the Butter Road:

"On Saturday, 15th July, I left Cork accompanied by a friend in a gig; which kind of carriage we preferred, that we might see the country to more advantage than in a closed carriage, and that we might stop with more convenience when and where we pleased.

We took the road towards Killarney, turning a mile out to the direct road to pass through Blarney, which belongs to Mr. Jeffers, brother-in-law to Lord Clare. The village is four miles from Cork, and seems to have been lately built, consisting of a number of snug comfortable cottages in a square surrounding a little lawn, round which is planted a double row of elms, and in the centre is a statue as large as life on a low pedestal. We did not stop to examine what it was, as evening was fast approaching, and we were obliged to push on to Millstreet, twenty-two miles from Cork, for want of accommodation nearer.

The old castle of Blarney is a lofty and spacious square building, in a less ruinous state than the generality of ancient buildings in the country. It is a very fine object, towering over the surrounding trees, in the demesne of Mr. Jeffers, whose house joins the castle, and separated from the village by a fine trout stream and a lawn. Leaving the church and parsonage on the right after passing the village, we had proceeded a little way, when a handsome girl, all in tatters, rushed out of a cabin, and ran by the side of the gig. She looked dreadfully wild, but did not speak; at last she attempted to catch hold of the wheel next her, but it hurting her, she stopped, and look'd after us with a most wild stare, until by a turning in the road we lost sight of her. On enquiring we were informed that she was a harmless maniac. I felt myself impelled by her interesting figure to follow up my enquiry as to the cause of her insanity, but perhaps it was fortunate that the long dreary road before us prevented my hearing some tale of human depravity which might have caused disagreeable sensations, without being productive of any good effect either to the hearers or to the sufferers (if a maniac may be called so.)

About half a mile from Blarney we pass a bleach and print field on the right, and a paper mill on the left, and a little further, coming into the great Kerry Road again, from the top of a high hill we had a fine view of the surrounding country to a great distance in every direction, but Cork was concealed from us by its low situation. In the whole circle of vision, the country appeared very hilly, but not mountainous, well inhabited and tolerably cultivated - the view to the west terminated by Musherah mountain, over which we had to pass. We stopped to bait our horse at a country inn, called, from its distance from Cork, the ten mile house, it was kept by a Mr. Coffey, who had lately removed to it from Killarney, who was repairing the house, and endeavouring to render it more comfortable to travellers than it had been hitherto. Our host's sister did not fail to inform us that she was daughter to Mr. Coffey, who kept the best hotel in Killarney, where we would be agreeably accommodated. She was very communicative and obliging, offering to get us tea if we pleased; but the dread of the mountain we had to cross, would not admit of longer delay than to refresh our horse; so after bidding Miss Coffey good evening, at seven o'clock we proceeded.

Five miles further on, a good, hard, but rather rough road, brought us to the foot of the mountain. It was now twilight and, and every object, whether sheep or cow (numbers of which are pastured here) seen though the magnifying gloom of evening, appeared to the busy fancy a robber prepared to demand our purse. The solitary road, there being no house for above two miles - the deep glens - the beds of mountain torrents, now dry, the dark heath, and a heavy cloud which capped the mountain, and which increased the darkness, were all objects well calculated to work on a fanciful imagination. Descending to the Westward, after emerging from the thickest part of the cloud, the remains of twilight, breaking through the mist, partially

lighted the ridges of mountains and hills below us, and gave them the appearance of huge unbroken billows, after a heavy storm at sea.

The elevated region, and the solemn grandeur of the view before us, which reminded us of Mrs. Radcliff's mountain scenery in her novels, and her travels in Germany inspired us with delightful sensations which baffle description. After descending four miles, we arrived, at eleven o'clock, at the village of Millstreet, where a good supper, and an excellent bed, put to flight all the aerial fancies in which we had so richly indulged for the two preceding hours. We found Ellis's a good inn, and the bill reasonable.

Millstreet is a large village, with a post-office, a church, a Roman catholic chapel, and a barrack for a company of foot, which was then occupied by a company of the Meath militia. It is the property of Captain Wallace (Wallis, J.L.), whose house and demesne we saw at a short distance to the Northwest of the village.

The 16th, after breakfast, we proceeded on a good hard road, though a fine grazing country, with an extensive level on the right and a range of mountains on the left, running from Musher to the westward, and opening out very handsomely from behind each other. As we advanced in that direction, first the Paps, two very remarkable conical mountains, with a cairn on the top of each - then Glenflesk and Mangerton."

**"Tour through the South of Ireland by an American Gentleman"
from the 'Edinburgh magazine and Literary Miscellany,' November 1805.**

A visit by some fishermen (1859)

The following is an extract from a fishing tour of Ireland taken from after describing their stay in Macroom in late May they recorded:

"We left next morning for Millstreet, and as we arrived there about 7 o'clock, we started to a little stream that runs into the Blackwater, and killed a dozen-and-a-half of nice sized trout, part of which we had served up for breakfast, with fried eggs, and the remainder we gave the waiter. We then proceeded to the railway station, where, as we found that the train would not pass to Killarney until 4 o'clock, we decided in spending a few hours on the Blackwater. I killed a small salmon, and my nephew killed another and three dozen of trout. The day was wet and squally, and I was beat off the river early; but not so my nephew: he remained until the last moment, and when he returned he had but time to change his clothes and put on dry ones, when the train arrived, and in less than another hour we arrived safe in Killarney."

"New Sporting Magazine" September 1859.

A former soldier in the Barrack returns (1861)

Queen Victoria's visit to Killarney generated a new interest in visiting there and the following is one such account. He took particular in Millstreet, probably for old time's sake, as he had been stationed here earlier:

So leaving the abodes of comfort, and the numerous adjuncts of sophisticate civilisation, I must ask the admirer of nature in its primitive aspects to accompany me in viewing some of the most interesting objects in a journey round the Lakes of Killarney and some parts of Cork.

I did not commence my journey on the beaten track of the railway which lies between Cork and Killarney. I shall avoid, if possible, the detail of the hosts of modern improvements which have rendered a trip to the lakes so easy and so accessible to every languid man, every woman, and every child, in her Majesty's dominions who can afford to pay for the excursion. I know that the newspaper press, the periodical writer, and the advertiser, can treat these matters so much more amply and eloquently than I can, that I shall not venture to trespass upon their province. I was stationed with a company of my regiment, some years ago, at Millstreet, a wretched secluded Irish, country town, about half way between Cork and Killarney. In point of the conveniences and comforts of life, I think I have seldom been in any sojourn that offered so few as Millstreet, and, in point of civilisation and society there was really then a prospect as little inviting to one prizing those benefits as could possibly be imagined. There was, one may say, *no* society. When I asked the captain, whose party we relieved at Millstreet, whether he knew all the gentry who lived in the neighbourhood, he replied, "There is no one to know." And afterwards we found that his information was about correct. I must, however, add, that I recollect two large family mansions, the tops of whose houses peered through the trees, and which promised to be the homes of gentry; however, one of the gentlemen, who inhabited the nicest-looking of them, did pay us a visit, which we returned, and that was all that passed between us; and the other house was the property of a gentleman, or, as the railway officials say, a party, who preferred to absent himself from his native country, like a great many others of his fellow-countrymen. I shall not attempt a description of the village. There was a barrack in the centre, which we inhabited, and all the rest of the houses were built of mud, being cabins. The statistics of nearly every town in Ireland at that time could be very easily, made out: thus, for instance, Macroom consisting of a certain number of mud-cabins, dunghills, turf-stacks, pigs, and dirty half-naked bipeds chiefly children; Kantark, of a greater number of the same sort of half-naked brats, pigs, - filthy cabins, and dunghills; and Millstreet, the same in all respects as to quality of the objects which met the view, but differing, perhaps, slightly in their number.

This being the state of matters in the town and the immediate vicinity of it, my brother officer and myself were much left to our own resources for passing away the time, and it being summer, we bethought ourselves of visiting the mountains in the distance, of which we were told by the country people that the sport, in the way of fishing was something extraordinary.. We accordingly prepared ourselves for an excursion to them, resolving to pitch a small tent in any place which we could find most suited for the purpose, and to carry thither such stores as were indispensable, and trust for the rest of the eatables which we should require to the mountaineers—whose cottages or huts were occasionally to be found

even in the wildest of the solitudes—and to the fish which we should catch.

I well remember the loveliness of the climate, the time, the scenery, the buoyant nature of the exhilarating exercise of walking through the "mountain-paths; the fresh heather, the deep dark glens overgrown with ferns, the craggy rocks apparently before untrodden, the circuitous tracks which we should never have known had it not been for the guidance of the mountain lad. A very accomplished individual amongst these lads, or gossoons (as they there called them), was he who could converse in English. For the generality, it was necessary to find out the Irish for lake, and the native name for the mountain which we were going to, in order to be conducted to the destination which we wished to reach. In the background, about four miles from Millstreet, commences a range of mountains which continue at various elevations all along that side of the country, until they terminate abruptly near the margin of the famed Lakes of Killarney. Of these, the principal heights are called the Paaps and the Tore Mountain; Mangerton and the McKillicuddy's Reeks loom in the distance. The large lakes of Glounafrihane, and the smaller lakes which lie both on the tops of the Paaps and in the valley between these last-named mountains, were the places which we designed for halting in and pitching our tent there for the purpose of what the Italians call a "villeggiatura," or al fresco residence for a few days. I have not hitherto met with a description of these unfrequented haunts and desert mountain seclusions, nor have I heard reports of the success of any who have essayed their skill in the angler's art by the sides of these lovely lakes; but the sport which I was witness to in the way of fishing there was certainly unequalled by anything that I have heard of occurring in any part of the United Kingdom. On the first day we threaded through the glens, covered with heather and in some measure planted, till we came to a mountain-pass, that gave us at a distance a view of the range of upland heights which girded the face of the country all the way to Killarney.

Continui montes, ni dissociantur opaca,
Valle. _'

We passed onwards about two miles through the level pass, which was, however, skirted by hilly ground closely on each side, and displayed every phase of the heathery, ferny surface such as generally clothes the mountain-sides, until we reached the great lake called Glounafrihane. I know not a shorter English name for it, or I would give it, but I do hope that it may be "done into English" some time or other. Just before approaching the lake we came to a plain, and there we pitched our small tent, and got our tackle in order for cross fishing the lake. The soldier-servants soon got up the tent, and one of the fishermen stood on the mountain-side of the great lake and began opening carefully the line of thin catgut, which was hung with artificial flies at intervals of about two feet apart. When he had opened them all out, and found, much to his joy, that the flies had not been marred or injured in the carriage, he tied one end of the line to his fishing-rod's line, and the other to a second fishing-rod which he gave his companion. The flies, which were attached to the numerous small lines that hung from the grand line intended to span the lake across, were of various colours, and were tied and selected by the sportsman, being meant to resemble the different natural flies which

usually he had seen buzzing over the surface of the lakes and streams' in summer. Commencing from about twelve yards from each end of the grand line, there were about fifty flies, attached to the smaller lines. When the sportsmen considered them fastened to their rods firmly enough, they raised the rods gently, and one of them, holding his own rod up, proceeded to the opposite side of the lake in a small skiff, which one of the country people rowed him in, leaving his companion standing with his rod in his hand on the other side. When he arrived there, they then gently lowered the line down to the surface of the water and began fishing. Every time there was a bite, the fisherman who was on the bank of the lake which was nearest to where the fish bit, and was hooked in the gills, called out to his companion in a loud voice, "In line!" and his confederate immediately let out his line from the reel so as to allow of plenty of purchase in the line for the purpose, of letting the sportsman who had hooked the fish and had given the call draw in his prize "to shore. Such prizes and such large trout were drawn in this first day as would astonish any one who had never seen angling; some trout weighing, eight or nine pounds, some a little less, all of a dark black mottled colour, and as many as thirty fish, between the hours of twelve and five, were taken out of this large lake: So plentiful a take was there, that the fishermen resolved upon leaving two-thirds of the number in a large well of water which was near the lake. The fish tasted at dinner-time most deliciously — more so than any person can conceive who has not tried what sort of taste fish have when fresh taken out of the water and fried in the primitive mountain cook-house which our servants had got ready for us.

After this meal we resumed the sport at half-past six, and so on till evening, and then went back again to the small tent, where the ticks, stuffed with fresh heather, supplied us amply with couches more tending to repose than any pampered citizen or effeminate voluptuary could find in his luxurious mansion. I was charmed with the sort of life which this sojourn introduced to me. As for my companion, he was an old soldier, who had been in many lands, and to whom such vicissitudes were everyday occurrences. So much is it that

Use doth breed a habit in a man,
The shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
He better brooks than flourishing peopled towns.

The next day we resolved to devote to the visiting the Paaps, and seeing what sport there was in the smaller lakes. We set off at an early hour in the morning. We ascended the mountain which was nearest the place where we had pitched the tent, and saw down below in the basin formed by the valley, which lay at the extremest depth beneath, that there was a lake of what appeared a small circumference in its centre. We then descended on the other side; through the boggy ground, heathery downs, and stony pathways. When we got half way down we stopped to look at the lake which lay below, and we were struck with surprise at seeing the numerous little circles produced in the water by its disturbance, owing to something rising upwards from it. We got nearer, and were soon convinced that these appearances were nothing but the rising of the fish—the trout—myriads of which the water was filled with, some of them merely darting their heads upwards, and some of them fairly jumping out of the

water. We descended very quickly, and taking the rods when we got to about one hundred yards from the margin of the lake, we asked two of the soldiers who were with us to go forward and choose the ground which would answer best for standing upon while we held the rods, for the purpose of cross fishing. The number of the fish springing out of the water induced the men to be eager in their search for this, and hurrying onward to where the boats were, clear of reeds and brushwood, they proceeded each in different directions. Before they had distanced three yards from the cover they were up to their middles in black slime, and we perceived that all round the lake the thick slimy mud was so deep that it was impossible for a man to approach the edge of the water. In this predicament we considered the best means to resort to was to procure some large stones, which we resolved to sink at the parts of the mud where we could best approach the lake, and as soon as we could get near enough to the water to allow of our dipping the line in, to form a sort of standing-place of stones, and stay there fishing. Also another such standing-place had to be formed on the other side of the lake. But by having the assistance of several of the neighbouring peasants, and patiently procuring the stepping-stones first, and making the small platform on each side available for fishing from, in the course of a couple of hours we were able to commence the sport, and after the cross fishing had continued for two hours (which was conducted in the same way as that which we had the day before practised), we counted the number of trout in the different panniers and baskets, and found we had caught six dozen. Every time the line was put down seven or eight trout bit at the flies. These trout were, of a much smaller size, light yellow and brown bellies, speckled black and grey backs, and few of them larger than the ordinary trout, of a pound and a half weight, or about the size of common mackerel. "I may add, also that their taste, when fried, as the others were, was delicious, even better than those of the larger lake. It was certainly wonderful to see the number of the fishes, and also to find that although this could not have been more than seven miles from Millstreet, there had not been others, either poachers or sportsmen, who should have visited this most prolific of waters. I never before or since saw a pond so overstocked with them, although, doubtless the shoals in the ocean, or the fry which harbour near some of the seaports on the Malabar coast, would make their numbers seem quite contemptible.

When we returned with our well-laden baskets, we found groups of the mountain peasantry, who had assembled near the tent, and were making merry; they had a fiddler and a piper, who had been sent for from some distant town to do honour to the day. These country people, who invariably are ready for anything which promises amusement to them, had conjectured that the music and the presence of two or three girls, under the chaperonage of a matron from one of the adjacent cabins, might be acceptable to the English officers, and accordingly the only person of the party who could speak English which was the fiddler, addressed us on our return with a question as to whether we should like to have some music after we had finished our dinner in the tents. We consented to this, and soon after our meal he struck up, and was accompanied by the bagpiper. The spirit and strength with which they played seemed to be well appreciated by the country irls. These resembled the dancers de-

scribed by Goldsmith in their unremitting exertions along with their rustic partners, who were some of the peasants that had assisted us:

The dancing pair that simply sought renown,
By holding out to tire each other down.

Their language as well as their manners were totally strange to us, but they seemed to have the same way of keeping up their dance, in which a man and woman moved opposite to one another in an active jig, as the Spaniards have in their fandango. The next two or three days which we passed in these mountains were similar to the ones which I have just spoken of, and our success in fishing was as great nearly each day, much to the content of the country people, who, besides being well paid for supplying us with potatoes, were given a plentiful stock of the fish we had taken. Shortly after we returned to Millstreet, one of those occurrences which so frequently took place formerly in the country towns in Ireland obliged us to prepare instantly for our departure; in fact, so sudden was our move that the very orderly dragoon who brought us the route, brought us also a letter stating the reason, of it. This letter contained an account of what had happened at the county town in Kerry -Tralee—where an election had taken place. There the populace had attacked the military with stones and other missiles, and the force being very small, had thought in their delusion that they might probably force them to retire. But the company of soldiers who were lining the streets stood the pelting and the striking with sticks most stoically for a few minutes, and at last the captain commanding coolly read out the Riot Act, and when this had not the effect of dispersing the mob, he ordered his men to load, and again warned the mob to disperse. This not having the proper effect, he gave the word to fire, and the soldiers fired and shot several men, who were afterwards known to have been the ringleaders in the commotion. This happened the day previous to the dragoon coming to our barracks with a notice for our instant departure, so we had but short time to pack up and move to Killarney to replace the company stationed at Ross Castle by a small force, and move on with the rest of the party to Tralee, to reinforce the military there stationed. I shall not enter into the story of the transactions which happened at Tralee, as after this there was the most perfect tranquillity there, but having been myself left in Killarney for a short time during the summer months of August and September, I had an opportunity of seeing the beauties of the different lakes.

**"Killarney and some parts of the south of Ireland" from
'The New Monthly Magazine' edited by William Harrison Ainsworth October 1861.**



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