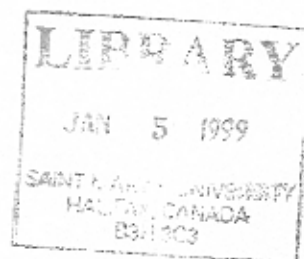


AN NASC

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



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Volume 11, Fall 1998

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Cyril J. Byrne

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

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

We welcome letters and comments from our readers.

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News from the Chair

Course Offerings

The Chair of Irish Studies was without the services of Chairholder, Pádraig Ó Siadhail, from September 1997 to August 1998 because of sabbatical leave. Despite his absence the complement of Irish Studies courses was kept at normal levels through additional offerings: 'Introduction to Scottish Gaelic' (IRS 304.0/Joe Murphy), 'Medieval Welsh Language and Literature' (IRS 305.1 & 306.2/Margaret Harry) and 'Irish Material Culture' (IRS 379.1/Donald Wyllie). Regular courses offered were 'Introduction to Modern Irish' (IRS 201.1 & 202.2/Kelly Curran), 'Ireland, 1600-1985' (IRS 395.0/Michael Vance), 'The Irish Short Story' (IRS 441.1/Cyril Byrne), 'Irish Poetry' (IRS 443.2/Cyril Byrne) and the 'Irish Studies Seminar' (IRS 400.0) which is offered biennially. The Coordinator, Cyril Byrne, arranged with a number of colleagues and associates outside the university to take part in the seminar which made for a lively and diverse experience for the students who participated. Outside presenters were Brendan O'Grady (U.P.E.I., Charlottetown), John Mannion (M.U.N., St. John's), John Fitzgerald (University of Ottawa), John Gibson (private scholar in Highland music), and Terry Punch (private scholar in genealogy and history). Three Saint Mary's sabbaticants gave presentations: Pádraig Ó Siadhail, Brian Robinson (Geography) and Terry Whalen (English). Roger Crowther, recently retired Professor of English, gave a presentation as did Michael Vance (History) and Paul Williams (Anthropology).

Graduate Research

In September 1997, Pádraig Ó Siadhail and Cyril Byrne participated in the dissertation defense of Mr. Peter Murphy for his M.A. in Atlantic Canada

Studies. His thesis, "Poor, 'Ignorant Children': 'A Great Resource' The Saint John Emigrant Orphan Asylum Admittance Ledger in Context," an annotated edition of a ledger which contains valuable primary source material about Great Famine survivors in New Brunswick, was supervised by Pádraig Ó Siadhail with Cyril Byrne as adjunct reader. Mr. Murphy passed with the highest commendation of the committee and received his degree at Fall Convocation, October 1997. Peter Murphy was awarded the Governor General's Gold Medal at this Spring's convocation in May 1998. This prestigious award, donated by the Governor General of Canada, is presented annually to the outstanding graduate at Master's level at Saint Mary's University and is a fitting recognition of the significance of Mr. Murphy's research.

Pádraig Ó Siadhail also participated in the dissertation defense by Jonathan Dembling of his thesis, "Joe Jimmy Alec Visits the Gaelic Mòd and Escapes Unscathed: The Nova Scotia Gaelic Revivals" which was presented in September 1997 as part of his M.A. in Atlantic Canada Studies.

In September 1997, Pádraig Ó Siadhail served as External Examiner for the examination of Maryna Romanets's Ph.D. thesis at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. Entitled "Between Trompe-l'oeil Mirrors: Contemporary Irish and Ukrainian Women's Poetry in Post-Colonial Perspective," the thesis presented a fascinating critical study of two major authors who write in minority languages, Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill (Irish) and Lina Kostenko (Ukrainian).

Public Lectures

In September 1997, the Chair was fortunate in

that one of the attendees at a convention on Medical Technology being held in Halifax was James Ryan, who, among other things, is an expert on Irish Public Records as they pertain to genealogy. Dr. Ryan gave a lecture, jointly sponsored with An Cumann (The Irish Association of Nova Scotia), on the subject of his expertise which was very well attended by members of the public. In May 1998 Kieran O'Connor, a field officer with the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, was invited to give a lecture at the university on Medieval Archaeological Sites in Ireland. The talk was attended by a number of faculty from a variety of disciplines as well as by members of the general public. Kieran O'Connor's monograph, *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland*, was published recently in Dublin by the Royal Irish Academy.

Federal Government Case Study of the Chair of Irish Studies

Over the past twenty years nearly thirty ethnic chairs have been established with the assistance of the Department of Canadian Heritage (formerly the Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate). Recently, as part of a major review of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Chair Program, the Chair of Irish Studies participated in the indepth case study of its work and its contribution to the implementation of the aims of Multiculturalism. This study included an onsite visit from a representative of the Prairie Research Associates, Winnipeg, who conducted interviews with faculty, students, administrators and members of Irish organizations. Once similar case studies of five Ethnic Chairs have been completed, a final report outlining the success of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Chair Program will be prepared and forwarded to the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Ireland/Canada Cultural and Business Connections

In June 1997, Cyril Byrne participated in a delegation of business and cultural representatives from Nova Scotia to Ireland. The delegation was headed by the then Premier Dr. John Savage and visited Belfast and Dublin. Cyril Byrne met with a number of university and civic representatives. One particularly fruitful meeting was with Dr. Robert Welch of the University of Ulster at Coleraine who is the Head of the Irish Bibliographical Survey. A couple of students from our program are now looking at the possibility of attending UU for graduate studies. Linkages were also made with the Institute of Irish Studies at Queen's University, Belfast, and the Irish Department of University College, Dublin.

The Charitable Irish Society of Halifax/Larry Lynch Memorial Scholarship

The above named scholarships for students entering the second or subsequent year of the Irish Studies Major Program were awarded to Erin Delaney and Stephanie Lahey in 1997. This year's recipients are Tara Martin and Matthew Knight. Each student received \$1,000.00 from the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax.

Community-related Events

The annual "Drowning of the Shamrock" on Saint Patrick's Day 1998 was held in the Private Dining Room in order to facilitate the large numbers who turned out to attend the unveiling of "The Four Evangelists", a tapestry based on folio 27v of the Book of Kells. The tapestry, 54" x 72", was made by Acadian tapestry maker Yvette Muise who now lives in Montreal. It was presented as a 10th anniversary gift to the Chair of Irish Studies by the Bank of Montreal. Mr. Bob Bissett, Regional Vice-President, represented the chairman Matthew Barrett and unveiled the tap-

estry with Yvette Muise. More than one hundred people attended the event which was widely covered by the media. The tapestry is now on display in the foyer of the Patrick Power Library.

Fund-raising

This year's fund raising event sponsored by the Bank of Montreal took place on February 21. Approximately 220 guests attended including Guest of Honour, Councillor Alban Maginness, Lord Mayor of Belfast. The Irish Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Paul Dempsey, and his wife were also in attendance as were Mr. E. J. (Ted) McConnell who was this year's Irishman of the Year. Representing the chairman of the Bank of Montreal was Mr. Richard O'Hagan. The M.P. for Halifax, Alexa MacDonough, attended as did one of our outstanding supporters from London, Ontario, Miss Margaret Fallona. The event raised close to \$15,000.

The Chair also received a donation of \$10,000 from the Owen Connolly Estate on Prince Edward Island. Over the last ten years, the Chair has been fortunate in receiving generous support from this Estate and from the Irish community on P.E.I.

Presentation of Teaching and Library Material

The North British Society (The Scots) Charitable Trust of Halifax presented a set of video aids for the teaching of Scottish Gaelic, "Speaking our Language." The gift is in memory of Sarah MacKenzie who, during her lifetime, was an enthusiastic teacher of Gaelic in the metropolitan area.

A large collection of Irish books was donated to the department for the Patrick Power Library by an estate in Ontario. At present, these books are being catalogued by the Library with the intention of making them available to faculty, students and researchers as soon as possible.

Publications and Awards

In the past year, Pádraig Ó Siadhail has published the following: 'Gan AT,' *Oghma* 9 (Dublin, 1997, 73-83) and 'Petticoat Loose,' *Comhar* (Dublin, February 1998, 18-21). In addition, he was awarded 'Duais Bhord na Gaeilge' at The Writers' Week Festival at Listowel, Co. Kerry, in May 1998 for a collection of short stories. An extract from one of these stories, 'Meisce Bhreallánachta' was published in *Listowel Writers Week: Winners 1998* (Listowel, 1998, 60-66)

Sabbatical Leave

Pádraig Ó Siadhail spent the first part of his Sabbatical leave completing a draft of a biography of Piaras Béaslaí, the Irish writer, political activist and the original biographer of Michael Collins.

From January to July 1998, Ó Siadhail resided in the Conamara Gaeltacht. Due to the kindness of colleagues at the National University of Ireland, Galway, he was able to avail of facilities at the campus and to continue writing. Much appreciation is due to Professor Mícheál MacCraith of the Department of Modern Irish and of *Áras na Gaeilge* who provided a *tearmann*, a welcoming refuge conducive to much writing.

During the time in Ireland, Pádraig Ó Siadhail gave two lectures. He talked on "Idir Dhá Thír: Éire agus Ceanada" to faculty and students of the Department of Irish at University College Cork on 12 March. On 6 May, he delivered a talk, entitled "'A noble and patriotic impulse': Reflections on a century of Irish language theatre" to the School of Modern and Medieval Languages at Queen's University, Belfast.

New Book on the Irish in Newfoundland

Aodhán Ó hEadhra's *Na Gaeil i dTalamh an Éisc* [The Irish in Newfoundland], the manuscript of which was awarded a major prize at the Oireachtas literary competitions in 1997, has been something of a best seller in the Irish language publishing world since it was launched in the Canadian Embassy in Dublin a number of months ago. This demand reflects the fact that while Irish people are conscious of the long cultural and historic connections between Ireland and Newfoundland — the latter's Irish name, Talamh an Éisc, is the one example of a specific Irish language name for a North American location not based on borrowing or adaptation — there had been little material geared towards the non-scholarly reading public.

Ó hEadhra, better known — certainly in my household — as the presenter of *An tAmhránaí Óg* and *Canaimis le Chéile*, two delightful collections of children's songs in Irish, lived and worked in Newfoundland for a number of years in the 1970s. Commencing with the obligatory reference to Saint Brendan, who may or may not have 'discovered' Newfoundland, Ó hEadhra outlines the growth of Irish settlement in Newfoundland, from the contribution of seasonal fishery workers from south-east Ireland to the emergence of the Catholic Church on the Island, largely staffed by Irish-born clergy, and charts the contribution of the Irish to the development of the Island. In the chapters dealing with the history of the Irish in Newfoundland, Ó hEadhra draws extensively on the pioneering work of other scholars. He acknowledges the debt owed to the scholarship of John Mannion and Cyril Byrne. Certainly, this book will bring the work of these researchers to the attention of others in Ireland who may not have been aware of their work. (In passing, it can be noted that Ó hEadhra,

in his discussion of the influence of the 1798 Rising and the United Irishmen on Newfoundland, refers to Cyril Byrne's lecture on the subject, published for the first time in this issue of *An Nasc*.)

Inevitably, most of the focus is on the history of Irish settlement. However, in the final chapters of the book, Ó hEadhra turns to the questions of the survival of Irish language and folk customs in Newfoundland. While he admits that the language did not survive into recent times, he argues cogently, and illustrates by examples (including a list of Irish words which have passed into the English of Newfoundland), the influence of Irish on the English spoken by many Newfoundlanders. In his discussion of folk culture, the author demonstrates the manner in which many Irish customs have survived into recent times. Drawing on his own research, which included interviews with Aly O'Brien, a Newfoundlander who taught himself Irish and a veritable mine of information about Irish customs in his community, Ó hEadhra has highlighted the need for Irish academics, especially those who specialize in folk culture and linguistics, to examine the shared culture of Ireland and Newfoundland. The late R.B. Walsh (Risteárd Breathnach) of University College Dublin had undertaken such work. It is to be hoped that Ó hEadhra's book will encourage other researchers in Ireland to continue to explore the connections.

Published by Coiscéim in Dublin, this handsomely produced book, complete with charts, engravings and photographs, is distributed by Áis, 31 Fenian Street, Dublin 2. Priced at £5 IR (\$11 CAN), it is excellent value.

— Pádraig Ó Siadhail

Canadian Links with the United Irish Rising of 1798

Undoubtedly the most romantic figure among the leaders of the United Irish Rising was Lord Edward Fitzgerald (1763-1798), the brother of the Duke of Leinster, the highest peer in Ireland. Lord Edward's career in the British military brought him to British North America where he served in Halifax and Fredericton in 1788, and in Montreal and Quebec City in 1789. In Fredericton he made the acquaintance of William Cobbett, whose *Rural Rides* continues to be published as the epitome of writing about English rural life at the beginning of the industrial era. Cobbett, who was famous for the candour and honesty of his judgements, said in a letter to William Pitt, the Prime Minister, that Lord Edward was a most humane and excellent man, and the only really honest officer he ever knew in the army. At some time in his tour of duty in America, Lord Edward took into his service a black man. The two became inseparable and Lord Edward refers to him constantly in his letters as "the faithful Tony." With Tony and another officer, Lord Edward made a journey between Fredericton and Quebec City in April 1789 through unexplored territory. The trip took twenty-six days. Lord Edward expressed the greatest admiration for the way of life of the aboriginal peoples whom he encountered, "more sweet than that of painted pomp ... more free from peril than the envious court ... there are no devilish politics here." Lord Edward's courage was so admired by a chief of the Six Nations near Detroit in June 1789 that he made Lord Edward a chief of the Bear Tribe. In a letter to his mother concerning his trip to Quebec, Lord Edward wrote about an old couple with whom they had sojourned, and it is clear

from the long description he gave of the episode that he had a genuine taste for the unsophisticated simplicity of life: "Every man here is exactly what he can make himself and has made himself by his own industry."

It is thus completely fitting that the mysterious woman Lord Edward fell in love with and married, the Lady Pamela, turned out to be a native of this country. Much has been written about Pamela, speculating about her origins which her adopted mother, Madame de Genlis, ascribed to Fogo Island, Newfoundland. Apparently, Madame de Genlis, who was fond of adopting orphans and bringing them up in her household, had an agent in England who found Pamela and her mother near Christchurch in the west of England. Madame de Genlis in her Memoirs details that the child named Nancy was born at Fogo to Mary Syms. The mother was in great distress and gave the child up for adoption to Madame de Genlis's agent. There is a good deal more to the story but it seems there is no doubt about where the child who was given the name Pamela was born. In the marriage contract dated at Tournai, January 25, 1786, Citizen Caroline Stephanie Simms is described as "aged about 19 years, residing in Paris, known in France under the name of Pamela, a native of Fogo, in the Island of Newfoundland..."

—CJB

Irish Studies Timetable 1998-99

First Semester: September — December 1998

An Introduction to Modern Irish

IRS 201.1

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

Instructor: K. Curran

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

An Introduction to Scottish Gaelic

IRS 304.0

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

Instructor: J. Murphy

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

Intermediate Irish I

IRS 325.1

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

Instructor: P. Ó Siadhail

A continuation of elementary Irish, with emphasis placed on students attaining a firm grasp of spoken Irish. In addition, students will continue their study of the history and development of the Irish language.

Geography of Ireland

IRS 391.1 [GPY 390.1]

Tues. & Thurs. 1:00pm-2:15pm

Instructor: D. Wyllie

An examination of the physical, social, cultural, economic, and political geography. Special emphasis will be given to the nature of past and present internal population movements and emigration patterns, regional variations in economic development, and the effects of membership in the European Union.

Irish Folklore

IRS 430.1

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

Instructor: P. Ó Siadhail

A comprehensive study of folklore in Ireland. All aspects of folklore will be examined, with special emphasis on the storytelling, song, and folk drama traditions.

Politics and Government in Ireland

IRS 457.0 [POL 457.0]

Tues. & Thurs. 11:30am-12:45pm

Instructor: G. Chauvin

A survey of Irish history will lead to more detailed consideration of British administration in Ireland, and of government in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland.

Irish Studies Timetable 1998-99

Second Semester: January — April 1999

Modern Irish Language

IRS 202.2

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

Instructor: K. Curran

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

Intermediate Irish II

IRS 326.2

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

Instructor: P. Ó Siadhail

Building upon the skills acquired while studying elementary Irish and Intermediate Irish I, students will concentrate on refining their command of the Irish language. A variety of aural sources and written texts will be used.

Irish Material Culture

IRS 379.2 [ANT 379.2; GPY 379.2]

Tues. & Thurs. 1:00pm-2:15pm

Instructor: D. Wyllie

This course introduces students to the landscapes of Ireland. Areas under investigation will include land use, field patterns, housing, fishing, rural industry, and household and agricultural implements. Attention will be given to the different circumstances and life styles of people living in offshore islands and in isolated farms, villages, towns and cities. Consideration will also be given to efforts to preserve the past in the form of folk museums.

Irish Drama

IRS 442.2 DT [EGL 442.2DT]

Thurs. 12:00pm-2:30pm

Instructor: G. Fraser

Irish dramatists from Farquhar and Sheridan to Shaw, O'Casey and Beckett will be studied from the point of view both of their contribution to theatre in the English-speaking world and of their special Anglo-Irish or native Irish cultural background.

Modern Gaelic Literature in Translation

IRS 450.2

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

Instructor: P. Ó Siadhail

This course will cover works in translation by prominent 20th century writers in Irish. Emphasis will be placed on the plays of Douglas Hyde, the prose writings of Pádraic Ó Conaire, Máirtín Ó Cadhain, the Blasket Island writers and modern Gaelic poetry.

To receive information about registering for these courses, please contact
 Saint Mary's University,
 Admissions Department,
 (902) 420-5626

From Kilsheelan to Newfoundland to Culloden

Ireland being a maritime nation, it and its people have had the usual plethora of contacts with the outside world that any such situated country would have. In the eighteenth century the south-eastern counties saw increasing contact between that area of Ireland, the Island of Great Britain and the other island off in the north Atlantic, Talamh an Éisc or Newfoundland.

To illustrate the vagaries fate could weave for an Irish individual in that web of contacts consider the story of a young man, James Whelan, born in the townland of Kilsheelan, Co. Waterford, c.1723. He shows up in the records of Irishmen made prisoners in Scotland during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46. He is listed as a trooper who had served two years. The record states that he was made a prisoner [of the French] on his homeward passage from Newfoundland in the *IND* [sic], possibly *Independence*, a brig whose master's name was Ben[jamin] Taigue. James Whelan was by trade a clothier which was a fairly common occupation for an Irishman in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century.

Another citation in the same source for a James Whealan gives the following information about him: "Taken at sea in ye John, Brigg. Desires to go to Ireland." Then there is the following comment: "a pretty lad"! The circumstances of this James Whealan are close enough to those of the James Whelan cited earlier to suggest their being the same person. The comment upon James Whealan's comeliness comes in the context of many such prisoners who bore the disfiguring blemishes of smallpox and other such afflictions to which people of that period were prone. And, of course, there is the suggestion that the whole Whelan/Whealan progeny was a comely race indeed!

—CJB

Source:
The Irish Sword, Vol XVI (1984) No. 62, p. 8 & 11



General Theobald Dillon

An Anecdote of Mozart's Friend, Michael Kelly

Cyril J. Byrne

Michael Kelly/O'Kelly (1764?-1826) was born in Dublin. His mother's surname was McCabe. His father, Thomas Kelly, was a wine merchant, dancing master and master of ceremonies at Dublin Castle. Michael Kelly went to Europe following training as a singer in Dublin. He was much sought after for his fine tenor voice: Gluck himself trained him for the part of Pylades in *Iphigenia in Tauride* and Mozart with whom Kelly developed a close friendship trained him in the part of Don Basilio which he sang in the first performance of *Le Nozze di Figaro*. Kelly was said to have never been absent from Mozart's regular Sunday concerts. Kelly went to London in 1787 where he was for years principal tenor at Drury Lane. When Kelly went into the business of running a wine shop — which bankrupted him — R. B. Sheridan, the dramatist, suggested as an appropriate sign: "Michael Kelly, Composer of Wines and Importer of Music"!

In his *Reminiscences* first issued in 1826 and re-edited and re-published in 1975, Kelly gives an interesting and revealing anecdote about his meeting some of the famous Irish "Wild Geese" at Graz in Austria:

[In 1782] we arrived at Graz. A great number of nobility resided in this pleasant lively city ... but, which was far better for me, a great number of Irish officers, among whom were Generals Dillon, Dalton and Kavanagh. General Dalton was commandant; and I found him a father when I wanted advice, and his acquaintance was of course an introduction to the best society. He was an enthusiast about Ireland, and agreed with me that the Irish language was sweeter and better for musical accompaniment than

any other, the Italian excepted.

I procured an audience with the Emperor [Joseph] at Schönbrunn. I found him with half a dozen generals, among whom were Generals O'Donnell and Kavanagh, my gallant countrymen. The latter said something to me in Irish, which I did not understand [and] consequently made him no answer. The Emperor turned quickly on me and said "what O'Kelly, don't you speak the language of your own country?" I replied "please Your Majesty, none but the lower orders of the Irish people speak Irish". The Emperor laughed loudly. The impropriety of the remark, made before two Milesian generals, in an instant flashed into my mind, and I could have bit my tongue off. They luckily did not, or pretended not to hear my unintentionally rude observation. It was, it must be confessed, a most unlucky impromptu.

—*Reminiscences* by Michael Kelly (ed. Roger Fisher) (Oxford, 1975), pp 71-2, 135.

Travelling to Ireland?

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160 Bloor Street, East
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Toronto, Ontario
M4W 1B9

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Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples

Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies

Saint Mary's University, Halifax, August 1989

Edited By:
Cyril J. Byrne
Margaret Harry
Pádraig Ó Siadhail

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The Four Evangelists

Yvette Muise, a tapestry maker from Chéticamp in Cape Breton, now resident in Montreal, had long developed an interest in the intricacies of Celtic designs, both the geometric and the homo/zoomorphic. The piece of tapestry titled *The Four Evangelists* had its origins in Yvette's imaginative response to the copy of the *Book of Kells* in the Patrick Power Library at Saint Mary's University. Having learned of the acquisition of the copy by the Chair of Irish Studies, Yvette visited the University. She brought along her dyes and wools to make colour comparisons and she made extensive notes and design sketches. Following her return to Montreal, Yvette made an elaborate sketch of folio 27v which contains stylized Celtic depictions of the images traditionally associated with the four evangelists: The Winged Man of St. Matthew, the Lion of St. Mark, the Ox of St. Luke and the Eagle of St. John. Inspired by what the design suggested to her imagination, Yvette decided to start on her most ambitious piece of work ever. The story of the various stages of the work would fill many pages from the construction of the huge frame needed to contain the work to the brewing of a large container of tea in which the fabric was soaked giving the final piece the subtle beige hue suggestive of the colour of a piece of aged vellum. "I had to dye it all at once, otherwise I would have had some variation in colour if I used two separate buckets of tea," recalls Yvette laughing.

Yvette kept in touch with me and reported on the work's slow progress. I had suggested to her that, when the tapestry was finished, we would love to be able to display it at Saint Mary's. In late 1995 Yvette sent a series of pictures of the yet incomplete but amazingly beautiful work. Those pictures did it.

I contacted my good friend Richard O'Hagan at the Bank of Montreal and a great supporter of Saint Mary's and the Chair, talked with him quite animatedly about the tapestry and suggested he cajole Matthew Barrett, the Bank's CEO and a native of Kells, Co. Meath, to acquire it for us. As luck would have it, Don Kelleher, Director of University Development and another great supporter of the Chair, was leaving for Toronto next day for fund-raising meetings with the Bank. Don took the pictures Yvette had sent and gave them to Dick O'Hagan. Matt Barrett was as impressed with the photographs as Dick had been and agreed to buy the tapestry and present it to the D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies as a tenth anniversary present. Yvette was delighted to have her largest sale of the year. The Bank was pleased to have acquired a significant piece of Hiberno-Canadian art and to place it where its gift would be viewed eventually by thousands. I was ecstatic that what seemed an impossible dream had become an actuality.

The tapestry of *The Four Evangelists*, which now hangs behind the *Book of Kells* in the Patrick Power Library, was formally unveiled on March 17, 1998, by Bob Bissett, Atlantic Vice-President of the Bank of Montreal and Yvette Muise.

—Cyril J. Byrne

Oideas Gael

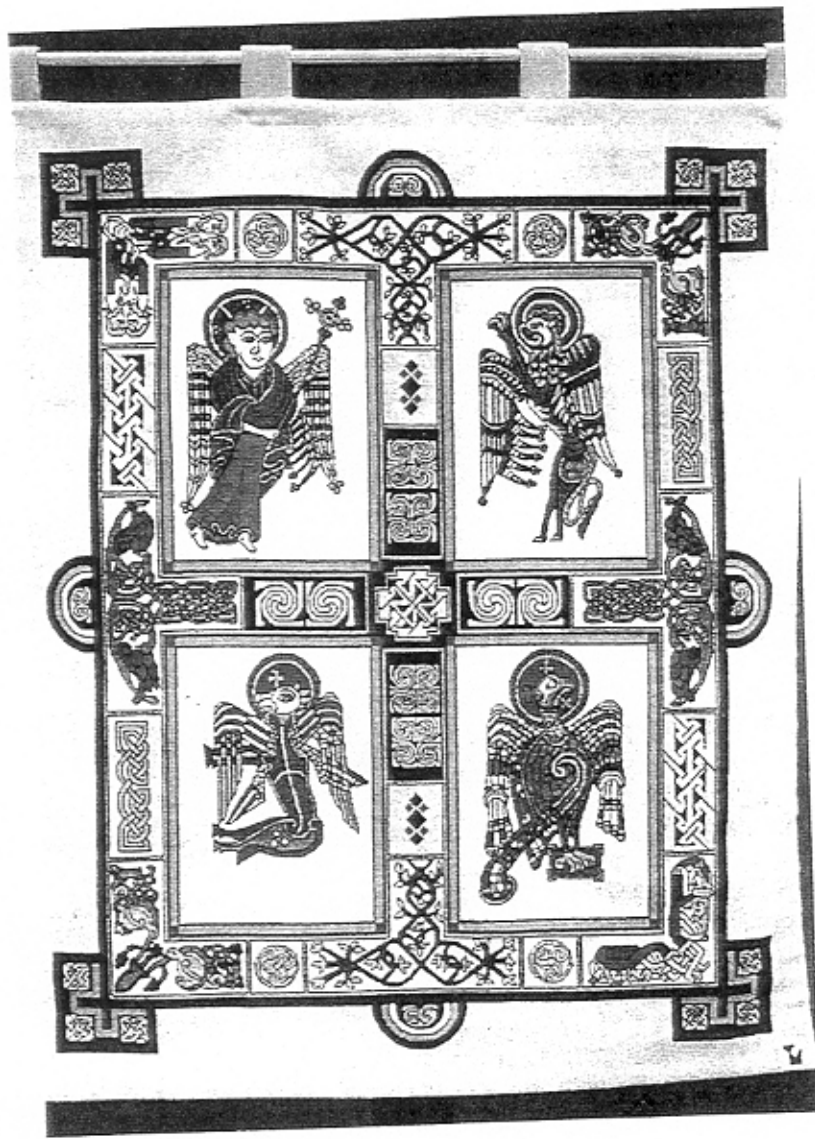
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The Four Evangelists



Mary and Brigid

A Clarke Painting

Cyril J. Byrne

Mary and Brigid, a painting by Margaret Clarke (née Crilley, 1888-1961), a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy, was discovered in the Art Gallery of Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, by the Gallery's Director Ingrid Jenkner in 1996. Since then Ms. Jenkner has busied herself in finding out as much as possible about the still mysterious circumstances of how this canvas painted in 1917 ended up at the university. Until Ingrid Jenkner came upon the painting it had remained forlornly undocumented and torn, stored in the MSVU permanent collection vault.

Ms. Jenkner's exertions have turned up a good deal about this fascinating painting. *Mary and Brigid* had been exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1917, at the St. Stephen's Green Gallery in 1924 and finally in the Aonach Tailteann Exhibition of Irish Art in 1924 when it won a medal in the genre class. Ms. Jenkner's search for information about the Clarke painting led to Margaret Clarke's niece Brigit Mahon (née Clarke, 1916) who lives in Dublin. In a letter to Clarke scholar Carla Briggs, Ms. Mahon confirmed she had sat for the figure of the child in the painting which had hung in her family's home until the late twenties or early thirties. The painting somewhat mysteriously "went to America" after that time.

The full provenance of *Mary and Brigid* remains unknown. Correspondence filed in the University Archives indicates that in 1967 it was presented to Mount Saint Vincent University by John J. C. Shelly, an Irish-Canadian, whose sister worked in the University Library. At some point in its history—according to the style of the frame, after it had arrived in Canada, and according to the information on the plaque, after the artist was elected to the RHA in 1927—the canvas was restretched to fit a smaller frame and a plaque was attached, engraved as follows:

"Mary and Brigid" Inisheer, Aran Islands. Margaret N. Clarke, RHA. In 1996 the picture was cleaned, mended and restored to its original dimensions. It now hangs in the entrance foyer of the E. Margaret Fulton Library at Mount Saint Vincent University.

In an article to be published in the *Irish Arts Review*, Ingrid Jenkner argues for an interpretation of the painting as: "designed specifically to accommodate the rhetorical touchstones of contemporary Irish nationalism....The staginess of this portrait calls to mind the paintings of Sir William Orpen, Clarke's teacher, who had posed her for one of his own fanciful works, *An Aran Islander*. The juxtaposition on the left side of *Mary and Brigid* of an ancient tree, newly leafed, with a holy well at its base is reminiscent of Orpen's *Nude Pattern, the Holy Well, Ireland*, with its heavy symbolism of cultural regeneration....The archaic and rural elements demonstrate the influence of cultural revivalism, which served the nationalist agenda by consciously 'remembering' the future. The figures' dramatic expressions evoke the resolution with which Irish patriots had so recently faced their oppressor."

As for the artist herself, Ms. Jenkner's article notes that "the death of her husband, the stained glass artist Harry Clarke, in 1931, and the needs of her family, forced Margaret Clarke back to 'the golden treadmill of portraiture.' She continued in a competent, if unadventurous career, to paint the portraits of Eamon de Valera and Archbishop [John Charles] McQuaid, and to produce graceful genre subjects. It seems a pity that her early promise should have been blighted."

An Nasc is indebted to Ingrid Jenkner for the reproduction of *Mary and Brigid* which appears in this issue and for the liberties we have taken with her article for *Irish Arts Review*.

THE UNITED IRISH RISING OF 1798 AND THE FENCIBLES' MUTINY IN ST. JOHN'S, 1800

Cyril J. Byrne

In May and early June of 1798, Ireland, especially County Wexford, erupted in what in Ireland is called a "Rising" and everywhere else a Rebellion. The 1798 Rising was bloody, brutal and brief; however, it was the single most important event in Irish history since the end of the seventeenth century and ushered Ireland into the modern era. It blew apart, if not literally, at least morally, socially and politically the semi-independent Ireland which had emerged out of the eighteenth century. The Act of Union of 1801 for which the 1798 Rising was the main catalyst grappled Ireland more tightly to the bosom of "the Auld Tyrant," from whose grasp it has been the aim of subsequent political action from that time to the present to free her. The history of '98 is being rehearsed, rehashed and revised in this 200th anniversary year and the aim of this essay is to focus on the Wexford Rising's echoes in Atlantic Canada but especially on the abortive United Irish Rebellion which took place in St. John's, Newfoundland, almost two years later, in the spring of 1800.

Newfoundland, as anyone familiar with its history and geography knows, is an uncanny transatlantic "twin" of Ireland. Richard Bonnycastle wrote in his very fine *Newfoundland in 1842* of this resemblance of Newfoundland with Ireland: "About one-half, or rather more in number, of the people, is essentially Irish; so much so, indeed, as, considering the verdure of the earth, the absence of reptiles, the salubrity of the air, and the peculiar adaptation of the soil to the growth of the potato, to tempt one very often to call it... Transatlantic Ireland." Henry Winton, the editor of the St. John's newspaper *The Public*

Ledgers, who had a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the Irish in Newfoundland, wrote some twenty years after Bonnycastle that: "Newfoundland may, to all intents and purposes, be regarded as a second edition of Ireland; it more nearly resembles that unfortunate country in its general character and in the habit and character of its people, than any other country in the world.... A very large proportion of our people are of Irish birth or parentage, educated ... so to speak with the peculiar ideas, feelings, prejudices and habits of the Irish people." Winton, of course, was writing in the period just after the terrible scenes of the 1861 election whose violence had been attributed to the political passions of the Irish in St. John's and Conception Bay.

The history of the Irish in Newfoundland from the end of the seventeenth century till the middle of the nineteenth was not at all unlike that of the Irish at home whose course it parallels. L'Abbé Jean Beaudoin, the chaplain who marched with LeMoynes D'Iberville during D'Iberville's raids on the English fishery in Newfoundland in 1696, reported encountering Irish servants around Conception Bay who he said were treated by their English masters as slaves. Beaudoin could be accused of making such a statement for obvious political purposes. However, in a memorial to the Secretary of State, Viscount Townshend, dated 26 July, 1714, James Smith of Bristol, stated: "There are at present about 500 families in Newfoundland but their condition I have already hinted to your Lordship is more to be pitied than that of slaves and negroes." Smith goes on to give instances of the severities endured by the

liveryers, severities which included "whipping for concealing small quantities of fish with which to purchase bread for their families during the winter." Since the major complaint against the "Irish Papists" in the Colonial Office papers of the eighteenth century was their wintering in Newfoundland, it is fair to assume that a good number of the families whose state Smith described as "more to be pitied than that of slaves or negroes" were Irish.

The Jacobite Rising in Scotland in 1715 had its Irish echo. The Irish Catholics had always looked to the Stuarts as their hope for redress of their grievances; certainly they saw no hope for themselves in the ascendancy of the House of Orange or its Hanoverian successor. The failure of the 1715 Rising disappointed the hopes of the Stuart supporters in all of the British Isles, but the Hanoverian succession did not win many hearts in any of the three Kingdoms and its existence remained doubtful till after the famous '45. In Newfoundland the growing numbers of Irish Catholics, or Papists as they were legally designated, gave rise to fears on the part of the English administrators that, should the French again make an attempt in the Island, the Irish would join with the French, who supported the Stuart cause. Time and again one encounters warnings from various colonial administrators that the Irish Papists were refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King, and of the dangers inherent in this.

The Penal Laws of England were given application in Newfoundland against the Irish Catholics on at least two occasions. The first was an order for the disarming of Irish Papists and for the formation of a Protestant Militia; the second was a flurry of prosecutions under surrogate governor Richard Durrell. At Harbour Grace, Carbonear and Harbour Main, Catholics were fined for attending Mass and, in a number of instances, the buildings in which Mass had been

said were ordered destroyed. The year was 1755, the same in which the infamous deportation of the Acadians took place.

In Ireland at this time the Catholic peasantry, subjected to the vile treatment of the Penal Laws and without the leadership it had formerly looked for from the conventional aristocratic sources, began to organize groups for its own protection. The most famous of these groups was the Whiteboys who, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, were active in attempting some redress of a variety of grievances, mostly against landlords. The Counties of Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary were particularly strong bases of the Whiteboys and, in looking through accounts of the Whiteboy trials, one encounters the same family names that one finds among the Irish in Newfoundland at that time. It is not surprising that the Reverend Edward Langman, the resident Anglican clergyman in St. John's, should write to his superiors at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that many of the Irish brought to St. John's in the spring of 1766 were believed to be Whiteboys coming to Newfoundland to escape prosecution. In that same year John Bridge, for whose supposed murder Fr. Nicholas Sheehy had been executed at Clonmel, was reported to have been seen alive and well on the streets of St. John's.

The intimate and intricate relationship between society in Newfoundland and Ireland, especially the south-eastern Counties, was noted by Jonathan Ogden, the chief magistrate in St. John's in 1798. Writing to Governor Waldegrave, Ogden remarked: "the events of Ireland have heretofore and will in a measure govern the sentiments and actions of the far greater majority of the people in this country." So it was that the United Irish Rising of 1798, the most important and ferocious rising ever, had its echo in Newfoundland.

The Society of United Irishmen, like most

things Irish, was a far from simple organization. From its founding, it had as its aims the ideals embodied in the oath taken by the Society's first members on the night of November 9, 1792: "I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions." One of the most romantic leaders of this movement was Lord Edward Fitzgerald who had the audacity even for a nobleman to tell to their faces the Lord Lieutenant and the Protestant Ascendancy who formed the Irish House of Commons that they, not the Irish Papists, were the worst subjects the King had. Lord Edward provides another curious connection between the 1798 Rising and Newfoundland, for his wife, Lady Pamela, had been born Nancy Simms, the natural daughter of Jeremiah Coghlan and Ann Simms, born at Dog Cove, Notre Dame Bay, nowadays called "Horwood." Men like Lord Edward and Wolfe Tone, who belonged to what is called the Ascendancy Class in Ireland, were stirred by the ideals of the French Revolution into attempting to revolutionize Ireland and bring about a new society in which people would not gather under a Protestant or a Catholic banner, but would unite under the single title of Irishmen. A good deal of the slogans, organization and goals of the United Irishmen were derived from those of Revolutionary France and the notions of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, which seem almost trite now, were exactly what the United Irishmen aimed at — liberty for Catholic and Dissenter, equality of all citizens irrespective of race or creed or social origin, and brotherhood for all Irishmen with all men.

The leaders of the United Irishmen were convinced that there was no way other than an armed rising by which their aims could be accomplished; all other methods having been tried and proved futile. Historians are convinced,

however, that no Rising would have taken place in Ireland had not the Government deliberately goaded the population into rebellion. During the winter of 1797-1798, murder, outrage, torture, and burning of houses and Catholic chapels in districts where the United Irishmen were suspected of having an organization became the sport of the military, some 120,000 of whom were in Ireland by the spring of 1798. Sir Jonah Barrington, who was no United Man, summed up the situation this way: "Free quarters were now ordered, to irritate the Irish population; slow tortures were inflicted, under the pretence of forcing confessions; the people were goaded and driven to madness."

The Rising was to take place on 23 May, 1798 and on that day the Rising did begin in Leinster, but as one writer has put it: "It was like a living creature deprived of its brain." The people had no leaders and knew no plan. The men of one place had no idea what they were to do, nor what their confrères in neighbouring counties were doing. Despite this, the Irish peasantry, armed mostly with pikes and led by courageous and remarkably able Catholic curates, won some astonishing successes. The best effort was made in County Wexford, where the Republic of Wexford was proclaimed and existed for a month. They drove the British garrison out of Enniscorthy, almost annihilated a corps of yeomen at Oulart Hill, and defeated regular British troops at Tubbermeering. The last great battle of the Rising took place at Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, in which the pikes of the Wexford peasant army came up against the artillery of British troops under General Lake.

In the wake of the now defeated Rising all sorts of reprisals and judicial murders took place, as they had, indeed, taken place under the regime of the Irish peasant army. The ultimate political result of the Rising was the famous, or infamous, Act of Union of 1801 in which the Irish

Parliament of Lords and Commons voted itself out of existence, although not without Pitt, the English Prime Minister, having paid out millions of pounds to buy the required votes.

Events always seem to have happened later in Newfoundland, even before the CBC, and it was not until 1800 that there was a manifestation there of the events that happened in Ireland two years before. Of course, there were a number of instances before 1800 which can be regarded as indicative of the situation in Newfoundland. In October of 1792 there were riots among the Irish at Trepassey, and one, James McLaughlin, who was the Irish leader there, was ordered deported. One can gather that relations between the military and Irish civilians in St. John's were not amicable from accounts of a riot which took place in October 1794. A naval Lieutenant named Lawry who was engaged in pressing men into the navy was killed, and two Irishmen, Garret Farrel and Richard Power, were tried for his murder; a reward of fifty pounds was placed on the head of another Irishman, William Burrows, who had evaded arrest and who had become the chief suspect in the murder of Lawry. Events such as this as well as the prevailing tensions between Revolutionary France and Monarchist England — St. John's itself was said by a number of contemporary writers to have been a revolutionary hot bed where the writings of Tom Paine had wide circulation — prompted the formation in 1795 of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment of Fencibles for the defense of Newfoundland. Just prior to the troubles of 1800 Governor Waldegrave reported to the Duke of Portland his fears about this regiment: "Your Grace is well acquainted that nearly nine tenths of the inhabitants of this Island are either natives of Ireland or immediate descendants from them, and that the whole of these are of the Roman Catholic persuasion. As the Royal Newfoundland Regiment had been raised in the Island; it is needless for me to

endeavour to point out the small proportion the native English bear to the Irish in this body of men. I think it necessary to mention this circumstance, in order to show to your Grace how little dependence could be placed on the Military, in case of any civil commotion in the town of St. John's."

However, Governor Waldegrave had an invaluable ally among the Irish Catholics in Newfoundland in the person of Bishop O'Donel. It was Bishop O'Donel who wrote to Archbishop Troy of Dublin in 1793 expressing the usual conservatism and fear of revolution which was to typify the Irish Episcopacy during the "Year of Liberty," 1798. In his letter Bishop O'Donel related to Archbishop Troy that 300 French prisoners had spent the summer in St. John's. "Their Officers," he wrote, "were at liberty, and I must own I did not like to see them coming every Sunday to my Chapel with large emblems of infidelity and rebellion plastered on their hats. It was much more pleasing to see three companies of our volunteers, headed by their Protestant officers, with fifes and drums, coming to the chapel to be instructed in the duties of religion and loyalty." By all accounts, it was through Bishop O'Donel's influence with the Irish in St. John's that the United Irish Rising in Newfoundland was no more successful than the one in Ireland had been two years previously.

From the sparse amount of documentation which has survived concerning the events in Newfoundland in the spring of 1800, all of which deals with the United Irishmen in the Newfoundland Fencibles regiment, it seems clear that there was a considerable United Irish organization in St. John's and the outports on the Southern Shore, Conception Bay and at Placentia. In a letter to Governor Waldegrave dated July, 1800, Jonathan Ogden informed Waldegrave that as many as 400 men in St. John's were, as he puts it, "privy to or concerned in this business," mean-

ing the military revolt in the spring. He further informed Waldegrave, who was at this time no longer Governor, that almost all the male population in the outports, especially those to the southward, had taken the United Irish oath.

That the United Irish plans for a Rising in Newfoundland originated with the civilian population and not with Irishmen in the Newfoundland Fencibles Regiment is attested to by Brigadier General Thomas Skerret in a letter to the Duke of Kent a number of days after the insurrection had occurred in his regiment and before it was clear what the outcome of the whole situation would be. "The management of this conspiracy appears to have been under the direction of the same United men in town," he wrote, "and is of greater extent than I at first viewed it. If I was at this moment empowered to declare martial law, I would say that the standard of rebellion was erected in this Island. The Magistrates are fearful to do their duty, and the United villains are no longer restrained by fear, from the fullest conviction that they will be supported by *many* of the military."

In the same letter Skerret informs the Duke that he had been obliged to reinforce the garrison at Placentia, "as the United men there have been destroying houses and plundering the well affected." A few days later, in another letter to the Duke, Skerret gave further hints of the widespread support for the United Irish among the populace: "The Magistrates and judge of the Admiralty Court have been with me to acquaint me, that Mr. Baker of the Bay of Bull [*sic*], a respectable man, has signified to them that there are upwards of three hundred United Men in this garrison and that all their views are the same with the conspirators; that he had this information from his wife who is a woman of this country, and is connected with the United people."

The most dangerous aspect of the United Irish activities to the authorities was, of course, the

existence of United Irish cells in the Newfoundland Fencibles. The Duke of Kent had written of this to the government in England in December 1799. He remarked that the Newfoundland Fencibles, "though reported to me as a tolerable good regiment in point of appearance and bodily strength of the men, are represented by General Skerret and Admiral Waldegrave, as being composed of so infamous a set, two thirds at least being of the description of men called United Irishmen....[T]heir presence, in a garrison, where almost every inhabitant is Irish, and of the very worst sort, being such, that if necessity should require their being called upon to act against the mob of the country, there is every reason to suspect, they could not be relied on." The Duke requested that the Newfoundland Fencibles be replaced with a Scottish regiment.

The events of the United Irish Rising among the military began on the evening of the April 24, 1800. As reported by Skerret to the Duke of Kent in a letter written shortly afterwards, a Sergeant Kelly of the Fencibles with twelve rank and file, two of whom were sentries, deserted from Signal Hill on the night of the 24th. They were joined by six rank and file from Fort Townshend. They took with them twenty-three stand of arms and ammunition. Five more from the Royal Artillery and twenty-five others from the Newfoundland Regiment were to have joined with them, but the signal for desertion was made so quickly after Kelly and his group had deserted the others were prevented from joining them.

Skerret wrote: "With as much dispatch as possible I ordered every officer and soldier off duty to secure all the distant harbours to prevent their escape by water, and other parties I sent into the woods, as the night was very tempestuous, it occurred to me they could not proceed far, and that they would make for the Tilts, which was the case." Skerret's letter continues: "About two o'clock in the morning of the 26th, King, a

boy, one of the deserters, gave himself up a prisoner at Signal Hill. This boy, with two others, was sent by the deserters, with money, to obtain provisions in St. John's. The use I made of the boy was to fix a rope about his neck and send him with a party to attack the traitors wherever they could find them; they arrived upon the ground in little more than an hour, —the deserters were ready to receive them, and fired upon them without execution, Lieutenant Lilly returned the fire; secured two deserters with arms, and wounded, it is supposed, the Sergeant, as his firelock was found stained with blood. The darkness of the night, tempestuous weather, and the country composed of strong brush wood, and uncleared, caused much difficulty in getting through to secure more, but I do not think this service was well executed."

Skerret's men continued their efforts for the next two days with such exertion that two more of the United Irishmen were forced to surrender, being, as Skerret reported, "absolutely starved." Skerret was high in his praise of his Major of Brigade, Captain Haly, who captured another of the United Irishmen, whom Skerret described as a "most dangerous fellow," in the loft of the Catholic Chapel in St. John's. "There is another lurking in St. John's," wrote Skerret, "protected by his brethren United fellows."

The rest of this letter is full of interesting detail about both the revolt itself and the tense situation in which Skerret was operating. He writes: "Your Royal Highness will perceive that they were to have been aided by the United men in town, and Sunday the 20th was the day fixed on, when they supposed we should have been at church, providentially this day being remarkably fine, and the Regiment not having been out before this year, I availed myself of it, and did not allow the men to go to church but kept them on the barrens to exercise." It might be remarked here that accidents of weather bedevilled the

United Irishmen both in Newfoundland and Ireland: in 1798 the French fleet carrying 10,000 crack French troops was anchored off shore at Bantry Bay when it was scattered and driven to sea by a hurricane.

Skerret expressed to the Duke his feelings of total insecurity in the situation: "There are very few men in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment that I have confidence in, and that if they were allowed to remain here, our situation and that of the Island, is in a dangerous state." Skerret's letter then goes on to relate a most interesting detail: "I am truly sorry, that there are two English boys who are amongst these United men. A few weeks would have united the whole Regiment." It is important to keep in mind the ideology of universal brotherhood which was the basis for the foundation of the Society of United Irishmen. Too frequently the political and social ideals of the French Revolution which underlay the '98 Rising in Ireland were lost sight of in the face of the strong current of sectarianism which was so much a part of the Rising, especially in Wexford.

It is to be regretted that no documents, as far as is known, have survived from the United Irish side of these events. One would love to know a good deal more about the man James Murphy whom Skerret called "the wretch James Murphy," "the villain" and "an artful bigot." One gets in that last epithet some sense of a grudging admiration for this man. For one gathers from another letter of Skerret to the Duke that it was James Murphy who was mainly responsible for recruiting the men of the Newfoundland Regiment into the United Irishmen: "The villain James Murphy who is an artful bigot, undertook to get as many disciples to their infernal religion as he could, the next step was to break down their sensibility, and then to Unite them." Although it is not clear what is meant by the phrase "break down their sensibility," it sounds very much like what we

today would call "brain-washing." It is only through Skerret's eyes that we see Murphy and one would love to have seen the correspondence that Skerret told the Duke, Murphy had with the United men of the harbours to the southward and which Skerret had uncovered.

As far as we know, Murphy was never captured. Nor was another leader of the revolt, Sergeant Kelly. Skerret informed the Duke that Kelly had been seen five days after the plot had gone sour, at Kelligrews: "By a constable that is this moment arrived from Port Grave [*sic*; Port de Grave] I learn that James Tucker from that place had seen the traitor Kelly at Gilman's House, Killgrews [*Sic*; Kelligrews] on the South Side of Conception Bay on Tuesday, 29th of April. Tucker had a conversation with him; he was full of confidence and spoke of his situation with impudence. He said there were upwards of 200 soldiers sworn in of the Artillery and Newfoundland Regiment and that would rise with the United Men in the Island and it was not over yet."

Of the United Men who were taken prisoner by Skerret, five were executed in St. John's, in summary fashion one gathers from Skerret's letters to the Duke. The others were sent on to Halifax for court-martial there. But the boldness and daring, not to mention desperation, of the United Irishmen being sent to Halifax saw two of them attempt something equally as bold as the initial rebellion. On the way to Halifax Edward Power and James Ivory overpowered the sergeant who was guarding them and set themselves free; they placed the sergeant on duty in irons and took over the vessel, a schooner named the *Venus*. They kept possession of the vessel for four days until, one would gather, they were recaptured. Edward Power, James Ivory and Garrett Fitzgerald were all executed at Halifax on August 7, 1800, for their part in the United Irish Rising in St. John's.

One can only speculate about the intentions of men like James Murphy in organizing a Rising in Newfoundland. It would appear that Jonathan Ogden was unable to clarify a motive. He mentions at one point in his letter to Waldegrave the United Men's intentions to plunder, destroy and set off for the United States. At another point he relates that the plans were somewhat secret and the United Irishmen had taken an oath to follow whatever orders they received. Further on he mentions a motive of conquest as a possibility. This is intriguing. Did Murphy and his men have some intention similar to that of the Fenians of a later day: to seize British territory by force and use the seized territory to negotiate a settlement in Ireland? Was "the wretch James Murphy" in fact the first of the Fenians in North America? Rev. M.P. Morris in an article entitled "A Crisis in Newfoundland History" which appeared in *The Irish Monthly* of February 1878, stated that the intention was to proclaim Newfoundland a republic and that Bishop O'Donel was to have been offered a seat on a revolutionary "Directory." It should be noted that Skerret writing in 1800 does indeed mention "a Directory of Five" in connection with the United Irish Rising in Newfoundland.

From what has been written of the events in the spring of 1800 one thing does emerge quite clearly: there was extensive local sympathy with the aspirations of the United Irishmen and an United Irish organization existed in many parts of Newfoundland. It is also evident that a good deal of the credit for saving the situation for the authorities was given to Bishop O'Donel. In a letter dated August 4, 1804, the Magistrate, merchants and principal inhabitants of St. John's requested the government to grant a pension to the Bishop who, along with General Skerret, was the person who "saved the island from becoming a scene of anarchy and confusion." General Skerret himself mentioned the Bishop in his com-

munications to the Duke of Kent respecting the incidents of April and May 1800: "The titular Roman Catholic Bishop...Donald," he wrote, "is a very valuable man, I have had frequent communication with him...his flock are now very steady; at one time from the dissolute manners of his people, he lost all confidence with them, and he was preparing to leave the Island. In 1798 they had their Directory of Five." The conjunction here of the mention of the Directory of Five with the other phrases, "the dissolute manners of his people" and "lost all confidence in them," would probably justify one in looking at this as further proof of the existence of strong revolutionary sentiments among the Irish in Newfoundland.

One other item which requires a comment is the inept appointment by the authorities of General Skerret as Head of the Newfoundland Regiment in 1799. Skerret had led a group called "Skerret's Horse" in the suppression of the 1798 Rising in Ireland, a suppression attended with much butchery and bloodshed. Yet was it merely ineptness on the part of the Government, or was it deliberately intended as a provocation to goad the United Irishmen in St. John's into open rebellion, similar to what Sir Jonah Barrington suggested was done in Ireland by the open provocation of the peasantry by the military?

Thus ended the United Irish activity in Newfoundland. But it was not the last to be heard of the incident. In the sectarian squabbles that developed around the attempts to achieve self-government for Newfoundland, the spectre of the 1800 affair was raised and interpreted as an incident in which the Catholics of St. John's had plotted to murder the Protestants of the town, certainly an oversimplification of the event. Edward Chappell in his account of his voyage to Newfoundland in the *Rosamond* made a remark about the President of the Board of Trade of St. John's being "an Irishman of low origin, who had

been a sergeant in the rebel army at the Battle of Vinegar Hill." It would appear that Chappell was referring to James MacBraire, who was one of the chief organizers of the Benevolent Irish Society in St. John's. However, it seems highly unlikely MacBraire would have taken part in the 1798 Rising.

Numerous stories are told around Conception Bay of people whose ancestors came out from Ireland to escape prosecution for their part in '98. The forebear of the Costigan family of Harbour Main, Vincent Costigan, was a school teacher who was involved with the United Irishmen and came to Newfoundland to escape prosecution. A similar tale is told of the ancestors of the Freeman and Power families of Harbour Grace. An obituary in a St. John's paper recounts how a Mr. Matthew Murphy, who was 94 when he died in St. John's in 1861, fled to Newfoundland to evade the consequences of his connection with the revolt in 1798 having been with the insurgents at the Battle of Ross and Vinegar Hill. Another veteran of the '98 Rising in Ireland died in Newfoundland in 1879. He was Thomas Walsh whose obituary says: "he fought manfully for his country in 1798."

Newfoundland was not the only part of Atlantic Canada to have had an impact from the Rising of 1798. North East Margaree on Cape Breton Island received numerous refugees from the Rising who in themselves and their progeny have had an enormous impact on the society of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and North America generally, not to mention other countries well beyond the area where these families settled. Anyone familiar with the history of progressive social policy in Canada will recognize the names Moses Coady and James (Father Jimmy) Tompkins. These men who had such an impact on progressive social development in Cape Breton and on areas of the so-called Third World were descendants of County Wexford émigrés who

had been deeply involved in the Wexford Rising. Moses or Mogue Doyle was born near Oulart Hill, Co. Wexford, and was captured during the Rising but managed to escape and came to St. Peter's, Cape Breton Island, to work for his uncle Lawrence Kavanagh, the prominent Cape Breton merchant and first Roman Catholic to sit in the legislature of Nova Scotia. Mogue Doyle went back to Wexford after the Act of Settlement had issued a pardon to the 1798 rebels. He married Judith O'Neil and returned with some of his siblings to Cape Breton. From this family's intermarriage with other Co. Wexford immigrants are descended the Coadys (including Fr. Moses), the Tompkins (including Fr. Jimmy), the McDaniels, Haynes, Fortunes, Kileys and Murphys, who provided a prodigious number of priests, nuns, bishops, lawyers, judges and academics far afield from their area of first settlement in Cape Breton. One wonders if there is any connection between the humanist ideals of the United Irishmen and the social progressives who were their offspring.

Another of the County Wexford refugees from the 1798 Rising who settled in Cape Breton, at Port Hood, poses a possible connection with the 1800 United Irish Rebellion in Newfoundland. It must be said that many of the Wexford refugees in Cape Breton are known to have come there by way of Newfoundland. Was the James Murphy who settled in Port Hood in 1804 "the wretch" James Murphy who was the leader of the mutiny in Newfoundland? In his *History of Inverness County* J.L. MacDougall relates that James Murphy was a native of County Wexford and was a soldier in the Irish Rebellion of 1798 who served in the Navy for a number of years before joining his brother Dennis who had settled in Port Hood.

Besides the '98 refugees who made their way to Cape Breton from Ireland by way of Newfoundland, there were some who went on to

Prince Edward Island. Family traditions on Prince Edward Island suggest that a number of families with names such as Bolger, Hanlan, Murphy and Cahill, ones strongly suggestive of County Wexford origin, made their way to Prince Edward Island in the wake of the 1798 Rising. In the case of Patrick Cahill who settled at Kildare, his participation in the Rising is mentioned in his obituary published in *The Summerside Progress* (December 31, 1866), where it is stated he "was actually engaged in the Rebellion of '98 in Ireland and was perhaps the last survivor of those of them who emigrated to America." Patrick Cahill was a native of Bannow, Co. Wexford, and came to Prince Edward Island c.1816. A curious and complex interweaving of lives and history was the 1798 Rising whose ripples still make their way through Irish and Atlantic Canadian society.

One can never know what benefits the Atlantic Region gathered from the 1798 experience in Ireland. Like the 1837 revolt in Upper and Lower Canada, its ripples are still felt. The urge towards freedom for the unemancipated Catholics was intensified by the failure of the Rising. The heightened political consciousness of the Irish emigrants to the region in the early years of the nineteenth century, many of whom came from the area affected by the Irish Rising, had an incalculable effect upon the struggle for self-government. The United Irish Society's goals for self-government, justice and human decency played a leading role here, one feels, in our aspirations towards those same goals.

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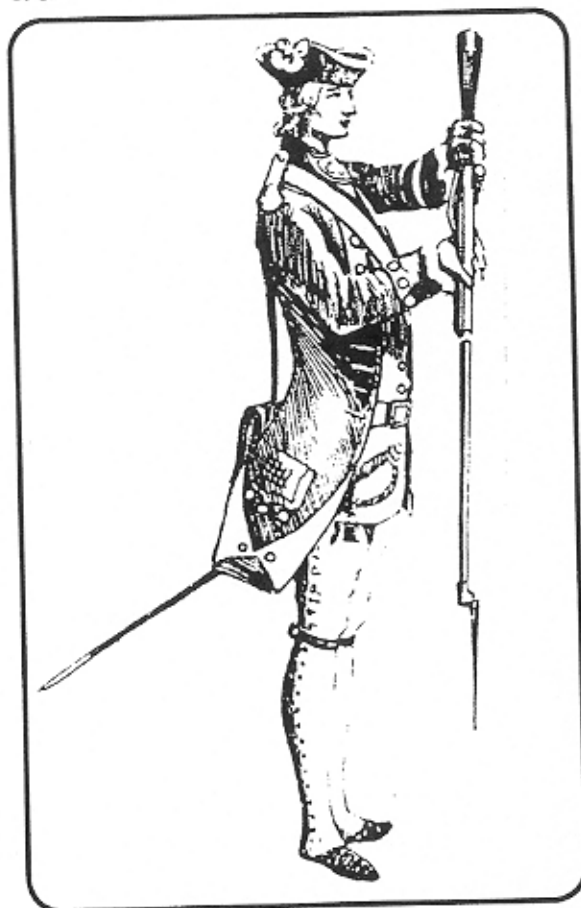
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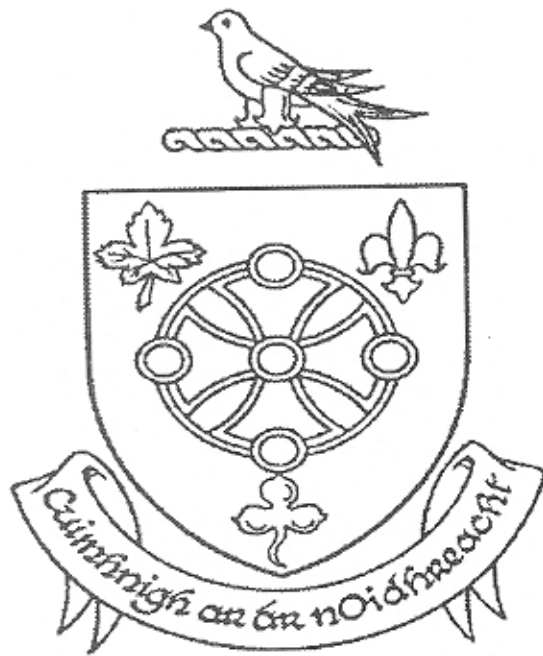
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