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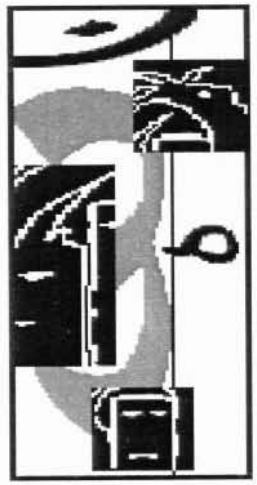

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Cover design by Jennifer McCaffrey and Nora McGillicuddy, Limerick School of Art and Design, Limerick Institute of Technology. The cover incorporates the concept of past, present and future, which is depicted, firstly by the use of the Buddhist symbol *Aum*. The idea is secondly represented by three illustrative heads looking in different directions. They symbolise the search for history by past, present and future historians.

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Table of Contents

Preface i

Acknowledgements and Foreword ii

Editorial iii

Articles

'The Bottom Dog and the Bishop's Crozier': The Catholic hierarchy and the trade union movement in Limerick, 1916-22
Dominic Haugh (University of Limerick) 1

Priests, poetry and politics: *Tuairim* in Limerick, 1959–75
Tomás Finn (National University of Ireland, Galway) 15

Improvising empire; economic retrenchment, armed force and local government in Bengal, 1765-1810
James Lees (King's College, London) 31

Culture and identity of the Indian community in Grenada, 1857-1960
Ron Sookram (University of the Trinidad and Tobago) 42

Guilds in Irish towns, 1450-1534
Kieran Hoare (National University of Ireland, Galway) 53

An expression of Old English identity: Richard Nugent's *Cynthia* (1604)
Gerald Power (National University of Ireland, Galway) 66

Archives in the Glucksman Library at the University of Limerick
Ken Bergin (University of Limerick) 82

Reviews

Franklin, *A Bibliography of Limerick city and county* (Doon, 2005)
by Jennifer Moore 94

Barnard and Neely (eds), *The clergy of the Church of Ireland 1000–2000: Messengers, watchmen and stewards* (Dublin, 2006)
by Odette McCormack 95

White, *Ruairí Ó Brádaigh: The life and politics of an Irish revolutionary* (Bloomington, 2006)
by John Maguire 98

Notes on contributors 100

The University of Limerick History Society 101

Calls for Papers 102

Preface

The seventh volume of *History Studies* maintains the high standards set by its well-received earlier editions. As before, contributions from University of Limerick scholars are accompanied by the research findings of national and international historians. This edition benefits from the inclusion of articles written by colleagues in NUI Galway as well as from King's College (London) and the University of Trinidad and Tobago. Such welcome diversity has enabled the editors to dramatically broaden the thematic scope of the journal. UL writers are drawn from among the undergraduate student and staff populations, a very positive sign of the university's increasing strength in depth in the field of historical enquiry.

Ken Bergin, who is directly involved in collecting and collating the raw materials of history in his role as Special Collections Librarian here in UL, reports from the 'archive'. This section will be expanded and updated in later volumes. Local and regional history is explored by Dominic Haugh and Tomás Finn who draw upon documentary and oral sources to illuminate their respective themes. First hand accounts also feature in Ron Sookram's contribution on the Indian community of Grenada. James Lees examines a different sector of the British Empire, imperial Bengal, from a military and economic perspective. Hoare and Power, however, address issues of guild politics and Old English identity on the fringe of the Irish modern history. The quality of all seven contributions vindicates the decision of the editors, John O'Callaghan, Jennifer Moore and Conor Reidy, to expedite the publication of the current volume. They are to be commended for maintaining the distinctive presence of *History Studies* in Irish universities.

More generally, the role of the History Society within the College of Humanities and UL structures is worthy of high praise. In the last year the Society organised an ambitious and highly successful exhibition entitled 'Poets and Patriots Parted'. The History Society acted in conjunction with various external agencies to mark the 90th anniversaries of 1916. I wish to congratulate all concerned for making this latest advance.

Dr Ruán O'Donnell
Head, Department of History,
Patron, University of Limerick History Society
September 2006

Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank Dr. Ruán O'Donnell, Head of the Department of History and patron of the University of Limerick History Society, for his generous sponsorship and encouragement. We also acknowledge the University of Limerick History Society, Dr. John Logan and Dr. Bernadette Whelan for their unwavering commitment to this venture, as well as Prof. Nick Rees, Dean of Graduate Studies, and the University of Limerick Foundation for the continuing support they have afforded us. Professor Pat O'Connor, Dean of the College of Humanities, has also provided valuable financial assistance. We would like to express our gratitude to Ken Bergin, Reviews Editor, and Jean Turner of Special Collections and the University Library for facilitating the reviews section. Snap Printing continues to provide professional and courteous service. We would also like to extend our appreciation to Prof. Roger Downer, President Emeritus of the University, for his support for the journal since its inception. The assistance of our panel of reviewers was invaluable and merits particular gratitude. We recognise the role of the contributors as paramount to the success of *History Studies*.

Foreword

The University of Limerick History Society takes great pride in introducing volume seven of *History Studies*. The journal has gone from strength to strength since its first volume in 1999. The journal continues to contribute significantly to the Society and to the wider academic community in the University. The Society would like to thank the editorial team and panel of reviewers, the Department of History, our sponsors and contributors to this volume. Our patrons, Dr. Ruán O'Donnell, Dr. John Logan and Dr. Bernadette Whelan have been steadfast in their support.

Like *History Studies*, the History Society has thrived over the past year. The Society hosted the fifty-sixth annual Irish History Students' Association Conference in February 2006. In conjunction with this, we held a commemorative exhibition for the 90th anniversaries of the Battle of the Somme and the Easter Rising entitled 'Poets and Patriots Parted', which earned us the title of 'Society of the Year' for 2005-6.

Eamonn Gardiner, Auditor

Editorial

The quality and diversity of the contributions to volume seven of *History Studies* is indicative of the niche which the journal has established in the field of academic publishing as the sole post-graduate produced history periodical in Ireland. The broad compass of historical research being conducted at undergraduate, post-graduate and post-doctoral levels is reflected in the content of this volume. Last year, volume six marked a new and highly successful departure for *History Studies* with the introduction of a book review section and the establishment of an annual forum. This edition consolidates these developments as well as expanding the scope of the journal to incorporate an archival profile of Special Collections at the University of Limerick. It is envisaged that this will become a standard feature of future editions.

The *History Studies* forum has taken its lead from progressive independent initiatives such as the annual Irish History Students' Association Conference and the Irish Historical Society post-graduate seminar, which provide a medium for post-graduate interaction. A series of student-led collaborative inter-university conferences have also proved to be successful in establishing research links and awareness between post-graduate students. On the publishing front, *History Studies* is among the leading Irish outlets for post-graduate research. While the two volumes of the Irish History Students' Association *Research Yearbook* that appeared in 2002 and 2003 were landmark publications for Irish post-graduate research, they failed to fill the void left by the demise of their predecessor *Retrospect*. The momentum generated was not maintained. The full potential of the Irish History Students' Association has not been realised due to a lack of dedication from the majority of the post-graduate research community. The commitment of the Irish Historical Society to research students has resulted in projects like the online post-graduate register and database of Irish history theses. In this fashion, the Irish Historical Society has embraced the possibilities offered by online technology to create a closer community of historical scholars. It is now incumbent upon the post-graduate community to establish a more vibrant and active research network.

Jennifer Moore
John O'Callaghan
Conor Reidy
Co-Editors

'The Bottom Dog and the Bishop's Crozier'; The Catholic hierarchy and the trade union movement in Limerick, 1916-22

Dominic Haugh

Between 1916 and 1922 the Catholic hierarchy was disconcerted by the emergence of a left-wing syndicalist orientated trade union movement following the establishment of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) in Limerick. During this period the Catholic hierarchy attempted to combat the growing support for socialist ideas among the Limerick working class. This article will analyse the position of the working classes in Limerick at this time, the development of a radical trade union movement and the response of the Catholic hierarchy in terms of its involvement in industrial conflict and clerical efforts to combat left wing political ideas.

For working class people World War I brought little of the benefits that accrued to the farming, trading and manufacturing sectors. Wages lagged behind the rising prices caused by wartime inflation.[1] Between 1914 and 1918 prices for many staple products rose by between 250 and 300 per cent.[2] Given the boom in agriculture, emigration tended to effect urban rather than rural areas.[3] Working class housing conditions were poor. The report of the Medical Officer of Health for Limerick city, Dr. McGrath, indicated that 1,812 houses in Limerick were unfit for human habitation, of which 852 should have been closed up.[4] In August 1916 it was reported that thirty three per cent of the population of Limerick city were living in one-room dwellings and twenty per cent in two rooms.[5] Complaints about high rents were also ongoing, with the *Limerick Leader* going as far as giving editorial support to the Town Tenants League's call for a twenty per cent reduction in rents at the beginning of 1917.[6] At the start of 1916 there were two main labour organisations in Limerick, The Limerick United Trade and Labour Council (LUTLC) and the Limerick Federated Labour Council (LFLC). The LUTLC had the affiliation of local craft

[1] L. M. Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1987), pp. 171-2.
[2] *The Bottom Dog*, 26 July, 3 August 1918.
[3] Margaret Mastriani, 'From crubeens to computer chips, Limerick's industrial development, 1914-2003' in David Lee and Debbie Jacobs (eds), *Made in Limerick, history of industries, trade and commerce* (Limerick, 2003) p. 70.
[4] *The Bottom Dog*, 17 November 1917.
[5] *Limerick Leader*, 30 August 1916.
[6] *Limerick Leader*, 12 January 1917.

unions while the LFLC had the affiliation of societies representing unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The leadership of both organisations was considered conservative at the time, with a history of support for the Irish Parliamentary Party and its auxiliary organisations. The local clergy were also allowed or invited to intervene in trade union affairs.[7] Members of the clergy regularly attended LUTLC meetings, while trade unions often welcomed clerical intervention either in averting strikes or during the course of industrial disputes. The LUTLC frequently invited invited the clergy to speak at public events. The attitude of elements within the LUTLC was demonstrated when the organisation discussed the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress (ILPTUC) during a meeting on 11 February 1916. Mr. McConkey of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers stated that the Council should not pay any money towards the national body as it 'had departed from the original standards laid down and had become more of a socialist clique'. The feeling was not universal as others supported Congress. At the same meeting delegates passed a motion congratulating the director of the Arch Confraternity of the Holy Family, Rev. Bernard Hackett, on his appointment as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.[8]

In the second half of 1916 the tone of the nationalism expressed by labour bodies in Limerick began to shift. When Bishop O'Dwyer, an open supporter of Sinn Féin, rebuked the infamous post-Rising request by General Maxwell to move two of his more outspoken priests, the labour organisations supported O'Dwyer. The LFLC unanimously congratulated the bishop on his 'patriotic and forcible reply to General Sir J. G. Maxwell' and condemned 'the action of any military officer who thinks fit to interfere in the ecclesiastical duties of our clergy'.[9] Rev. Fr. Devane attended the LUTLC meeting in August 1916 and proposed the organising of a series of lectures in 'an effort to try and awaken the worker from apathy and carelessness which seems to affect him where his own greatest interests are concerned'.[10] The meeting readily supported the proposal. While there were only the initial stirrings of activity amongst the Limerick working class on political and social issues at this time, the clergy were clearly worried about the potential for the awakening of class-consciousness and were attempting to place themselves in a position to influence the direction of any

[7] Thomas Neilan Crean, 'The Labour movement in Kerry and Limerick, 1914-1921' (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1996), pp. 135-7.
[8] *Limerick Leader*, 18 February 1916.
[9] *Limerick Leader*, 14 June 1916.
[10] *Limerick Leader*, 30 August 1916.

developments that might emerge. In October Rev. Fr. Laurence outlined clerical concerns when he commented that 'although socialism was not yet generally assertive in Ireland, it was, nevertheless, one of the most vital dangers of our age'. Worried about the attitude of the establishment, he went on to call for 'determined and definite efforts ... to make our public bodies and our wealthy Catholics realise and conscientiously discharge the duties of Christian Social Reform'.[11] The lectures proposed by Fr. Devane were delivered by Professor A. J. Rahilly and Professor Smiddy, two economics lecturers, in St. Michael's Temperance Hall in late January and February 1917. Reflecting developments that had begun to take place with the re-emergence of industrial disputes and the re-growth of the ITGWU, Smiddy warned that 'the spirit of syndicalism had lately crept into labour struggles ... and that matter would have to be dealt with after the war'.[12] Rahilly 'strongly advocated the organisation of Protestant and Catholic workers in two distinct bodies ... and pleaded for the establishment of a Catholic Social League to investigate social conditions'.[13]

The only recorded industrial dispute in Limerick in 1916 was that of a small number of boilermakers as part of a national strike in June.[14] There was a threatened dispute in the carpentry trade in the same month but the intervention of Bishop O'Dwyer averted it. The LUTLC and the union representing the workers, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, both publicly thanked O'Dwyer for his intercession and the *Limerick Leader* ran an editorial praising the Bishop.[15] March 1917 saw a significant escalation of strike action in the city. Print workers started a weeklong strike on 16 March.[16] The first of many disputes on Limerick docks began on 23 March with a strike among dock labourers that was to last until May.[17] Two hundred coal yard workers went on a weeklong strike at the beginning of April.[18] Strikes were also threatened in other industries.[19] Bishop O'Dwyer again intervened to avert a threatened strike by masons and bricklayers at the end of May.[20] The Chamber of Commerce expressed concern at the upsurge in strike activity and there

[11] *Limerick Leader*, 16 October 1916.
[12] *Limerick Leader*, 5 February 1917.
[13] *Limerick Leader*, 19 February 1917.
[14] Crean, 'The Labour movement', p. 367.
[15] *Limerick Leader*, 5 July 1916.
[16] *Limerick Leader*, 16 March 1917.
[17] *Limerick Leader*, 14 May 1917.
[18] *Limerick Leader*, 16 April 1917.
[19] *Limerick Leader*, 18, 25 April, 4 May 1917.
[20] *Limerick Leader*, 30 May 1917.

were calls for the establishment of a conciliation board to arbitrate disputes.[21] The mood of workers in the city had altered and they showed an increased willingness to engage in strike action. Bishop O'Dwyer died in August 1917 and the monthly meeting of the LUTLC was devoted to allowing delegates express their sympathies and comment on his work.[22] The monthly meeting of the LFLC passed a resolution expressing 'our deep sorrow on the lamented death of our esteemed Bishop, Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, whose loss to the labour movement cannot be replaced'.[23]

The arrival of the ITGWU in Limerick in September of 1917 was to provide a catalyst for a significant shift in the nature of trade unionism in the city and county.[24] Succeeding in gaining substantial improvements in the earnings and conditions of their members, the ITGWU rode a wave of radicalism that was developing not just in Limerick, but also on a national and international basis. The expansion of trade union membership occurred across all sectors of the labour force. The industrial conflicts that occurred between 1917 and 1922 involved practically every trade union. The role of the ITGWU was pivotal. On 14 October 1917 at the Catholic Truth Society Conference, Rev. Devane stated that 'a cyclone of revolutionary ideas [is] passing over the world shaking governments and thrones'. He wondered if the new Irish Labour Party would be 'guided by sane Catholic principles or would they shape their programme from irreligious Social democrats of the Continent'. Devane went on to argue for 'the necessity to have such an organisation as the Catholic Social League recently established in Cork'.[25] As the end of the year approached the *Limerick Leader* repeatedly proposed the establishment of a conciliation board 'for the equitable adjustment of labour disputes in Limerick'.[26] Limerick docks was the scene of ongoing industrial unrest and, by the end of 1917, business interests were already recognising the potential impact of the ITGWU in the city. The dock strike, actively supported by the ITGWU, began on 28 December and lasted for 3 days.[27] Morley, of the Limerick Steamship Company, accused the ITGWU of orchestrating the strike in order to benefit Dublin docks, a claim that was refuted by ITGWU organiser M. J.

[21] *Limerick Leader*, 23 April, 14 May 1917.
[22] *Limerick Leader*, 27 August 1917.
[23] *Limerick Leader*, 29 August 1917.
[24] Liam Cahill, *Forgotten revolution – Limerick Soviet 1919, a threat to British power in Ireland* (Dublin, 1990), p. 38.
[25] *Limerick Leader*, 15 October 1917.
[26] *Limerick Leader*, 9 November, 14 December 1917.
[27] *Voice of Labour*, 12 January 1918; *Limerick Leader*, 2 January 1918.

O'Connor, who stated that 'the officials of the union look not to the interests of a place but to the interests of the members of the union wherever situated'.[28] On 22 March Rev. Devane attended the fortnightly meeting of the LUTLC to promote the establishment of a conciliation board. The response of the LUTLC leaders was that the 'scheme had already been sanctioned by the Council and was awaiting the sanction of the employers' for 'fully six months'.[29] In April a strike by workers in the city furnishing trades ended following the intervention of the new Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Hallinan, and Rev. T. J. McNamara.[30]

The local campaign against conscription saw the LUTLC call large protests on 14 April and 23 April.[31] The *Limerick Leader* commented that the demonstration on 23 April took twenty-five minutes to pass a given point.[32] Another protest, organised by nationalist groups and the clergy and announced at all masses, took place on 21 April.[33] It was estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 people attended. Members of the clergy and trade union leaders were prominent speakers at all three protests. A further meeting at the O'Connell Monument on 19 May at which Rev. Devane criticised the wealthy of the city for not contributing to the National Defence Fund in the same fashion as 'poor workingmen' drew a crowd of 5,000.[34] The Labour Day protest on the first Sunday in May saw 15,000 people listen to speeches around three platforms in the Markets Field.[35] The extent to which class consciousness had developed is evident in the fact that resolutions were passed paying tribute to 'our Russian comrades who have waged a magnificent struggle for their social and political emancipation'.[36] A number of weeks later the Arch Confraternity celebrated its Golden Jubilee in what the *Limerick Leader* described as a 'striking demonstration of Catholic fervour'. In response to the changing situation, Rev. Dr. Fogarty stated in a sermon that 'it is not the capitalist with his often ill-gotten fortune, that is great in her [Limerick's] eyes, but the man rich in what St. Paul calls "the excelling

[28] *Limerick Leader*, 2, 4 January 1918.
[29] *Limerick Leader*, 23 March 1918.
[30] *Limerick Leader*, 8 April 1918.
[31] *Limerick Leader*, 15, 24 April 1918.
[32] *Limerick Leader*, 24 April 1918.
[33] *Limerick Leader*, 22 April 1918.
[34] *Limerick Leader*, 24 May 1918.
[35] *Voice of Labour*, 11 May 1918.
[36] *Limerick Leader*, 5 May 1918; *Voice of Labour*, 11 May 1918.

knowledge of Our Lord Jesus Christ'".[37] In promoting Catholicism members of the clergy had begun to echo the developing attitudes of the Limerick working class.

In Limerick the ITGWU recruited women directly into its newly formed women's branch. The branch actively engaged in organising women workers in the city, winning wage increases for, among others, women earning 8*s*. per week in Cannock's.[38] Both the *Limerick Leader* and the clergy took note of these developments. Rev. Devane attended a public meeting organised by the Limerick Commercial Workers Union (CWU) and 'made an earnest appeal for all the ladies present to become affiliated'.[39] It is clear that the clergy and conservative elements within the LUTLC were concerned with the growth of the ITGWU. More radical and syndicalist in outlook than existing unions, it posed a threat to the established order in the city. The arrival of John Dowling in Limerick, to replace M. J. O'Connor as ITGWU organiser, also impacted on the direction of political developments within the Limerick trade union movement. Dowling had been very close to James Connolly and shared much of Connolly's political outlook.[40] The ITGWU was becoming increasingly radical and more militant. The monthly report of County Inspector Yeats of the RIC for January 1919 indicated that he was of the opinion that the ITGWU was overshadowing the local Sinn Féin clubs.[41]

April 1919 saw one of the most momentous events in Irish labour history, the so-called 'Limerick Soviet'. The Soviet should not, however, be viewed in isolation. The frequency and intensity of strike activity, particularly involving the ITGWU, increased dramatically in the early months of 1919. Strikes were breaking out with increasing regularity in rural areas and incidents of threats and assaults during industrial disputes began to emerge.[42] The Catholic hierarchy regularly lectured against the evils of socialism in the period leading up to the establishment of the

[37] *Limerick Leader*, 26 June 1918.
[38] *Limerick Leader*, 29 May 1918; *The Bottom Dog*, 3 November 1917; 'Women workers in monster houses' from *The Workers Dreadnought*, quoted in Lee and Jacobs (eds), *Made in Limerick*, p. 39. 'Women workers in monster houses' is a reproduction from a political newspaper, *The Workers Dreadnought*, which was founded and edited by Sylvia Pankhurst. A correspondent from *The Workers Dreadnought* visited Limerick in the aftermath of the Limerick Soviet and 'Women workers' is one of a series of articles about Limerick published in the newspaper.
[39] *Limerick Leader*, 1 July 1918.
[40] C. Desmond Greaves, *The Irish Transport and General Workers Union – The formative years* (Dublin, 1982), p. 218.
[41] Cahill, *Forgotten revolution*, p. 43.
[42] *Limerick Leader*, 31 January, 21 February, 26 March, 11 April 1919; *Voice of Labour*, 8 February, 1, 15, 23 March, 19, 26 April 1919; *Munster News*, 19, 22 February, 19 March, 12 April, 21 May 1919.

Soviet, sometimes with the tacit support of the more conservative elements of the LUTLC. Three weeks before the establishment of the Soviet, trade union and religious leaders held a meeting to discuss 'Labour's right to decent wages'. The ITGWU were not invited to send a speaker.[43] A few days later Rev. Fr. Murphy gave the Lenten lecture in the Augustinian Church on the 'Legitimacy of Private Profit', again attacking socialism.[44] The Soviet was established on 14 April 1919. It developed as a response to the decision by British military authorities to impose martial law on Limerick in the aftermath of the funeral of Robert Byrne, a leading IRA figure and active trade unionist in the city. The Catholic hierarchy were cautious in their response. While not explicitly supporting the strike, they criticised the actions of the military authorities and called for the lifting of martial law. Local clergy in Clare were among those who facilitated the collection and delivery of food to the city. Fr. Kennedy of Ennis was described as 'a fighting soggarth' in an edition of the *Workers Bulletin* published by the strike committee.[45] The success or failure of the Soviet hinged on the willingness of the ILPTUC to call for national action in support of the Limerick workers. The proposal of the ILPTUC leaders was to suggest the evacuation of the city, a notion that was clearly impractical. When it became clear this would not happen it created an opportunity for Bishop Hallinan, who had opposed the evacuation, and the Sinn Féin Mayor, Alphonsus O'Mara, to intervene and pressurise the strike committee to call off the strike. When the committee announced the end of the Soviet many ITGWU members objected and ripped down and burned posters which called for a return to work.[46] Outside of Limerick, criticism from the clergy was marked. Most of the criticism raised the spectre of bolshevism, suggesting that British sympathisers of 'Sovietism' were attempting to hoodwink the workers of the city.[47] Locally, the clergy stated that 'neither his Lordship nor the clergy were consulted before the strike was declared, and they were totally opposed to its continuance'.[48]

In the aftermath of the Soviet John Dowling, along with a number of other ITGWU organisers, became a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland

[43] *Limerick Leader*, 24 March 1919.
[44] *Limerick Leader*, 28 March 1919.
[45] *Workers Bulletin*, 19 April 1919.
[46] Cahill, *Forgotten revolution*, p.117.
[47] Cahill, *Forgotten revolution*, p. 107.
[48] Jim Kemmy, 'The Limerick Soviet', *Saothar*, 2 (1976), p. 51.

(RSP).[49] The RSP was formed in early May 1919 in Belfast by Jack Hedley, an English Marxist and a political ally of Dowling.[50] Dowling was joined in Limerick in June by another left-wing ITGWU organiser, Jack McGrath.[51] Between them, Dowling, McGrath and Hedley were to play a pivotal role in the industrial disturbances and workplace occupations in Limerick city and county over the next three years. Within two weeks of the end of the Soviet the workers in the Cleeve's creameries in Limerick and Tipperary were on strike.[52] In the third week of May coach makers in the city went on strike, as did drapers assistants at O'Mahony's of William Street.[53] In June strikes also broke out at Clouncagh Creamery and Limerick docks.[54] June also saw a strike by over three hundred building workers, ignoring pleas from the Mayor to postpone the strike, and ITGWU members at O'Callaghan's Tannery were also out.[55] There was further unrest in the city in July with strikes by tailors and in the furniture trade, amongst ITGWU members at the Model Laundry, Spaight's timber yard and a lock out of ITGWU members at McMahon's.[56]

Industrial unrest, particularly involving the ITGWU, continued for the rest of the year.[57] October saw the beginning of a long and bitter three-month strike by law clerks employed by the city solicitors.[58] A new local workers paper, the *Watchdog of Labour*, took up the cause of the striking clerks and during the course of the strike the law clerks published their own newspaper *The Red Flag*.[59] Four weeks into the strike a legal bureau, manned by the striking law clerks, was set up in the ITGWU office, and provided free legal advice to the public.[60] Farm labourers staged a one-day strike at Bulgaden during October, and at the end of the month porters, packers and car men, members of the ITGWU, employed at Hassett's, P. D. Bourke, Spaight's, J. P. Evans' and Newsom's went on strike for five weeks.[61] At the beginning of November ITGWU members working in the saddlery trade went on strike. They demanded 1*s.*

[49] Conor Kostick, *Revolution in Ireland – popular militancy, 1917-1923* (London, 1996), p. 67.
[50] *Voice of Labour*, 17 May 1919.
[51] Greaves, *The Irish Transport and General Workers Union*, p. 239.
[52] *Voice of Labour*, 17 May 1919.
[53] *Munster News*, 21, 31 May 1919.
[54] *Limerick Leader*, 6 June; *Munster News*, 16 June 1919.
[55] *Limerick Leader*, 21 June; *Munster News*, 23 June 1919.
[56] *Munster News*, 2 July; *Limerick Leader*, 16 July; *Voice of Labour*, 26 July 1919.
[57] *Munster News*, 16 August, 3 September, 8 October; *Limerick Leader*, 3 September; *Voice of Labour*, 29 September 1919.
[58] *Limerick Leader*, 17 October 1919.
[59] *Watchword of Labour*, 11, 13, 15, 18 November; *The Red Flag*, 20, 27 November 1919.
[60] *Limerick Leader*, 17 November 1919.
[61] *Munster News*, 18 October; *Limerick Leader*, 29 October, 3 December 1919.

8*d.* per hour for a forty-seven hour week and, following the intervention of Rev. Fr. Kelly, their demands were conceded.[62] On 8 November seven hundred road workers from all over the county demonstrated in Limerick city where they were joined by the striking law clerks and hardware workers.[63] A strike broke out in the city's drapery stores two weeks later.[64] Farm labourers were again out on strike at Bulgaden with the *Limerick Leader* reporting that blows were freely exchanged during the strike.[65] Farmers who did not pay the harvest bonus had their milk refused by the creamery workers at Bruff.[66] There was a strike at O'Shaughnessy's Sawmills in Newcastle West and at the Abbey Tannery in Athlunkard.[67] The Catholic hierarchy, feeling the need to combat the impact of the ideas of socialism, initiated another series of lectures by Rev. Fr. Murphy and other clergy in the Augustinian Church. The *Limerick Leader* described the lectures as a 'Searching analysis of a dangerous theory' and transcribed them in their entirety.[68] The most acrimonious strike yet to hit the city broke out on the docks on 8 December 1919. Four hundred dock labourers went on strike demanding an increase of 4*s.* per day for casual workers and 10*s.* per week for constant men. Pickets were also sent to the railway station to prevent the delivery of any coal by rail. On Christmas Eve the *Limerick Leader* estimated that over one thousand workers were out of work as a result of the strike.[69]

The dock strike continued into January. At a meeting of Limerick Corporation Mr. P. O'Flynn blamed the scarcity of coal on the actions of the coal suppliers stating the situation was 'mainly due to the Shylocks of the coal ring in the city'.[70] The LUTLC had made efforts to arbitrate in the dispute but to no avail. The dockers facilitated the delivery of coal to the Condensed Milk Company in order to prevent further lay-offs but the Cleeve management did close down the caramel factory, letting 170 workers go.[71] Divisions within the LUTLC surfaced at a meeting on 2 January when John Cronin and James Carr complained that the ITGWU were

[62] *Limerick Leader*, 7 November 1919.
[63] *Watchword of Labour*, 11 November 1919.
[64] *Limerick Leader*, 21 November; *Watchword of Labour*, 22 November 1919.
[65] *Limerick Leader*, 13 November 1919. See also Dan Bradley, *Farm labourers Irish struggle, 1900-1976* (Belfast, 1988), p. 45.
[66] *Watchword of Labour*, 13 December 1919.
[67] *Watchword of Labour*, 22 November; *Munster News*, 3 December 1919.
[68] *Limerick Leader*, 5, 10, 15, 17, 22 December 1919.
[69] *Limerick Leader*, 24 December 1919.
[70] *Limerick Leader*, 12 January 1920.
[71] *Watchword of Labour*, 31 January 1920; *Limerick Leader*, 19 January 1920.

ignoring them in relation to the strike.[72] The dock strike finally led to the successful establishment of the Limerick Conciliation Board, which received the enthusiastic backing of the craft unions on the LUTLC. In seconding the motion at a conference establishing the Board, John Cronin stated

> ... the old plan of trying to settle disputes in trade led to misunderstandings and confusion. There was a lot of nonsense introduced into labour disputes, which should never have been, and it gives me great pleasure to see the principle of conciliation in order to obviate labour disputes.

His comments were met with applause from those attending.[73]

Following the intervention by the Conciliation Board both the employers and the ITGWU adopted a four-point plan to end the dispute. The plan was accepted by a majority of the workers at a general meeting but then the employers baulked at the proposals.[74] The response of the ITGWU was to escalate the strike. Carters at Messrs. Wallis and the Limerick Carting Company were called out. It was indicated that gas workers would be the next to be brought out in solidarity. The Conciliation Board, having such difficulty in achieving a settlement, indicated they intended dropping the case. Bishop Hallinan, recognising that a failure in this dispute would spell the death knell of the board, pleaded with them to continue. The new Sinn Féin Mayor, Michael O'Callaghan, intervened and, with other Corporation members, met with the merchants and strikers. The strike ended on 4 February following the intervention of a representative of the Bishop.[75]

Land agitation around Ireland developed to a significant degree during 1920.[76] The ITGWU regularly accused farmers of ignoring or hoodwinking Department of Agriculture inspectors and profiteering by hiking up the price of foodstuffs.[77] The Dáil Ministry for Home Affairs described the situation as 'a grave danger threatening the foundations of the Republic' and went on to say that

> 1920 was no ordinary outbreak ... an immense rise in the value of land and farm products threw into more vivid relief than ever before the high profits of ranchers, and the hopeless outlook of the landless men and uneconomic holders ... All this was a grave menace to the Republic. The mind of the people was being diverted from the struggle for freedom by a class war, and there was every likelihood that this class war might be carried into the ranks of the republican army itself which was drawn in the main from the agricultural population and was largely officered by farmer's sons[78]

Employers became alarmed at the implications of the class nature of the struggle and were particularly annoyed at the failure of the authorities to suppress law-breaking and violence during strikes.[79] The Irish Farmers' Union advocated the establishment of a body, the Farmers' Freedom Force (FFF), intended to provide a 'permanent organised body in each branch ... capable of meeting force by force ... in the interests of the country and of the farmer'. In response to agricultural labour strikes the 'FFF should take action as may be required'. The farmers' organisations made clear their priority in political terms, 'the FFF is required as a national bulwark against Labour, Socialism and Bolshevism, irrespective of whatever political developments may take place in the country'.[80]

The War of Independence made things increasingly difficult for trade union activity as the year progressed. Limerick saw significant fighting. Limerick city was 'shot up' by police on 27 April and 1 May 1920. May and June saw strikes by gas workers, hotel workers, and carters at O'Callaghan's Tannery, as well as two separate disputes involving different sets of workers at the city's sawmills.[81] During the strike of carters and yardmen at Spaight's, picketers locked in a military truck that was attempting to remove strike-bound goods. A force of 100 troops was needed in order to free them.[82] There were only a handful of strikes between June 1920 and May 1921, including two general stoppages initiated by the ITGWU, one in August so workers could attend masses for Terence MacSwiney, and one in October following his death.[83] Industrial unrest resumed after the Truce in July 1921. A significant economic recession had started to take effect. The index of agricultural prices fell from 288 in 1920 to 160 by 1924.[84] During 1921 manufacturing trade was almost halved and by December 1921 over twenty-six per cent of workers nationally were

[72] *LUTLC Minutes*, 2 January 1920 (Limerick City Museum).
[73] *Limerick Leader*, 5 January 1920.
[74] *Watchword of Labour*, 31 January 1920.
[75] *Limerick Leader*, 23 January, 2, 4 February 1920.
[76] E. Rumpf and A. C. Hepburn, *Nationalism and socialism in twentieth-century Ireland* (Liverpool, 1977), p. 24.
[77] *Watchword of Labour*, 6 March 1920.
[78] Ministry for Home Affairs, *The constructive work of Dáil Eireann, No .1, The national police and courts of justice* (Dublin, 1921), pp. 10, 12; Mike Milotte, *Communism in modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1984), p. 30.
[79] Emmet O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland, 1917-1923* (Cork, 1988), p. 59.
[80] *Watchword of Labour*, 5 June 1920.
[81] Greaves, *The Irish Transport and General Workers Union*, p. 272; *Munster News*, 5, 8 May 1920; *Limerick Leader*, 12 May, 11 June, 19 July 1920; *Watchword of Labour*, 12 June 1920.
[82] *Munster News*, 23 June 1920.
[83] Crean, 'The Labour movement', p. 371.
[84] Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland*, p. 172.

idle.[85] Figures from Limerick city show 1,580 applicants at the Labour Exchange on 24 October 1921. Three weeks later there were 2,500 unemployed.[86] The changing economic circumstances altered the nature of industrial disputes, with workers engaged in defensive battles as employers tried to claw back the concessions of the previous period. Many of the disputes were now taking place outside official trade union structures and adopted an increasingly revolutionary character. The ability of the leadership of the ILPTUC and the ITGWU to control the actions of their organisers and of the rank and file was increasingly undermined as they got caught between their verbal support for militancy and their inability and unwillingness to move into direct class conflict with the employers and the Provisional Government.[87] The establishment of arbitration courts by the Provisional Government was part of the response to the threat posed to the nationalist movement from a 'class war'. Clerical involvement in trade union affairs declined sharply as the nature of industrial disputes changed. In response to the changed situation the clergy began to actively engage with the emerging structures established by the Provisional Government.

The defeat of workers in two major disputes involving the ITGWU in Limerick completely undermined the ability of the Limerick trade union movement to resist the offensive of employers. The first, involving farm labourers in Bulgaden, began in November 1921 and saw widespread violence, the arrest of strikers by the IRA, a general strike declared in Kilmallock in response and a series of kidnappings before the IRA declared martial law in January.[88] The defeat for the strikers was complete when the Arbitration Board, which included Dr. Murnane and Sean Moylan, T. D., and was presided over by Rev. Fr. Higgins, found that the strike was subversive, that the workers had inadequate grounds for claiming the harvest bonus, rejected the claim for payment for the period of the strike and condemned the 'wanton and cowardly destruction of property'.[89] This dispute was the last major conflict involving farm labourers in Limerick during this period. The second dispute, while not involving the same level of violence, was far more widespread and its outcome had a greater impact. During December 1921 the Cleeve-owned Condensed Milk

[85] Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour history of Ireland, 1824-1960* (Dublin, 1992), p. 109.
[86] *Limerick Leader*, 24 October, 14 November 1921.
[87] O'Connor, *A Labour history of Ireland*, pp. 112, 109.
[88] *Limerick Leader*, 11 November 1921, 16, 25 January 1922; *Munster News*, 9 November 1921, 21, 28 January 1922; *Limerick Echo*, 21 January 1922; *Limerick Chronicle*, 22 November 1921; *Freeman's Journal*, 22 November 1921; Mainchín Seoighe, *The story of Kilmallock* (Kilmallock, 1988), p. 287.
[89] *Limerick Echo*, 11 March 1922.

Company of Ireland sought lay-offs and wage cuts of one third among its workforce in Limerick, Cork and Tipperary.[90] Despite efforts to broker an agreement a strike broke out at Cleeve's in Landsdowne on 13 April.[91] As the situation deteriorated two hundred workers in Clonmel occupied the plant on Thursday, 12 May. Workers in Carrick-On-Suir occupied the Cleeve's creamery and the Condensed Milk factory the following day and before the weekend was out, the Cleeve's premises in Kilmallock and Knocklong were also under the control of workers.[92] Under direction and co-ordination by John Dowling, Jack McGrath and Jack Hedley, the Workers Committee of Action organised widespread occupations.[93]

The reaction of the pro-treaty administration was swift. In order to prevent striking workers occupying the Landsdowne plant, fully armed regular troops were placed on guard.[94] Farmers demanded immediate action. At a meeting in Geary's Hotel in Limerick Mr. Batt Laffan said that 'this struggle threatened the very lives and liberties of the farmers'.[95] A meeting of the Executive of the Irish Farmers' Union on 18 May took up the demands. The meeting stated that the Farmers' Union did not want 'communism' in Ireland and delegates claimed that acts of sabotage were being carried out and that farmers were being forced to supply the creameries at gunpoint. Mr. M. Doran stated that 'if the government would not govern they should be told to get out', while Rev. Fr. Maguire from Co. Monaghan made an appeal 'to those responsible for social order to expel those who had invaded private property'.[96] Violence and the destruction of property marked the strike with the active involvement of regular troops in supporting the Farmers' Union. Little support was forthcoming from an anti-treaty side that did not want the additional difficulties of having to deal with rebellious workers and that was hampered by the fact that the sympathies of many republicans lay with the farmers.[97] At the end of May the workers offered to accept a pay cut of twelve per cent, but the company rejected the offer.[98] The determination of the company coupled with the unwillingness of the ITGWU

[90] *Voice of Labour*, 7 January 1922.
[91] *Munster News*, 19 April 1922.
[92] *Freeman's Journal*, 15 May 1922.
[93] David Lee, 'The Munster Soviets and the fall of the house of Cleeve' in Lee and Jacobs (eds), *Made in Limerick*, p. 301; Greaves, *The Irish Transport and General Workers Union*, p. 312.
[94] *Limerick Leader*, 17 May 1922.
[95] *Irish Times*, 18 May 1922; *Limerick Chronicle*, 18 May 1922.
[96] *Irish Times*, 19 May 1922.
[97] Lee, 'The Munster Soviets', p. 305.
[98] *Freeman's Journal*, 9 June 1922.

leadership to actively support the workers led to the strike committee calling off the action at the end of June.[99] Given the intense nature of the conflict generated by the dispute, the local clergy took a back seat and let the Free State forces intervene to defeat the workers.

Influential elements within the Limerick trade union movement were conservative in outlook, despite their involvement in the Limerick 'Soviet'. The establishment of the ITGWU in Limerick played a pivotal role in radicalising the working class in the city and county. Local clergy were acutely aware from an early stage of the potential for the development of support for socialism amongst workers in Limerick. They actively involved themselves in trade union affairs, often at the invitation of the leadership of the LUTLC. Economic decline, coupled with the calling of the Truce, led to the revitalisation of the industrial conflict that had abated during the War of Independence. However, the nature of the conflict had fundamentally altered and many disputes were now taking place outside official union structures and taking on a revolutionary character. The defeats suffered by the ITGWU at the end of 1921 and the first half of 1922 were to have a profound impact on the ability of the Limerick trade union movement to resist the demands of employers. Factory occupations ceased as a tactic and the ITGWU struggled to maintain its presence and impact on the local industrial scene. This facilitated the consolidation of conservative elements within trade unions in Limerick. The local clergy, while continuing to interact with trade unions in the city, facilitated the establishment of the new structures of the Free State and, given the defeat suffered by radical elements, no longer had to stride so actively in combating socialist ideas.

[99] *Munster News*, 28 June 1922.

Priests, poetry and politics: *Tuairim* in Limerick, 1959–75

Tomás Finn

This article will examine the impact in Limerick of the think tank and discussion group *Tuairim*. This was an organisation consisting of young Irish men and women which debated political, social, cultural and economic issues in Ireland and was active from 1954 to 1975. It was particularly vigorous until the end of the 1960s. *Tuairim*'s members were aware of the need for new ideas and a fresh approach to the problems, such as mass emigration, facing Ireland. It was in part a reaction against the economic malaise and the social conservatism of the 1950s, but also part of a new culture of inquiry that emerged in that decade. Ireland experienced a period of relative economic prosperity and significant social change during the 1960s. However, there remained many problems in Irish society that needed to be examined. *Tuairim* continued to question many of the prevailing political, social and economic orthodoxies during this decade. This paper will analyse *Tuairim*'s willingness to address controversial questions and its concern for Limerick and its residents. The latter is evident from *Tuairim*'s attempts to ensure that the city's talents and resources were fully developed and its challenge to the people of Limerick to improve the city. The poetry readings at King John's Castle and *Tuairim*-sponsored meetings on censorship and the pogrom of 1904 are more examples of the organisation's civic-minded spirit. These meetings were notable for *Tuairim*'s ability to attract well-known people to the city to speak on controversial topics. Furthermore, *Tuairim*'s altruistic examination of a wide range of issues and attempts to improve the condition of the country and city marked the society apart from other organisations. This was particularly evident in Limerick, which had one of the most active branches of *Tuairim* in the country. The members of the Limerick branch displayed a keen interest in politics and the social and cultural life of the city. Despite this, the branch ceased to exist during the early 1970s. The reasons for its demise will also be examined. However, before examining the impact of *Tuairim* in Limerick, it is revealing to discuss the society's origins, objectives,

membership and the organisation's methods and suggest to what extent they were novel.

Tuairim was established in Dublin in 1954 by Donal Barrington, who was a barrister and a future Supreme Court judge, and a solicitor, Patrick Kilroy.[1] Barrington and Kilroy were convinced that an independent movement was necessary to examine the social, economic and political problems of contemporary Ireland. The society was open to individuals from all backgrounds, religions and political parties. Barrington and Kilroy's determination to move the debate from issues revolving around the civil war towards more immediate social and economic problems was the motivation behind the upper age limit of forty for officers of *Tuairim*. Each member was expected to make him or herself an expert in a particular subject and to deliver a paper analysing a problem in that area and suggesting a solution.[2]

These papers were discussed at monthly meetings. On occasion a guest would be invited to speak at these meetings or at study weekends which were held in rural locations throughout the country. A wide range of issues from arts and education to economics and law were discussed at these events. Barrington and Kilroy and other prominent members of *Tuairim* were initially reluctant to establish branches outside of Dublin because of the amount of time and energy dissipated in such activities. However, an excellent administrator, Lean Scully, joined the society in 1957.[3] Scully saw herself as having a missionary role in spreading the word and setting up branches throughout the country. Mainly, thanks to her efforts, branches were established in Cork, Limerick, Galway, Nenagh, Clonmel, Athlone, Waterford, Kerry, Sligo, Belfast and London during the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The Limerick branch of *Tuairim* was established in April 1959.[4] Once the decision was made to establish a branch there proved to be considerable interest in the city, as evidenced by the fact that as many as 300 people attended some of the society's meetings. The average attendance at meetings was between 120 and 150 people. Individuals from organisations such as the Ratepayers Party and the Limerick Debating Society, with many of the latter being over forty, gravitated towards

[1] Interview with Donal Barrington (19 May 2005).
[2] Interview with Donal Barrington. See also the 1954 constitution of *Tuairim* and the revised constitution of 1966. Thanks to Donal Barrington and Miriam Hederman O'Brien for copies of these documents.
[3] Interview with Donal Barrington.
[4] Report of *Tuairim* Council, 1958-59. Thanks to Miriam Hederman O'Brien for a copy of the report.

Tuairim.[5] At the branch's inaugural meeting Maureen Ahearn of the Limerick Debating Society challenged Barrington over the society's age limit for officers of the organisation.[6] Barrington, who had come to Limerick to explain *Tuairim*'s objectives, stated that the age limit was in place because it was the organisation's aim to bring new ideas into Irish politics and that by the age of forty it was thought that people had formed their ideas and should move into politics in order to implement them. To the horror of the members of the Limerick Debating Society Barrington suggested that in this way *Tuairim* would be more than just another debating society. Despite those comments, Ahearn and other members of the Debating Society remained involved in *Tuairim*. However, when Ahearn, who was over forty, was proposed as Chairperson in 1966 an alternative candidate had to be found.[7] Twenty-three year old Colum de Barra was elected as the new chairman. He had moved to Limerick to work in the recently established Shannon Development. De Barra was typical of many of *Tuairim*'s members in that he was in his twenties, well educated and from a middle class background. De Barra and other *Tuairim* members were thus part of a new generation emerging in the 1960s. Other prominent members of the Limerick branch included Cian O'Carroll, who also moved to Limerick to work in Shannon Development, the journalist and local historian Seámus Ó Cinnéide, solicitors Paddy Glynn and Brian Geary, and accountant Dermot Clarke.[8] This generational change, combined with the social and cultural changes that went hand in hand with the relative economic prosperity of the decade, gave rise to a new sense of optimism in Limerick and Ireland. This sense of optimism was evident in *Tuairim* and its call to the people of Limerick to volunteer to help preserve the city for future generations.

In 1966 *Tuairim* suggested that people sacrifice a few hours each week to help develop Limerick.[9] This call for 'Voluntary Citizen Labour' was enthusiastically endorsed by letters in the local newspapers.[10] Indeed, one of the responses was overly zealous in congratulating *Tuairim*. Using a Republican *nom de plume*, 'Ireland's 32,' the writer suggested that 'anyone who is getting money for nothing – such as old-age

[5] Interview with Anne Reidy, Paddy Glynn and Brian Geary (3 December 2005).
[6] Much of the following section is taken from the interview with Geary.
[7] Interview with Colum de Barra, Clare (12 December 2005).
[8] Interview with Cian O'Carroll, Brian Geary and Anne Reidy (3 December 2005).
[9] *Limerick Leader*, 17 January 1966. The then chairman of *Tuairim*, John Dillon made this call in an interview with the *Limerick Leader* in response to his shock at learning the cost of filling in Arthur's Quay would be £89,000.
[10] *Limerick Leader*, 22, 29 January 1966.

pensioners, disabled people etc., but especially our young able-bodied men who are drawing the 'dole' – should be required to do a few hours work.' The letter drew a swift rebuke from William Fitzgerald who called 'Ireland's 32 … a Little Hitler'.[11] Despite such responses, *Tuairim* led by example and set as its first task the preservation of the ancient walls of Limerick.[12] The approaches to the walls were covered by almost impenetrable undergrowth. Every Tuesday for a few hours in the evening, from February to July 1966, the *Tuairim* task force, which consisted mainly of *Tuairim* members, cleared away walls of bushes and ivy and an amount of earth. They succeeded in clearing three hundred yards of the ancient walls of Limerick and uncovered two tunnels which were used to let soldiers out during the sieges of 1690 and 1691, and an old promenade frequently used by Limerick people in the eighteenth century. Despite this success and links members had with politicians, *Tuairim*'s civic-mindedness elicited less than an enthusiastic response when it called for the building of an outdoor swimming pool.[13]

Many of *Tuairim*'s members were involved in politics and acquainted with politicians. For example, Anne Reidy was the daughter in law of the former Fine Gael T. D., Mossy Reidy, Declan White was Eamon de Valera's nephew and White's wife, Anna, was the daughter of Clann na Poblachta leader Seán MacBride.[14] The sister of the future Fine Gael Minster Peter Barry and John Dillon, the nephew of the Fine Gael leader, James Dillon, were also members of *Tuairim*.[15] The apparent Fine Gael bias of *Tuairim*'s Limerick branch led some members of the governing Fianna Fáil party to accuse it of lacking impartiality.[16] However, while there were more members of Fine Gael than any other political party in the Limerick branch, *Tuairim* was open to members of all political parties and steadfastly maintained its political independence. Its interest in politics is perhaps most effectively illustrated by a meeting they organised in 1966.

On 14 January 1966 the platform provided by *Tuairim* was used by the Fianna Fáil Minister for Justice, Brian Lenihan, to outline the development of Irish law from earliest times to the present day. In a wide-ranging speech entitled 'Ireland and the

[11] *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 22, 29 January 1966.
[12] *Limerick Chronicle*, 16 July 1966. Much of the following section is taken from this report.
[13] *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 12 March 1966.
[14] Interview with Anne Reidy; Interview with Anna and Declan White (8 June 2005).
[15] Interview with John Dillon (13 June 2005); Interview with Brian Geary.
[16] Interview with Cian O'Carroll.

English Common Law', Lenihan examined important changes in Irish law. He suggested that the Irish Supreme Court was more likely to follow the practice of the US Supreme Court than be constrained by precedent as in the case of the British House of Lords. He claimed, moreover, that the dominant position currently enjoyed by Common Law would be eroded by new laws required by changes in Irish society. This, he stated, would be especially true as the government and the Oireachtas became increasingly active in reforming the law once Ireland became a member of the European Economic Community. He also stressed the importance of the law being 'in line with informed and responsible opinion' in Ireland. In this context, he stated that *Tuairim*'s contributions were 'invaluable.' He was grateful for *Tuairim*'s interest in legal affairs and hoped that it would continue. This praise contrasted with his relations with the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland. The meeting provoked a number of angry exchanges, in public and private, between the Minister and the Law Society.[17] The Law Society accused Lenihan of implying that they had no interest in law reform in his reply to a question at the *Tuairim* meeting, whereas Lenihan complained that the Society had acted inappropriately and misrepresented what he had said at the meeting.[18] The exchange illustrated that statements made at *Tuairim*'s meetings could form the subject of a public controversy. Moreover, it shows that despite such controversies at least some politicians were willing to engage with *Tuairim* and respected the society. Of the government, it was the young, reforming ministers such as Lenihan and Donogh O'Malley to which *Tuairim* were closest. O'Malley, who also spoke at *Tuairim* meetings, was, according to John Dillon, a good friend of *Tuairim*. Dillon recalled that O'Malley was constantly, if unsuccessfully, attempting to persuade Anne Reidy to join Fianna Fáil.[19] He was also supportive of *Tuairim*'s

[17] (National Archives of Ireland [herein NAI], Department of Justice [herein DJ], 2005/14/167). This file contains the text of the Minister's speech and a number of exchanges between Lenihan and the Incorporated Law Society of Ireland. The controversy was soon transferred to the national newspapers. See *Irish Press*, 7 February 1966, *Irish Times*, 7, 11, 16 February 1966.
[18] Letter from Eric A. Plunkett, Secretary, The Law Society of Ireland to Peter Berry, Secretary, Department of Justice, 24 January 1966; Letter to the *Irish Press*, 7 February 1966; Letter from Berry to Plunkett, 28 January 1966; Letter from Lenihan to Robert Taylor, President, Incorporated Law Society, 9 February 1966; Letter from Lenihan to the *Irish Times*, 11 February 1966; Letter from Plunkett to Lenihan, 10 February; Reply from Lenihan to Plunkett, 11 February; Letter from Plunkett to the *Irish Times*, 16 February 1966 (NAI, DJ, 2005/14/167).
[19] Interview with John Dillon (3 December 2005); See also Devereux, *Last word*, p. 95; Joy Rudd's papers, *Tuairim* National Council meeting, 19 February 1966, Limerick branch's report. Thanks to Geordie Rudd for her sister Joy's papers.

publication, *The Castle poets*, which arose from their poetry readings at King John's Castle.[20]

Tuairim was dismayed by the lack of activity in King John's Castle. That it was under utilised was clearly illustrated by the fact that the Castle courtyard still contained a housing development which had been built in the 1930s.[21] *Tuairim* aimed at ensuring that its potential as a tourist resource would be fully realised. To that end, on the evening of 4 January 1966, *Tuairim* held a poetry reading by candlelight in a turret room in one of the castle's towers.[22] Desmond O'Grady, the internationally renowned and Limerick born poet, read a number of poems. O'Grady enchanted the packed audience of over a hundred people, with more than two hundred having to be turned away in the rain. Those who did manage to gain entry were welcomed to 'the haunting music of the bagpipes' from the battlements, played by Julian Walton, a teacher in Oxford.[23] Further colour was provided by paintings by local artists which were placed on the walls of the castle. The evening was proclaimed to be a great success by various local and national newspapers. It was claimed to be 'an historic night [which] marked the beginning of a new era' for the castle in which it would lead a tourist drive by the city.[24] Individuals in attendance were similarly enthused. A fellow poet, William English, wrote that O'Grady's 'voice rose and fell, lived and died in words of wonderful lyricism, and penetrating fearfulness, passion and hate, love and fear, wrong and exile'.[25] Tom Flanagan, the Regional Tourism Manager, claimed that the evening had 'breathed life back into the Castle' and expressed the hope that 'Tuairim [would] receive a similar response' in the future.[26] Indeed, more poets came to the Castle the following summer and read their own and the poetry of others, including W. B. Yeats, and the writings of James Joyce, again to the sound of music. The *Irish Independent* reported that the Castle 'has been given into the custody of Tuairim, which is losing no time in making it quite a "must" as a centre of tourist attraction'. One of the turrets was home to a permanent art exhibition and in another

[20] Tuairim, *The Castle poets* (Limerick, 1966).
[21] *Limerick Chronicle*, 8 January 1966. There were still families living in these houses in the 1960s.
[22] *Limerick Chronicle*, 3, 8 January 1966; *Limerick Leader*, 8, 15 January 1966; *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 15 January 1966; *Evening Herald*, 5 January 1966; *Cork Examiner*, 5 January 1966; *Sunday Press*, 9 January 1966; *Sunday Independent*, 9 January 1966.
[23] *Sunday Independent*, 9 January 1966.
[24] *Limerick Chronicle*; *Limerick Leader*, 8 June 1966.
[25] *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 15 January 1966.
[26] *Limerick Chronicle*, 8 January 1966.

there was a weekly poetry and musical recital. The newspaper concluded that 'in an amazingly short time, Tuairim has brought [the castle's] ancient stones to life' and that it was in good hands for the future. Thus, *Tuairim* was successful in its aims to entertain the people and guests of Limerick and to 're-integrate the Castle and Limerick's poets into the life of the city'.[27] An anthology called *The Castle poets* was published by *Tuairim* at the end of its first summer in the castle.[28] The foreword, written by John Dillon, illustrated some of *Tuairim*'s hopes and ideals. Dillon expressed his delight that the 'union of artists and intellectuals' provided so much entertainment and produced concrete results. He predicted that the 'artistic ferment' thus begun would prove beyond doubt the merits of Limerick as a city and justify its claims to the establishment of a university. The booklet also acknowledged the society's debt to politicians such as Labour's Stephen Coughlan, who encouraged *Tuairim* in its plans for the castle. Other politicians, including O'Malley and Vincent Feeney of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael's Ted Russell, along with some businessmen in the city, subscribed to the publication.[29] Clearly, politicians were more than willing to support *Tuairim* in such a worthwhile endeavour. However, they were more hesitant once *Tuairim* announced it was to hold a meeting on the pogrom of 1904.

In 1965 *Tuairim* invited Gerald Goldberg, a solicitor and a member of the Cork branch of *Tuairim* who in 1977 became that city's first Jewish Lord Mayor, to speak about the experiences of his family during what has been referred to as 'the Limerick Pogrom' of 1904.[30] The Redemptorist priest, Fr. John Creagh, had inspired a boycott of the Jewish community with a typically firebrand sermon on the 11 January 1904. He repeated much of his attack on 18 January, the text of which was printed the following day in the local newspapers. The boycott continued over the following months with violence never far from the surface.[31] At the *Tuairim* meeting Goldberg claimed that riots followed Creagh's sermon and that members of his and other families had been beaten by people in Limerick.[32] Finally, the Goldbergs, along with

[27] *Irish Independent*, 2 August 1966; *Limerick Leader*, 18 June 1966. According to the *Leader* the weekly programme was to begin on 22 June 1966. *Tuairim* also held readings in the Castle during the next couple of summers.
[28] Interview with Anne Reidy.
[29] Tuairim, *The Castle poets*, Foreword, p. 39; Correspondence with John Dillon, 27 January 2006
[30] *Evening Herald*, 15 December 1965; Dermot Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland: refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork, 1998), pp. 26, 238.
[31] Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*, pp. 3, 26–35, 46-7.
[32] *Evening Herald*, 15 December 1965.

the majority of the Jewish community, left Limerick.[33] The Goldbergs settled in Cork. The episode illustrates the influence the Redemptorists had in Limerick in the early twentieth century. Dermot Keogh argued that the public response to Creagh's sermons was thereby partly out of a sense of loyalty to the Church, but more importantly due to an anti-Semitic feeling in the city which was partly caused by resentment at the success of Jewish businesses and partly because Jews threatened the ideal of a homogenously Catholic country.[34]

Tuairim stated in its press release announcing the meeting that 'neither [they] nor Gerald Goldberg would have revived this subject, but for the publicity' it received following a television programme.[35] The programme claimed that a pogrom had taken place in Limerick.[36] The claims gave rise to a controversy in Limerick, which was heightened once *Tuairim* announced they were holding a meeting on the subject.[37] Pressure from politicians and clerics was applied to have Goldberg's talk cancelled. Dillon recalled 'patriotic' Fianna Fáil councillors and Fine Gael's William O'Brien denying a pogrom ever took place. O'Brien referred to the claims made on the television programme as 'slander'. The Redemptorists, who remained a powerful force in 1960s Limerick, demanded that Dillon cancel the meeting.[38] When he refused they asked the headmaster at Dillon's school, Glenstal Abbey, to put pressure on Dillon. They also asked the Mayor of Limerick, Frank Leddin, not to chair the meeting after he had agreed to do so. Both Leddin and the headmaster resisted, although Leddin had to be reassured by a private conversation with Dillon. Rumours were simultaneously circulating that certain parties were going to try and ensure the meeting did not take place or to break it up once it started. It was also alleged that Limerick would lose a number of existing or potential factories if the meeting took place. Anne Barry heard that the Redemptorists had said that the German

[33] Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*, p. 51.
[34] Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*, pp. 26-27.
[35] *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 11 December 1965; *Tuairim* press release, 1970.
[36] Interview with John Dillon.
[37] *Tuairim* press release, 1970. *Tuairim*'s press release stated that the television programme gave rise to 'unfavourable correspondence in the press'. See, for example, letter in the *Irish Times*, 15 November 1965. Goldberg responded to this letter on 19 November; Interview with John Dillon. John Dillon, after reading this letter, wrote to Goldberg inviting him to speak to the Limerick branch of *Tuairim*.
[38] Interview with John Dillon; Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*, p. 27; Jim Kemmy, 'A changing city – a personal view' in David Lee (ed), *Remembering Limerick: Historical essays celebrating the 800th anniversary of Limerick's first charter granted in 1197* (Limerick, 1997), p. 373. Kemmy claimed that the Arch-Confraternity remained a powerful influence in Limerick in the 1960s with the highlight of many people's week still being the Confraternity meetings and sermons.

manufacturing company, Krupps, would not come to Limerick if the meeting went ahead.[39] Despite that, the members of *Tuairim* were determined to resist these pressures in the belief that the meeting was necessary to finally lay the truth before the people of Limerick.[40]

To that end, Dillon went to the offices of the *Limerick Leader* to find details of what actually happened. He found a full-page transcript of Creagh's sermon of 18 January 1904. Dillon recorded the speech verbatim and played it at the *Tuairim* meeting. He believed that it was fortunate that he did so as he recalled a number of 'tough' characters sitting in the front row.[41] The *Evening Herald* reported one gentleman claiming that Goldberg's remark that he could not forgive Creagh for his speech was 'a shocking statement'. The individual stated that, '"No Catholic should listen to that", and he got up and left the meeting'.[42] The meeting certainly publicised the *Tuairim* branch of Limerick and highlighted the society's determination to tackle controversial issues. Unfortunately, the affair also pointed to the continued existence of anti-Semitism within Irish society.[43]

This was underlined by a controversial attack on the Jewish community by the Labour T. D. Stephen Coughlan in 1970. Coughlan used the words 'bloodsuckers' and 'extortionists' in a speech 'dealing with historical aspects of the Jewish commercial presence in Limerick'. He suggested that 'Goldberg came to Limerick uninvited, and used a platform provided by Tuairim for his own advantage'. *Tuairim* responded that they had invited Goldberg to speak to the society and that he had only accepted the invitation 'on the understanding that the meeting should be to ease, not provoke, further controversial discussion'. *Tuairim* and Goldberg also both wished to give the facts to the people of Limerick. *Tuairim* claimed that since only one person left the meeting they had been successful in achieving their objectives.[44] Given the controversy and rumours that preceded the meeting, it was understandable that

[39] Correspondence with Anne Barry, 26 July 2005; *Irish Times*, 1 December 1998; Interview with Anne Reidy. Reidy was told by a member of staff in a local newspaper that Annaloid would not come to Limerick if the meeting went ahead. The company never did come to Limerick.
[40] *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 11 December 1965.
[41] Interview with John Dillon; Correspondence with Anne Barry. Barry stated that she also went to the offices of the *Limerick Leader* but claims that the file was missing. She wrote that an employee of the company removed it. However, she persisted and succeeded in finding reports of what had happened.
[42] *Evening Herald*, 15 December 1965.
[43] Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*, pp. 234–7.
[44] *Tuairim* press release, 1970; John Horgan, 'Steve Coughlan' in Jim Kemmy, *Limerick compendium* (Dublin, 1997), p. 301; *Evening Herald*, 15 December 1965; *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 11 December 1965. Thanks to William Peacocke for a copy of the Press Release.

Tuairim saw it as a success. Moreover, this episode illustrates that the social, cultural and generational changes of the 1960s enabled *Tuairim* and other groups and individuals to oppose Catholic and political leaders in a way they may not have been able to in the past. This increasingly tolerant climate facilitated changes to be made in laws such as censorship. *Tuairim* was in favour of a complete overhaul of the censorship system. Two dramatic meetings illustrated *Tuairim*'s views on this matter. The first occurred in 1962 when the author Kate O'Brien spoke to the society and the second in 1966 when the Professor of English at Maynooth, Fr. Peter Connolly, and another novelist, Edna O'Brien, shared a common *Tuairim* platform in Limerick.

Kate O'Brien wrote about the struggle of Irish women for freedom and love against the strictures of family and religion. It was the independence of Irish Catholic women in O'Brien's novels that many people found objectionable.[45] Two of her books were banned. Her most famous novel, *The Land of Spices*, was ostensibly censored for a reference to homosexuality.[46] This ban reflected the censorship board's concern for morality rather than the literary merit of a novel. The consequences for the author included a loss of income and, on occasion, hostility from members of the public because of the perception of her as a controversial writer.[47] In this way, censorship alienated writers from the state and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, which supported the system. This public attitude is illustrated by the reception O'Brien received from some of those present at a *Tuairim* meeting in June 1962 when she spoke on 'The Irish novel'.[48] Ó Cinnéide claimed that after being

> badgered for the umpteenth time to say what an Irish novelist needed to write significant novels ... Kate O'Brien gave the terse put-down answer: 'All an Irish novelist needs is a knowledge of the *Penny Catechism* and a good acquaintance with the village pump gossip'.

The contrast between *Tuairim*'s support for the author and the public attitude towards her is underlined by the lack of enthusiasm to *Tuairim*'s call for O'Brien to be granted the freedom of the city.[49] Certainly, given the content of her novels, no Irish politician was likely to support the call for O'Brien to be publicly honoured. Attitudes towards the author changed slowly and as Ó Cinnéide wryly noted, O'Brien's literary qualities

[45] Eibhear Walshe, *Kate O'Brien: A writing life* (Cork, 2006), p. 50.
[46] Peter Connolly, 'Censorship' in *Christus Rex*, xiii (1959), p. 165; Peter Connolly [James H. Murphy (ed)], *No bland facility: Selected writings on literature, religion and censorship* (Buckinghamshire, 1991), p. 76. *Mary Lavelle* was also banned.
[47] Walshe, *Kate O'Brien*, pp. 67, 90.
[48] *Limerick Leader*, 6 June 1962.
[49] Interview with Anne Reidy.

were not fully appreciated, as with most Irish writers, until after she had died.[50] It is evident from this meeting, the poetry readings at King John's Castle, and correspondence with O'Brien and James Plunkett Kelly, the novelist and future author of *Strumpet City*, that the Limerick branch of *Tuairim* was close to those in literary and artistic circles. This is further underlined by a meeting at which Edna O'Brien, spoke.

O'Brien, who had moved to England, shared the *Tuairim* forum with Peter Connolly on 22 April 1966.[51] O'Brien was a very controversial Irish writer, having had four novels banned.[52] Despite that, when asked at the *Tuairim* meeting how many had read at least one of the books a large number of people raised their hands.[53] This highlights the ineffectiveness of the censorship system in Ireland. The reality was that in the 1950s and 1960s a person who wished to read a book which had been banned was usually able to acquire that book. However, many people at *Tuairim*'s meeting were uneasy with the women in O'Brien's novels since they challenged the 'patriarchal structure of a traditional family life'.[54] More people were shocked by the vivid sexual content of her books. The *Irish Times* stated that at the *Tuairim* meeting one lady spoke of 'vulgarity and a gentleman stood up and agreed with her'.[55] Others were indignant as to how a professor in Maynooth could speak about these 'godless works.'[56] Indeed, some individuals would have found a priest sharing a public platform with O'Brien, never mind defending such an author, deeply objectionable. Despite that or, perhaps, because of it, the combination of O'Brien and Connolly drew a large audience. The *Irish Times* stated that the room 'seemed to include half the population of Munster' and that it was charged with 'an emotional atmosphere ...

[50] Eoin Devereux, *Last word by the listener: Séamus O Cinnéide, journalism and local history* (Limerick, 1999), pp. 66-7; See also Walshe, *Kate O'Brien*, pp. 135, 148.
[51] *Irish Times*, 23 April 1966.
[52] *Limerick Leader*, 16 April 1966. The novels in question were *The Country Girls* (1960); *Girls with Green Eyes* – originally *The Lonely Girl* (1962); *Girls in their Married Bliss* (1964) and *August is a Wicked Month* (1965).
[53] *Evening Herald*, 23 April 1966.
[54] Margaret Kelleher and Philip O' Leary, *The Cambridge history of Irish literature: Volume 2, 1890-1900* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 427, 429.
[55] *Irish Times*, 23 April 1966.
[56] Interview with John Dillon. Dillon also claimed that *Tuairim* learned through Anne Reidy at the last minute that O'Brien was in town and that Connolly was unaware until shortly before the meeting that she would be there. However, the notices in the *Limerick Leader* suggest that he would have been aware she would be there at least a week before the meeting. See *Limerick Leader*, 16, 22 April 1966. The meeting was on 22 April.

almost as vibrant as the physical atmosphere'.[57] Connolly, who had spoken on censorship to *Tuairim*'s Dublin branch in 1959 and 1965, had written many articles advocating a more sophisticated understanding of literature and a relaxation of the censorship laws. He proceeded to deliver an assessment of O'Brien's work.[58] Connolly was, as ever, reasonable in his approach. He praised the 'high spirits ... and ... cheerful, natural ribaldry which expressed for him the spirit of the countryside' present in the author's first two novels. However, he was more critical of the latter two novels. Nevertheless, Connolly criticised the 'sexual imagery ... less for its quantity than for its quality and for the fact that it seemed to add very little to the book'. He concluded on a positive note, stating that he would 'be more interested in her work than any other novels appearing at the moment in Ireland.' The meeting continued with questions for O'Brien.

There was much criticism of her work including charges of obscenity. O'Brien responded that this criticism said more about the critics than it said about her and denied an 'allegation that she made money "writing dirty books"', by stating that 'writing is very arduous'. O'Brien outlined the motivation behind her writing when she stated that 'only to give a fraction of someone's innermost thought is to abuse them and diminish them. What makes us love people is their imperfection as much as their perfection'. She thought that every person was 'capable of a great depth and variation of thought, from the almost mythical to the obscene or impure'.[59] O'Brien aimed to write the truth about people's emotions and passions.[60] It was her perception of the truth of the lives of young women growing up in Ireland that many people were uncomfortable with. This is reflected in the questions that were directed at O'Brien. Indeed, some of them were so pointed that Connolly and *Tuairim*'s chairman, Dillon, assisted in answering them. To a question on whether O'Brien lived in England because Ireland was a 'Christian society', Connolly explained O'Brien's attitude as it had been conveyed to him over dinner. He said that

[57] *Irish Times*, 23 April 1966.
[58] Louise Fuller, *Irish Catholicism since 1950: The undoing of a culture* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 60–2, 136–7; Connolly, 'Censorship,' pp. 151–70; Michael Adams, *Censorship: the Irish experience* (Alabama, 1968), pp. 157–8. Before publication, in February 1959, Connolly delivered his 'Censorship' paper to the Dublin branch. The other occasion Connolly spoke to *Tuairim* was reported in the *Irish Times* on 12 February 1965.
[59] *Irish Times* and *Evening Herald*, 23 April 1966.
[60] See Edna O'Brien in Cliodhna Ní Anluain, *Reading the future: Irish writers in conversation with Mike Murphy* (Dublin, 2000), p. 208.

> It was because she felt the time to write while living in Ireland was difficult because of the narrowness of the atmosphere, because of the pressures on the right hand in a country which was "rather jittery" about its literature. It was a social not a religious pressure and other writers in other countries – Ibsen in Norway, for instance, had experienced it as well.

When asked if 'hard-core pornography should be kept out of Ireland ... O'Brien apologised and said that she had not seen any'. The *Irish Times* reported that Connolly was once again on his feet, 'noting that we should do our best to keep out this sort of stuff, but that the other job – that of cultivating discrimination in the literary field – was simply not being done well enough'. Describing the meeting as an 'occasion', Connolly noted that it was 'very rare' for anyone in Ireland to consider or listen to an Irish writer before the person was 'dead or embittered'. The *Times* editorial on the following Monday praised *Tuairim* and said that Connolly 'has put everyone in the country in his debt'.[61] The newspaper hoped that the Minister for Justice, Brian Lenihan, had taken note of the need for change in the censorship laws. The main problem with the censorship legislation was that once a prohibition order was confirmed by the Appeals Board, a book was banned in perpetuity. However, Lenihan, who had relaxed the law on film censorship in 1964, proceeded to liberalise censorship in relation to books.[62] In 1967 the Oireachtas passed a bill which reduced from life to twelve years the period for which a book was banned.[63] By this measure, over 5,000 titles were released into the public sphere.[64] The relaxation of the censorship laws undoubtedly contributed to the further liberalisation of Irish society. However, one should not overestimate the influence of the Limerick branch of *Tuairim* upon this change in the censorship laws; Lenihan was already aware of the need for reform in this area. Nevertheless, with Connolly and O'Brien the society had succeeded in raising public consciousness of the issue. The meeting also illustrated *Tuairim*'s determination to tackle controversial issues and its ability to attract well-known individuals to speak to the society. The objective of the meetings at which Kate and Edna O'Brien spoke was to influence public opinion in favour of reform of censorship and towards an appreciation of the literary merits of their novels. While the legislation was reformed, public attitudes remained, for some time, ambivalent

[61] *Irish Times*, 23 April 1966.
[62] John Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland, 1923 –73*, (Dublin, 1980), p. 343.
[63] Fuller, *Irish Catholicism*, pp. 136-7.
[64] Adams, *Censorship*, p. 199.

towards these authors.[65] Certainly, the focus on the morality of the author's work during *Tuairim*'s meeting suggests that Limerick continued to be a conservative city into the 1960s.[66]

Tuairim's influence lay in contributing to the creation of a more open society by tackling contentious issues. This can most clearly be seen in the meetings on censorship and the pogrom of 1904. These meetings illustrated *Tuairim*'s determination to resist pressure from conservative forces and its role as a forum where new ideas could be put forward and discussed. Lenihan went as far as to use the platform provided by *Tuairim* to outline the future direction of Irish law and government policy in this area. While *Tuairim*'s ability to attract individuals such as Lenihan and O'Malley to speak at their meetings was notable, it also indicated a concern with ensuring politicians were accountable to the people of Ireland. Anne Reidy pointed out that no southern politician refused to speak to the Limerick branch of *Tuairim* and suggested that politicians were attracted by the public audience present at *Tuairim*'s meetings. *Tuairim*'s members believed that these meetings filled a vacuum in that there was a lack of debate on controversial issues within the country. However, they also claimed that television was a major cause of the society's downfall. While television facilitated an increased questioning of social and political orthodoxies which *Tuairim* would certainly have welcomed, its members maintained that the current affairs programmes being broadcast adversely affected attendance at the society's meetings.[67]

Another factor in the demise of the Limerick branch was the establishment, in 1972, of a third level institution in the city.[68] This resulted from a partially successful campaign for a university in Limerick, which was supported by *Tuairim*.[69] In

[65] Walshe, *Kate O'Brien*, p. 148; Julia Carlson, *Banned in Ireland: Censorship and the Irish writer*, (Georgia, 1990), pp. 72-3; *Irish Times*, 10 June, 2006.
[66] The conservative nature of society in Limerick in the 1960s was indicated by *Tuairim* members and the local historian, Jim Kemmy. Interviews with Brian Geary, Paddy Glynn, Cian O' Carroll and Anne Reidy (3 December 2005), John Dillon, (13 June 2005); Jim Kemmy, 'A changing city – a personal view', p. 373.
[67] Interviews with Anne Reidy, Paddy Glynn and Cian O'Carroll; John Horgan, *Broadcasting and public life: RTE news and current affairs, 1926–1997* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 38, 50–2, 148.
[68] Patrick Joseph Kearney, *Towards a university: An historical account of the campaigns to have a university college established in Limerick, with practical reference to the period 1838–1947* (MEd thesis, NUI Galway, 1975), p. 115.
[69] See Tuairim, *The Castle poets*, Foreword; Correspondence with John Dillon; and *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 26 March 1966, for evidence of *Tuairim*'s support for a university in Limerick; *Irish Times*, 18 January 1969.

Limerick there was a widespread desire for a university.[70] This was the context in which the Limerick branch of *Tuairim* operated. Members of *Tuairim* were involved in other organisations and the society co-operated with individuals and groups in Limerick, including politicians such as Steve Coughlan, in this campaign and in other projects.[71] That was one of the methods through which *Tuairim* sought to influence public policy and be more than 'a glorified debating society'.[72] *Tuairim*'s relations with other organisations and individuals highlighted aspects of their character. For example, the society's dealings with Coughlan illustrated his effectiveness in local politics but also the reactionary nature of some of his speeches, while *Tuairim*'s involvement with other societies suggests that Limerick had a genuinely active citizenship during the 1960s.[73] This sense of civic duty was partly due to the desire for a university.

The lack of a university did have a beneficial effect for *Tuairim* in that there were more opportunities for them in the city, unlike for example in Dublin and Cork. Indeed, Paddy Glynn saw the branch as a 'substitute university'.[74] *Tuairim* did fulfil some of the functions of a university in that they had regular book and poetry readings, discussed contemporary issues, recommended the reading of certain novels and had an active social side. Thus, the partial success of the campaign for a university contributed to the demise of the influence of *Tuairim* in these areas and its eventual decline into obscurity in 1975. Indeed, the reality of a third level institute appeared to adversely affect the civic culture of informed debate, of which *Tuairim* was part, in Limerick.[75] The generation that emerged in the early 1970s was not as active as the previous generation and was unwilling to participate in the society. The logic of *Tuairim*'s age limit and the nature of the society meant it ceased to exist. Perhaps, given the social and economic changes that had occurred in Ireland during the 1960s, there was less of a need for *Tuairim* than had previously been the case. On

[70] Kearney, *Towards a university*, pp. 102–4; Interview with Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh (7 March 2006). Ó Tuathaigh regularly attended debates in Limerick before going to University College Galway in 1962.
[71] *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 12 March 1966; Correspondence with John Dillon.
[72] *Tuairim*'s Dublin branch, Chairman's report, 1956–57. The chairman was Frank Winder. Thanks to Michael O'Hanrahan for a copy of the report.
[73] Interview with John Dillon; Horgan, 'Steve Coughlan', pp. 299–300; Jim Kemmy, *The Limerick anthology* (Dublin, 1996), pp. 141–3; Interview with Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh; *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 12 March 1966.
[74] Interview with Paddy Glynn.
[75] Interview with Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh. Ó Tuathaigh claims that accession to the European Economic Community may have been another factor in undermining this sense of civic duty.

the other hand, the vast majority of the members of *Tuairim* rejected this viewpoint and argued that there is always a need for a society to examine issues from an altruistic viewpoint.

Tuairim's willingness to examine issues such as the 1904 'Limerick Pogrom' and censorship and its attempts to realise the potential of resources such as King John's Castle meant that the city had a vibrant and radical branch during the 1960s. These meetings and poetry readings illustrated *Tuairim*'s concern with the social and cultural life of the country and city. This concern was combined with openness to people from all backgrounds and religions.[76] These factors illustrate that *Tuairim* itself, its approach and its methods were, to a large extent, novel. This was true of the breadth of issues it examined, its attempts to influence those in positions of power, and its openness to people with contrary opinions and those from all and no religions. Unusually for an organisation that emerged during the 1950s, *Tuairim* was a secular society and was outside the control of the Catholic Church. Its independence of the Church and political parties enabled *Tuairim* to tackle controversial issues in an impartial manner. This explains the sense of tension surrounding some of *Tuairim*'s meetings. Nevertheless, despite the conservative nature of society, *Tuairim* was accepted by the people of Limerick. Furthermore, *Tuairim* was well respected in literary and political circles for its altruism and the contribution it made to the social and cultural life of the city. *Tuairim* was, as Dillon said, 'a force for change in a society that is not perfect'.[77]

[76] Interview with Cian O'Carroll.
[77] *Limerick Weekly Echo*, 18 June 1966.

Improvising empire:
Economic retrenchment, armed force and local government in Bengal, 1765-1810

James Lees

In 1765 the British East India Company was granted the *diwani* (right to collect revenue) in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II. This grant, which was made in return for British military support and an annual tribute of over two million rupees, marked the beginning of a process that would transform the East India Company from a commercial body into the Indian subcontinent's chief territorial power. At this time Bengal had a population of roughly twenty million and its public revenue was calculated at about one quarter of that of the entire British Isles.[1] The new wealth gained from the taxation of Bengal's largely agrarian population would be used to fund existing commercial ventures and also to subsidise the weaker economies of the Company's other possessions in Bombay and Madras. However, the ability to exploit this new source of revenue brought with it a parallel need to impose the government's authority on the population. The Company needed to be able to create an environment of civil stability that would be conducive to economic growth.

Recent research in this area has shown that the Company failed to recognise how Indian rural society operated, and attempted instead to govern by its own rigidly defined notions of the landlord-tenant relationship. In pre-colonial Bengal it was fairly common for peasant cultivators to negotiate tenancy terms with their *zamindar* (landlord) through the withholding of rent.[2] However, the Company interpreted such attempts at negotiation as resistance to government authority and refused to be drawn into a dialogue with the cultivators. This incomprehension helped fuel the civil unrest which sprang up across rural Bengal during the final quarter of the eighteenth century. The Calcutta government believed that the imposition of the rule of law in the province could only be achieved through the use of armed force – a method that would certainly be a drain on the Company's finances. In order to reduce the overheads arising from the provision of this armed force the Company repeatedly

[1] *Oxford's New Dictionary of National Biography*, Hastings, Warren.
[2] Jon E. Wilson, '"A thousand countries to go to": Peasants and rulers in late eighteenth century Bengal' in *Past and Present*, 189 (November 2005), pp. 81-109.

experimented with substituting cheap, locally raised 'revenue troops' for its more expensive Indian regular soldiers. This article will deal with some of the implications of that cost-cutting exercise on the long-term development of the Company state.

The management of Bengal's revenue troops was marked by a shifting compromise between minimum possible expense and minimum acceptable efficiency. They were employed on duties that encompassed not only the guarding of government treasuries and escorting revenue convoys, but also the policing of the civilian population and the suppression of banditry, in so far as this disrupted the stream of agrarian revenue from the *mofussil* (the rural hinterland beyond the district's urban centres). They operated in association with a disparate network of the *zamindars'* administrative officers, the remnants of the Mughal military police structures, and, after 1793, the Company's *darogahs* (civilian police officers). After 1765 these additional policing duties remained nominally the responsibility of the Mughal *nizam* (minister in charge of civil government), who was intended to 'direct the defence of the provinces and the ordering of their internal peace and justice'.[3] However, the weakened state of the Mughal administration meant that in reality this role was carried out by the Company. These duties were of vital importance to the stable running of provincial government, but from a military point of view they were considered profoundly menial. Consequently, the units employed in this capacity were rarely from the Company's regular army; they were more usually cheaper paramilitaries raised specifically for that purpose. These units, in comparison with the regular regiments, were often poorly trained, ill-disciplined and lacking an adequate executive infrastructure. In this respect the Company's thriftiness, the running of empire on the cheap, can be seen as self-defeating, since it ultimately had the potential to undermine the twin pillars of its own military-fiscal state; those of military prestige and the production of territorial revenue.

The theory of military-fiscalism in this context, most recently explored by Douglas Peers, is concerned with the relationship between the Company's revenue, its military assets, and the expansion of its territory. Peers argued that the enormous expense of maintaining an army to enforce the Company's hegemony was one of the

[3] P. J. Marshall, *Bengal: The British bridgehead, eastern India, 1740-1828* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 93.

main driving forces behind British territorial expansion in India.[4] Military conquest was the main means of increasing the Company's control over revenue-bearing territory, and the civil stability provided by the presence of the army helped to ensure a reasonably consistent flow of revenue into the Company's treasury. However, the army itself was a considerable financial burden and it 'demanded, acquired, protected and consumed most of the territorial revenue'.[5] In broad terms, the Company's profit consisted of whatever portion of the revenue survived the ravages of its own military expenditure. By focusing on the various incarnations of the Bengali revenue troops in this period, it is possible to see an example of the Company's efforts to glean a greater margin of profit from the military-fiscal cycle. The concern regarding the expense of employing regular units in the role of 'sebundy', an Anglo-Indian slang term for revenue troops, is frequently reflected in the Company's official correspondence by the secondary consideration that such service was detrimental to discipline.

It was widely believed that the valuable regular soldiers would be ruined by the experience. A government minute of June 1795 stated that:

> The employment of regular troops in ... Provincial Duties is pregnant with Evils of a most serious nature ... The native troops acquire from it unmilitary habits and sentiments ... even the health of the native troops is injured by it ... whilst the practice continues the Company have not a regular army.[6]

This belief appears to have stemmed from the experience of the Company's first dedicated revenue units, the 'purgannah battalions', which were established in 1766 by Robert Clive, the first governor of Bengal under the *diwani*. Replacing the previous bands of armed peasants, and taking their name from the *pargana* (the basic revenue catchment area), eleven battalions were formed along regular lines, with the standard Bengal Native Infantry complement of European officers and sepoys (an Anglo-Indian term for a native infantryman, from the Persian *sipahi* meaning 'army'). They were officially listed on the strength of the regular army, but were used solely for revenue service. As G. J. Bryant laconically observed, 'this innovation was not a success'.[7] The nature of the service, with the unavoidable distribution of each battalion into small detachments at far-flung outposts, away from the immediate

[4] D. M. Peers, *Between Mars and Mammon: Colonial armies and the garrison state in early nineteenth century India* (London, 1995).
[5] D. Omissi, 'Review of *Mars and Mammon*' in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* [herein *JICH*], 24 (1998), p. 113.
[6] 'Secret Department, Minute and Resolution of the Governor General in Council', 29 June 1795 (Oriental and India Office Collections [herein OIOC], F/4/8/709).
[7] G. J. Bryant, 'Pacification in the early British Raj, 1755-85' in *JICH*, 14 (1985-6), p. 8.

command structure of the officers and senior NCOs, was found to undermine discipline. It bred what Warren Hastings, the governor general of Bengal between 1772 and 1785, characterised as 'a Universal Spirit of Rapine and Licentiousness'.[8]

Nor were these ill effects confined to the ranks. The officers were also corrupted by the 'opportunities of their remote situation and the temptation of unresisted power'.[9] They frequently ignored the local magistrates and collectors to whom they were theoretically subordinate, and often became moneylenders and racketeers, torturing *zamindars* who defaulted in the repayment of personal loans. Considerable sums of money could be accumulated in this way, and consequently, in spite of the 'unmilitary' nature of the service, postings to these lucrative battalions became a source of jealousy throughout the army as, in the words of Hastings, 'the Tribute which Vassalage is ever willing to pay to Despotism grew into Right of Perquisite'.[10] The degeneration arising from revenue service was not confined to the purgannah battalions alone. Since they were at least nominally regular units, their troops were drafted out of the revenue service back into the main army, and at intervals their officers were obliged to exchange into other regiments. In 1783 a minute from the governor general detailing the history of the revenue service observed that

> The Contagion spread ... for the same officers belonged to each Establishment, some returning with disgust from a field of Emoluments to the moderate pay and scanty Perquisites of the Army, and others envious and eager to succeed them.[11]

This raised a central problem in the way that the Company chose to manage its revenue troops. Revenue service was seen as a degrading and sickly occupation, but rather than tackling the 'contagion' at its source the Company's plan was merely to place its revenue troops in a state of quarantine and hope for the best. The purgannah battalions were disbanded, and militia units raised in their place. The militia was formed locally from raw recruits and invalids from the regular native army, and its officers held 'militia commissions'. No officer or sepoy who had served in the militia was permitted to serve in the regular army, and thus the contagion was confined entirely to those units. However, had isolation from the regular army been the Company's sole concern in this matter, then the damage to the efficiency and prestige

[8] 'Governor General's Minute', 2 October 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[9] 'Governor General's Minute', 2 October 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[10] 'Governor General's Minute', 2 October 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[11] 'Governor General's Minute', 2 October 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).

of the Company's government would have been proportionately reduced. Yet again a parallel desire for cost cutting is evident in the official correspondence of the time:

> ... (T)he Corps of Militia Sepoys ... are highly Prejudicial to the army in general, and a useless, heavy and unnecessary expense to the Company ... the emoluments of the Corps now under consideration ought to be levelled to the standard of the subordinate service to which they are devoted.[12]

Rather than maintaining regular revenue battalions, and keeping them apart from the army, the Company took the view that as revenue duties were subordinate and degenerate, the troops who performed those duties should be equally inferior. They would not pay for elite regiments to perform menial duties.

The solution of using cheaper and poorly trained revenue units heralded a cycle of alternation between well-trained but costly regular soldiers, and inefficient but cheap substitutes that was to continue for the next thirty years. At periodic intervals the government realised that although these substitutes were cheaper, they were also less efficient, and replace them with brigades of regulars, thereby renewing the economy versus efficiency debate.[13] The substitutes were considerably cheaper to maintain than the line regiments because they were largely untrained, and contained few European officers whose pay and allowances would have significantly increased the overall maintenance costs. If well-disciplined regular troops were barely able to operate on revenue duty unscathed, then it seems obvious that these quasi-military replacements would fare rather worse. Throughout the period there are repeated complaints about the 'inefficient state' and 'defective' nature of these units, followed by their inevitable disbandment for misconduct.[14] They were raised specifically for policing duties, but they were not 'specialists' in any meaningful sense.

The Company's desire to generate more profit from the military-fiscal system led to this neglect of its revenue service, and from there to the wavering between economy and efficiency which has been described. However, this was not a steady cycle, and the quality of the different irregular substitutes grew steadily poorer until the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1785 the government of India decided that the militia were a liability, and replaced them with existing regiments from the regular

[12] 'Extract of Bengal Revenue Consultations', 11 November 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[13] 'Extract of Letter from the Governor General and Council in their Secret Department of Inspection', 31 January 1785 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[14] 'Extract Military Letter from Bengal', 1 February 1804 (OIOC, F/4/173/3076); 'Extract Bengal Judicial Letter', 10 March 1804 (OIOC, F/4/173/3076); 'Extract Military Letter from Bengal', 27 November 1800 (OIOC, F/4/94/1894).

army, augmented by a few companies of largely untrained watchmen. This was less expensive than raising fresh troops for the service, but at the same time it stretched the Company's military resources to breaking point during a period in which hostilities with Mysore and the Maratha Confederacy were either on the verge of erupting or already in full flow. The situation reached its nadir in 1795 when the need to release regular troops for frontline service was recognised in the formation of a number of battalions designated as sebundy. Like the purgannah battalions and the militia, the sebundy battalions were supposed to be armed and equipped in the regular manner, but this aside they were very much inferior.[15] One key problem, which was cited by their many detractors, was that as they were even more of a civil-military hybrid than the militia, the sebundies were only partly subject to martial law.

Contrary to all previous notions of isolating the revenue troops from the main army, commanding officers of sebundy battalions were appointed from amongst the junior officers of regular regiments, the necessity for having professional soldiers in charge having become obvious by this point. However, in many respects their situation was worse than that of their predecessors. Whereas the number of officers on regimental duty with a regular native infantry battalion might be in the region of ten or twelve, and probably less than half this number for the militia, the commander of a sebundy battalion was the only commissioned officer in control of a roughly equivalent number of sepoys. This poor ratio was exacerbated by the nature of the service. A report of August 1783 showed that of the 1,467 sepoys making up the militia units around Murshidabad, 253 were invalids and assigned to light duties, 481 were acting as field and cantonment guards, and the remainder were distributed on guard duty in parties of between twenty and fifty among the commercial factories. It would be quite impossible for one man to adequately supervise a battalion of sebundy, who were trained only 'to a certain Degree of discipline', if it was dispersed across the province in small detachments.[16] The result would be to throw yet more responsibility for the maintenance of discipline onto the shoulders of the junior NCOs, a recourse that had been shown previously not to be the solution, even with regular troops. Also, the inherent deficiencies of the sebundy corps were compounded by the unwillingness of the Military Board in Calcutta to supply them with adequate stores.

[15] 'Extract of Letter from the Governor General', 24 August 1795 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[16] 'Extract of Letter from the Governor General', 24 August 1795 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).

A case in point is the Murshidabad battalion, which in 1795 received barely one fifth of the military supplies it had requested.[17]

The reasoning behind the establishment of such a substandard force may also be traced back to a determination on the part of the Company to spend less money on what was perceived to be an inferior service. The sebundies were to be paid 'without … any extra allowance whatever', nor would they be entitled to the Invalid Thannah – the Company's pension scheme for its retired and invalid native soldiers.[18] Also, by only allowing one officer per battalion, and that a junior one, the Company saved a considerable sum in executive pay and allowances. This ill-advised thriftiness inevitably attracted the sort of recruits who might be expected to join a poorly paid and degraded service, and then allowed their commander insufficient means to create and maintain discipline in terms of regulations or reliable subordinates with which to impose them. The Company, through its efforts to glean more profit from the military-fiscal cycle, lurched from one poorly trained stopgap to the next. It is arguable that a neglected revenue service could not maintain the best possible environment of civil stability with that resultant economic growth which would allow the landholders of Bengal to flourish. Therefore, the Company, by spending less on its troops, also accumulated less revenue from a rural hinterland ravaged by *dacoity* (banditry), and in so doing ultimately undermined the object of the exercise. However, this was not the only consequence of that misguided policy, nor was it necessarily the most important one.

If a steady flow of territorial revenue can be seen as the lifeblood of the military-fiscal state, then its one essential requirement was an army capable of conquering and maintaining control of that revenue-bearing territory. A crucial factor in the capability of the Company's army to do this lay in the prestige of its regular regiments, which was both formed and perpetuated by professional discipline and resulting military success. This was reflected in the contemporary belief that the basis of British rule in India was essentially military, and, as British forces were disproportionately small in comparison with the population which they needed to control, the Company's power depended as 'much upon its reputation, as distinguished from its real force'. In 'Reflections on British Government, force, and

[17] 'Letter from G. Dowdeswell to C. Oldfield, 9 October 1795' in *West Bengal District Records: Murshidabad – letters received, 1789–1803* (Delhi, 1958), p. 224.
[18] 'Extract of Letter from the Governor General', 24 August 1795 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).

moral authority in India', D. G. Boyce has contended that '[I]t was not mere force that counted, but the authority behind it; force implied authority, and authority was strengthened and given credibility by force – by the fact that force represented the British state in India ...'.[19]

According to this thesis a professional army was the outward sign of a powerful and effective government. The Company's army, spread across the country in cantonments and garrisons, was a highly visible symbol of the Company's power, and anything which tarnished the reputation of that army, either in terms of conduct or appearance, would have a detrimental effect on the moral authority which was so central to the Company's rule. Furthermore, as Seema Alavi has observed, the army, by providing high-caste employment, constituted one of the few ideological bridges between the Company state and Indian society, and formed a major source of legitimacy for the regime.[20] While an apparent decline in the army's professional capability would make it less feared, so a degradation of the sepoy's status would erode the respect that had been accorded it by the population at large. In the light of both these considerations, the establishment of the 'substitute' revenue troops between 1766 and 1810 can be seen as prejudicial to indigenous perceptions of the army, and therefore damaging to the moral authority which sustained British rule in India.

The root cause of this can once again be identified as the attempt to cheat the military-fiscal system by neglecting military spending. The negative consequences of this scheme may not have been so potentially damaging but for the fact that little effort was made to render these substitute troops distinct from the regular army in the eyes of the civilian population. Indeed, this deception was fundamental to the scheme. As Warren Hastings declared in October 1783, 'They are cloathed with the Military Garb, and armed with firelocks of which they know but the practice common to the rest of the people, because these Engines of their occupation are found to command respect'.[21] Here is a clear example of the Company trading on the prestige of its regular regiments in order to augment the credibility of cheap imitations, and in so doing devaluing the priceless commodity which sustained its rule. The 'Engines' of the regular army's occupation, the uniform and equipment, commanded respect

[19] See D. George Boyce, 'From Assaye to the *Assaye*: reflections on British Government, force and moral authority in India' in *The Journal of Military History*, lxiii, 3 (July 1999), pp. 646-7.
[20] S. Alavi, *The sepoys and the Company: tradition and transition in northern India, 1770-1830* (Oxford, 1995), p. 1.
[21] 'Governor General's Minute', 2 October 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).

because they were identified with an army which had met with considerable success on the battlefields of India, at Plassey, Buxar and Assaye. Accordingly, the soldier inside the red coat was believed to be both highly professional and personally courageous. To clothe the revenue troops in the same uniform was to allow the civilian population to place the professional and the irregular on an equal footing. While it was useful to enhance the status of the revenue troops by bathing them in the reflected glory of the regular army, it must be remembered that the deception could cut both ways, and that the negative qualities of the revenue troops could in turn tarnish the reputation of the Company's army as a whole. After all, these were troops, who, by the nature of their employment in revenue collection and policing, would receive considerable public exposure. They were also the troops of whom Hastings had said 'they are not regular, they are not disciplined, they are not soldiers'.[22]

The defence cited by Hastings for the lamentable state of the militia was that they were not intended for regular service. The idea, he claimed, 'was never once entertained or suggested'.[23] This is irrelevant, since great harm lay in such troops looking like regular soldiers and representing the state. It is also untrue. At times of crisis, a government will use any force it can, and a large body of armed men, however poorly trained and led, would inevitably be drawn into active service during the struggle for the inheritance of the old Mughal supremacy, which was approaching its culmination at the turn of the nineteenth century. This was shown to be the case in 1803, during the Second Anglo-Maratha War, when the sebundy troops based at Etawah, Gorruckpore, Moradabad and Allahabad were ordered to defend the line of the river Jumna against enemy forces.[24] The term 'sebundy' was used during this period to describe all the revenue paramilitaries who operated in lieu of the regular army, although only the units formed under the plan of 1795 bore this as their official title. It originates in the Persian '*sihbandi*', *sih* meaning 'three', and signifies 'three monthly or quarterly payments'.[25] The far reaching effects on the public imagination of the Company's cheap substitutes can be seen in the fact that the meaning of the term changed during its passage into colloquial usage. It came to signify 'a sort of

[22] 'Governor General's Minute', 2 October 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[23] 'Governor General's Minute', 2 October 1783 (OIOC, F/4/8/709).
[24] 'Extract Military Letter from Bengal', 1 February 1804 (OIOC, F/4/174/3079).
[25] Col. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell [W. Crooke (ed)], *Hobson-Jobson: A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographic and discursive* (London, 1968, 2nd edition), p. 805.

militia, or imperfectly disciplined troops', quite distinct from its roots in the language of territorial revenue. As late as 1869 a corps of labourers raised at Darjeeling was denominated 'The Sebundy Corps of Sappers and Miners', despite the fact that they had no connection at all with the business of revenue collection.[26]

Even when the 'inefficient state' of the sebundy corps prompted its replacement by the 'provincial battalion' system in 1804, these alternative units were still far below the regular army in terms of training and administrative infrastructure.[27] However they did indicate the government's realisation of the need to break the cycle and raise a better quality unit for revenue service. Provincial battalion sepoys were entirely subject to martial law, and were rather better trained and organised than their predecessors. This was reflected in their monthly pay, which at five and-a-half rupees was rather more than that of a sebundy. The overall cost of the new force was projected at 31,833 rupees, nearly ten per cent more than the previous establishment.[28] The governor general, Richard Wellesley, believed that the increase was justified by the 'improved discipline and efficiency' which was to be expected of the reformed battalions, as, he observed, they were to be 'trained and disciplined by European Officers'.[29]

In spite of these improvements many fundamental issues remained unresolved. Any of the old sebundies who were 'willing and able to serve' were to be enlisted at once into the new battalions, bringing with them their previous experience of incompetence, corruption and lax discipline.[30] Although the pay was slightly improved, native officers and sepoys would still not be entitled to extra allowances or Company pensions, and, despite being of inferior quality, they were still to be clothed in a manner corresponding 'as nearly as possible with the uniforms of the regular Native Corps'.[31] The command structure was augmented by the presence of a second European officer to act as adjutant, and a European sergeant major. This remained an insufficient number of executive officers to supervise a battalion of sepoys, who were distributed piecemeal throughout the province, and a far smaller establishment than was allotted to regular regiments. However, despite these shortcomings, the *East*

[26] Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 805.
[27] 'Extract Military Letter from Bengal', 1 February 1804 (OIOC, F/4/173/3076).
[28] 'Extract Bengal Military Consultations', 25 August 1803 (OIOC, F/4/173/3076).
[29] 'Extract Bengal Military Consultations', 25 August 1803 (OIOC, F/4/173/3076).
[30] 'Extract Bengal Military Consultations', 25 August 1803 (OIOC, F/4/173/3076).
[31] 'Extract Bengal Military Consultations', 25 August 1803 (OIOC, F/4/173/3076).

India Register and Directory of 1810 shows that the last of the seven prototype provincial battalions was in service at Dhaka in that year.[32]

The evidence indicates that the corner had been turned as far as the Company's spending on the revenue service was concerned. After nearly forty years it had become clear that under spending ultimately yielded greater costs, and the provincial battalions were gradually brought to a par with the regular army and assimilated during the following decades.[33] During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, resentment within the Calcutta government at having to meet the expense of providing troops for menial revenue duties led to a process of experimentation with various cheap paramilitary substitutes. This system was intended to allow the Company a greater margin of profit from the military-fiscal system, since a considerable portion of the territorial revenue was consumed by its own vast military expenditure. However, rather than increasing the Company's share of the profit, these cutbacks actually stunted the development of its revenue-bearing territories, because they resulted in the creation of a service, which by definition could not sustain the social stability necessary to promote the best possible economic growth. Furthermore, the example of a degraded branch of the Company's armed forces also had the potential to jeopardise the moral authority which it drew from the prestige of its regular army, and which underpinned British rule in India. In both these senses the East India Company's policy for the management of its revenue troops between 1766 and 1810 can be seen as ill advised and ultimately self-defeating.

[32] *East India Company Register and Directory, 1810* (London, 1810, 2nd edition), p. 84.
[33] Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 805.

Culture and identity of the Indian community in Grenada, 1857-1960

Ron Sookram

Indentured labour from India was imported to Grenada with the anticipation that such labour would be cheaper and more easily controlled than the available emancipated Africans. Grenada imported 3,200 Indians as indentured labourers between 1857 and 1885.[1] At the termination of this labour scheme in 1890 the overwhelming majority of Indians remained in the colony, mainly as a result of the inefficiencies in the repatriation arrangements. Consequently, a permanent Indian community was established. The historical circumstances faced by this community effected a significant change in their identity. By the second half of the twentieth century Indians participated and identified with all cultural practices that were considered to be Grenadian to such an extent that a distinct cultural Indian identity was generally invisible. This article examines the question of culture and identity among the Indian community in Grenada during the period 1857 to 1960.

Prior to the arrival of Indians there had already been in existence a well-established Creole culture, born out of a history of African slavery and European colonial hegemony.[2] It was this Creole world which Indians first encountered when they were introduced into Grenada. Subsequently, they were gradually incorporated into mainstream Grenadian society as a reformulated Creole culture emerged during the second half of the twentieth century. The power relations which structured the Indians' engagement with Grenadian society meant that the Indian cultural formation was placed in a subordinate relationship with the dominant Creole formation. The cultural history of the Indians in Grenada shows that two aspects of a single process of cultural engagement were simultaneously in operation: (1) creolisation/trans-assimilation and (2) re-creation/cultural reformulation. The trans-assimilation process identified here was not a unidirectional one but was a process wherein cultural

[1] George Roberts and Joycelyn Byrne, 'Summary statistics on indenture and associated migration affecting the West Indies, 1834-1918' in *Population Studies*, xx, 1 (1966), p. 129.

[2] Creole culture is essentially the ways of life that have developed in the Americas specifically in those societies where plantations/colonialism have served as a dominant element in the social structure. Creolisation, is a cultural process which might be divided into two aspects of itself: acculturation, the absorption of one culture by another and 'interculturation', a more reciprocal and spontaneous process of enrichment and intermixture on both sides. For further information, see Kamau Brathwaite, *The development of Creole society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 290-305.

elements were transiting across boundaries that demarcated one cultural formation from the other. This transition was mediated by relations of power. In the end, trans-assimilation resulted in the production [re-creation] of a new [reformulated] Creole culture. This reformulated Creole culture carried within it elements from the various cultural formations engaged in the encounter. However, it bore a character that reflected the dominance of the cultural formation which held hegemony even while it mirrored elements of the subordinate cultural formation. The process was an extremely dynamic, dialectical, and ongoing one whereby the creolisation/trans-assimilation aspect took place simultaneously with the cultural re-creation/reformulation aspect. Ultimately, in the engagement of the process neither cultural formation was passive or static. Even the subordinate cultural formation was dynamically engaging the process, in spite of the fact that the reformulated Creole culture did not readily reflect significant elements drawn from it. The subordinate cultural formation was, therefore, not simply acted upon by the dominant group but the process was a two-way engagement which was governed by relations of power. As it turned out in Grenada, the creolisation/trans-assimilation phenomenon was more thorough, while re-creation/reformulation existed to a lesser extent. In the context of the creolisation/trans-assimilation process, as applied to the Indians in Grenada, a reformulated cultural matrix was re-created, producing a situation whereby the dominant Creole culture was able to easily sustain a relatively unchallenged hegemony over the Indian cultural formation to the extent that the Indians no longer display any particular loyalties to their former culture.[3]

As indentured labourers, Indians brought to Grenada fragmented cultural traits from their homeland. Their songs, languages, beliefs, values, music, arts and crafts and other cultural aspects were prevalent on the estates but these often came into sharp conflict with the dominant Creole Grenadian society. Consequently, the colonial government, in collaboration with the white ruling class of Grenada, implemented an assimilative framework through which the Indians were forced to shed all symbols of their ancestral culture by establishing the Association for the Instruction of Indian Immigrants in April 1864. This organisation functioned as the nucleus for implementing special strategies for Indian cultural transformation. The Association

[3] Ron Sookram, 'The history and culture of Indians in Grenada, 1857-2000' (PhD thesis, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, 2005), p. 97.

embraced all Christian religious denominations in Grenada and it was aimed mainly at making the Indians into Christians:

> The character of our Association may be understood that our principle of membership is so broad as to embrace all religious denominations. We have no connexion with any sect. All may come under our flag ... The immigrants finding themselves objects of competition, would stand out for a high price, and would thus be petted and spoiled; whereas, seeing us actuated by a disinterested desire that they should know the truth and they are quick enough to see this, our power over their conscience will be without any drawback ... Our object is neither to make the immigrants Roman Catholics nor Protestants, but to bring their souls in contact with the word of God ... to make them Christians ...[4]

The white ruling class of Grenada were Christians who attempted to impose their own cultural values on a subordinated and economically poor Indian minority. Thus, a conscious programme of deculturation was intimately linked with Christianisation. What was obvious about the assimilative framework that was formulated by Grenada's elite was the role that relations of power played in the process.

In Gramscian terms, it can be argued that the ruling class in Grenada was able to maintain hegemony by establishing a mode of consensus with those over whom it ruled.[5] This was achieved not only through the direct use of physical force, but by mechanisms of rule whereby the population came to accept the political, cultural, and moral values of the ruling class. It was through civil society, in institutions such as the church and school, that these ideas were transmitted to the subjected classes in society.[6] Simultaneously, the political society, that is the plantation administration, colonial police and army, and the legal system, existed in collaboration with the civil society. The political society functioned as the coercive power which, as Gramsci argued

> Legally enforces discipline on those groups or persons, who do not consent either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed.[7]

The Association for the Instruction of Indian Immigrants was responsible for providing the human and reading resources necessary for proselytising the Indians on the different estates. However, this organisation had collapsed by 1872 because of a lack of adequate instructors and funding. The colonial government was set on enforcing its deculturation policy so it applied to the Canadian Mission in Trinidad for help to run missions for the Indians in Grenada. Accordingly, the Mission to the East

[4] *St. George's Chronicle and Grenada Gazette*, 20 May 1865.
[5] Antonio Gramsci [Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, (trans and eds)], *Selections from the prison notebooks* (London, 1971), pp. 12-13.
[6] Gramsci, *Selections*, pp. 244-5.
[7] Gramsci, *Selections*, pp. 12-13.

Indian Immigrants was established in 1884 under the authority of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission Church.[8] This Mission had converted 165 Indians by 1891.[9]

Anglicanism was considered by the British as the official state religion of Grenada despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Grenadian population, particularly, Afro-Grenadians, were Roman Catholics. The French had ceded Grenada to the British in 1763 and subsequently the British embarked on an operation to culturally transform Grenada into a thoroughgoing English colony. This Anglicising process continued into the early twentieth century. For example, the names of towns, streets and parishes were anglicised. Also, attempts were made to weaken the influence of the Roman Catholic Church by omitting Catholic officials from the government and withdrawing government grants to the Church.[10] This anglicising drive was in full swing when the Indians were introduced into Grenada in 1857. It was not surprising, therefore, that the majority of Indians were to be found as members of the Anglican Church. In 1891, out of a total of 2,432 Indians in Grenada, 1,501 were Anglicans, 165 were Presbyterians and 185 Roman Catholics. There were 509 Hindus and seventy-two Muslims. In other words, within thirty-four years of their arrival seventy-six per cent of the Indian population had already converted to Christianity, the majority to Anglicanism.[11] In addition, the elementary schools established by the Anglican Church as well as the other denominations served as the primary bearers of the prescribed roles and dominant value-orientation of the Grenadian Creole world. They functioned as primary agencies in the creolisation/trans-assimilation of the Indian minority group.

It must be pointed out that integral to the anglicising process was the systematic efforts made by the British to get rid of the language spoken by the majority of the Grenadian population. The language spoken was a Creole produced out of the encounter between French and African dialects. Expressed along a continuum of usages, the version spoken by the ruling elite drew more heavily on French while that spoken by the slaves drew more heavily on the African dialects. The

[8] *St. George's Chronicle*, 10 May 1884. The Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia started the Presbyterian Mission among the Indians in the Caribbean in 1868. With Trinidad as a base, the mission was extended to Grenada, St. Lucia and British Guiana by 1885.
[9] *Census of Grenada*, 1891.
[10] Beverly Steele, *Grenada: A history of its people* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 66-94.
[11] *Census of Grenada*, 1891.

British colonists had always detested this language. This attitude is evident in the report of the Department of Education for 1868:

> The schools maintained in connection with the several religious bodies are generally well attended; the masters appear to be able and very diligent in their vocation, but are not nor can they be expected to be all fait at putting an end to the continued use of that most detestable lingo ycleped [sic] patois; and until parents can be induced to discontinue this irrational jargon, much advance towards a knowledge of the English language is not to be expected. Against this difficulty all in the community should strive resolutely - for by it the very administration or justice and operations of law are seriously affected; the teachings of religion and the admonitions of the magistrate are alike rendered of no effect from being conveyed in a language, where no meaning attaches to the sounds by which they are conveyed to the senses.[12]

In June 1882 the President of the Board of Education, E. K. Moylan, attempted to encourage the speaking of English in schools, and the abandoning of the 'barbarous jargon called patios so much spoken in Grenada, which was neither French nor Spanish, and which was as unintelligible to a Frenchman as it was to an Englishman.'[13] Moylan moved that the following by-laws be adopted: (1) that all managers of assisted schools under the Education Ordinance 1882 must be English subjects, and able to speak and write English; (2) that no assistance be granted to any school unless the manager of such school possessed the qualifications described in (1) above; (3) that the Inspector of schools be directed to report to the Board schools where the master, manager, or other person connected with the school in any way encourages the use of patios among the pupils; (4) that with a view of discouraging the use of patios, the Board reduce or disallow the grants in all such cases. Moylan added that 'so long as a man could only speak patios it was impossible for him to rise above the position of a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water.'[14]

However, the majority of Grenadians continued to speak French patios up to the 1920s.[15] The daily interaction between Indians and Africans led the Indians to adopt this language as their main mode of communication. Nevertheless, by the 1950s English had replaced French patios as the main language of communication. Clearly, this was indicative of the emergence of a reformulated Creole formation which, driven by the hegemonic power, was creating a common platform for communication between Indians and Africans. What was happening with language was also happening across the entire cultural spectrum, but much to the disadvantage of the

[12] Department of Education, *Annual Report 1868*, p. 21.
[13] Department of Education, *Annual Report 1882*, p. 11.
[14] Department of Education, *Annual Report 1882*, pp. 12-14.
[15] Steele, *Grenada*, p. 200.

Indian cultural formation which, locked in a position of subordination, assumed a defensive posture as Indians were drawn further into the reformulated cultural formation with limited cultural supports. With the early proselytising by the Christian churches and the constant attempts made by the ruling class to culturally transform the Indians, one would expect a speedy process of cultural negation to have taken place. This was an integral consequence of the historical relationship which Indians were forced into with Grenadian society. However, the evidence will point to the fact that while there was a rapid process of creolisation/trans-assimilation, there was also, simultaneously, a process of cultural re-creation/reformulation. The survival of certain traditional Indian cultural/religious ceremonies is a testimony to cultural re-creation/reformulation among the Indians despite the existence of powerful forces of integration.

The Muharram, or Hosay festival, was observed sporadically in Grenada from the late 1850s to the 1930s. In fact, Hosay had emerged as the most important and spectacular festival of the Indian Diaspora in the nineteenth century that was jointly celebrated by Hindus and Muslims. The plantation labour regime provided an overarching commonality of experience irrespective of inherited differences of creed and caste to the Indian immigrants. According to Mohapatra, the primary identity of Indian immigrants in the plantation setting remained that of 'coolie', nominally meaning an unskilled wage labourer but in fact a pejorative racial appellation for all Indians. Additionally, the structure of Hosay and the procession presented an adequate frame for expression of community aspirations of the Indian immigrants and their descendants. Moreover, most Indian immigrants were from northern India where Muharram was a popular public festival and were thus familiar with the rituals and observances associated with it. The festival and the procession incorporated a spectrum of practices, which allowed for participation by all the Indian immigrants irrespective of caste and religious affiliations.[16]

[16] Prabhu P. Mohapatra, 'The politics of representation in the Indian labour diaspora: West Indies, 1880-1920' *Archives of Indian Labour* (2003), www.indialabourarchives.org/publications/prabhu2, 20 April 2006. Hosay, Muharram tadjah or Hussay was in the nineteenth century celebrated on the first ten days of the first Islamic month of Muharram or twelve new moons after the last celebration (the Islamic calendar was lunar, with alternating months of thirty and twenty-nine days). The festival commemorated the death of the Prophets' grandsons Hassan and Hosein.

As was to be expected, this festival was frequently observed in the early years of the Indians' presence in Grenada when the proselytising by the Christian churches and other forces hostile to Indian traditions had not yet taken full effect:

> The coolies have had their usual annual demonstration of the Hosse. It has not been a grand affair, but, the few concerned in the arrangement of the show in St. George's seem to have been zealous and earnest. In such places as Trinidad and Demerara-where the coolie population is something to reckon-this rite of the Mahommedan coolies is, generally, celebrated with much stir, and at no small expense.[17]

It has been claimed that the last Hosay procession was held in the parish of St. Andrew's in the 1930s but was stopped by the police.[18] It is proposed here that the Hosay celebrations which were observed in the public domain were an attempt by Indians to claim their cultural presence/space in Grenada. As cultural integration became increasingly prevalent among the Indian population during the twentieth century this festival was not observed regularly and eventually completely disappeared after the 1930s. The complete disappearance of this festival in Grenada is an indication of the extent to which Indians had been distanced from their earlier traditions and identity.

There were other Indian traditions that withstood the test of time. In the 1950s there was an Indian orchestra that played Indian music accompanied by Indian dances in the parish of St. Patrick's, where there was a concentration of Indians.[19] Although data points to only Christian marriages among the Indian community it is not unlikely that during the period of indenture traditional Indian marriages might have taken place. However, arranged marriages continued to be practised in Grenada up to the 1930s under Christian rites.[20] The Indians were also able to maintain a number of their traditional foods and methods of cooking. These various Indian cultural items that survived reinforces the argument that there was a dual process of cultural engagement within the Indian community and implies that the colonial government was not completely effective in compelling the Indian population to forfeit all its traditions.

There was a general absence of Indian organisations in Grenada before the 1950s. In 1954, however, Fredrick Mirjah formed the Grenada East Indian Cultural

[17] *St. George's Chronicle*, 3 March 1877.
[18] Kumar Mahabir, 'East Indians in Grenada: A study in absorption' in Bahadur Singh (ed), *The other India: Indians in the Caribbean* (New Delhi, 1987), p. 381.
[19] Mahabir, 'East Indians in Grenada', p. 383.
[20] Sookram, 'History and culture of Indians', pp. 122-25.

Association.[21] The main purpose of this organisation was to stimulate and develop an Indian cultural consciousness among Indians and the wider society. A representative of the Association was found in each village that was predominantly Indian and that representative was responsible for mobilising the Indians to participate in activities organized by the Association. Events such as centenary celebrations of the Indian's presence in May 1957 and processions marking the observance of India's independence were arranged by this organisation. These activities might have created a sense of Indian consciousness in Grenada but the Association was short-lived for a number of reasons. Key officers either migrated or died. Further, the Indians were not enthusiastic and committed to the Association, which, in turn, led to a high level of inconsistency in its operations. The fundamental reason for its collapse stemmed from the attitude of the vast majority of Indians in Grenada who considered such organisations as unnecessary.[22] Such an attitude reflected the large degree of cultural transformation among this group. As a minority group they were, therefore, made more susceptible to the cultural influences of the wider society at all levels.

In addition to the role played by the government and Christian religious denomination in their policy to culturally transform the Indian community, there were other factors which also determined the nature of cultural engagement of Indians in Grenada. The duration of the indenture period and the size of the Indian population directly effected the cultural process. The indenture system functioned for only thirty-three years in Grenada (1857-1890) and only 3,200 Indian labourers were imported. As a result Grenada did not experience the constantly increasing influx of new Indian immigrants as was the case in Trinidad and Guyana where the importation of such labourers continued until 1917. During the period 1845-1917 Trinidad imported 143,939 Indian labourers while Guyana imported 238,909.[23] With each shipment of labourers the cultural vivacity of the Indian community in these countries was replenished. The situation was completely different in Grenada. Consequently, there was a very early break in the communication between Indians in Grenada and India, the motherland, which in turn contributed towards the rapid decline of the traditional

[21] Sookram, 'History and culture of Indians', p. 137. Interview with Louis Nyack, daughter of Fredrick Mirjah, who was a founding member of the Grenada East Indian Cultural Association (1 March and 24 July 2001); Interview with Verda Benjamin, secretary of the Grenada East Indian Cultural Association (1 March 2001).
[22] Three members of the executive of this Association, Louis Nyack, Verda Benjamin and Osbert Benjamin, expressed this view in an interview with the author on 1 March 2001.
[23] Roberts and Byrne, 'Summary statistics on indenture', p. 129.

culture. The higher the frequency of arrival and the larger their number, the better able they would have been to resist the cultural power of the wider society. In addition, the small size and low density of the population of Indians, combined with other host factors, contributed towards their cultural integration. It is reasonable to suggest that if the density of the Indian population was higher, there would have been a greater possibility of resisting the proselytising activities of the Christian churches and other social agencies of cultural oppression in Grenada. The geographical size of Grenada (133 square miles) did not permit the establishment of Indian communities that were isolated from the wider society. Indians in Grenada could not have avoided daily interactions with the larger Black population who had already adopted most of the Euro-centric Christian customs. Compared to the relatively large size of Trinidad (1,980 square miles) where Indian communities developed in relative isolation and were able to establish a base of resistance against the cultural dominance of the wider society, a similar option was not available to the Indians in Grenada. Thus the geographical size of Grenada facilitated the cultural integration of Indians.

In analysing the cultural history of the Indian population one must also take into account that an Indian middle class never developed in Grenada, unlike in Trinidad and Guyana where this class was in formation even during the period of indenture, and consolidated its position through maintaining its linkages with the mass of the Indian population serving as its socio-cultural/ethnic base.[24] From this base it contested the hegemony of the dominant classes in society, even while its principal concerns were to secure its own class interests. In Grenada the emergence of Indian middle class elements came at a time when the social system had already established the terms of their incorporation within the Grenadian mainstream: essentially, as persons devoid of Indian cultural supports. As a consequence, the Indians who were drawn into the middle class in Grenada had limited cultural supports from their ethnic base.

The combination of adverse factors, all working simultaneously, meant that the re-creation/reformulation aspect of cultural engagement was always an uphill task for Indians in Grenada, considering that even the maintenance of their already small

[24] See Clem Seecharan, *'Tiger in the stars': The anatomy of Indian achievement in British Guiana, 1919-29* (London, 1997), pp. 231-309; Bridget Brereton, 'Social organisation and class, racial and cultural conflict in nineteenth century Trinidad' in Kevin A. Yelvington (ed), *Trinidad ethnicity* (London, 1993), pp. 33-55.

numbers was under constant threat. In such a situation, Indians, as a group, were deficient in their level of cultural confidence. The active practice of one's culture results in the establishment of a cultural presence and serves to define a people. The strength of one's cultural presence is a great aid in strengthening the significance of the group in any particular space, time or condition. In fact, cultural practice is also a tool for negotiating space. Due to the factors discussed above, Indians in Grenada were offered little room for cultural manoeuvre and many Indians in Grenada today have had little acquaintance with Indian customs and activities. As a result they are quick to refrain from participation in such activities. The following statement by Joseph Lalite, a Grenadian Indian graduate and schoolteacher, illustrates this situation:

> There is so much about my traditional Indian culture that I don't know. As a boy my grandmother sang Hindi songs, but we never saw it as important. If we had learnt them where would we use it, I saw it as having no place.[25]

The sentiments expressed above are an indication of the relatively unchallenged sway of the creolisation/trans-assimilation process in generally eliminating ethnic, social and cultural peculiarities among the Indians. While they resisted and thus re-created/reformulated a few traditional cultural elements, it seemed that accommodation became the dominant mode of engagement employed by the Indians. Understandably, by the second half of the twentieth century the overwhelming majority of Indians in Grenada were fully integrated into the reformulated Grenadian Creole culture. In 1960, out of a total Indian population of 3,769, there were only eight Hindus, six Muslims and twelve persons who were not members of any particular religion. However, 3,743, or just over ninety-nine per cent of the Indian population, were Christians.[26]

This process of cultural integration facilitated a new interactive platform for communication between Indo and Afro-Grenadians on terms which did not previously exist. This common cultural platform intensified during the twentieth century and brought both races closer. The participation and identification of Indians with Grenadian culture served as the impetus for their significant involvement in the political process of the island after 1951 when radical constitutional changes were introduced in Grenada and the other Windward Islands, and which opened up the

[25] Interview with Joseph Lalite (26 July 2001).
[26] *Census of Grenada*, 1960.

political system to all Grenadians.[27] The inclusion of Indians in popular party elections enhanced their prominence in the mainstream of national politics and this gave a greater momentum to their engagement with Grenadian society, even at the highest level. Their involvement was not based on race nor did the Indian politicians derive any political mileage from these developments. In fact, the small Indo-Grenadian population mitigated the significance of race as a political issue. Their acceptance into these political parties, and their election by the Grenadian people, clearly indicated the level of Indians' inclusion into Grenada's society.

In Grenada, Indian culture is often not represented at the national level. While it is true that a few Indian items, like food, music and dance are visible, most aspects of Indian life are not given any recognition. One reason for such an attitude by Grenadian governments over the years might well have been because little effort was made by Indians themselves in advocating the promotion of the elements of their culture that have survived. Further, most Indians did not consider themselves as culturally Indian but as Grenadian. From this perspective there seemed no purpose in preserving customs that were traditionally Indian. Consequently, there is an extensive degree of cultural negation among the Indian population. Indians identify with all festivals and ceremonies that are labelled as Grenadian, even while they continue to turn away from those traditions which constitute an integral part of the Indian cultural heritage of Grenada.

[27] Coleridge Harris, 'The constitutional history of the Windwards' in *Caribbean Quarterly*, 6 (1960), pp. 160-76.

Guilds in Irish Towns, 1450–1534

Kieran Hoare

Any study of the evolution of Irish towns in the later middle ages needs to assess the impact of guild organisation, or lack thereof, on their development. During this period groups of townspeople across Europe, particularly those involved with trades, interacted with their municipal authorities and consumers through guild structures. Within each trade guild regulations were set down governing admittance, training and, most importantly, the conduct of business. Thus, guilds were important to their municipal authorities for a number of reasons. Firstly, they could be utilised to regulate trade and the quality of products being sold in the town. Secondly, they could be used to regulate who was coming into different trades in the town. Finally, guild organisations provided a mechanism to resolve disputes within trades and therefore promote good governance. Guilds wanted as much autonomy as possible from the municipal authorities or corporations, but looked to the corporation for good governance of the market generally and also to regulate against non-townspeople trading against them. At the heart of this complex and multi-faceted relationship was what Gervasse Rosser termed 'the negotiation of work in the medieval town'.[1]

The period 1450–1534 saw the emergence of strong urban oligarchies in the larger towns of Ireland. How these oligarchies came to control the corporations depended to a large extent on how they interacted with royal government, which controlled overseas trade, the legislature and the administration of customs, the local magnates who controlled the hinterlands that the towns depended on for markets and produce, and the other townspeople, with guilds forming an important and influential section. As such, the organisation and operation of trade guilds in Irish towns forms an important element in this wider study. This paper will not deal with the many religious guilds which emerged at this time. While these religious guilds and chantries are important to any study of pre-reformation piety, and many trade guilds had a substantial religious element in their organisation, religious guilds did not have the same impact on town government that trade guilds did.

[1] Gervasse Rosser, 'Crafts, guilds and the negotiation of work in the medieval town', *Past and Present*, 154 (1997), pp. 3-31.

The usual caveat for any aspect of the study of medieval Ireland is especially true for the craft guilds; sources are scarce. For Dublin, the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office of Ireland, H. F. Berry, was highly efficient in identifying and acquiring guild archives and bringing them into the Four Courts before his death in 1905. Unfortunately, these records perished in the Four Courts explosion of 1922. What remains from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are a very welcome but small selection of records.[2] There are no written records of guilds which existed outside of Dublin.

From the nineteenth century until recently, the study of craft guilds has been predominantly concerned with the official organisations of master-craftsmen, known variously as crafts, *Zünfte*, *metiers* or *arti* in medieval sources, but now all classed together as 'craft guilds'.[3] Brentano's essay, included in the preface to Toulmin Smith's 1870 *English gilds*, had at its heart the thesis that 'gilds had everywhere been an instrument of class struggle'. This message was lost in the deluge of charters and ordinances published by Toulmin Smith and later Charles Gross. By 1929 E. Lipson was positing a neat model where master craftsmen bought raw material direct from the producer and sold finished goods direct to the consumer. According to Lipson the hall-marks of guild organisation were industrial monopolies and exclusiveness.[4] It is instructive to examine the direction in which the historiographical debate on craft guilds in England has moved in recent years. Because of the amount of charters, ordinances and other evidence of 'craft guild' activity there was a perception that the concept of 'work' in medieval towns was relatively straightforward, 'that it simply happened'. The extensive statutes of municipal authorities and craft guilds in later medieval English towns created an illusion of coherence, comprehensiveness and communal organisation which is at odds with what has been widely accepted by historians about work and the workforce in towns at this time. As Gervasse Rosser put

[2] These include the work of antiquarians like Monck Mason and J. T. Gilbert, a fine series of articles in the *Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquities of Ireland* by H. F. Berry and the transcriptions of H. S. Guinness at the National Archives of Ireland.
[3] Sylvia Thrupp attributed the term to F. J. Furnival, who assisted Brentano in the translation of his ground-breaking essay on the subject. Thrupp noted that Furnival 'was fond of compounding eccentric terms of his own'. Sylvia Thrupp, 'Medieval Guilds Reconsidered' in *Journal of Economic History*, 2 (1942), p. 165.
[4] E. Lipson, *The economic history of England* (London, 1929), p. 374.

it 'the clarity of their definition has left the more complex experience of the majority of medieval urban workers out of focus'.[5]

A second strand of historiographical debate on guilds in England, not unrelated to the first, centres on the role craft guilds played as agencies of urban government, acting as an 'industrial police' for municipal authorities.[6] In her recent work on medieval British towns, Heather Swanson commented that no craft guilds in Britain and Ireland, apart from those in London, could form the 'platform of opposition to oligarchy that existed in continental cities'.[7] Swanson argued persuasively that the proto-guild system of the thirteenth century, dominated as it was by the Guild Merchant, was adapted in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by municipal authorities to control sections of the towns. An English statute of 1437 made the registration of craft ordinances before municipal authorities compulsory, and regulations had to come before the mayor and council for scrutiny, with the power to 'amende, correct and reforme it and every parcel thereof at his pleiser'.[8] She concluded that it is more helpful to view craft guilds 'as vehicles of civic administration rather than as organisations for industrial protectionism'.[9] This view was reinforced by Richard Britnell in his recent survey of the economy and society of Britain and Ireland. He noted that in the immediate aftermath of the Black Death the regulation of labour 'became a major concern of the employing classes'. He noted that the English Ordinance of Labourers was put into operation in Ireland very quickly. Maria Kelly noted that in August 1349 the justiciar ordered the Mayor and bailiffs of Dublin 'to proclaim publicly and cause the observance there of the provisions of the Statutes of Labourers and Servants'. The order was extended to the entire lordship in a Great Council at Kilkenny in 1351, and the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366 threatened judicial sanctions against any labourer who refused what was termed 'a reasonable maintenance'.[10] Britnell echoed Swanson in his conclusion that, against this backdrop

[5] Rosser, 'Craft, guilds and the negotiation of work', p. 5.
[6] Heather Swanson, *Medieval artisans: An urban class in medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), p. 8; E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: towns, commerce and crafts, 1086–1348* (London, 1995), pp. 368–9.
[7] Heather Swanson, *Medieval British towns* (London, 1999), pp. 96-7.
[8] Swanson, *Medieval artisans*, p. 117.
[9] Swanson, *Medieval British towns*, pp. 98-9.
[10] R. Britnell, *Britain and Ireland, 1050 – 1530: Economy and society* (Oxford, 2004), p. 357; M. Kelly, *A history of the Black Death in Ireland* (Stroud, 2001), p. 99; J. T. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin* [herein *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*] (Dublin, 1899-1911), ii, 132-5; *Early statutes:*

of attempted wage constraint in the later fourteenth century, guilds as they were constituted were not there primarily to protect their own interests against consumers and other crafts, but 'were usually rightly constrained by town councils, who vetted their rules and supervised their operations'.[11]

There are many similarities in the historiographical debate on guilds in both England and Ireland. J. T. Gilbert's extensive transcription of sources from municipal authorities yielded much evidence, and, as alluded to already, this work was augmented by a series of fine articles by H. F. Berry and H. S. Guinness in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.[12] The publication of John J. Webb's *The guilds of Dublin* in 1929 was another valuable contribution. These works tended to emphasise the exclusiveness of the guild system, a means of strengthening monopolies and trade activities within towns. The work of Myles Ronan, George Clune and, most recently, Colm Lennon, on religious guilds further illuminated aspects of trade involvement in these fraternities.[13] Mary Clark and Ray Refaussé's *Directory of historic Dublin guilds* provided a wealth of information on the guilds themselves as well as archival and printed sources.[14] With the honourable exception of Robert Herbert's article on the trade guilds of Limerick in the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* in 1941, there has been no study of guilds outside Dublin. Furthermore, the historiographical debate has not moved on from the early twentieth century view of craft guilds as exclusive proto-trade unions. No attempt, outside of the recent broad surveys of Britain and Ireland, has been made to place the growth of craft guilds in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries within the context of the growing commercialisation of Irish society in the later middle ages. Craft guilds have not been examined within the context of the growth of oligarchical power on municipal authorities and the dramatic improvement in trading for Ireland in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

John – Henry V, 374-396; J. A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327 – 1399' in A. Cosgrove (ed), *A new history of Ireland: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1987), ii, p. 382.

[11] Britnell, *Britain and Ireland*, p. 358; Swanson, *Medieval artisans*, pp. 107-20.

[12] Most notably, Gilbert, *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*; J. T. Gilbert, 'Archives of the town of Galway – Queen's College Galway', in Historical Manuscripts Commission, [herein HMC] *10th Report* (London, 1885), pp. 380–520; J. T. Gilbert, 'Archives of the municipal Corporation of Waterford', in HMC, *10th Report*, pp. 265–339.

[13] Myles Ronan, 'Religious customs of Dublin medieval guilds' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th Series, 26 (1925), pp. 225–47, pp. 364–85; George Clune, *The medieval gild system* (Dublin, 1943); Colm Lennon, 'The foundation charter of St. Sythe's Dublin, 1476' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 38 (1993); Colm Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of the Reformation* (Dublin, 1989).

[14] Mary Clark and Ray Refaussé, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds* (Dublin, 1993).

The early development of guilds in Ireland saw them evolve in self-governing boroughs in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, where they were known as the Merchant Guild. The role of these early guilds was to secure the control of trade in a town to guild members, and as the liberties of towns increased so too did the powers of the Merchant Guild. The earliest known guild in Ireland was the Dublin Merchant Guild. Their rules, authorised by King John in 1192, stated that outside merchants had to buy grain, leather and wool only from citizens, that outsiders could not retail clothes in the city and that no outside merchant could trade for more than forty days at a time.[15] These rights were very similar to the burgage rights associated with town liberties, and in the course of the thirteenth century these rights were granted to the town of Dublin, as well as Drogheda, Cork, Limerick and Waterford. One of the charter rights given to each town was the right to have *gildas* in the same manner as the town of Bristol. Dublin, for example, developed an administrative apparatus independent of the Merchant Guild in 1229 with a mayor and council of twenty-four. The only record of a Merchant Guild in the thirteenth century comes from Dublin. Its membership roll from this time shows not only merchants but many of the trades enrolled as members. This tied in with the experience in other towns in England and Wales, where there was one guild, with all craftsmen who traded included among the members. It would appear that in the thirteenth century the Guild had a hall in Winetavern Street in Dublin. In 1282 Robert Willeby received a grant to build on the stone wall of the Guildhall by the Corporation, and in 1311 the Council granted Robert de Bristol all the tenements where the old Guildhall stood in Taverner's Street.[16] It is probable that if guilds did exist outside of Dublin they were merchant guilds, and that they were closely identified with the corporation of that town, as was the case in Dublin. It is likely that the guild structure, as it was in the thirteenth century, was closely allied to the trading rights received by the municipal authorities through royal grants. It is also clear that the Merchant Guild of the thirteenth century was very different from the guild organisation which operated in Dublin in the later fifteenth century.

There is no evidence relating to the activities of the Merchant Guild in Dublin during the 1300s. The most important record extant is a charter of incorporation

[15] C. Gross, *The gild merchant* (London, 1890), p. 105; Britnell, *Britain and Ireland*, p. 148.

[16] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*, i, 106, 109; J. J. Webb, *The guilds of Dublin* (Dublin, 1929), p. 13.

granted to them in 1451. This was apparently an addition to an earlier grant given to the Guild in Henry V's reign, and referred to by the register of the Guild from 1438 when Ralph Pembroke and John Kylberry were masters, and David Blake and Edward Waters were wardens.[17] The 1451 Charter allowed the Guild to restore the guild in honour of the Holy Trinity, already established in a chapel in what is now Christ Church. Men and women were to have perpetual succession to the Guild and they had the power to choose from among themselves two masters and two wardens annually to regulate and govern the guild. They had the right to hold lands. It was also granted that no foreigner (person from outside the town) could buy or sell in the city unless to merchants of a guild. Should this be contravened then the Guild could have the foreigner arrested by the Corporation and placed in the city gaol.[18] The Merchant Guild was not the only craft guild operating in fifteenth-century Dublin. The Bakers received a charter in 1478 and their guild chantry was dedicated to St. Anne, and situated in the church of St. Mary del Dam. As well as the lord deputy and other royal officials, the Abbot of St. Mary's near Dublin and the mayor, there were twenty-six names listed as guild members in the charter.[19] The Barber Surgeons received a royal charter in 1446.[20] Butchers, although they did not receive a known royal charter until 1569, operated in the city throughout the fifteenth century.[21] A guild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers was established in 1508, with fifteen tradesmen named in the charter, including two O'Tooles and one O'Byrne as masons.[22] Interestingly, one of those named in the charter, carpenter Nicholas Talbott, was admitted by special grace as a freeman of Dublin in Michaelmas Term, 1476, and was Master of the Guild in 1513.[23] A Guild of Cooks and Vintners was founded in 1444 with ten members outside of the honorary ones, and a Guild of Glovers and Skinners (also known as Fellmongers) received a royal charter in 1476, with nine members.[24]

[17] Trades Association [herein TA], 1430 (National Archives of Ireland [herein NAI]).
[18] MSS 78-9 (Dublin City Library and Archives, Gilbert Library); Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, pp. 14-16.
[19] MS 680 (National Library of Ireland, ff. 166-175); TA, 1453 (NAI); Clark and Refaussé, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds*, p. 15.
[20] TA, 1452 (NAI).
[21] Clark and Refaussé, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds*, p. 17.
[22] TA, 1435 (NAI); 'The Dublin Gild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers, in the sixteenth century', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* [herein *JRSAI*], 35 (1905), p. 324.
[23] TA, 1416, 1434 (NAI).
[24] TA, 1437; 1440 (NAI).

A Guild of Goldsmiths operated prior to 1557 when they were re-granted a charter by Dublin Corporation, although no date was given for the original charter. Goldsmiths were noted throughout the fifteenth century, with five goldsmiths admitted as freemen in the period 1468–1485.[25] Shoemakers, also known as cordwainers, formed a guild in 1465, and a guild of Smiths was formed in 1474, with ten ordinary members.[26] Tailors received no less than four charters in 1418, 1419, 1437 and 1464, although they claimed that an earlier charter of 1207 gave them guild status.[27] Weavers received a charter in 1446.[28] In all there were ten craft guilds in Dublin which received royal charters during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The list of admissions of freemen to Dublin Corporation between 1469 and 1485 included thirty-six occupations, excluding honorary admissions, as well as gentlemen, husbandmen and yeomen. A record of the order of pageant for the Feast of Corpus Christi dated to 1498 noted twenty-eight professions.[29]

Maurice Lenihan's *Limerick; its history and antiquities* claimed that the Barber Surgeon's Guild of St. Mary Magdalene was founded in Limerick city in 1470. Robert Herbert, writing in 1941, noted that Lenihan's only evidence for this was a seal which Herbert believed was related to the Dublin Guild of Barbers. Herbert argued that there was nothing about the seal that suggested an association with Limerick.[30] Indeed, the only evidence of organised guild activity in Limerick, and Cork, dates from the seventeenth century. However, there is evidence of wealthy merchants, including Philip Gould, founding a chantry college in Christ Church Lane in Cork city in 1483.[31] A landgable rent dating to 1453 shows over ten per cent of the property of Cork city in the hands of nine families. Kenneth Nicholls noted that while this oligarchy was fiercely protective of their own rights, the first mention of craft guilds in the town does not occur until 1651.[32]

Guilds for weavers and shoemakers were established by Waterford Corporation in 1485-6. The weavers grant is instructive. On the petition of Robart

[25] TA, 1442 (NAI); H. F. Berry, 'The Goldsmiths Company of Dublin' in *JRSAI*, 31 (1901), p. 120.
[26] TA, 1435; 1432 (NAI); H. F. Berry, *Statute Rolls, Ireland, 1 to 12 Edw. IV* (Dublin, 1910), p. 330.
[27] TA, 1431 (NAI).
[28] TA, 1441 (NAI).
[29] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*, i, 239.
[30] Robert Herbert, 'The trade guilds of Limerick' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 2 (1941), p. 123.
[31] Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses, Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 359; H. A. Jefferies, *Cork: historical perspectives* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 74-5.
[32] *Cork Examiner*, 6 March 1985.

Brothre, John Nongle, Teyg Caroll and Thomas Cottrell on behalf of all the weavers in the city and suburbs, it was granted that they could elect two masters yearly to govern their brethren. They could judge all disputes among weavers but were under the supervision of the Mayor and Council. It was also ordained that they could not charge more for their work than before, and they had a chapel dedicated to Saint Martin in the Trinity Church in the city. A similar grant, on the petition of John Poer, Teig Breack and Thomas Flwyn, was also given to shoemakers, noting that their prices would be fixed by the municipal authority based on the price of a dycker of hides coming to market, and their chapel in Trinity Church was dedicated to St. Blase.[33] It is perhaps no surprise then, that in his 1571 report on Ireland, Edward Tremayne found Ireland generally short of 'artificers' apart from 'Waterford and the country about that be verie diligent working of their milles'.[34] There is no evidence of craft guilds in Galway, Kilkenny, Drogheda or elsewhere. In reality then, outside of Dublin, and to a lesser extent Waterford, there is no evidence of organised guilds similar to the English urban model, apart from the merchant guild. Indeed, an instructive comparison may be drawn between Scotland and towns such as Galway, Limerick, Cork and Drogheda. In Scotland craft and trade regulations were primarily a matter for the court of merchant guilds, with no attempt made to differentiate between merchants and artisans, and all were predominantly independent traders. Merchant guilds in Scottish towns were essentially an extension of municipal authority, protecting the burgh's trading rights and enforcing regulations.[35]

One key concern of municipal authorities was the regulation of trade among the crafts and the quality of goods they were producing for the consumer. It was generally easier to regulate the production of manufactured goods than the victualling trades. A meeting of Dublin Corporation at Michaelmas 1451 ordered that the wives of fishermen could not sell fish at the market unless it had been purchased at the seaside. A similar ordinance against the wives of butchers and the sale of meat was also enacted. In the following session, Hilary 1451-2, shoemaker Richard Cowpland was fined 100*s*. for re-selling corn to regrators.[36] The fact that the ordinances were re-

[33] Gilbert, 'Municipal archives of Waterford', HMC, *10th Report*, pp. 319-320. A dycker consisted of twelve hides.
[34] Edward Tremayne, 'Notes for the Reformation of Ireland', June 1571, (Public Records Office [herein PRO], SP63/32/66).
[35] Britnell, *Britain and Ireland*, p. 358.
[36] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*, i, 274-5.

enacted in 1456 suggests that the practice continued.[37] In 1485-6 Waterford Corporation ordained that the butchers operating in the city's shambles (meat market) were the only ones authorized to purchase 'rudders' (hornless cattle) out of the country, that they could only supply townspeople, and that they could only charge one or two pennies for the cutting up of each cow.[38] In 1505 Galway Corporation enacted an ordinance that only freemen of the town were entitled to sell bread, single ale or honeyed ale in the town, and that it could only be done under licence. There was a fine of 12*d*. for breaking these laws.[39] In 1507 it was ordered that no butcher could sell meat at the shambles unless it was of good quality and certified by the officers of the Corporation as such.[40] These examples of ordinances and statutes issued by the municipal authorities at this time indicate that the issue of trade regulation and quality of produce was clearly of importance to them.

Another area of concern for the municipal authorities in Irish towns was the admission of freemen to the town. As much as possible the corporations sought to vet who was coming into trades in their town, as well as ensuring that Crown ordinances were observed. This was occurring in the context of a decline in the number of people deemed suitable to serve on the corporations. Gearóid Mac Niocaill summarised the situation as follows:

> what is being suggested is that towards the end of the middle ages, the Irish town was suffering from a population crisis, not necessarily in the form of falling population at this period, but perhaps stagnation after a fall at an earlier period, which rendered difficult the recruitment of a governing class within the town ...[41]

On 24 June 1448 Dublin Corporation ordained that no man with the right to the liberties of Dublin should be refused admission to the Corpoation 'provided he be of free condition and not of the Irish nation'.[42] This ordinance was followed up by a much sterner decree of 1454 which ordered the expulsion of all people of Irish blood from the city. This ordinance also included an order that no Irish apprentices or servants could be taken on by any freeman of Dublin. There was a fine of 40*s*. for

[37] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*, i, 293.
[38] Gilbert, 'Municipal archives of Waterford', p. 319.
[39] Gilbert, 'Archives of the town of Galway', HMC *10th Report*, p. 392; *Liber A* (James Hardiman Library, NUI Galway, LA1/1, f 11*b*).
[40] Gilbert, 'Archives of the Town of Galway', p. 393; *Liber A* (James Hardiman Library, NUI Galway, LA1/1, f 13).
[41] Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Socio-economic problems of the medieval Irish town', in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *The town in Ireland* (Dublin, 1981), pp. 20-1.
[42] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub*, i, p. 272.

each infringement.[43] In Waterford in 1459-60 it was ordered that no man of Irish blood be given the freedom of the city unless he first had the freedom and liberty of the King.[44] While there was no express order in the Galway Corporation records against the admission of Irishmen, there were prohibitions against the sale of boats to Irishmen, or the material to make boats and weapons, in 1516-17.[45] There was also, in 1500, a very detailed explanation as to why goldsmith Donill Ovolloghan was allowed to practice his trade and be a freeman of Galway so that he could look after his infirm father-in-law.[46] It can be inferred that this detailed explanation was necessary to counter any complaint that the Corporation allowed someone of Irish blood into the freedom of the town.

One of the ways that one could acquire the freedom of an Irish town in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was through serving as an apprentice. An examination of the roll of freemen admitted to the franchise of Dublin between 1468 and 1485, for example, shows that there were 635 admissions, of which thirty-two were by marriage, sixty-seven were by birth, 237 were by special grace, and 301 were through service as apprentices to freemen.[47] Fifty-nine per cent, or 375 of the 635 admitted had a trade. It was, therefore, important that the rules governing the admittance of apprentices were closely supervised. The charter granted to the Guild of Barbers in 1470 allowed them to 'receive as brethren or sisters any honest and fitting persons willing freely to join them'.[48] Similarly, the Guilds of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers could only take on apprentices who were free, of the English nation and of good conversation, to be bound for seven years under indenture and at the end presented by the guild to the corporation to be enrolled as freemen of the town.[49] A by-law of 1438 for the Merchant Guild of Dublin noted that admission of new brethren into the Guild could only take place at the 'grete quarter semblies' of the Guild before all the brethren, and that if any guild member objected to someone being admitted, the latter would not be admitted unless he had made sufficient amends.[50] In

[43] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*, i, 280-1. The effectiveness of these ordinances may be questioned when one notes O'Tooles and O'Byrnes working as masons.
[44] Gilbert, 'Municipal archives of Waterford', pp. 299-300.
[45] Gilbert, 'Archives of the town of Galway', p. 397.
[46] Gilbert, 'Archives of the town of Galway', pp. 390-1.
[47] TA, 1416 (NAI).
[48] H. F. Berry, 'The ancient Corporation of Barber-Surgeons, or the Gild of Mary Magdalene, Dublin' in *JRSAI*, 33 (1903), p. 218.
[49] Berry, 'The Dublin Gild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers in the sixteenth century', p. 324.
[50] MS 78 (Dublin City Library and Archives, Gilbert Library); Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 19.

Waterford it was ordered in 1458-9 that no man should be admitted into the city freedom unless he practiced the one craft he stated at the time he received his freedom.[51] It is clear therefore, that municipal authorities expected the craft guilds to control admittance to their craft, and to ensure that none of the Irish nation or unfree persons could claim the freedom of the town through apprenticeship at a later date.

The final aspect of what municipal authorities expected from the guild organisation was that it provided an opportunity for people in the one craft to resolve disputes among themselves. The right to resolve internal disputes was granted to all guilds, but with the proviso that it was under the supervision of the relevant corporation, and that if a dispute needed to be dealt with by the town council that this would be done. It is clear from the Merchant Guild of Dublin records that juries of merchants were empanelled by their guild to hear such disputes, and that they gave judgement when required.[52] When disputes between sections of a craft or different crafts became apparent the municipal authority stepped in. In 1460, for example, the Guild of English Merchants, drawn from the towns of Dublin, London and Chester, received a charter of incorporation from Henry VI allowing them to operate in Dublin. Dublin Corporation moved swiftly against this new guild in the summer of 1460 when they ordered that any freeman who joined this confederation of merchants would forfeit his right to the freedom of Dublin.[53] Retaliation was swift, Dublin merchants abroad were 'bettyn or slayn les they be sworne in to the sayd fraternitye', and it appears that the controversy rumbled on.

In 1467 two Coventry merchants had their cloth forfeited at the market in Dundalk and were thrown out of the town. The merchants subseqeuently sought redress in the King's Court. The townspeople of Dundalk, however, stated that the matter should be heard in their town court and there the matter rested. It is possible that the action was part of a retaliatory campaign, and should also be seen in the light of how provincial cities in England were losing their trade to London at this time. Economic rather than racial or national conflict seems to have been the issue. Tensions subsided as a *modus vivendi* was established. In 1469 James Welles, the master of the Guild of English Merchants, was admitted to the freedom of Dublin. In 1471 Richard Boys, a Coventry merchant with a shop in Dublin, property in Coventry

[51] Gilbert, 'Municipal archives of Waterford', p. 299.
[52] MSS 78-9 (Dublin City Library and Archives, Gilbert Library).
[53] *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dub.*, i, 305.

and business interests in Navan, Trim and Drogheda, left 3*s*. 4*d*. to the guild chantry.[54] A second charter was granted to the guild in 1481, when James Welles was noted as master, with Thomas Whelbred and Richard Pylkington as wardens of the guild.[55]

The scope of this article does not permit a detailed examination of what the craft guilds wanted from municipal authorities. However, it is clear that corporations provided the guilds with as much authority as possible to regulate their own affairs, provided that they adhered to the ordinances of the corporation where it effected them. Municipal authorities also provided protection against outside competition and sought to regulate their market to the benefit of the freemen of the town, including crafts. One aspect of guild organisation which requires further study is the fact that guild membership afforded artisans good character within the town and elsewhere. They had served an apprenticeship, knew their trade and, most importantly, the fact that they were considered of good character would be vital when they sought credit. Guilds also had a charitable function, closely tied to the religious function of these craft guilds, and they formed a benevolent society for elder or infirm members when necessary. The receipts of the Guild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers show that the wardens expended a lot of money on wax for candles for the guild's chantry, as well as bread, ale and wine for meetings, suggesting that there was a strong social element to the guild gatherings. On 1 May 1536, for example, 12*d*. was expended on a pottell of claret and a pottell of romnay, as well as 4*s*. for bread, ale and wine for the parson of St. Katherine's and the brethren at St. Thomas' Court. Earlier that year, on 4 February, 8*d*. was allotted 'To the 12 men for their drinking and the recovery of a clerk'.[56]

The relationship between craft guilds and municipal authorities was a complex and multi-faceted one, having at its core the negotiation of work between the town's oligarchies and an important section of the community. There is a clear difference between the guild organisations of Dublin and Waterford and those of Kilkenny, Drogheda, Cork, Limerick and Galway. The former followed the English model, the latter had more in common with the situation of the Scottish burghs at the time. Most importantly, it is clear that guilds in Irish towns were not static organisations or

[54] H. F. Berry (ed), *Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin, 1457–1483* (Dublin, 1898), pp. 8-11.
[55] Clark and Refaussé, *Directory of historic gilds of Dublin*, p. 24.
[56] Berry, 'The Dublin Gild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers in the sixteenth century', p. 332.

structures from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. As the nature and needs of town government changed, so too did the guilds. There is a clear need to move the historiographical debate in Ireland from the view that the cornerstone of the guild system was exclusiveness, and instead to place them within the context of political, economic and demographic change in Irish towns between 1450 and 1534.

An expression of Old English identity: Richard Nugent's *Cynthia* (1604)

Gerald Power

Historians' interest in Irish poetry as evidence relating to the greater political and cultural context of early modern Ireland has hitherto largely concerned itself with Gaelic verse.[1] This is understandable as the early modern period generated a large and significant corpus of Gaelic poetry. However, verse in English by indigenous authors was also produced. Richard Nugent's *Cynthia* is the most spectacular example of such poetry, although since the first and only edition of the poem appeared in 1604 both poet and poem have eluded all but the most cursory attention.[2] In modern times *Cynthia* appears to have been first noted by Joseph Hunter, one of the first assistant keepers of the Public Record Office, London. Hunter included the poem in his list of early printed English verse, though erroneously attributed the work to Richard Nugent, first Earl of Westmeath.[3] The Victorian *Dictionary of National Biography* devoted a small entry to the poet Nugent, which established him as the author of *Cynthia*. The updated and revised Oxford *Dictionary* also included a short note on Nugent. However, due to a dearth of information about Richard's life, both entries are brief and appended to the more fulsome

[1] Brendan Bradshaw, 'Native reaction to the westward enterprise: a case study in Gaelic ideology' in J. H. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. Hair (eds), *The westward enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America* (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 65-80; Tom Dunne, 'The Gaelic response to the conquest: the evidence of the poetry' in *Studia Hibernica*, 20 (1980), pp. 7-30; N. P. Canny, 'The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature, 1550-1750' in *Past and Present*, 95 (1982), pp. 91-116; Katharine Simms, 'Bardic poetry as a historical source' in Tom Dunne (ed), *The writer as witness: literature as historical evidence* (Cork, 1987), pp. 58-75; Michelle O'Riordan, *The Gaelic mind and the collapse of the Gaelic world* (Cork, 1990); Brendain Ó Buachalla, 'Poetry and politics in early modern Ireland' in *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, vii, pp. 149-75; Marc Caball, 'Innovation and tradition: Irish Gaelic responses to early modern conquest and colonization' in Hiram Morgan (ed), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 62-82. The apparent absence of a vibrant English language tradition, either oral or written, is enshrined in the seminal *New history of Ireland* series by Alan Bliss: 'The English language in early modern Ireland' in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland: Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 546-60.

[2] In May 2005 Dr. Anne Fogarty presented 'Leaves, lines and rymes: Analyzing Petrachism in Spenser's Amoretti and Richard Nugent's Cynthia' at the British and Irish Spenser Meeting at NUI, Cork.

[3] '*Chorus Vatum Anglicorum*: Collections concerning the poets and verse-makers of the English nation' and Hunter compilation of poets 'of the English nation ... who have verse in print, no matter how small, or however worthless' (British Library, Add. MS 24487-92, vi, 120); *Dictionary of National Biography* [herein *DNB*] and *Oxford's New Dictionary of National Biography* [herein *Oxford's DNB*], Hunter, Joseph.

treatments of his famous father, Sir Nicholas.[4] Two recent scholars of early Irish printed literature have drawn attention to Nugent and have printed excerpts from *Cynthia*, without supplying much context or analysis.[5] By contrast the works of New English writers, most notably Edmund Spenser, have been mined extensively for insights into the nature of the Tudor conquest and contemporary perceptions of Irish society.[6] Nugent's poem, however, may also have something to tell us about late Tudor Ireland, and its implications may be all the more novel and valuable because it is a product of a group, the Old English of the Pale, from whom relatively few examples of artistic expression remain. This article provides a sketch of Richard Nugent's life and mental world before turning its attention to the poem. It argues that *Cynthia* can be seen as an expression of Old English identity and, more specifically, as a bitter reflection on the Nugent family's struggle against Sir Robert Dillon, nemesis of Richard's father.[7]

Richard Nugent was the son and heir of Sir Nicholas Nugent, the chief justice of the Common Pleas who was executed amid controversy in 1582 for alleged complicity in the insurrection of Richard's cousin William.[8] Richard's mother was Ellen Plunkett, daughter of John Plunkett of Dunsoghly, also a long-standing senior judge. The Nugents were a powerful marcher lineage, at whose head was the Baron of Delvin, Richard's cousin Christopher. Though Delvin and most of the Nugents lived in Westmeath, Richard's father had acquired property in Kilmore, in the barony of Coolock, Co. Dublin, and his main seat was in Kilcarne, in the barony of Skryne, Co. Meath. In common with other successful Pale lineages, the Nugents had an extensive circle of relatives and allies

[4] *DNB*, Nugent, Nicholas; *Oxford's DNB*, Nugent, Nicholas. Mention of Richard Nugent and his poetry is also made in the biography of Richard's insurgent cousin, William Nugent, in Basil Iske, *The green Cockatrice* (Dublin, 1978), p. 37.

[5] In Tony Sweeney (ed), *Ireland and the printed word, 1475-1700* (Dublin, 1997) Richard Nugent was identified as the first published Irish writer of English verse; Andrew Carpenter (ed), *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003), pp 125-7; Andrew Carpenter also made brief reference to poet and poem, and suggested that Nugent had 'fallen in love in Westmeath' in 'Literature and print, 1550-1800' in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds), *The Irish book in English, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 304-5. For a brief yet perceptive reading of Cynthia see Anne Fogarty, 'Literature in English, 1550-1690: from the Elizabethan settlement to the Battle of the Boyne' in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (eds), *The Cambridge history of Irish literature* (2 vols, Cambridge, 2006), i, p. 156.

[6] For a thought-provoking guide to recent Spenser scholarship, see Hiram Morgan, 'Beyond Spenser? A historiographical introduction to the study of political ideas in early modern Ireland' in Morgan (ed), *Political ideology*, pp. 18-20.

[7] A monograph on *Cynthia* by a Renaissance English specialist is in progress.

[8] For more on the conspiracy, see Helen *Coburn-Walshe*, 'The rebellion of William Nugent' in R. V. Comerford, *Mary* Cullen, Jacqueline Hill and Colm Lennon (eds), *Religion, conflict and coexistence in Ireland: essays presented to Monsignor Patrick J. Corish* (Dublin, 1990), pp. 26-52.

to secure mutual support and to concentrate resources. The existence of these networks is evident in *Cynthia*, which includes dialogue in the form of sonnets between Richard and his namesake from Dunore, Co. Westmeath, as well as his friend William Talbot.

These ties were obviously important in Richard Nugent's generation, when controversies surrounding the cess (a tax in kind levied for the maintenance of the army) and recusancy had pushed a considerable section of the Pale community into opposing the New English regime. In the Nugents' case, of course, this conflict took on a violent dimension with the uprising of Richard's cousin William. Richard, who was just sixteen at the time, may have been detained at Dublin Castle during the revolt.[9] On 19 August 1581 the Irish council bound 'Richard Nugent, esquire' in £1000 either to submit William Nugent's youngest son to the lord deputy or instead to yield himself.[10] It is difficult to ascertain whether this 'Richard Nugent esquire' was the future poet because William also had a son called Richard. However, that the future poet spent time in Dublin is not unlikely, given his relationship to leading members of the family.[11] Time spent among the higher echelons of the Irish executive and judiciary, either as a government hostage or his father's companion, may have had an impact on Nugent's artistic development. It is possible that he become acquainted with the New English literary circle that included Ludovic Bryskett, Geoffrey Fenton and Edmund Spenser, though he would have been no more than eleven when one of the heroes of *Cynthia*, Philip Sidney, spent a brief sojourn in Ireland, where his father, Sir Henry, was Lord Deputy.[12] In any event Nugent must have received a good grammar school education, and possibly he followed his cousin, William, to Hart Hall, Oxford. His poetry is replete with the trappings of Elizabethan scholarship, including classical and biblical allusions, complex poetical effects and devices such as paradoxes, en vogue musical forms imported from Italy, and even a

[9] *Coburn-Walshe*, 'The rebellion of William Nugent', p. 43; *Oxford's DNB*, Nugent, Nicholas.
[10] D. B. Quinn (ed), 'Calendar of the Irish Council Book, 1581-86' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 24 (1967), p. 121.
[11] Iske, *The green Cockatrice*, p. 184.
[12] For more on this circle, see Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp. 3-4; Fenton was also a Meath neighbour of Nugent's mother: (*Calendar* [herein *Cal.*] *Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, no. 260); *Oxford's DNB*, Sidney, Philip.

sonnet in Italian. To construct a madrigal, poetic competence was not enough: Nugent also needed to have a sophisticated understanding of formal music composition.[13]

It is likely that the public execution of his father for treason was the most critical moment in Richard's life. This disgrace compounded the twin handicaps of Richard's Old English heritage and Catholicism, and would have made it virtually impossible for him to occupy as high a public office as his father had. Even his mother came to be distrusted by the government, who branded her a 'mischievous woman'.[14] When Richard was in his mid-twenties an attempt was made by the Nugents and their supporters to avenge Nicholas's execution and regain lost honour. This episode came about in 1592 when the rehabilitated William Nugent, with his brother, Christopher, Baron of Delvin, and Nicholas St. Lawrence, Baron of Howth, succeeded in forcing Lord Deputy William Fitzwilliam to examine charges of treason against Sir Robert Dillon. Dillon had been the sworn rival of Sir Nicholas and it was widely believed that he had orchestrated the government's dubious proceedings against the latter out of jealousy and spite.[15] Nugent was questioned by the commissioners during the government's inquiry into Robert Dillon, which eventually found in favour of the government-friendly Protestant judge.[16] In keeping with the advice contained in his own poetry, Richard Nugent appears to have lived a quiet life.[17] However, given his publishing background, it is quite possible that he was the same Richard Nugent suspected in 1605 of printing 'papistical books' in Dublin.[18] Aside from this adventure, Nugent had to wait until 1615 to succeed to his father's Meath estate of Kilkarne, and his prominence in local politics was stymied.[19] Until then Richard was styled as Richard Nugent of Kilmore, gentleman, but the Co.

[13] Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke set downe in forme of a dialogue* (London, 1597); Greg Walker, 'The Renaissance in Britain' in Patrick Collinson (ed), *The sixteenth century, 1485-1603* (Oxford, 2002), p. 179.
[14] Wallop to Walsingham, 11 March 1582 (*Calendar State Papers Ireland* [herein *Cal. S. P. Ire.*], *1574-86*, p. 353).
[15] *Cal. Carew MSS., 1589-1600*, no. 129; *Oxford's DNB*, Dillon, Robert and Nugent, Nicholas.
[16] *Cal. Carew MSS., 1589-1600*, no. 129. Richard was embroiled in a controversy surrounding allegations that members of the Cusack family spoke treasonous words including wishing for the arrival of Spaniards to Ireland: Depositions and interrogatories of Richard Nugent and Walter Cusack, 17 April 1592 (Public Records Office [herein PRO], SP 63/165/8 ii).
[17] See Appendix.
[18] Sir W. Waad to Salisbury, 10 August 1605 in Historical Manuscripts Commission [herein HMC], *Salisbury*, xvii, 562-3.
[19] John Lodge (revised by Mervyn Archdall), *The peerage of Ireland; or, A genealogical history of the present nobility of that kingdom*, (7 vols, Dublin, 1789), i, p. 231.

Dublin portion of the estate which he had before his mother's death was clearly less valuable than the Meath property, and Nugent was not regarded as one of the leading gentry of Dublin.[20] By the time of his death, at an uncertain date, he had married Anne, daughter of Christopher Bath of Rathfeigh (near Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath), and produced an heir.[21] Aside from these bald facts, the historical Richard Nugent remains an elusive character, and any attempt to elucidate further his personality and ideology must refer to his poetry.

Nugent's sole surviving work is a single volume printed in London in 1604 by Thomas Purfoot of Holborn for Henry Tomes.[22] Unpaginated, the book's sixteen leaves are divided into three parts: part one contains nineteen sonnets and two madrigals; part two includes thirteen sonnets, a canzone (a song, resembling a madrigal, but less strict in style), and two madrigals; the final part is comprised of eight sonnets, the final sonnet written in Italian.[23] The sequence is in the Petrachian tradition introduced to the British Isles by Sir Henry Howard and Sir Thomas Wyatt, and developed most spectacularly in the 1580s by Sir Philip Sidney. In fact, Nugent paid tribute to Sidney in part two, with a reference to the heroic rustic of the Elizabethan sonnet, 'Sydney's gentle sheepheard'.[24] Against a pastoral setting of lakes, rivers, woods, mountains and seashore, Nugent presented the narrative of his unrequited love for an unfeeling, idealised female. It was, in Nugent's words, the work of a mind 'wexen lunatike' with the tribulations of 'repudiate affections'. Firstly, Richard falls in love with the beautiful ideal of femininity, but she spurns his overtures. Already pained, Nugent is tormented by visions of noble female animals forsaking their purely bred mates for mongrel, ignoble beasts before learning that his beloved has another lover. Nugent is plunged into four years of profound misery, during which he is plagued by more disturbing dreams, partially resolved by the poet's appeal to his poetry to wreak vengeance on Cynthia for the injustice done to him. By the end of the second part Richard has determined to forsake Ireland, although he knows that

[20] Deposition and interrogatories (PRO, SP 63/165/8 ii); *Cal. Carew MSS*, no. 129.
[21] Lodge, *Peerage*, i, 231; *Oxford's DNB*, Nugent, Nicholas.
[22] The full title is *Rich: Nugents Cynthia. Containing direfull sonnets,madrigals, and passionate intercourses, describing his repudiate affections expressed in loves owne language.*
[23] The title of the third-last stanza is indistinct; it is apparently addressed to Nugent by Master Thomas Shobons. Sebastiano Ferrari of the Italian Department, NUI Galway, kindly translated the Italian sonnet for me.
[24] *Cynthia*, 2, vi, 6-12 [all following references to the poem begin with the part number, then sonnet number, then line number(s)].

exile will mean certain death. Why this is so is not made clear. During a final meeting with Cynthia, she begs Richard to remain in Ireland but the poet will not be moved. The final sonnets comprise correspondence between the poet and his real-life namesake, Richard Nugent of Dunore, and his friend, William Talbot, regarding his decision to quit Ireland. The penultimate sonnet is a plea to the reader to live a humble and quiet life rather than a powerful, dangerous one; the last, in Italian, is a call to Cynthia to cease her lamentations as the ill-starred lovers will be united in Heaven. In terms of theme, then, *Cynthia* follows the pattern established by Petrach and his imitators; yet it is the poem's tantalising insights into the Old English mentality that are the main concern of this essay.

Cynthia contains several references to Ireland and those of Irish birth in which a sense of patriotism can be discerned. A concrete reference to Ireland occurs in the ninth sonnet, when Nugent returns to the theme of Cynthia's peerless beauty, calling her 'This wonder of our Isle'. Next, Nugent turns to the island's inhabitants. A community of Irishmen set apart from the inhabitants of both Britain and Europe is established in the same sonnet, as Nugent concludes:

> Then England, Fraunce, Spaine, Greece, and Italye,
> And all that th'Ocean from our shores divideth,
> Would over-runne their boundes, and hether flye,
> To find the treasure that our Ireland hideth.[25]

Nugent, however, is determined that he and his countrymen would sooner collude to keep Cynthia a secret than to lose her, declaring 'But best is, that we never doe disclose it / Since knowne but of ourselves, we shall not lose it'.[26] Actual antipathy towards foreign countries may be evinced in the sonnet which describes Richard's parting with Cynthia, in which the lady implores her suitor to remain in Ireland. Nugent is unmoved by her prayers and tears, and Cynthia, in her only piece of dialogue, asks 'must that deare head and hand, Lie lowly earthed, in an uncouth land[?]'.[27] At the conclusion of part two Nugent again makes reference to Ireland. In a sonnet which is strongly reminiscent of his cousin William's poems of exile, Richard addresses Ireland directly. He bids 'Fare-well sweete Isle, within whose pleasant Bowres / I first received life, and liv'ng ayre'.[28] He then addresses his adieus to the 'towers' where Cynthia resides, the floods and the rain,

[25] 1, ix, 5, 8-12 (Appendix).
[26] 1, ix, 11-12 (Appendix).
[27] 3, unnumbered sonnet: 'His leave taking of Cynthia ...', 13-14.
[28] 2, xi, 1-2.

the lake and the shore where Cynthia walks. In his farewell sonnet to his distant cousin, Richard Nugent of Dunore, the poet explains the reasons for his departure from Ireland, 'my westerne home'.[29]

Cynthia seems to suggest that disaffected Old Englishmen like Richard Nugent had, by the end of the sixteenth century, replaced a sense of English patriotism with an 'Irish' version.[30] However, the parameters of such a sense of patriotism are difficult to define, and it is an exaggeration to suggest that Richard Nugent's sense of Irish patriotism was a recognisably modern one, for this would imply that Nugent's sense of national identity incorporated the inhabitants of Gaelic Ireland. The Old English of the Pale defined themselves in terms of their intrinsic loyalty to the crown, and contrasted this loyalty with that of Gaelic Irish people, whom they framed as savage.[31] Instead, Nugent's sense of attachment to his 'western home' reflects sixteenth-century changes to his community brought about by the extension of Tudor rule in Ireland. From the early 1540s the surrender and regrant process, together with the elevation of Ireland into a kingdom, prompted the Old English, many of whom approved heartily of the innovations, to conceive a unitary vision of Ireland, which they referred to as being their 'country'.[32] In 1545 the Waterford gentleman Edward Walshe had *The office and duety in fightyng for our countrey* published. This book marshalled biblical precedents in an attempt to inculcate a sense of collective Old English responsibility for the safeguarding of Ireland.[33] As surrender and regrant stalled and a conciliatory solution for Ireland's Gaelic inhabitants was gradually abandoned in favour of a military one, the Old English were

[29] 3, i, 2. The definition of Ireland in relation to Britain echoes that of an earlier pioneer of the English sonnet with Irish connections. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, composed a celebrated sonnet in praise of Elizabeth Fitzgerald, youngest daughter of the ninth earl of Kildare, around 1537 in which he refers to 'The Western yle whose pleasaunt shore dothe face / Wild Cambers clifs': printed in Carpenter (ed), *Verse*, p. 44.

[30] For the best statement of early sixteenth-century Old English identity, see S. G. Ellis, 'An English gentlemen and his community: Sir William Darcy of Platten' in Vincent Cary and Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds), *Taking sides: confessional and colonial* mentalités *in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 19-41.

[31] N. P. Canny, 'The ideology of English colonization: from Ireland to America' in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973), p. 584; N. P. Canny, *The formation of the Old English elite* (Dublin, 1975); Colm Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst, the Dubliner, 1547-1618: a biography, with a Stanihurst text: On Ireland's past* (Blackrock, 1981). For a contemporary of Nugent's, see 'Richard Hadsor's "Discourse" on the Irish state, 1604' [Joseph McLaughlin (ed)] in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxx (1997), p. 345.

[32] Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1979), part 3.

[33] D. B. Quinn, 'Edward Walshe's *The Office and duety in fightyng for our countrey* (1545)' in *Irish Book Lore*, iii (1976).

compelled to confront the changing island in its entirety, as garrisons were built, religious changes introduced, colonisation schemes launched, and lordships converted into shire ground. Though the vision of an Irish commonwealth led by the Old English, espoused by Edward Walshe and others, became subverted by Tudor reform government, sentiments of patriotism remained. In the 1570s the opponents of the cess from the Pale employed the same rhetoric, labelling their anti-government movement 'the country cause'.[34]

The Nugent lineage, most of whose members were situated on the marches between English and Gaelic Ireland, probably had a more developed corporate sense of Ireland than most Pale families. During the uprising of William, support from Gaelic Ireland had emerged from as far as south Co. Dublin, in the form of Phelim, chief of the O'Tooles.[35] As the conquest manifested itself in the northern and western midlands, Delvin and his lineage attempted to expand their territory (activities which brought them into competition with the similarly ambitious Dillons). By the 1590s Nugents were occupying parts of Co. Longford, and even contested territory in Co. Sligo.[36] The island-wide perspective of the Nugents is also evidenced by the family's changing marriage patterns. In 1591 Mabel, daughter of Christopher Lord Delvin married Murrough, second Baron of Inchiquin.[37] Hitherto, no son or daughter of a Delvin lord had married beyond the Pale. A further two of Mabel's siblings were also married off into the Gaelic aristocracy.[38] Inchiquin became involved in the Nugents' challenge to the Dillons in

[34] Ciaran Brady, 'Conservative subversives: the community of the Pale and the Dublin administration, 1556-86' in P. J. Corish (ed), *Radicals, rebels and establishments* (Belfast, 1985), p. 22. In 1600 Patrick Lord Dunsany recommended Nicholas Lord Howth (the noted Nugent supporter) as 'a man stout, wealthy, and well affected to his country'. Dunsany to R. Cecil, 15 June 1600 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1600*, p. 236).

[35] *Christopher* Maginn, *'Civilizing' Gaelic Leinster*: the extension of Tudor rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole lordships, (Dublin, 2005), p. 174.

[36] Undated and anonymous description of Ireland, including land ownership, c. 1590s (National Library of Ireland, MS 669); Chancery Pleading, (National Archives of Ireland, P B/248).

[37] There remains some doubt as to Murrough's genealogy. See George Edward Cokayne, *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain Kingdom* [herein *GEC Peerage*] (8 vols, London, 1887-98), vii, 51.

[38] Christopher's third son, Gerald, married the sister of Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell. His second daughter, Mary, married Anthony O'Dempsey, heir apparent to the viscountcy of Clanmalier. Lodge, *Peerage*, i, 236.

1593. His activities allegedly included conspiratorial conversations with Richard Nugent, the poet.[39]

The Tudor conquest divided colonial society into New and Old English and prompted the Old English to view themselves increasingly in terms of their Irish heritage and special politico-religious status, while they both rejected and were excluded from the Protestant identity of the New English. In competition with Palesmen for office and preferment, the New English branded the Old English as degenerate. The process of exclusion from English identity was evident during the lord deputyship of Sir Henry Sidney in the 1560s and 1570s and intensified after the Old English uprisings led by Viscount Baltinglass and William Nugent in the early 1580s.[40] The aftermath saw the Old English community confirmed in its Catholicism and opposition to Dublin Castle. The large connexion and military strength of the Nugents, together with their ability to retain support at the English court, meant that their status as loyal English subjects was frequently questioned by New English critics. For instance, Yorkshire-born Adam Loftus, one of the commissioners who would find in favour of Dillon in 1592, commented in 1591 that servitor Sir Henry Piers was 'the only Englishman in Westmeath'.[41] Sir Henry Wallop was critical of the crown's leniency towards 'this contrymen' like the Baron of Delvin, and warned that the Baron and the Earl of Kildare sought the overthrow of those of 'ou[r] natyon'.[42] By the 1590s, in the eyes of the Queen's privy councillors, the Nugents and many recusant Palesmen were 'Irishmen'.[43] In the seventeenth sonnet, Richard recalls how he 'blaz'd [Cynthia's] name in forraine soiles, / Making Old *Albion* shores her praise resound'.[44] His choice of 'Old *Albion*' to describe England was part poetic convention; but it may also have reflected ambivalent Old English attitudes towards England as being at once the historic *patria* of the Old English, but also the source of the

[39] Depositions and interrogatories (PRO, SP 63/165/8 ii). It was remarked of Inchiquin that 'He loves to consort with his mother's family [the Cusacks of Co. Meath], who are of the Roman religion' [Henry Malby's] 'Discourse' to Burghley, 1591 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 449).
[40] Sidney argued that, though not as unruly as the Gaelic Irish, the Old English needed persuasion to bring them to civility. The lord chancellor, William Gerrard, held that 'degenerate' Old English' would respond to English justice because they retained 'this instincte of Englishe nature generally to feare justice': Canny, 'Ideology of English colonization', pp. 578, 592-3; 'Lord Chancellor Gerrard's Notes on his report of Ireland' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 2 (1931), p. 96.
[41] Adam Loftus to Burghley, 29 August 1591 (PRO, SP 63/159/66).
[42] 'Gerrard's Notes on his report of Ireland', p. 96; Canny, 'Ideology of English colonization', pp 592-3.
[43] *Acts privy council, 1590*, p. 145; *Acts privy council, 1591-2*, p. 195.
[44] 1, xvii, 10.

Protestant New English who had displaced the native Pale elite from its traditional *rôle* and provoked their crisis of identity.[45] Nugent's idea of Irishmen patriotically guarding their 'treasure' reflects a sixty-year development of Old English attitudes surrounding patriotism: whereas Nugent's great-grandfather would have understood Ireland in terms of its partitioned communities, the Englishry and Irishry, *Cynthia* shows that Nugent considered himself to be an Irishman, whose sense of national identity was informed more by his Irish birth than his English blood.[46]

The Nugents' experience of Tudor reform government had been extremely turbulent, and Richard's poetry appears to bear testimony to this. *Cynthia* can be read as a poem with specific meanings for his lineage. The penultimate stanza is an oddity in terms of the poem's basic theme, but makes more sense when viewed in terms of Nugent's life experience. Completely out of tune with the preceding verses on Richard's unconsummated love affair, and with the final stanza (a sonnet commending himself to Cynthia in Italian), it is entitled '*A Sonet preferring the quiet life of the meane estate, to the wealth and honors which procure envie, and for the more part accompanied with danger*'.[47] It recommends withdrawal from public life, and particularly from the prince's court, where 'malice, rancour, and debate' are 'chiefe attendants, on the court, and King', in favour of the 'blissfull' life of a harmless shepherd.[48] Richard's conclusion that 'happie live they, though they live obscurely, who live contented, quiet, and securely' was surely conditioned by the poet's first-hand experience of his father's fall and the near destruction of the house of Delvin, and aimed at his aristocratic and gentle circle, who, living in the shadow of the Nugent conspiracy and their public attempts at destroying the Dillons, were marked out as potential enemies of the state.[49] The sentiment of the sonnet is mirrored neatly by Lord Delvin's declaration to Lord Burghley that

[45] For more on the crisis of identity, see Canny, *Old English elite*; Brady, 'Conservative subversives'. These allusions to discord contrast with Surrey's 'Fair Geraldine' of 1537, which included a tribute to what the Englishman perceived as a happy mix of ethnic influences which characterised the Old English (Elizabeth was 'fostered' 'with milke of Irishe brest', though 'Her Sire an Erle: her dame of princes blood'). Carpenter (ed), *Verse*, p. 44.
[46] Brendan Bradshaw, *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 13.
[47] 3, vii (Appendix).
[48] 3, vii, 3-4 (Appendix).
[49] A selection of the evidence includes Fenton, 'Note of suspected men in Ireland', 18 October 1589 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 250); Fitzwilliam and others to Burghley and Hatton, 20 August 1590 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1588-92*, p. 360); Fitzwilliam, Loftus and Jones of Meath to Burghley and Hatton, 21 September 1590, 13 May 1591 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1588-92*, pp. 365, 393).

> I shun discontented persons according to your Lordship's sound advys unto me. I deale in no men's causes. I lyve private. This is the cours I hold, I protest, which I hope to her Majestie and the state cannot be offensive.[50]

The Nugents were familiar with 'the prince's court', and leading members of the family, possibly including Richard, had spent considerable time at court in the early 1590s in their attempts to impeach Robert Dillon. The family's sense of grievance and thirst for revenge was common knowledge in the Pale. It was reported that

> William Nugent has often expressed his wish that Sir Robert might die by hanging, and his wife has said that for the malice she bore to Sir Robert Dillon, she could never say her Pater Noster in charity the whole year, but only on Good Friday.[51]

A similar sense of injustice and a thirst for vengeance pervades *Cynthia*, as Nugent appeals to his poetry to redress a great wrong. In the thirteenth and fourteenth sonnets Nugent introduces a legal analogy to describe his relationship with Cynthia. She is described as 'my lives Judge now ordained', to whom he appeals, 'O be not cruell since thou art so faire'.[52] Nugent continues that 'Woods, valleys, mountains, rocks and everie place, / Are filled with Ecchoes of my plaints and prayer, / Which at thy deafened eares, still sue for grace'.[53] However, just as the Nugents' legal pursuit of Robert Dillon failed, so does Nugent's suit for Cynthia's sympathy. The opening sonnet of the second part of the collection is a doom-laden realisation of this fact, and a bitter plea for revenge. Addressing his verse directly, Nugent commands the 'Abortive brood, of my deceased hopes' to

> Step forth into the world ... And since revenge is all your remedie, / With out-cries loud, to coasts unknown disclose. / The dire contriver of my tragedie: / The prophesie, with holie-furie fir'd, / And tell faire Cynthia, how the heav'ns on hie / The sun, the stares, the earth have all conspired, / To wreake my wrongs, and end her tyrannie: / And that the sprights below, and powr's above her, / Threaten revenge, for murther of her lover.[54]

It is surely plausible that the circle of Nugent members and allies would have recognised the significance of Cynthia's allusions to frustration at human justice and the vengeful properties of poetry. That such a circle existed is beyond doubt. Richard's mother, Ellen, was distrusted by the regime, and the decision by Elizabeth to allow Richard to succeed to his father's property was resisted, the property having been briefly taken over by Sir

[50] Delvin to Burghley, 16 September 1591 in J. T. Gilbert (ed), *Facsimiles of national manuscripts of Ireland* (4 vols, Dublin, 1874-84), iv, p. xxxviii.
[51] *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, no. 129; Iske, *The green Cockatrice*, p. 101.
[52] 1, xiii, 16, 18.
[53] 1, xiv, 6-8.
[54] 2, i, 1-2, 6-14 (Appendix).

Robert Dillon.[55] His father-in-law, Christopher Bathe, had supported William Nugent's uprising, according to his confession in an effort to secure 'lyberty of conscience'.[56] Like Richard's mother, Bathe had been arrested for involvement in William's uprising and later pardoned without trial.[57] Richard's seat at Kilmore was surrounded by supporters or descendants and relatives of supporters of his father, most notably the St. Lawrences of Howth, the Talbots of Malahide and the Bathes of Balgriffin.[58]

At least two members of the Nugent connexion are mentioned in the poem. Firstly there is the dedication to Lady Trimleston. Catherine Nugent, Richard's aunt (and Sir Nicholas's sister) was the baroness of Trimleston, and although Catherine died around ten years before the publication of *Cynthia*, she may still have been the subject of the dedication, as it was not unusual for a volume to be published several years after its composition. However, the factional link with the Trimlestons was maintained after Catherine. The next baroness was Genet, daughter of Thomas Talbot of Dardistown, Co. Meath.[59] Sonnet 1 of part three is addressed 'To his cosin Master Richard Nugent of Donower', and it announces the poet's intention to flee Ireland after four years of mental torture. This is followed by an answer from Richard, cautioning him to remain in Ireland, and not to confuse love with 'lust'.[60] Richard was the chief landowner in the barony of Corkery, Co. Westmeath, and had been pardoned for his role in the Nugent uprising.[61] However, he, along with other substantial landowners like Richard's father-in-law, Christopher Bathe, could have been fined as much as £100 for their pardons.[62] It is almost certain that Nugent was actively involved in the rebellion. He was one of the earliest supporters of William, when the latter took up arms against the state.[63] However, in the early 1590s, Richard of Dunore was again imprisoned and held in the goal in Dublin

[55] Wallop to Walsingham, 11 March 1582 (PRO, SP 63/90/18); Wallop to Walsingham, 6 March 1583 (PRO, SP 63/100/5); Coburn-Walshe, 'Rebellion of Richard Nugent', p. 44.
[56] Confession of Christopher Bathe, 20 October 1562 (PRO, SP 63/86/30 ii); Coburn-Walshe 'Rebellion of William Nugent', p. 34.
[57] Note of the persons condemned, executed, or pardoned, for the rebellion of Baltinglass and Nugent, 1582; Note written by Edward Cusack [to Burghley?], September 1582 (PRO, SP 63/98/85, SP 63/95/84); *Calendar, Fiants Ireland, Eliz.*, no 3779; Coburn-Walshe, 'Rebellion of William Nugent', p. 45.
[58] *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, no. 260.
[59] Lodge, *Peerage*, i, 228; *GEC Peerage*, xii, 2, 38-40.
[60] 3, ii.
[61] *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, no. 260.
[62] Note of the persons condemned, executed, or pardoned, for the rebellion of Baltinglass and Nugent, 1582 (PRO, SP 63/98/85); Coburn-Walshe, 'Rebellion of William Nugent', p. 45.
[63] Coburn-Walshe, 'Rebellion of William Nugent', p. 31.

Castle for over two years without being charged or brought to trial. In his petition to the English privy council he claimed that 'his life [was] in danger by extremitie of sicknes'.[64] A noted rebel, and apparently the victim of summary imprisonment (just at the moment that William Nugent's suit against Dillon was gaining consilliar support), Richard of Dunore would surely have appreciated *Cynthia*'s theme of injustice, not to mention the appeal to live a quiet life.[65] After the exchange with Nugent of Dunore, another sonnetary dialogue is presented, this time with the poet's 'trustie Friend Maister William Talbot'.[66] It is difficult to establish Talbot's identity with certainty. Presumably he was a descendant or relation of William Talbot of Malahide who had been an ally of Richard's father and the other cess agitators during the late 1570s.[67] There was a junior branch of the family resident in Agher, in the barony of Deece, Co. Meath, who were supportive of the Nugent uprising.[68] A man of little or no property, William may have been a younger son of a family tainted by rebellion and subversion. In any case he felt sympathy with Richard, as Nugent's verse apparently 'Well ... describ'st the state wherein I live, / Nay how I die, in ever-living griefe'.[69]

Richard Nugent was part of a vigorous English-writing milieu in the Elizabethan English Pale, albeit one that, hitherto, has not received a great deal of attention from historians. It was an aristocratic literary grouping. Richard Stanyhurst was connected to the great noble families of the Pale, dedicating his most famous work to the Baron of Dunsany and composing an elegy to his Plunkett cousin, the Baron of Louth.[70] Dunsany himself contributed a section to Edmund Campion's history of Ireland, another project in which Stanyhurst was involved, and wrote letters in an eloquent, courtly mode of English.[71] Christopher Lord Howth wrote the eclectic and complex statement of the Old

[64] *Acts privy council, 1591-2*, pp. 146-7, 195.
[65] *Acts privy council, 1591-2*, pp 80, 153.
[66] 3, iv.
[67] *Cal. Carew MSS, 1575-88*, nos. 44, 62, 80, 81, 91.
[68] 'Note of the chief offenders in the Pale appeached by John Cusack', January 1582 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1574-86*, p. 345). Richard Talbot was the chief Talbot landowner in Augher (now Augherskea, in the barony of Deece) in 1596: *Cal. Carew MSS, 1589-1600*, no. 260.
[69] 3, iv.
[70] Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst*, p. 131; Carpenter (ed), *Verse*, pp. 67-72.
[71] Dunsany's letters can be found in the *Cal. S. P. Ire.*; James Ware (ed), *The works of Spenser, Campion, Hamner and Marleburough* (2 vols, reprint, Dublin, 1809), i, p. 11.

English mind known as the *Book of Howth*.[72] The Nugents were to the fore in this grouping. Stanyhurst recalled William not as a Gaelic poet or insurgent but as a writer of 'diverse sonnets'. William's brother, Christopher, the Baron of Delvin, asserted his main occupations outside term time to be 'books and building'.[73] Finally, Richard Nugent's work represents the most sophisticated example of Old English literature. However, the Nugents' cultural reputation among historians does not reflect this. Focusing on the Irish language primer written by Lord Delvin for Queen Elizabeth in 1564, and the Gaelic poems in exile by the rebel William Nugent, scholars have described the Nugents as an Old English family with a pronounced Gaelic cultural outlook.[74] This enthusiasm for Gaelic modes of expression has been interpreted by a recent Nugent scholar as indicative of 'the existence of a largely bilingual, hybridized Hiberno-English culture which pervaded the towns and the Irish countryside in the traditional areas of English jurisdiction'.[75] However, the example of *Cynthia* shows that the Old English were as comfortable writing in the latest modes of English expression as they were in antiquated English or Gaelic, although their attitudes towards the English administration of Ireland had become hostile. Richard Nugent's work indicates that an Old English Pale lineage like the Nugents defy traditional terminology such as 'Hiberno-English'. In fact Old English identity was much more ambiguous: an Old English poet at the beginning of the Stuart age like Richard Nugent could be disaffected to the state and exhibit a sense of Irish 'patriotism', yet still remain firmly within the cultural orbit of the metropolis.

[72] Valerie McGowan-Doyle, '*The Book of Howth*, the Old English and the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland' (PhD thesis, NUI Cork, 2006).
[73] 'The description of Ireland' by Richard Stanyhurst in Raphael Holinshed, *The ... chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande ...* (ed. Henry Ellis, 6 vols, 1807-8), vi, p. 62; Delvin to Burghley, 16 September 1591 in Gilbert (ed), *Facsimiles of national manuscripts of Ireland*, iv, p. xxxviii; Iske, *The green Cockatrice*, pp. 35, 98.
[74] Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'Nugentiana' in *Éigse*, 2 (1940), pp. 4-14; Gerard Murphy, 'Poems in exile by Uilliam Nuinseann mac Barúin Dealbhna' in *Éigse*, 6 (1948-1952), pp. 8-15; Iske, *The green Cockatrice*; *Coburn Walshe*, 'Rebellion of William Nugent', pp. 27-8.
[75] Vincent Carey, '"Neither good English nor good Irish": Bi-lingualism and identity formation in sixteenth-century Ireland' in Morgan (ed), *Political ideology*, pp. 45-61, quote p. 48.

APPENDIX

Selected sonnets from *Cynthia*[76]

Part I, Sonnet 9

Oft have I wished, in my zeales excesse,
To make my Cynthia see proofes of my dutie,
That in my soule, I doe admire her beautie,
Or that great *Daniell*, fit for such a task,
This wonder of our Isle, had seene, and heeded,
Then he should his glorious muse, her worth unmaske,
And he himselfe, himselfe should have exceeded;
Then England, Fraunce, Spaine, Greece, and Italye,
And all that th'Ocean from our shoares divideth,
To finde the treasure, that our Ireland hideth,
But best is, that we never doe disclose it,
Since knowne but of our selves, we shall not lose it.

Part II, Sonnet 1

Step forth into the world mine Orphane verse,
Abortive brood, of my deceased hopes,
And dolefully, pursue your parents hearse,
Attir'd in your blacke stoales, and tawnie copes.
Such mourning weedes, besteemes our mournfull woes,
And sith revenge, is all your remedie,
With out-cries loud, to coasts unknown disclose,
The dire contriver of my tragidie:

[76] Four of the most important sonnets relating to identity in *Cynthia* have already been printed in Carpenter (ed), *Verse*, pp. 125-7 ('His leave taking of Cynthia': 'Farewell, sweet isle': 'To his Cosin Master Richard Nugent' and 'The answer of M. Richard Nugent') and so are not included in this appendix.

Then prophesie, with holie furie fir'd,
And tell faire *Cynthia*, how the heav'ns on hie
The sunne, the stares, the earth have all conspir'd,
To wreake my wrongs, and end her tyrannie:
And that the sprights below, and powr's above her.
Threaten revenge, for murther of her lover.

Part 3

A Sonet preferring the quiet life of the meane estate, to wealth and honors which procure envie, and the more part accompanied with danger

Sweete is the life, that clad in base estate,
Farre from the reach of envies hatefull scurg,
Devoid of malice, rancour, and debate,
The chief attendants, on the court, and King,
Doth yet enioy, a quiet calme content,
Estraunged from the pompe of Princes traine,
Unto whose bow, there may be found no bent,
Ne bounds their high aspiring to containe:
Such was the blissfull life those sheepheards led,
Those harmlesse sheepheards, that for love so mourned,
Piping unto their flocke, while they fed
On the greene banks, by *Flora* Queene adorned;
So, happie live they, though they, though they live obscurely,
who live contented, quiet, and securely.

Archives in the Glucksman Library at the University of Limerick

Ken Bergin

The Lewis and Loretta Brennan Glucksman Library at the University of Limerick was opened in February 1998. The building contained a purpose built Special Collections facility to house the rare books and archives of the Library. This article is an overview of the collections and the development of the Special Collections Department since 1998. It is an appropriate time to consider the development of Special Collections in light of the announcement from the Department of Education in December 2005 that the UL Library will be extended by 6000 square metres. It is envisioned that Special Collections will be given exhibition and additional storage space in the extension.

The Special Collections Department currently consists of a reading room, preservation area, offices and a storage facility. The reading room can cater for fourteen readers, depending on the type of material requested. There are three full time staff members in the section, a Special Collections Librarian, a Senior Library Assistant and a Library Assistant. The library relies on contract archivists to list its archives. The archivists clean and list the collections. The archives are then stored in appropriate boxes and folders. The permanent library staff provides access to the archives using descriptive lists, which are available in the department or on the Special Collections website. The storage facility is built according to BS.5454 and has an air handling system to maintain constant levels of humidity and temperature. The light levels are also measured to ensure the collections are in an environment best suited to their preservation. Both archives and early printed books are stored in the same area.

This is the first time that an attempt has been made to document the history and development of the archives in the Glucksman Library. The archives are essentially divided up into four categories; estate papers, literary papers, general historic and political papers and numismatic collections. There is a full description of all the library archives on the Special Collections website.[1] Dr. John Logan of the Department of

[1] University of Limerick, Library and Information Services (2003) *Special Collections Library*, available: http://www.ul.ie/rarebooks/.

History played a very significant role in the acquisition of archives on behalf of the library. From 1997-99 Dr. Logan secured papers and materials appropriate for historical research purposes to the university. He assured donors that their collections would be appropriately cared for in the library and would become accessible to research students and faculty. Dr. Logan acquired the Dunraven Papers, the Glin Papers, the Jim Kemmy Papers and the historic banknote collection of Eoin O'Kelly. These collections will be discussed further below. It is important to note that this paper limits itself to the archives that are currently available to researchers and not to the archives that are awaiting processing in the Special Collections Department.

I: Estate Papers

Dunraven Papers

The Dunraven family papers are the largest collection of manuscripts in the library. They comprise of over 15,000 documents and over 220 volumes dating from as early as 1614 up to the 1930s. The papers come from the Wyndham-Quin family who resided at Adare Manor, Adare, Co. Limerick. A. P. W. Malcomson, the former Director of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), sorted and listed the papers. The Dunraven family later deposited the papers in PRONI. Dr. Logan was instrumental in arranging the transfer of the Dunraven Papers to Special Collections and they were moved to the library in August 2000. The Dunraven archive remains in the possession of the Dunraven family who have loaned the collection to the library where it is available to scholars.

Dr. Malcomson provided an excellent account of the Dunraven papers in his introduction to the collection.[2] The Quins descend from the O'Quins of Inchiquin, Co. Clare. The Wyndham part of the family name comes from the marriage of Windham Quin, later 2nd Earl of Dunraven, who married Caroline, daughter of Thomas Wyndham of Dunraven Castle, Glamorganshire, Wales. It was from this Welsh inheritance that Valentine Richard Quin, Windham's father, chose the Earl of Dunraven as his title when he received an earldom in 1822. The archive includes surveys, maps, valuations, rentals, leases and account books recording household and estate expenses. There are deeds,

[2] A. P. W. Malcomson, *The Dunraven Papers* (Belfast, 1997).

receipts, bonds and correspondence relating to property both in Limerick and Britain. The papers of the 2nd Earl of Dunraven are rich in Limerick political affairs, and include letters from Thomas Spring Rice, Sir Aubrey de Vere and the 2nd Viscount Gort. Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, wife of the 2nd Earl, was a prolific diarist. Her diaries from 1808-70 provide a valuable insight into the social and family affairs of an Irish Victorian aristocratic family. Caroline also maintained an extensive correspondence with her in-laws and neighbours.

The 3rd Earl of Dunraven (1812-1871) was a noted archaeologist and the archive has an interesting collection of material on antiquarianism and archaeology. There is correspondence from George Petrie, John O'Donovan, Eugene Curry and William and Margaret Stokes in the archive. In 1866 the 3rd Earl and his mother, Caroline, published *The memorials of Adare*. This privately published book is an important archaeological discussion of Adare Manor and the estate. There is an extensive collection of papers relating to the book in the collection and the Special Collections Department is fortunate in possessing a copy of this book. Adare Manor is a building of architectural significance and the archive includes letters and accounts relating to its construction. There is one letter from Augustus Welby Pugin and a series of letters from P. C. Hardwick. However, it is important to note there is no architectural material of a graphic nature in the collection. The Dunraven family has kept the plans and drawings of Adare Manor in their possession.

Glin Papers

The second largest collection of estate papers in the library are the Glin Papers from the Fitzgerald family of Glin Castle, Co. Limerick. The current and 29th Knight of Glin, Desmond FitzGerald, placed the papers on loan with the University library. The FitzGeralds are a Geraldine family and can trace their title back to Sir John FitzJohn who built castles at Glin and Beagh in 1260.[3] Unfortunately, the medieval period is not represented in the family papers. Family lore has it that the 'Cracked Knight', John Fraunceis Eyre FitzGerald, 25th Knight of Glin, burnt a lot of the family papers. The earliest document in the archive is an estate book from the time of John Bateman

[3] Lisa Collins, *The Glin Papers* (Limerick, 2001), p. xxiv.

Fitzgerald (ca. 1755-1803), 23rd Knight of Glin. The archive is a comprehensive record of a west Limerick estate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are mortgages, leases, appointments, indentures and conacre agreements listed according to the tenure of each Knight. The rentals provide a useful source of biographical information for the tenants on the Glin estate.

Some of the more interesting personal accounts can be found in the papers of John Fraunceis FitzGerald. His daughter Margaretta Sophia married William Massey Blennerhassett. William was a Sub-Inspector with the Royal Irish Constabulary and both his constabulary diaries (1843-1863) and personal diaries (1861-1897) are in the archive. Blennerhassett was based in Tramore, Co. Waterford and Killadysert, Co. Clare. He gave detailed accounts of his duties and the crimes he investigated as well as notes on the payment of his constables. His personal diaries concern his correspondence, his friends, and fairs throughout Munster, his health and his household staff. The Glin Papers are also a good source of information on the Shannon fisheries with accounts of both Foynes and Killacalla. The account books from 1866-90 record the number and weight of salmon caught.

The papers of Desmond Windham Otho FitzGerald, 28th Knight of Glin, give us a fascinating insight into London life of the 1920s. He set up a garage in London buying and selling exclusive motorcars. His personal diaries up to his death in 1949 are a wonderful source of information on the parties, clubs, concerts and casinos of the period. Desmond married Veronica Villiers, a cousin of Winston Churchill, in 1929. Veronica's correspondence was voluminous in personal and business matters. Veronica married a wealthy Canadian businessman, Ray Milner, in 1954 and her papers document how Glin Castle was restored. There are accounts and architectural drawings for the restoration project.

II: Literary Papers

Kate O'Brien

The papers of Kate O'Brien (1897-1974) were deposited in the University library in 2002 by Kate's godson Austin Hall. The papers cover Kate O'Brien's personal and literary life,

media reports, and her death. There is correspondence with family, friends and admirers, diaries recording appointments and other news, and material relating to her financial affairs. The Kate O'Brien Papers provide researchers with a fascinating insight into the life and work of an important Irish writer. Some of the most interesting items in the papers relate to O'Brien's last novel, *Constancy*, which remained incomplete at the time of her death. The collection holds both handwritten and typescript drafts of book one and two of the novel, each containing their own amendments.

Kate O'Brien was born in Limerick on 3 December 1897. At the age of five O'Brien became the youngest boarder at Laurel Hill School. In 1916 she received a county council scholarship to read French and English in University College, Dublin. After graduation in 1919 she worked as a journalist for the *Sphere* and then the *Manchester Guardian*. She then travelled in the United States and moved to Spain in 1922 to work as a governess. O'Brien's literary career commenced in 1926 with the play *Distinguished Villa*. Her first novel, *Without My Cloak*, was published in 1931 and it established her as a significant Irish writer. In 1936 the novel *Mary Lavelle* was banned in Ireland.[4] O'Brien returned to live in Roundstone, Co. Galway, in 1950 and published *Teresa of Avila* in 1951. There is a comprehensive photographic collection in the papers with photographs of the author in her various homes. In 1960 Kate returned to England and wrote a collection of reminiscences of her early life in Limerick entitled *Presentation Parlour*. There are two drafts of this work in the archive. Kate also wrote the *Long Distance* series in the *Irish Times* and copies of all these articles are contained in the papers. Kate O'Brien died in Kent on 13 August 1974, aged 76.

Maurice Walsh

Novelist and short story writer Maurice Walsh (1879-1964) is probably best known for his short story, *The Quiet Man*, made famous by the John Ford film of the same name. The film, which won two academy awards in 1952 (Best Cinematography and Best Director), starred John Wayne and Maureen O'Hara. This collection was acquired under the auspices of the Glucksman Chair of Contemporary Writing in 2001. Maurice Walsh was born in Ballydonoghue, which lies between Ballybunion and Listowel in north

[4] R. Berry, *The Kate O'Brien Papers* (Limerick, 2003), p. iii.

Kerry. Walsh entered the Customs and Excise service in 1901 and spent twenty years working as an excise officer in the Scottish Highlands.[5]

From about 1905 on he turned out a stream of short stories, which were published in periodicals such as *Irish Emerald*, *Dublin Magazine* and *Chambers' Journal*. Some were so successful that he later expanded them to full-length novels such as *While Rivers Run*, *The Small Dark Man* and *Peacock's Feather*, all of which became bestsellers. However, it was following his return to Ireland in 1922 that he began writing on a more serious level, and in February 1933 he gained an international readership when *The Quiet Man* appeared in the popular American magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Following Walsh's death in 1964 the archive was stored in the safety deposit section of the Bank of Ireland in College Green, Dublin, before being transferred to the University of Limerick. The archive contains manuscripts of the books and stories of Walsh as well as proofs, extracts, letters and notes. Key items include several manuscripts of *The Quiet Man*, along with a letter of rejection from the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, George Horace Coriner, suggesting changes to the work. There is a copy of the paper from 11 February 1933 in which *The Quiet Man* eventually appeared. There is extensive correspondence between the author and his publishers, Brandt and Brandt (New York) and W. and R. Chambers (London and Edinburgh) and manuscripts for his books, *The Small Dark Man*, *Blackcock's Feather*, *Trouble in the Glen*, *The Spanish Lady* and *Danger under the Moon*. The archive also contains a series of correspondence between the author and Sean Ó Faolain on the subject of Irish and American neutrality during World War II.

Edward P. McGrath

The library received a small but significant literary archive from Phyliss R. McGrath in July 2001. Phyliss McGrath donated a collection of papers put together by her late husband Dr. Edward P. McGrath (1929-1994). Edward McGrath was a scholar and a soldier. He enlisted in the US Army to serve in the Korean War and went on to serve with the Green Berets. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. In his civilian life he earned a PhD in Irish literature from Columbia University. He was a journalist at the

[5] S. Matheson, *Maurice Walshe: Storyteller* (Dingle, 1985), p. 5.

Herald Tribune and worked in publishing and public relations. Dr. McGrath had a major research interest in James Joyce and this collection is based on the publishing background to Joyce's *Dubliners*. The publishing firms of Grant Richards and George Roberts both rejected Joyce's manuscript for *Dubliners*. The archive holds letters in the form of replies to requests by McGrath for information surrounding the rejection of the manuscript by the two publishers. Other items in the collection include an original Sean O'Casey letter to McGrath in which he enclosed a signed photograph of himself.

J. M. O'Neill

Joe and Joan Hartnett donated the J. M. O'Neill Papers to the Glucksman Library in November 2001. Jerry O'Neill was born in Limerick and moved to England in the 1950s. He worked in colonial banking and was posted to West Africa. He returned to England and became a tenant landlord of the Duke of Wellington pub in Islington, London. There he established the Sugawn Theatre. He wrote both plays and novels including *Open Cut* (1986), *Duffy is Dead* (1987) and *Bennett and Company* (1998). The archive contains the drafts and proofs of O'Neill's literary output as well as reviews.

III: Historic and Political Papers

The Daly Papers

Thomas Clarke Junior donated the Daly Papers to the University of Limerick in 1988.[6] Thomas was the son of Tom Clarke, the 1916 revolutionary leader. Thomas Junior initially gave the papers to Professor Patrick Doran, Dean of the College of Humanities, before they were transferred to the library in 1998. The archives are the correspondence, recollections and papers of the Daly family who lived in Barrington Street in Limerick at the beginning of the twentieth century. The family ran a bakery on William Street in the city and were related to John Daly, a Mayor of Limerick. Kathleen Daly was a niece of John Daly and she went on to marry Tom Clarke. It was Madge Daly, sister of Kathleen Daly Clarke, who put the Daly papers together. Madge's unpublished recollections and

[6] Helen Litton (ed), *Revolutionary woman: Kathleen Clarke, 1878-1972* (Dublin, 1991), p. 9.

letters are included in the archive and she has annotated a large number of documents in the collection.

The archive is strong in correspondence to and from John Daly as early as 1894. There are letters from Roger Casement, Tom Clarke and Seán MacDermott to the patriarch of the Daly family. There is also an unpublished biography of John Daly entitled *The life and letters of John Daly* by Louis N. Le Roux. There are several drafts of Madge's own unpublished memoirs in the collection as well as extensive correspondence from her to Thomas Ashe, Ernest Blythe, Michael Collins, Tom Clarke, Kathleen Daly Clarke, Constance Markievicz and Patrick Pearse among others. Madge Daly collected written evidence of police brutality during the War of Independence and put together a file of statements from alleged victims and witnesses in 1920. One of the most poignant letters in the collection is from Ned Daly to his mother Catherine who was a sister of Kathleen and Madge Daly. It is Ned's last letter before he was executed for his part in the 1916 Rising in Dublin.

Robert Stradling Spanish Civil War Papers

Robert Stradling was Professor of History at the University of Wales and in 1999 he published a history of the Irish involvement in the Spanish Civil War.[7] In 2002 he donated the archive of material that he had gathered for this book to the library. Divided into three main sections, the archive consists of documentation from the Irish Brigadiers, media coverage of the war in Ireland and administrative records between the Irish Brigade and the Spanish authorities. The majority of the records are facsimiles. Stradling interviewed surviving members of the war in 1994-96 and recordings of these interviews are available in Special Collections. There is also an important collection of photographic images of the Irish soldiers at war in Spain.

The author surveyed many libraries and archives in his research for the book and there are copies of original documents from the National Library and Archives of Ireland, Archivo General Militar at Avila in Spain and the Archivo General de la Guerra Civil at Salamanca. While interviewing veterans and their families Strading uncovered personal diaries and correspondence of the Irish Brigadiers in the Spanish Civil War. Not all of

[7] Robert Stradling, *The Irish and the Spanish Civil War: 1936-39,crusades in conflict* (Manchester, 1999).

this correspondence has been published in the 1999 work and there is a potential for more research on the Irish participation in the war based on these and other primary sources. The official documentation between the Irish and Spanish administrations illustrates how the Irish contingent fought during the conflict. There are dispatches covering logistics, casualties, disciplinary problems and the behaviour of General Eoin O'Duffy. The archive includes the James Roche collection of photographs of the conflict. Roche captured the essence of the campaign for the Irish troops and one of the most striking images in the collection is a photograph of the body of Tom Hyde who was killed after an attack at Ciempozuelos. Lieutenant Tom Hyde was from Midleton, Co. Cork, and he was the first casualty of the Irish Brigade.

Jim Kemmy Papers

The library was proud to receive the papers of Jim Kemmy (1936-1997) in February 1999. Again, Dr. Logan was instrumental in securing these political and social papers. Jim Kemmy was Limerick's best-known politician for many years and he amassed a considerable amount of correspondence throughout his life. He was a stonemason, a trade unionist, a local councillor and a national politician. He was twice elected Mayor of Limerick City and was credited with making Limerick City Hall accessible to the ordinary person when he first became mayor in 1991[8]. Jim Kemmy was first elected to the Dáil in 1981 and he was elected as Chairperson of the National Labour Party in 1992. The archive he left behind represents every facet of his full life, including his work as a writer and publisher of works on socialism and local history.

Kemmy spent most of his political life making representations on behalf of Limerick residents to local and national authorities. His archive contains many of these requests and the sensitive nature of this material causes some difficulty both for the library and researchers. The greater part of the Kemmy Papers will remain closed for a period of thirty years. There are also a small number of particularly sensitive items which will remain closed for one hundred years. This is in order to protect the confidentially of those who sought his help. The papers have been divided up into five categories. Section A is concerned with Kemmy's union activities, in particular with the Building and Allied

[8] A. M. Hajba, *The Jim Kemmy Papers* (Limerick, 2004), p. xv.

Trades Union (BATU). This section also includes material relating to the Mechanics Institute, which was Kemmy's base for his career. Section B relates to his political activities and covers the formation of the Democratic Socialist Party and his participation in the Labour Party. Section C is the largest section in the archive. It contains his constituency work and illustrates the range of issues that he was concerned with. Kemmy's historical and literary work is in Section D. This section covers Kemmy's interest in topics such as Michael Hogan, Limerick Jews, Labour history and Frank McCourt. Section E records personal material such as letters and photographs from friends. This archive will be of major benefit to researchers in the future when most of the papers can be appropriately unveiled to the public.

IV: Numismatic Collections

Father Patrick Conlan Coin Collection

Father Patrick Conlan is a native of Limerick city and a member of the Franciscan order. He is a noted historian and has published several works on the history of his order in Ireland. Fr. Conlan presented his coin collection to the University of Limerick in 1991. This small but extremely important collection of over one-hundred coins is illustrative of the history of coins in Ireland from 1000 to 1830. 'Its contents and its scope reflect exemplary scholarship, a keen eye for quality and a determination to acquire coins that would each illustrate a specific phase and period of Irish numismatic history, particularly with reference to Limerick'.[9] The collection also boasts two examples of worked metal pieces known as ring money dating from 1200 and 600 B. C. respectively. These rare and exemplary coins are on permanent display in the Special Collections Reading Room. They illustrate the history and heritage of Ireland in a visual representation that is of interest to scholars of many disciplines.

Eoin O'Kelly Banknote Collection

The last collection to feature in this survey is the historic banknote collection put together by Eoin O'Kelly (1905-1997). O'Kelly was a banker by profession but he had a keen

[9] John Logan, *The Conlan collection of Irish coins, tokens and ring-money* (Limerick, 2004).

interest in the history of his profession. He wrote a thesis on the banks of Munster in 1953 and this work formed the basis of a published work on the topic in 1959.[10] Eoin O'Kelly retired as a manger of the Provincial Bank of Ireland in Limerick in 1968. He decided to present his collection of early Irish banknotes to the University of Limerick in the hope that it might encourage continuing research into the history of Irish banking. O'Kelly died before his collection was transferred to UL but his daughter Sheila O'Kelly donated the collection in 1999. The collection consists of thirty-nine notes issued by Munster banks during the nineteenth century. The notes are from institutions in Limerick, Cork, Mallow, Waterford, Wexford, Ennis, Tuam and Galway. They are dated and most importantly they display the names of the bank partners on the note. The banknotes are important artefacts in the history of regional banking in Ireland.

Conclusion

This paper concerned itself with the listed available collections in the Special Collections Department of the Glucksman Library at UL. The library has other collections in its possession but they must be processed and listed before they become available to readers. The library is indebted to the staff and students of the University who have been instrumental in the acquisition of so many relevant archives for the library. Dr. John Logan has played a pivotal role in securing many of the archives discussed in this survey. The library is also grateful to the students at UL who have uncovered unrecorded archival material in their researches. Recently, a UL history research student secured the transfer of the diaries and papers of Liam Manahan, a senior officer in the East Limerick IRA during the revolutionary period of the early twentieth century, to Special Collections. The library was delighted to receive this valuable archive from Marianne Gallagher, daughter of Liam Manahan, who loaned the collection to UL in 2005. Finds like this contribute greatly to the development of Special Collections. However, the Manahan Papers will not be available to the public until they have been fully catalogued. The library recently announced the acquisition of the papers of Dr. Tiede Herrema, a Dutch industrialist and former Managing Director of Limerick's Ferenka factory. The IRA kidnapped Dr.

[10] Eoin O'Kelly, *The old private banks and bankers of Munster: Bankers of Cork and Limerick cities* (Cork, 1959).

Herrema in 1975 and he donated his private archive of documentation relating to the kidnapping to the library. It is planned that this archive will shortly be made available to researchers. The development of the archives has focused on collections with particular reference to the Mid-West region of Ireland. Special Collections values the cooperation it receives from faculty, students and members of the public in its mission to preserve and make available materials for scholarly research at the University of Limerick.

Reviews

A bibliography of Limerick city and county
By Margaret Franklin
Doon, Doon South Publications 2005
ISBN 0955021308; €30

This voluminous publication represents a milestone in the study of Limerick's past. It is the fruit of five years of persistent research and an uphill struggle in financing the project. It is a tribute, therefore, that the book was launched to a crammed room in the Limerick County Council Library in Dooradoyle last December, indicating the interest in both the publication and Limerick history. Although we are living through an age of great technological change where the majority struggle to keep abreast with the advances, there is still room on our shelves for essential contributions to historical research such as this one. The Internet and online catalogues were certainly used in its compilation, however the majority of the journals consulted have not been digitally catalogued. Aided by the knowledgeable and ever generous Fr. John Leonard and inspired by Roisin de Nais' *Bibliography of Limerick history and antiquities* (Limerick, 1962), Margaret Franklin has given us the most comprehensive bibliography on Limerick history and literature to date.

An inclusive monograph of Limerick's history is yet to be comprehensively written. There are some publications dedicated to its history, but many of the authors have relied largely on the work of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century historians, such as Maurice Lenihan's *Limerick; its history and antiquities* (Limerick, 1866) and John Begley's *The diocese of Limerick from 1691 to the present time* (1906-1938). However, there have been numerous journal articles written throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Many are scattered among national and local journals and have drawn on some newly discovered primary sources and re-examined better known ones. Franklin trawled through no less than 150 journals to extract these article titles and arranged them by topic to make them easily accessible to the experienced and aspiring historian, archaeologist, antiquarian, genealogist and literature scholar.

Franklin has also given the location of the articles, books pamphlets, prints, maps etc. The majority of those listed in the 290 pages are to be found in local Limerick repositories, whether it be the Limerick County Council Library, the Limerick City

Library, the Kemmy Museum Limerick, Mary Immaculate College or the Special Collections Library in the University of Limerick which is home to Fr. John Leonard's extensive collection on Limerick. This is good news for the provincially based scholar as it contradicts the preconception that all primary sources are centralised in Dublin.

The print-run of 500 copies means that the book will not be available for too much longer. It has been suggested that a digital edition will be created whereby the bibliography can be updated on a regular basis and accessible to all. It is the tireless work and dedication of bibliographers like Franklin that allow a myriad of researchers to delve deep into journals, newspapers, books and pamphlets to produce a well rounded provincial history.

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The clergy of the Church of Ireland 1000–2000: Messengers, watchmen and stewards
Edited by Toby C. Barnard and W. G. Neely
Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2006
ISBN 1851829946; €55

This collaborative work edited by Toby Barnard and William Neely is the companion volume to *The Laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000–2000* edited by Raymond Gillespie and William Neely in 2002. The book aims to portray the changing activities of the clergy over a millennium. This is an onerous task which it goes some way to accomplishing. The books second aim, which is to address specific issues with which the clergy were confronted, is perhaps more successfully executed.

The volume begins, as does its companion volume, with an essay by Adrian Empey. Here Empey deals with the Irish clergy in the pre-reformation Ireland of the high and late Middle Ages. The Irish church at that time was not, of course, Protestant but the later established Church of Ireland inherited its diocesan and parochial systems from it. Empey highlights the porosity of the theoretical wall dividing the sacred and secular, a porosity, which subsequent essays demonstrate, continued into modern times. Colm Lennon and Ciaran Diamond's essay looks at the ministry of the Church during the Reformation in Ireland, 1536 to 1636. This chapter examines the quality of the first three generations of

Reformation clergy, their role as messengers of Enlightenment ideas and their evolution as local administrators for the British state. Lennon and Diamond illustrate how the first two generations maintained their traditional outlook and the allegiance of the local communities and how the third generation, due to their variable standards and their increasing exclusivity, became alienated from the indigenous population who were increasingly ministered to by the seminary priests of the Counter-Reformation.

The clergy who lived through the turbulent years of the seventeenth century are examined by Raymond Gillespie. He highlights how practical needs and the continual difficulty of collecting tithes made the realities of clerical life very different from the ideal presented by the Church. The depositions made by clergy as a result of losses incurred in the rising of 1641 provide a rich resource to 'capture the material world of the middling clergy' and thereby demonstrate how the clergy were bringing about cultural and material change to Ireland and how they became a culturally determined order. William Roulston in his essay 'Accommodating clergymen' describes how the spirit of improvement was embraced by many clergy and how it was recognised that the extension of Protestantism into a locality brought about the advance of the accepted norms associated with a civilised society. An integral part of any civilised society is scholarship and Toby Barnard's second essay looks at the specific issue of the scholars and antiquarians among the clergy from 1600-2000. The results of the archive fever of the latter have left many of today's historians of Ireland in their debt.

Barnard's first essay covers the period 1647-1780, a time when the clergy were frequently embittered and prepared to adopt an uncompromising attitude towards Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. Marie-Louise Legg also examines the clergy of the eighteenth century and in particular Edward Synge during his time as bishop of Ferns and Leighlin and latterly of Elphin. The sense of security, which the clergy may have enjoyed in the 1780s, was greatly disturbed during the years 1780 to 1850, which is the period covered in William Neely's essay. The clergy were forced, during this period, to review their profession and their responsibilities and Neely examines the effects of evangelicalism and tractarianism in a period of growing Catholic power. After the Church Temporalities Act of 1833 the real power of the Church of Ireland was transferred to civil servants, a change that affected every clergyman and was a precursor to eventual

disestablishment in 1869. Richard Clarke examines the differing debates among the clergy during the time of disestablishment and elucidates the sometimes nuanced differences between evangelicals, liberals, tractarians and those of the high church.

The evangelical position is epitomised in the life of Tresham Dames Gregg (1800-81) 'an ultra-Protestant' who is the subject of John Crawford's essay. The individual endeavours of William Connor Magee are discussed in Alan Magahey's essay. Magee was 'the first Irishman since the Reformation who has ever held an English see' and Magahey reveals the contrasting experiences and developments of the churches of England and Ireland in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Ireland's often ignored links with British imperialism are revealed in William Marshall's essay 'Irish clergy abroad' as he examines the lives of Irish missionaries in British colonies from the seventeenth century to the twentieth.

One of the Church's most important roles in Ireland was education and Kenneth Milne's essay on the topic provides an excellent summary from the reformation until the twentieth century. The political upheavals of the twentieth century and the emergence of the Irish republic in 1948 brought about a challenge for the Church of Ireland clergy around the wording of state prayers in the liturgy. The debates on this issue are examined in Daithi Ó Corráin's interesting essay on the subject.

The only disappointing aspect of this book is the absence of women from most of the essays. Although, of course they themselves were not clergy, they were the wives, daughters and patrons of clergy and were an important part of a clergyman's life. Barnard mentions Rev. Patrick Delany's 'opinionated' wife and Matthew Pilkington's 'voluble wife'. What were their opinions and how did they influence their husbands? Indeed, who were they, what were their names? As Barnard later gives the names of two clergymen's dogs, one could expect their wives also to be identified. However, this collaborative volume allows us a glimpse of the very different lives of the clergy and at the important and lasting effects these men had on the history and culture of Ireland and invites further study.

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Ruairí Ó Brádaigh: The life and politics of an Irish revolutionary
By Robert W. White
Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2006
ISBN: 0253347084, €28

Described by Ed Moloney as 'the last Irish republican,' Ruairí Ó Brádaigh is perhaps one of the most controversial and divisive figures in modern Irish politics. Born in 1932 into a middle-class republican family in Co. Longford, Ó Brádaigh has lived a complex political and clandestine life through his membership of both the IRA and Sinn Féin. As an erstwhile IRA Chief of Staff and a prominent member of its Army Council, Ó Brádaigh was instrumental in orchestrating the foundation of the Provisional movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As president of Provisional Sinn Féin, Ó Brádaigh was the foremost advocate of the policy of parliamentary abstention, leading a dramatic walkout from the party's 1986 *Ard Fheis*, when delegates voted to remove the self-imposed ban in respect of Dáil Éireann.

Through the ensuing foundation of Republican Sinn Féin, Ó Brádaigh has set himself up in opposition to the Good Friday Agreement, on the grounds that it copper-fastens the partition of Ireland, thereby leading to further conflict. In claiming sole ownership of the republican tradition, Ó Brádaigh's steadfast refusal to recognise the legitimacy of the Dáil has ensured that he remains one of the most outspoken 'republican legitimists' of his generation.

Based on a series of interviews with Ó Brádaigh and extensive access to his personal papers, the appearance of this biography is an important and timely addition to Irish historiography. Written by Robert W. White, author of the acclaimed: *Provisional Irish republicanism: An oral and interpretative history*, this work does not profess to be an objective historical assessment of the man. Instead, it presents us with a unique insight into the political philosophy of this most enigmatic of characters, giving us his interpretation of the key events within Irish republicanism in the last fifty years.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this biography is the contribution it makes to the study of Irish republicanism during the 1950s. In contrast to the IRA campaign of the 1970s, this period of activity has, to date, received little scholarly attention. In this work, Ó Brádaigh details his involvement in some of the most important IRA operations

of this time, including an abortive attack on Derrylin RUC barracks in December 1956. His ensuing internment is of particular interest, as Ó Brádaigh describes his escape during 'a spirited football match,' leading to his election as IRA Chief of Staff in 1958.

On a personal level, he describes the gradual breakdown of his relationship with Seán Mac Stiofáin and offers a scathing indictment of the contemporary Sinn Féin leadership. At times his fascinating perspective on the defining moments of the recent Northern Irish conflict borders on the anecdotal. On one occasion he recalls how, on listening to Edward Heath's speech suspending Stormont in 1972, he received a phone call from a party colleague in Kerry who wanted to know why the Easter Lilies he had ordered for an upcoming 1916 commemoration had not yet arrived.

Although this work offers little by way of 'new' historical material, its appearance is indicative of a new discourse within Irish republicanism and an increased willingness to recount the past. This has contributed in recent years to a re-evaluation of the republican movement and its role in twentieth century Ireland. As such, this book, together with the recent biography of the late Joe Cahill, is mandatory reading for all historians of Irish republicanism.

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Notes on Contributors

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Tomás Finn holds a BA and MA from University College Dublin. He is pursuing a PhD at NUI Galway. The title of his thesis is 'The influence of *Tuairim* on intellectual debate and policy formulation in Ireland, 1954–75'.

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Gerald Power is a PhD candidate at NUI Galway and is funded by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences. His thesis is a study of the nobility of the English Pale in the sixteenth century.

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The University of Limerick History Society

The History Society was formed in 1997 and in the intervening years has established itself as one of the most active societies on campus, winning various clubs and societies awards. It is involved in organising lectures, seminars, films and field trips, with the committee playing a valuable role furthering the study of history. The first edition of *History Studies* was published in 1999 and has proved to be an important landmark in the development of the History Society. The Society has previously organised a number of events including the 'Poet's and Patriots Parted' exhibition which commemorated the 90th anniversaries of the Easter Rising and the Battle of the Somme. It was held in conjunction with the IHSA conference at the University in February 2006.

For information on joining the history society contact ulhistorysociety@hotmail.com

History Studies

University of Limerick History Society Journal

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For details in relation to style sheet or back issues of *History Studies* please contact the editors at addresses listed below.

Closing date for submissions
Friday 3 August 2007

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