An Nasc

D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies
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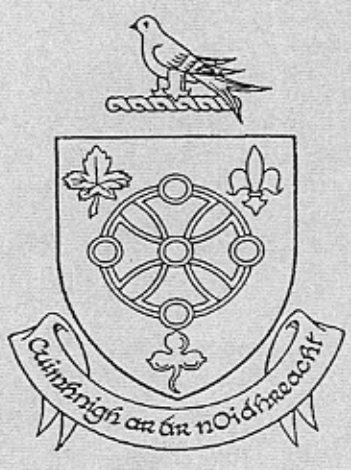

News from the Chair
Honorary Doctorate for The President of Ireland
The Geography of Déise Surnames
Peter D. Murphy's *Poor Ignorant Children*
Protestant, Planted and Provincial

Volume 12, Winter 1999

Editors: Pádraig Ó Siadhail
Cyril J. Byrne

Layout & Design:
Michael J. Miller

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

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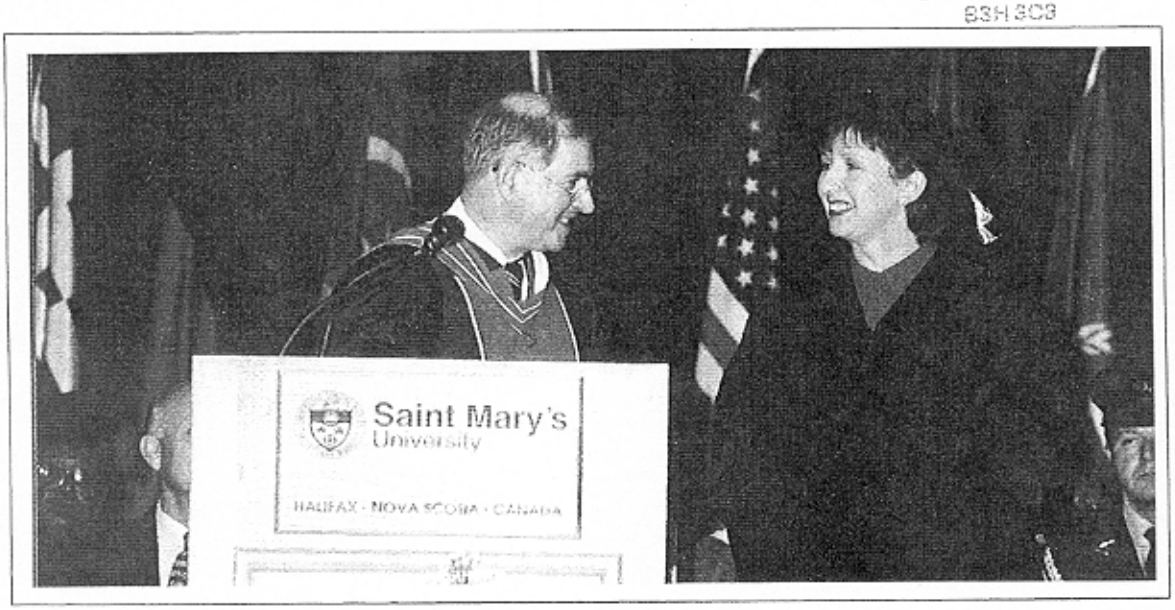
News from the Chair 1998-1999



President of Ireland Mary McAleese with Cyril Byrne of Irish Studies on the occasion of the conferral of an honorary doctorate from Saint Mary's University in October 1998.

Visit of President of Ireland

In October 1998 Mary McAleese embarked on the first official visit to Canada by an Irish head of state.

Cyril Byrne and Pádraig Ó Siadhail represented Irish Studies at a state banquet for the President of Ireland hosted by the Governor General, Roméo LeBlanc, in Rideau Hall, Ottawa.

At a Special Convocation at Saint Mary's on October 9, 1998, the University conferred an honorary degree as Doctor of Civil Law on Mary McAleese. Cyril Byrne prepared and delivered the degree citation. Following President McAleese's impressive Convocation Address, several hundred members of the university community and of the Irish community from Atlantic Canada had the opportunity to meet the President at a reception in the Sobey Building.

Mary McAleese's visit to Saint Mary's received extensive coverage in the Irish media. Apart from print reports, BBC Radio Ulster and RTÉ television interviewed Pádraig Ó Siadhail about the details and the significance of the occasion.

Course Offerings

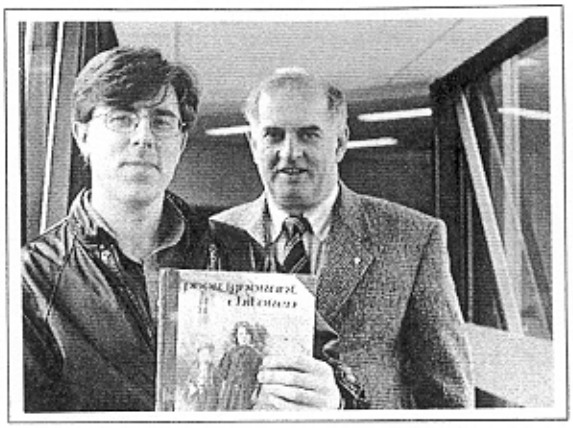
During the 1998-99 Academic year, Cyril Byrne was on Sabbatical leave. Pádraig Ó Siadhail was Acting Coordinator for the year.

The Chair offered introductory Irish language (IRS 201.1 and IRS 202.2) taught by Kelly Curran and an introductory Scottish Gaelic course (IRS 304.0) by Joe Murphy. Pádraig Ó Siadhail offered two Intermediate Irish languages courses (IRS 325.1 and IRS 326.2), Irish Folklore (IRS 430.1), and Modern Gaelic Literature in Translation (IRS 450.2). The following cross listed courses were offered: Geography of Ireland (IRS 391.1) and Irish Material Culture (IRS 379.2) by Donald Wyllie; The Politics and Government of Ireland (IRS 457.0) by Guy Chauvin; and Irish Drama (IRS 442.2), offered at the Library on Spring Garden Road by Graham Fraser.

Publications

In April 1999, the Chair published Peter Murphy's *Poor Ignorant Children: Irish Famine Orphans in Saint John, New Brunswick*. Drawing on previously unexplored sources, including the Admittance ledger of the Orphan Asylum in Saint John for 1847-1849, the height of the Great Famine, the author explores the fate of over three hundred Irish-born children who were destined to enter through the gates of the Asylum.

Launched initially at Saint Mary's University on April 21 1999, the book was relaunched at the Catholic Bookstore in Saint John, New Brunswick, on May 22.



Author Peter D. Murphy with Cyril Byrne of the D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies

Generous financial contributions towards the cost of publishing the book came from within Saint Mary's University (the Senate Research Committee and the Alumni Association); and from without: from longtime supporters of the Chair, Margaret Fallona, London, Ontario, and Kent Sweeney, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia; from the Patrick Power Trust, Halifax; from the Irish-Canadian Cultural Association, Saint John Chapter, and from the Irish-Canadian Cultural Association of New Brunswick. A financial contribution towards the cost of refreshments at the Saint Mary's launch was made by An Cumann/the Irish Association of Nova Scotia.

Successful marketing efforts for *Poor Ignorant Children: Irish Famine Orphans in Saint John, New Brunswick,* were also carried out during the first annual Irish Festival in Springhill, Nova Scotia, in June, 1999 as well as at the Miramichi Irish Festival in New Brunswick in mid-July 1999.

Pádraig Ó Siadhail published an article, "Idir dhá Thír. Idir dhá Thine Bhealtaine", in the *Irish Times*, May 12, 1999.

Students

Three students graduated with Majors in Irish Studies at Spring Convocation in May 1999: Matthew Knight, Washington, DC., Erin Delaney, Halifax, and Chad Cully, Kanata, Ontario. Erin Delaney has now set off to spend a year working in Ireland.

Community-related activities and lectures

Pádraig Ó Siadhail participated in the annual The Word on the Street literary festival in Halifax on September 27, 1998, when he read material in Irish. On January 28, 1999, Pádraig Ó Siadhail gave a lectured to An Cumann/the Irish Association of Nova Scotia on "Damned Englishmen and Irish Politics: Piaras Béaslaí and Erskine Childers." Though both of these figures dedicated their lives to the cause of Ireland — particularly as propagandists during the 1919-1921 war against British rule in Ireland — these non-Irish born writers ended up on different sides of the 1922 Anglo-Irish Treaty Debate. Childers, whose son became fourth President of Ireland, was executed by the Provisional Government during the Civil War in 1922.

Fundraising

The Government of Nova Scotia presented the Chair with a grant of $25,000 in October 1998, in recognition of the strong ties between the people of Nova Scotia and Ireland and on the occasion of the state visit by the President of Ireland.

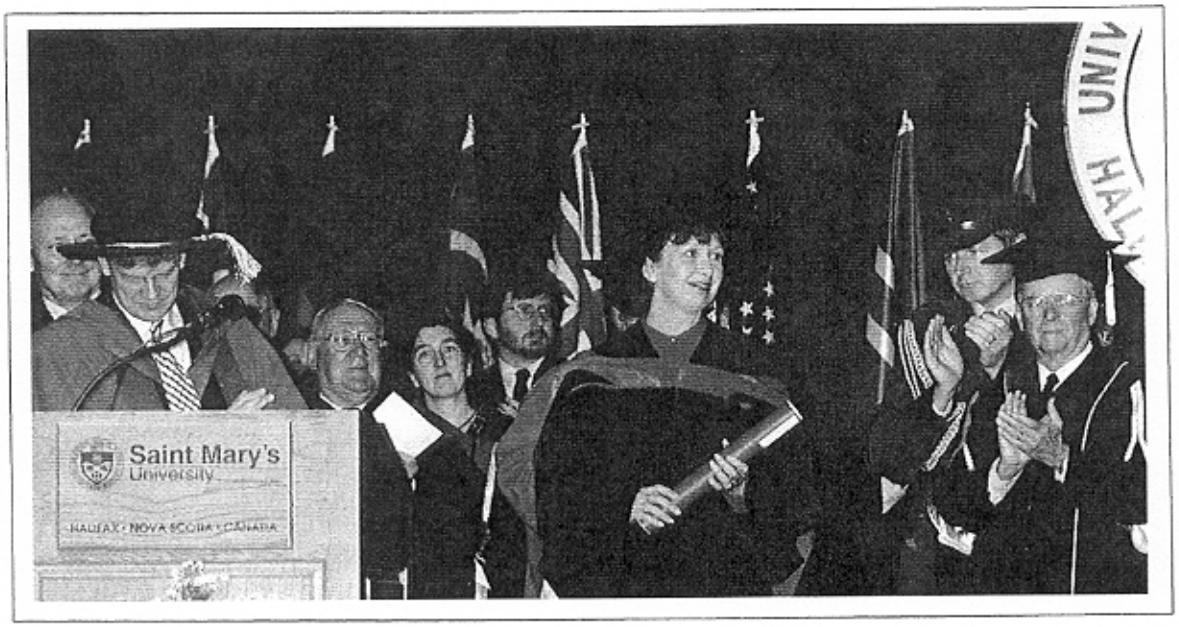
The Amethyst Scottish Dancers of Nova Scotia selected both the Chair of Irish Studies and the Chair of Gaelic studies at Saint Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, as recipients of the proceeds of their 1998 annual Highland Heritage concert. Pádraig Ó Siadhail represented the Chair at the Concert in the Rebecca Cohn Auditorium on November 14, 1998.

"Lessons Learned: Chairs of Ethnic Studies"

In 1997, the Department of Canadian Heritage launched a full-scale review of the role of the thirty Ethnic Chairs, which had been partially endowed by the Federal Government, in promoting the Department's goal of Multiculturalism. The Chair of Irish Studies participated actively in this process as it was selected as one of five national chairs to be featured as a case-study. The results of the review and of the case-study have been made available recently to the Chair in the two-volume report, *Lessons Learned: Chairs of Ethnic Studies*, published by Canadian Heritage, Corporate Review Branch. These volumes, which conclude that the Ethnic Chairs Program has made a significant contribution to the implementation of the Multiculturalism policy, contain extensive summaries of the work of all the Ethnic Chairs and comparative analyses of their activities.

Citation for the conferral of a Doctorate in Civil Law (*honoris causa*) on Her Excellency Mary McAleese, Uachtarán na hÉireann, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, October 9, 1998.

Citation prepared and read by Cyril J. Byrne, C.M., PhD, Co-ordinator of Irish Studies.



Ladies and Gentlemen and distinguished guests:

A Shoilse, a Uachtaráin na hÉireann, fearaimid fáilte chroíúil romhat go Ceanada, go hAlbain Nua, go Halifax, agus go hOllscoil Mhuire Naofa. Is mór linn é go bhfuil tú anseo inár measc inniu.

It is a grand day and a grand occasion for us all as we welcome here Uachtarán na hÉireann. It is especially significant for this university founded by the Irish of the diaspora nearly two hundred years ago that the President of Ireland is now among us. For President McAleese has made it an important part of her office to reach out to that vast assemblage of the children of the Gael who look to Ireland as a spiritual and cultural homeland as well as a modern nation state. Our university reaching back to its Irish past has made the study of that culture from which it derives an important feature of what it offers its students — not to sentimentalize an unreal Ireland of shamrock and leprechauns but to come into genuine

contact with our cultural heritage which can engage the mind, stir the heart and enrich our souls' quest for meaning.

It is especially appropriate that An tUachtarán is a woman because in Irish myth the country was conceived of as a woman going under an array of names from Banba, Cáit Ní Dhuibhir, Róisín Dubh, Síle Ní Ghadhra, Caitlín Ní Uallacháin to the latinized Hibernia. In the eighteenth century, the one in which so many of our forebears became part of the diaspora, Ireland appears over and over in the *Aisling* or dream visions of the poets as a beautiful young and sorrowful woman looking for some young man to become her protector and defender.

Madame la Président, vous avez vu à Grosse Île les dernières demeures des milliers d'Irlandais et d'Irlandaises chassés de leur patrie au cours de la grande famine et qui sont morts à bord du Saint Laurent. Passons là-dessus cet évènement malheureux, plutôt souvenons nous de la richesse culturelle accordée à la culture populaire du Canada francophone par la foule d'Irlandais et d'irlandaises qui commencait à arriver longtemps auparavant la grande famine. Car beaucoup de dance, de musique populaire et de forme unique des contes folkloriques de Quebec peuvent être attribués aux sources irlandaises.

The young and beautiful woman of Irish mythology is today neither sorrowful nor downtrodden. Forceful, vigorous and independent as the country she has been chosen to lead, An tUachtarán embodies the myth of the new Ireland as she reaches out to heal old divisions and lead Ireland into the New Millennium respecting the diverse strands woven into the cloak which surrounded the woman who emblemized Ireland in Irish poetry.

An tUachtarán McAleese has so many achievements to her credit in so many diverse fields that one is dazzled, indeed overwhelmed by what she has managed so successfully to accomplish prior to assuming the presidency. An academic with a distinguished career as a jurist, a professor, an administrator — the first woman to hold the post of Pro Vice-Chancellor of Queens University in Belfast — she is also well known in Ireland and Great Britain as an outspoken journalist covering the print media as well as radio and television. But it is the use to which she has put her obvious talents that is more impressive than anything. Born in an area of Ireland rife with injustice she set about organizing people to achieve their dignity and self-respect. Typical of her practical and effective way of doing things she introduced sign language into solicitors' training in Northern Ireland when she was Director of the Institute of Professional Legal Studies at Queens, the first time this was done in any European country. Not content with setting up courses she took a hands on approach of convincing her legal colleagues to appreciate the needs of clients with hearing impairments.

Her generosity of spirit has poured itself into her new role of An tUachtarán setting as the theme of her Presidency "building

bridges." A lesser person could have turned the sectarianism she and her family experienced in her youth into a lifelong hatred of the so-called "other side." However she saw there really is no "other side" but two groups of people with a strong presentiment of their own victimhood waiting for centuries for "the other side" to say sorry. Thus she has spent and will spend much of her efforts building bridges between people who have to recognize the "other side" is ironically a lot like themselves. And this, of course, is not only an Irish course of study — we could stand some deal of that in Canada!

Mary McAleese is Ireland's eighth president. She has come to that office when Ireland is experiencing the heady economic growth which a materialist world can always use to seduce us from the spiritual and moral wealth built up for centuries. A wealth we all have a share in. It is to that common cultural heritage that she directs us. For as I suggested earlier Mary McAleese is not only An tUachtarán of a modern nation state but also the head of a cultural diaspora which consists not only in dance, music, and literature but also in the sound good sense of leaders like herself whose warmth, generosity and humanity show all of us where the true wealth of any culture lies, in the accumulated wisdom of its people. Mary McAleese's strength is derived from her family many of whom are here today. She values the simplicity of Irish life close to nature which sustains us always. Her attachment to the Irish language and the wisdom embodied in it sustains her as she and the Ireland she represents walk proudly in the ranks of the European Union and the nations of the world.

Saint Mary's University, all of us gathered here, and I feel sure your extended family in the Irish diaspora in Canada, wish you, your consort Martin, your children Emma, Sara-mai and Justin happiness in your lives and the satisfaction of a productive tenure in your high office.

Guímid gach rath ort féin agus ar do chuid oibre inniu is sna blianta atá le teacht.

Reverendissime pro-Cancellarie, praesento vobis, Mary McAleese, Uachtarán na hÉireann, quam scio tam moribus quam doctrina habilem et idoneam esse quae admittatur, honoris causa, ad gradum Doctoratus in Jure Civile, idque tibi fide mea testur ac spondeo totique Academiae Sanctae Mariae.

The Penal Laws in Newfoundland

Cyril J. Byrne

The year 1755 was an eventful one in the series of wars between France and England which went on throughout most of the eighteenth century, and which only came to an end in 1815 after the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. In Colonial North America 1755 was to see the defeat of the French in what is now Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. The most spectacular event in that year was the fall of the great French fortress of Louisbourg in Cape Breton. One of the consequences of the fall of Louisbourg was the infamous deportation of the Acadians from parts of their territory and a wholesale dislocation of those who were able to escape actual deportation.

Seventeen hundred and fifty-five was to witness an imposition of the Penal Laws of the British Isles against Roman Catholics in various Conception Bay communities in Newfoundland. This implementation of the Penal Laws was most likely used as a convenient legal method to get rid of the Irish Roman Catholics who were seen in the circumstances as politically unreliable.

The so-called Penal Laws were a series of enactments of the Parliaments in Dublin and London dating from the reign of Elizabeth I to the reign of the Georges in the eighteenth century. The aim of the Penal Code was to keep Roman Catholics, referred to as Papists, from any position of power or social influence. Papists were effectively barred from the ownership of land, from sitting in Parliament, practicing law, taking a university degree or conducting a school. The eighteenth century politician Edmund Burke described the Penal Code as "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people and the debasement, in them, of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."[1]

Although the Penal Laws in England and Ireland shared the aim described by Burke they were not uniform either in terms of what they proscribed or in how they were applied. In Ireland the presence of a Catholic majority made it impossible to impose either the same prohibitions as in England or to impose them with anything like the same rigor. For example, although the English Penal Laws made the celebration of and attendance at Mass a crime, such blanket proscriptions were never made by the Protestant dominated Parliament in Dublin.

The Irish in Newfoundland presented a strategic problem to the British. The colonial records for Newfoundland throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are full of rumblings about the political unreliability of the Irish. The Irish in Newfoundland were

part of the great migratory cod fishery which provided England with a needed supply of cheap protein for the home population and the military. The colonial records clearly indicate a huge preponderance of Irish in the population on the Island, especially in the Fall and Winter when the Irish appear to have wintered over after the majority of the fishing ships and their crews would have returned to Europe.

During the winter of 1696/97, the French under Le Moyne D'Iberville crossed the Avalon peninsula from Placentia and in a series of daring raids destroyed the British Fishery on the Southern Shore, took St. John's and then proceeded to burn and pillage the British fishing posts around Conception Bay. The records clearly indicate that they were aided and abetted by many Irish who either joined them or provided them with valuable information about the difficult and, to the French, unfamiliar terrain.

From that point on, despite the fact that the West Country fishing fleet found it convenient to employ thousands of Irishmen in Newfoundland, the military authorities took a jaundiced view of their presence. The Colonial Office papers contain reports of the political unreliability of the Irish Papists: that they refused to take the oaths of loyalty demanded of them and that they could not be depended on in the event of an attack by the French. It is important to note that during the eighteenth century thousands of Irishmen went to the continent of Europe, but especially to France and Spain, to join the armies of those countries with some hope of advancement, to obtain schooling, indeed to engage in all the normal civil activities from which their religion barred them at home. The loyalties of the Irish were with France where the exiled Catholic Stuarts lived and where thriving Irish communities existed in towns such as St. Malo, Nantes and Bordeaux. The year 1755 was, therefore, a skittish one for British officials in Newfoundland because of the war going on with France.

The Irish in Newfoundland were visited occasionally by priests but certainly not on a regular basis. It is clear that in 1755 a priest was active in Conception Bay.[2] His presence was made known to Governor Richard Dorrill who decided to impose the English Penal laws to thwart the priest's activities but most probably to get rid of the Irish Papists who were considered political undesirables. Dorrill's thinking bears remarkable likeness to that of the New Englanders and the English who "cleansed" the Maritimes of the Acadians in the same year.

In September 1755, just before the return of the fishing fleet to England, Dorrill decided to strike. In the Conception Bay communities of Harbour Main, Harbour Grace/ Carbonear/Crocker's Cove there were large populations of Roman Catholics most of whom were Irish. The easiest and most evidently legal expedient available to get rid of this potentially troublesome lot over the winter was an imposition of the Penal Laws.

At a court held at Harbour Grace on

September 15, 1755, Governor Dorrill's surrogate Thomas Burnett determined "that Publick Mass was celebrated according to the Church of Rome in one of Mr. Stretche's storehouses on Sunday 26 July, 1755." Mr. Stretch himself was not present "but most of his man servants and maid servants was there" and because Stretch had not locked the doors "to prevent any such congregation to assemble there," he was fined £10 and the store was ordered to be burned "down to the ground" by eleven o'clock the next morning. That office was given in charge of George and Charles Garland, Justices of the Peace.[3]

On the same day Anthony Fitzgerald, master of a Snow (a type of vessel like a Brig) named *The Sinicle*, was arraigned in court because he "did at several times hoist Irish colours, in company with Geo. Tobyn, master of the St. Patrick, Brigg in defiance to the English and Jerseymen of this Harbour, with the same bad intention, to stirring up sedition and mutiny,..." Fitzgerald was fined £5 "for his bad behaviour." No fine appears to have been levied against George Tobin. Michael White, Master of the schooner *Saint Anthony*, was implicated in the same "bad behaviour" of hoisting Irish colours several times in company with Fitzgerald and Tobin. The public records of the period suggest that the Protestant English in the Harbour Grace area were in physical dread of the Irish who were numerically superior and not at all adverse to throwing their weight around. In fact Fitzgerald was fined £10 for threatening the life of a merchant from Jersey named Philip Payne. The court records make clear that Captain Tobin "hoisted Irish cocolours [*sic*] att the Ensign staff, and his English Ensign, hoisted on his Jack staff to bid defiance to the English and Jersey men of this harbour." This was seen as a political act — "stirring up sedition and mutiny" — and gave Dorrill the excuse for putting into operation the Penal Laws and the prohibitions against permanent settlement on the Island.[4]

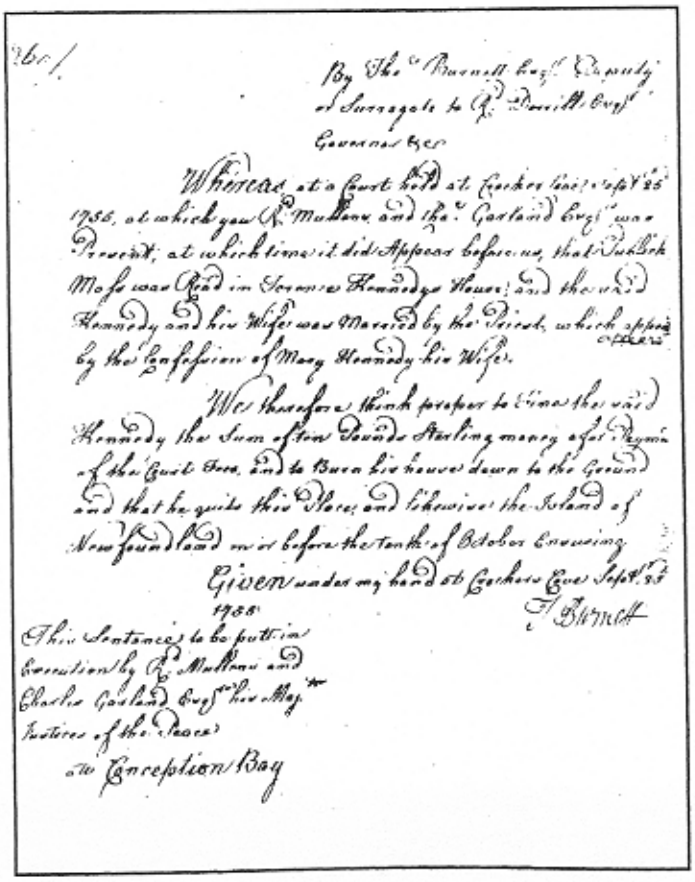
At Harbour Main on September 20, Burnett held court at which a number of residents of the place but principally Michael Katen were arraigned. Katen confessed that he did "admit a Roman Priest to celebrate publick Mass according to the Church of Rome, in one of his fish rooms or storehouses and he being present himself which is contrary to law and against our Sovereign Lord The King..." Katen's store where Mass was said was ordered to be demolished and Katen fined £50, ordered to sell all his possessions and to quit Harbour Main by November 25. Another person similarly charged was Michael Landrigan. Landrigan was fined £20, his property ordered to be burned and he was ordered to quit Harbour Main by November 25.

A number of others who appeared at the same time with Katen and Landrigan were likewise charged; however, there is an interesting addition to the charge against them. "Darby Costley, Rob^{t}. Finn, Mich^{l}. Mooring and Renold MacDonald" are described in the record as **"by their own confession Roman Catholicks and inhabitants of this place,**

which is contrary to Law that they should hold any property in this Island." [Emphasis mine] They were fined £10, £10, £8 and £2.10 shillings respectively and again ordered to quit the harbour by November 25.[5]

From the size of the fines levied on Katen and the five others arrainged with him it appears that they constituted the major Irish planters of Harbour Main. This is made clear in another court document in which a group designated as servants of Michael Katen are charged with being Roman Catholics and joining in the celebration of "Publick Mass." Those named were Martin Donnilly, John Sennett, John Devereux, R[d]. Tobyn, John Qusho, W[m]. Welch, Tho[s]. Ryan, Mich[l]. Hanlan, W[m]. Murphy, Mich[l]. Henson, Tho[s]. Conoly, George McDonald, John Brennan, Dan[l]. Hiaden, John Welch, John Clancey, R[d]. Slemon."[6] The fines in this instance amounted to £40 which were to be paid to Michael Katen to make good the damage sustained by having his fish room demolished.

Back in the Carbonear/Harbour Grace area by September 25, Burnett held court at Crocker's Cove. Again the Penal Code served as the basis for charges levied against a number of Roman Catholic inhabitants for breaching the code's enactments. Terence Kennedy and his wife Mary were in court; Kennedy was charged with having "Publick Mass read in his house." However, Kennedy was also charged with having the priest perform the marriage ceremony for him and his wife. The document states that this appeared "by confession of Mary Kennedy, his wife." The penalty for these offences was quite severe. Kennedy was fined £10, his house was ordered to be burned to the ground and he, and presumably his wife, ordered to quit Crocker's Cove and the Island of Newfoundland on or before October 10.[7]



By Tho[s] Burnett Esq[r] Deputy
of Surrogate to R[t] Darcell Esq[r]
Governor &c[a]

Whereas at a Court held at Crockers Cove Sept[r] 25
1788, at which your R. Mullens and Tho[s] Garland Esq[rs] were
Present, at which time it did Appear before us, that Publick
Mass was Read in Terrence Kennedys House, and the said
Kennedy and his Wife was Married by the Priest, which appears
by the Confession of Mary Kennedy his Wife.

We therefore think proper to Fine the said
Kennedy the Sum of ten Pounds Sterling money as per Statute
of the Quit Rent, and to Burn his house down to the Ground
and that he quits this Place, and likewise the Island of
Newfoundland on or before the tenth of October ensuing.

Given under my hand at Crockers Cove Sept[r] 25
1788

T Burnett

This Sentence to be putt in
Execution by R. Mullens and
Charles Garland Esq[rs] two Maj[r]
Justices of the Peace
in Conception Bay

Terence Kennedy's servants were also arraigned for having attended Mass in their Master's house

and the fines levied against them were to be paid to Terence Kennedy to defray the loss sustained in having his house burned. The servants and their fines were as follows: John Whelan £3, Mich[l]. Scalin £2, Edwd. Brine £2, Darby Conner £2, W[m]. Henesey £2, John Power £2, Mich[l]. Hickey £1.10 shillings, Patrick Helan £1, W[m]. Kenedy £1.10 shillings, Nich[l]. Power £1.10 shillings.[8]

On the same day at Carbonear Marthaugh McGuire and Morgan Hogan were arraigned in court for having had Mass said in a house they had rented from William Pike. However neither McGuire nor Hogan graced the court with their presence. Nonetheless, fines of £25 and £15 respectively were imposed, the house was ordered demolished and part of the fine used to compensate its owner. Both men were ordered to leave the Island by October 10.[9]

Before leaving Conception Bay Burnett held two other court sessions. One of these was held at Musqueta Cove, near Carbonear, at which John Kennedy, "a Roman Catholick, and an Inhabitant of this island which is contrary to law", was described as having been summoned several times to appear in court but did not appear. Whether Kennedy was to be charged similarly to the others for attendance at Mass or having Mass said in his house is not stated. However he was fined — the amount not stated in the record — presumably for contempt of court and ordered to leave Crocker's Cove "or any part of this Island before the tenth of Oct. ensuing."[10]

Burnett also held a rather quick session about Darby Crawley's having had Mass said in his house at Musqueta. The record would seem to indicate that Crawley, like Kennedy, did not appear in court. Nevertheless the offending house was ordered burned to the ground. It seems unlikely that Crawley received any compensation for the loss of his house.[11]

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By Tho[s] Burnett Esq. Deputy
Or Surrogate to R.[d] Dorrill Esq.
Governor &c.

Whereas at a Court held at Crocker Cove, Sept 25th 1755, at which you R.[d] Mullens and Cha.[s] Garland Esq was Present, at which time it did Appear before us, that Publick Mass was Read in Terence Kennedys House, and the said Kennedy and his Wife was Married by the Priest, which appears by the Confession of Mary Kennedy his Wife.

We therefore think proper to Fine the said Kennedy the Sum of ten Pounds Sterling money for Payment of the Court Fees, and to Burn his house down to the Ground and that he quits this Place, and likewise the Island of Newfoundland on or before the tenth of October Ensueing

Given under my hand at Crockers Cove Sept 25th 1755 T Burnett

This Sentence is to be putt in
Execution by R.[d] Mullens and
Charles Garland Esq his Maj.[ts]
Justices of the Peace
att Conception Bay

Extract from the Letter-books of the Colonial Secretary's office housed in the Public Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Bishop O Donel, who arrived in 1784, referred to himself as the "first qualified missionary" to be stationed on the Island of Newfoundland. He came to the island only twenty-nine years after the events referred to above which he alluded to in one of his letters.[12] And it is clear that the burnings of the buildings because Mass had been said in them was an embarrassment to nineteenth century Protestant historians such as Pedley, himself a non-conformist clergyman, and Prowse. In the folklore of Harbour Main the name Burnt Hill behind the settlement was said to have originated from the soldiers' setting fire to the woods to flush out the priest who had been reported to them as hiding there. The person who is said to have reported the priest's whereabouts is referred to in the folklore as "Parson Hicks."

The timing of the prosecutions surrounding the celebration of Mass in the same year as the Acadian Deportation makes one hesitate to see the incidents as simply motivated by sectarianism. This is especially so when the Mass prosecutions are coupled with the incident of the flying of Irish colours, the physical intimidation of the English, and the technically illegal settlement of those prosecuted. Moreover, the interpretation of the prosecutions having been generated more out of desire to get the Irish off the island than simply for reasons of sectarian bigotry would fit in with the way in which eighteenth century officialdom would handle such a situation. When a group of Irish Presbyterians in Nova Scotia refused to take the oath of loyalty during the American War of Independence, the governor suggested prosecuting them under the Penal Laws against recusancy! Someone had obviously forgotten to inform the governor that these were Irish Presbyterians and not Irish Roman Catholics.[13] However, the incident points out the easy resort to a set of impious laws as an expedient for solving a strategic difficulty. Indeed, in a note reported by Pedley as made by an anonymous person on the colonial records in 1787, this very point is clearly made: "N.B. A war with France having broken out at this time, Government suspected that the Irish Catholics could not be trusted and that they would be inclined to join the enemy in case the island should be invaded, which probably was the cause of the severity exercised towards them by the Governor."[14]

Notes

1. "Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe" in *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke.* Rev. Ed. 12 vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1866. Vol IV, 305. For a detailed discussion of the Penal Laws see Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws, 1691 - 1760.* Dundalk: Dundalgan Press. 1967.
2. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland (PANL). GN 2/1/A, Colonial Secretary's office outgoing correspondence III f. 202.
3. *ibid.* III f 251.
4. *ibid.* III f 252 ff.
5. *ibid.* III f 256.
6. *ibid.* III f 258. [The spelling of the surnames in this document are quite inconsistent: Donnilly/Donnely, Devereux/Devreux, Tobyn/Tobin, Hanlan/Hanly, Conoly/Connely, McDonald/McDannal, Haiden/Haden, Clancy/Clancey. Moreover in the second listing of the surnames Tobyn and Qusho are reversed

Continued on Page 37

Poor Ignorant Children

Irish Famine Orphans in Saint John, New Brunswick

Peter D. Murphy

Published April 1999 8.5" x 11" *Includes bibliographical references, illustrations, and maps.* ISBN 0-9696252-1-9

"Bad and all as we were we often wished we never seen St. John," lamented an Irish Famine survivor. Fifteen thousand Irish refugees arrived in Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1847 alone. In *Poor Ignorant Children*, Peter Murphy charts the fate of Irish orphans in a strange unwelcoming land.

Peter D. Murphy, a Halifax-based historian and genealogist, is the author of Together in Exile (1990).

Peter Murphy's scrupulous edition of the Saint John Emigrant Orphan Asylum admittance ledger is a model and may possibly spur the Irish to give comparable treatment and respect to their passenger lists and workhouse records for the period of the Great Famine."

—Brian Trainor, Research Director, Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast

"This imaginative work dramatically improves our understanding of the plight of youthful Irish famine immigrants in nineteenth-century New Brunswick....

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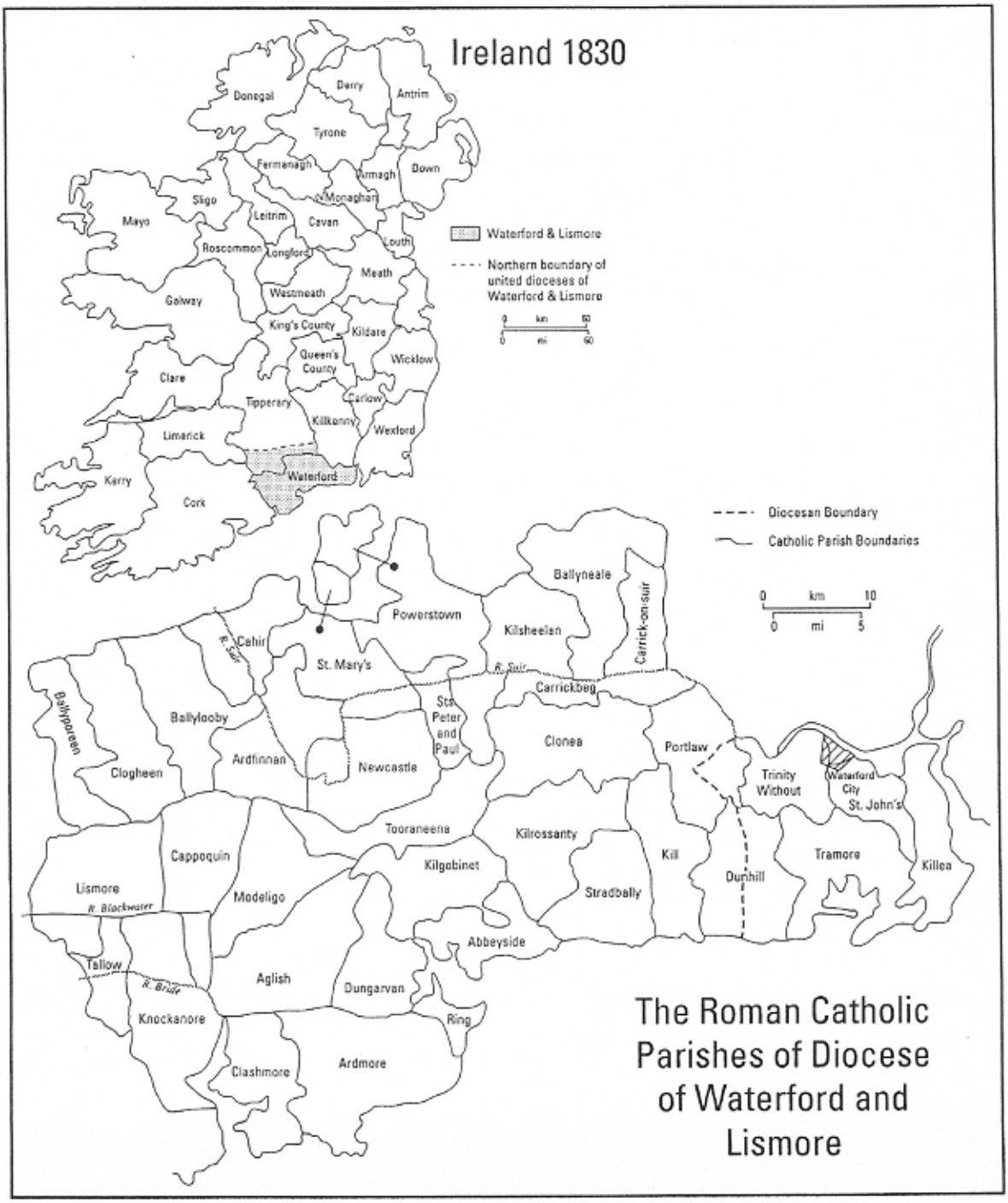
Ireland 1830
Donegal
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Tipperary
Carlow
Kilkenny
Wexford
Limarick
Waterford
Kerry
Cork
Waterford & Lismore
Northern boundary of united dioceses of Waterford & Lismore
0 km 60
0 mi 60
Diocesan Boundary
Catholic Parish Boundaries
0 km 10
0 mi 5
Ballyneale
Powerstown
Kilsheelan
Carrick-on-suir
R. Suir
Cahir
St. Mary's
Carrickbeg
Ballylooby
Sts Peter and Paul
Clonea
Portlaw
Trinity Without
Waterford City
St. John's
Ballyporeen
Clogheen
Ardfinnan
Newcastle
Tooraneena
Kilrossanty
Kill
Tramore
Killea
Cappoquin
Kilgobinet
Dunhill
Lismore
R. Blackwater
Modeligo
Stradbally
Abbeyside
Tallow
R. Bride
Aglish
Dungarvan
Knockanore
Ring
Clashmore
Ardmore
The Roman Catholic Parishes of Diocese of Waterford and Lismore

THE GEOGRAPHY OF DÉISE SURNAMES

Jack Burtchaell

This article originally appeared in ***Decies: the Journal of the Old Waterford Society*** *(No. 50, Autumn, 1994) and is republished, with minor editorial changes, with the kind permission of its author Jack Burtchaell. The reason why we are presenting it to readers of* ***An Nasc*** *is that it deals with the geographic location of surnames which are frequently encountered in Canada but especially in the Atlantic Provinces. It is a commonplace in the studies of the Irish immigration to Eastern Canada that an extremely high percentage of the Irish who settled in the Atlantic Region came from within a fifty mile radius of the city of Waterford. This area is still frequently referred to as "The Decies."*

Decies is an anglicized version of the old Irish territorial name Déise Mumhan — the Decies of Munster — which comprised the county of Waterford and part of county Tipperary. Indeed one of the surnames dealt with in Jack Burtchaell's article, Whelan [Ir: Ó Faoláin], gave rise to a chieftainship or overlordship during Norman times, Ó Faoláin, Lord of the Decies.

Introduction

The variety of surnames in Ireland is outstandingly rich for a country of its size, and is chiefly the result of two factors. Firstly, Ireland was one of the first countries to develop a system of hereditary surnames, a development credited to Brian Boru (ob. 1014 AD), though he was probably not solely responsible. At any rate there existed a hereditary surname structure well before the Norman invasion. Secondly, the successive invasions, colonizations and infiltration of a variety of peoples, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, enriched the variety of Irish surnames. The Normans introduced such well-known Irish names as Butler, Cusack, Dillon, Fitzgerald, Power, Purcell, Roche, Tobin and Walsh. The successive plantations of various parts of Ireland from the sixteenth century onwards added another selection of surnames, some now quite numerous, such as Davis, Hamilton, Harvey, Mitchell and Shaw.

A complicating factor is that many Gaelic family names were anglicized during the subsequent centuries and today do not appear Gaelic in origin. Examples would include Bird for MacAneeny [Ir: Mac an Déanaigh], Heanahan [Ir: Ó hÉineacháin] and Heaney [Ir: Ó hÉanna], Broderick for O'Broder [Ir: Ó Bruadair], Ingoldsby for Gallogly [Ir: Mac an Ghallóglaigh], Kingston for MacCloughry [Ir: Mac Clochaire], Molyneux for Mulligan [Ir: Ó Maolagáin], Rabbitte for O'Cunneen [Ir: Ó Coinín] and Warren for Murnane [Ir: Ó Murnáin]. Similarly, such names as Arkins [Ir: Ó hOrcáin], Blowick [Ir: Ó Blámhaic], Conwell [Ir: Mac Conmhaoil], Cuffe [Ir: Mac Dhuibh], Diamond [Ir: Ó Díomáin], Fortune [Ir: Ó Foirtcheirn], Hynes [Ir: Ó hEidhin], Kett [Ir: Ó Ceit], Nestor [Ir: Mac an Adhastair], Prunty [Ir: Ó Pronntaigh], Swords [Ir: Ó Suaird] and Toner [Ir: Ó Tomhnair] are despite appearances Gaelic in origin.

Another feature of the anglicizing process was the near-universal deletion of the prefixes Mac and Ó during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is only towards the start of the twentieth century that some surnames reacquired their Mac or Ó prefix, (as Mac/Mc or O'), but now invariably inserted onto an anglicized surname.

By the twentieth century Irish surnames had developed through the partial gaelicization of Norman surnames such as Archdeacon to Mac Oda or Cody: the infusion of new English and Scottish surnames during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the anglicization of both Gaelic and Norman surnames during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In certain parts of the country French Huguenot, German Palatine and Jewish names had added further diversity.

However, this diversity does not occur at random across the Irish landscape. Surnames are often particularly associated with certain areas of territories, such as MacNamara [Ir: Mac Conmara] and McMahon [Ir: Mac Mathúna] with Clare, Ryan [Ir: Ó Maoilriain / Ó Riain] with Tipperary, O'Reilly [Ir: Ó Raghallaigh] with Cavan, Maguire [Ir: Mag Uidhir] with Fermanagh, Gallagher [Ó Gallchobhair] with Donegal, etc. Waterford was once disingenuously described as a poor (Power) barren (Barron) country, and indeed parts of county Waterford do have a preponderance of Powers, though Barron, while associated with the area, is nowhere a very common surname.

Surname censuses

This article seeks to examine the geography of the commoner surnames of the Decies. Its chief source is the computerized parish registers held by the Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre at Jenkins Lane, Waterford, comprising over 700,000 records for the Catholic parishes of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. These records span the years between 1706 and the turn of the twentieth century.

Other examinations of the incidence of particular surnames in specific locations do exist, the earliest systematic listing of surnames being the Census of Ireland *circa* 1659 which lists the principal names at the end of the entry for each barony. Much has been said about the accuracy of the 1659 census but it is the best census we have until the nineteenth century.

Table 1 lists the three most numerous surnames in each barony of the diocese according to the 1659 census. It contains seventeen surnames of Gaelic or Norman origin and displays distinct spatial variation both within and between the two counties. With the exception of the barony of Coshmore and Coshbride, the surnames listed in 1659 as most numerous in particular baronies were broadly similar to what emerged from the eighteenth and nineteenth century baptismal records.

Table 1

Commonest surnames by Barony, 1659

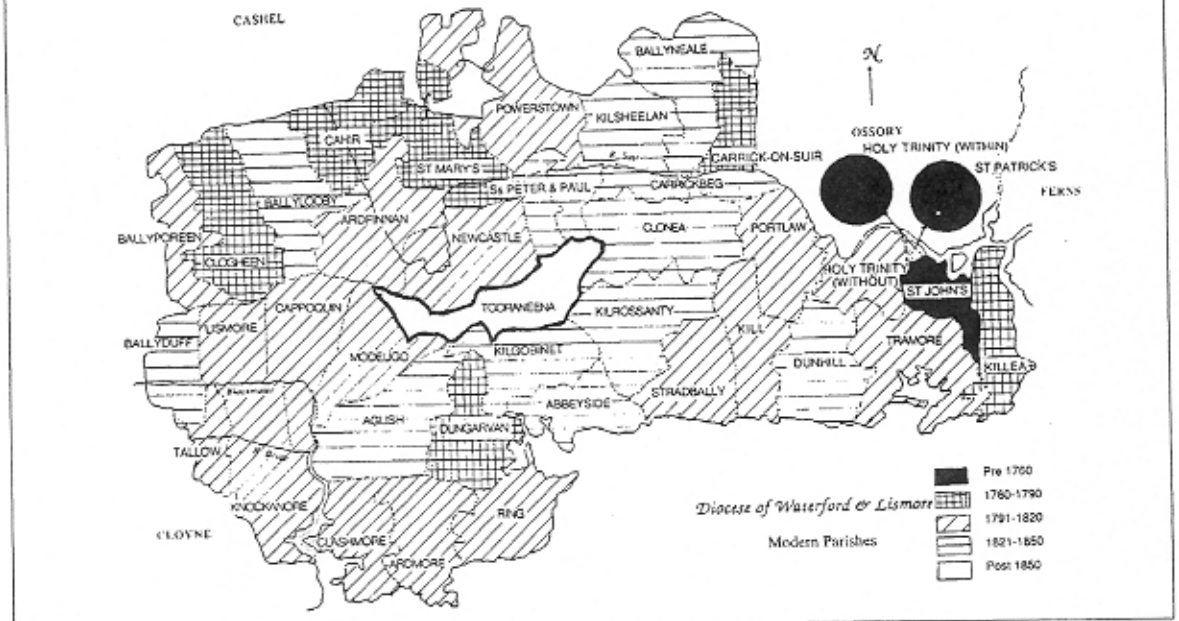
Slieveardagh	Shea	Tobin	Meagher
Middlethird (Tip.)	Ryan	Meagher	Butler
Iffa and Offa	Lonergan	Daniel/McDaniell	Prendergast
Deaces	Power	Flynn	Foley
Coshmore/Coshbride	McShane	Connell/O'Connell	Flynn
Glenahiry	Foley	Power	Kelly & Moressy
Upperthird	Power	Phelan	Flynn
Middlethird (Wat.)	Power	Phelan	Brennagh
Galtire	Phelan	Power	Flynn
City & Liberties	Welsh/Walsh	Power	Phelan/Whelan

R.E. Matheson, the Registrar General for Ireland, published a special report on the surnames in Ireland in 1909. It utilizes the registration of births for 1890 and lists the number of births registered by surname for each county for the most common surnames. This work has become a landmark study, and justly so. This article seeks to refine the mesh of interpretation from county level down to parish level, and to widen the sample from one year (as in Matheson's study) to as wide a sample as survives in local parish records.

Given the legal and political strictures with which the Catholic Church had to contend, it is not surprising that records do not survive from the late seventeenth, and only rarely from the early eighteenth century. Fourteen parishes have records commencing in the eighteenth century, and only Tooraneena had to wait till after the Famine to have surviving Catholic parish records. The keeping of systematic records started earlier in the towns and diffused outwards to more rural locations. Even where parish records do survive, they are not always fully accurate or universal in coverage, and gaps may occur where particular records may have been lost or destroyed. But the surviving Catholic parish records do provide us with the most comprehensive database ever utilized for the study of the incidence and distribution of Irish surnames. Map 1 illustrates the earliest surviving parish registers in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore.

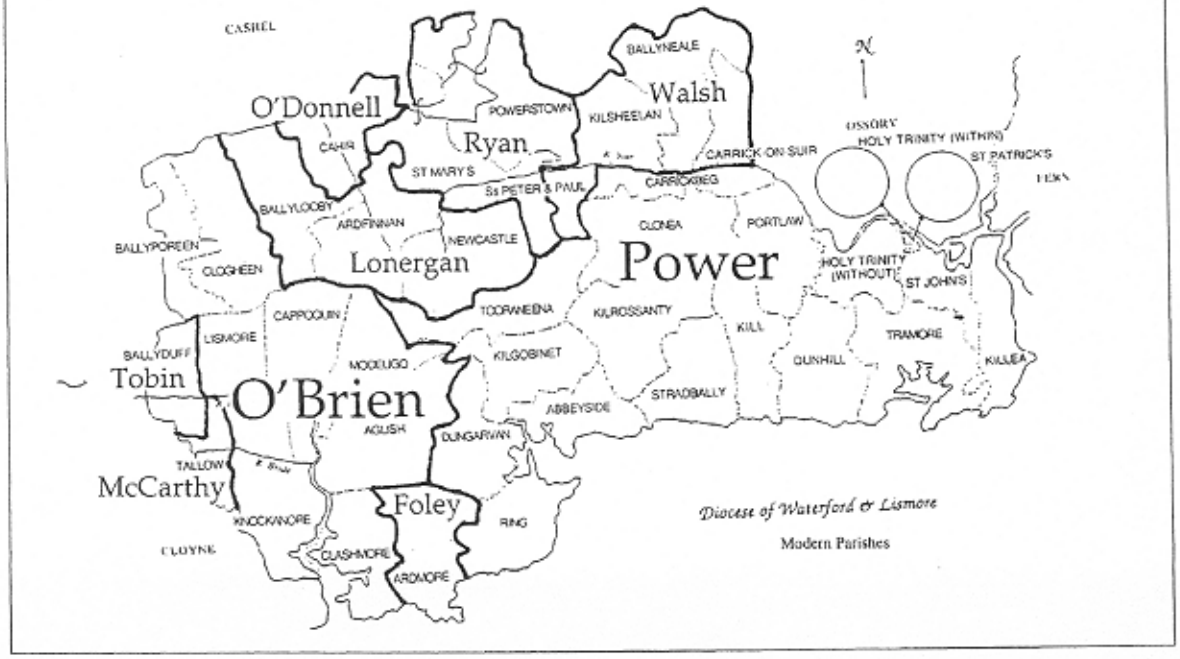
Earliest Surviving R.C. Parish Records

Map 1



Most Numerous Surname in R.C. Registers

Map 2



Commonest surname in each parish

The most numerous surname in each parish is shown on Map 2. A distinct regional geography of surnames emerges. The Power families predominate in east county Waterford, to an even greater extent than that which emerges from the 1659 census. From the mountainous marshes of Tooraneena and Kilgobinet, right across the county to Waterford Harbour and including the city, the Power name predominates. Beyond the Comeragh mountains, the O'Briens are most numerous along the lower Blackwater valley, the O'Briens are also predominant in the south Tipperary parishes of Ballyporeen and Clogheen. The Cork surname McCarthy is the most numerous in that most Cork-like of all Waterford parishes, Tallow. Tobin likewise reaches top spot in only one parish, Ballyduff.

Across the watershed of the Knockmealdown mountains there is a perplexing variety of dominant surnames. The O'Briens hold sway in Ballyporeen and Clogheen, and the O'Donnells in Cahir. In the great bend of the river Suir through the parishes of Ballylooby, Ardfinnan and Newcastle, Lonergan is the most common family name. The Ryans are pre-eminent in the Clonmel parishes of St Mary's, SS Peter and Paul and Powerstown. Lower down the Suir through Kilsheelan, Ballyneale and Carrick-on-Suir, the heartland of the Walsh family of south Kilkenny extends into Tipperary. Walsh is also the second most numerous surname over most of east county Waterford and is in third place as far west as Ardfinnan, Modeligo, Lismore and Knockanore.

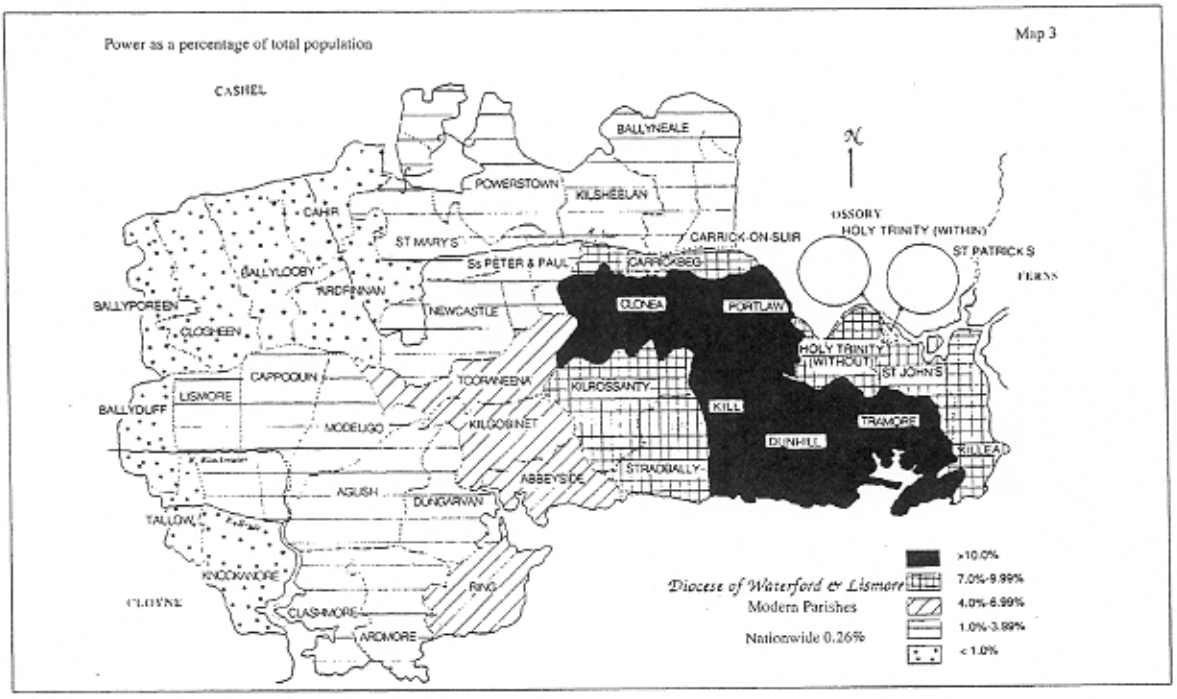
While Map 2 illustrates quite distinct regional surname geography, it is possible to go one step further by looking at the incidence of the commoner surnames right across the entire diocese. This method is a far more subtle tool for examination of the nuances of surname distribution. As can be seen from Map 2, the Anglo-Norman surname Power dominates east Waterford and is reinforced by the Walshes. Despite this Anglo-Norman dominance, local Gaelic surnames are found in considerable concentrations, such as Flynn and the Phelan/ Whelan families which are recorded here at some twelve times the national average as measured by Matheson.

The following maps show the incidence of particular surnames as a percentage of total population in each parish across the diocese.

Power

While Matheson's survey recognizes Power as the commonest surname in county Waterford, as Map 2 shows it did not dominate county-wide, nor was its incidence uniform even in the areas of east Waterford where it was the most numerous, as Map 3 illustrates.

Powers are heavily concentrated in a core area of the parishes of Clonea, Portlaw, Kill, Dunhill and Tramore, where they exceed 10% of the total population or forty times their incidence nationwide. In three of these core parishes — Tramore 16%, Dunhill 15.6% and



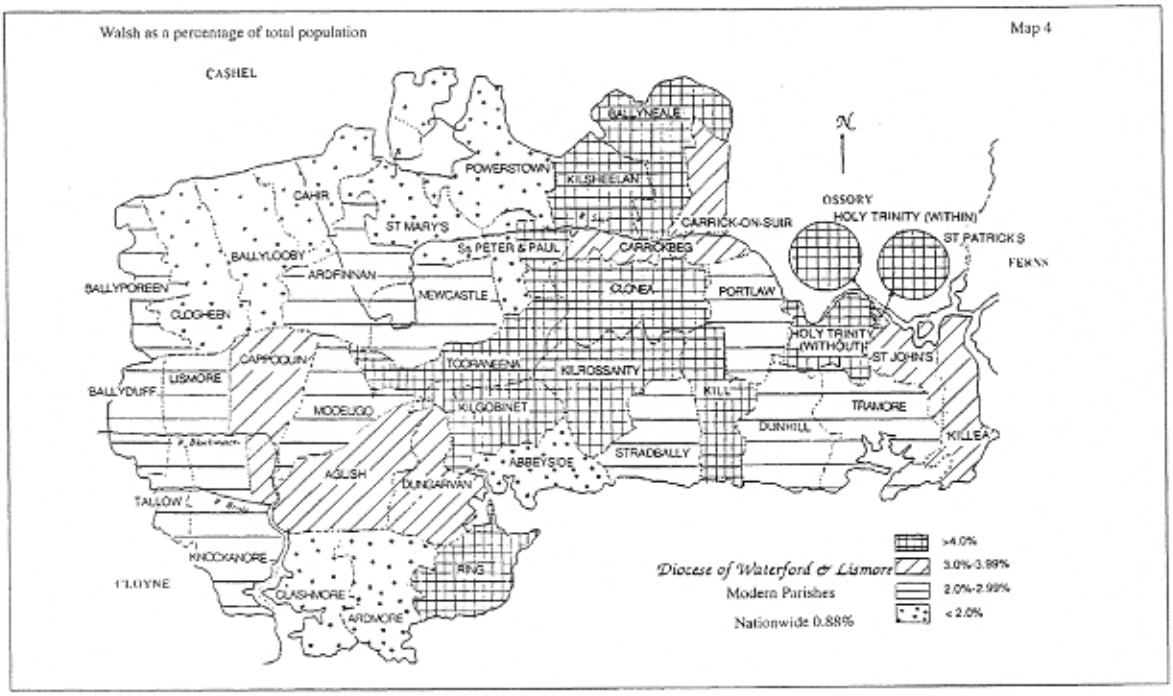
Clonea 12% — more than one person in eight was called Power. Heavy concentrations of the surname Power surround the core area through the ring of parishes of Stradbally, Kilrossanty, Carrickbeg, Holy Trinity Without, Killea and the city parishes, all of which have over 7% of their population named Power.

An intermediate zone in mid-county sees Power as still the commonest surname, but at a considerably reduced level of between 4% and 7%. The Blackwater valley and south Tipperary contain very few people called Power. Beyond the Blackwater and above Clonmel the name accounts for less than 1% of the total population.

This distribution shows that very limited movement of people occurred from the middle ages right down to the twentieth century. The Powers are found where they established themselves in the late twelfth century and this pattern will be repeated for other families. This type of mapping may yet prove to be a useful indicator of late medieval and early modern settlement geography where records do not exist.

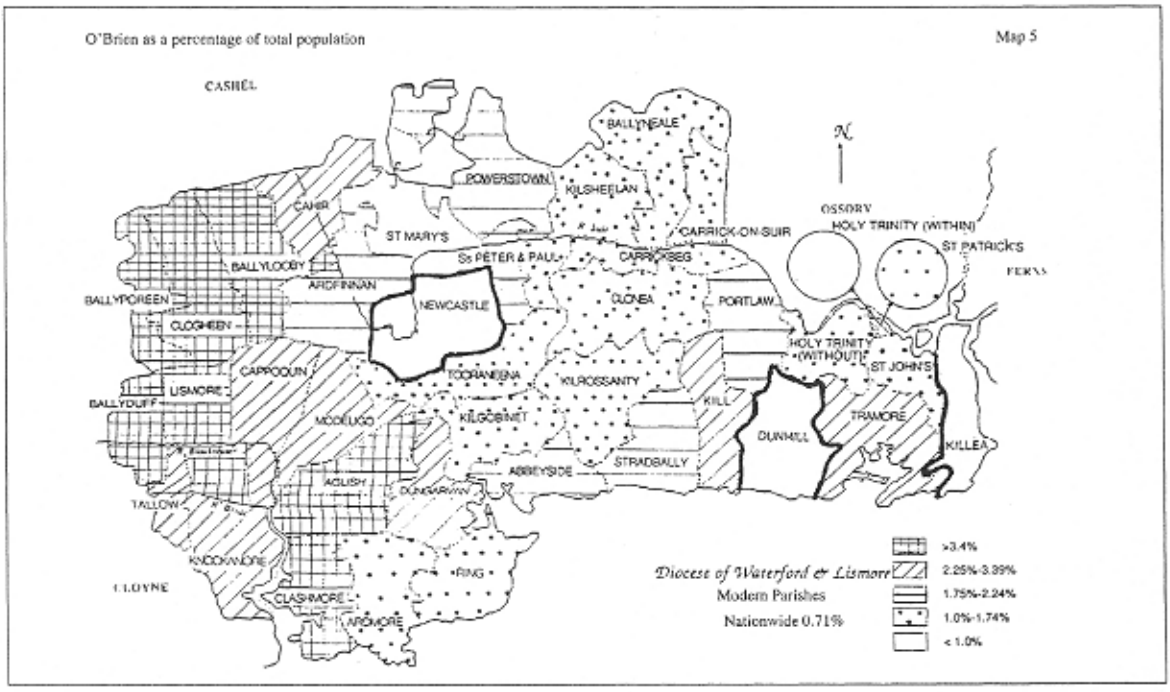
Walsh

In 1890 Matheson listed the surname Walsh (or Welsh) as the fourth most numerous in Ireland, with an incidence of 0.88% of the total population. He found it to be the second commonest surname in county Waterford and tenth on the list for Tipperary. Yet it is only



in the portion of Kilsheelan parish which extends into county Waterford that we find the name as the most numerous. The surname Walsh dominates much of south Kilkenny and the south Tipperary parishes of Carrick-on-Suir, Ballyneale and Kilsheelan. Map 4 shows Walsh as a percentage of the total population. It picks up a core of Walsh population stretching from Ring through Kilgobinet to Kill and Ballyneale which exceeds 4%, almost five times the national average. In both Clonea and Tooraneena more than 5% of the population were named Walsh.

Nowhere in the diocese does Walsh reach the concentrations of Powers, but to counter-balance this, in no parish is Walsh less than 1.2% of the total population. Walsh does not display anything like the regional concentration of the Powers, which is to be expected as nationwide the Walshes were three and a half times as numerous. Map 4 illustrates a pattern for the parish of Ring which will emerge again and again: in terms of its surnames Ring has more in common with the east Waterford parishes than with its immediate neighbours to the north and west. It is worth noting that in Ring, an Irish-speaking area to the present day, the Irish form of the surname Walsh, 'Breathnach' is still common.



O'Brien

The surname O'Brien, Bryan or Brien was the third most numerous according to Matheson in both counties Tipperary and Waterford in 1890. Nationwide he estimated it as the sixth commonest surname, with 0.71% of the Irish population having it as their surname. O'Brien was the commonest family name in eight parishes in the west of the diocese. Only in two parishes is the incidence of O'Brien less than the national average, Newcastle 0.49% and Dunhill 0.59%. In Killea the figure is almost precisely the national average. Everywhere else O'Briens are more numerous than in Ireland as a whole.

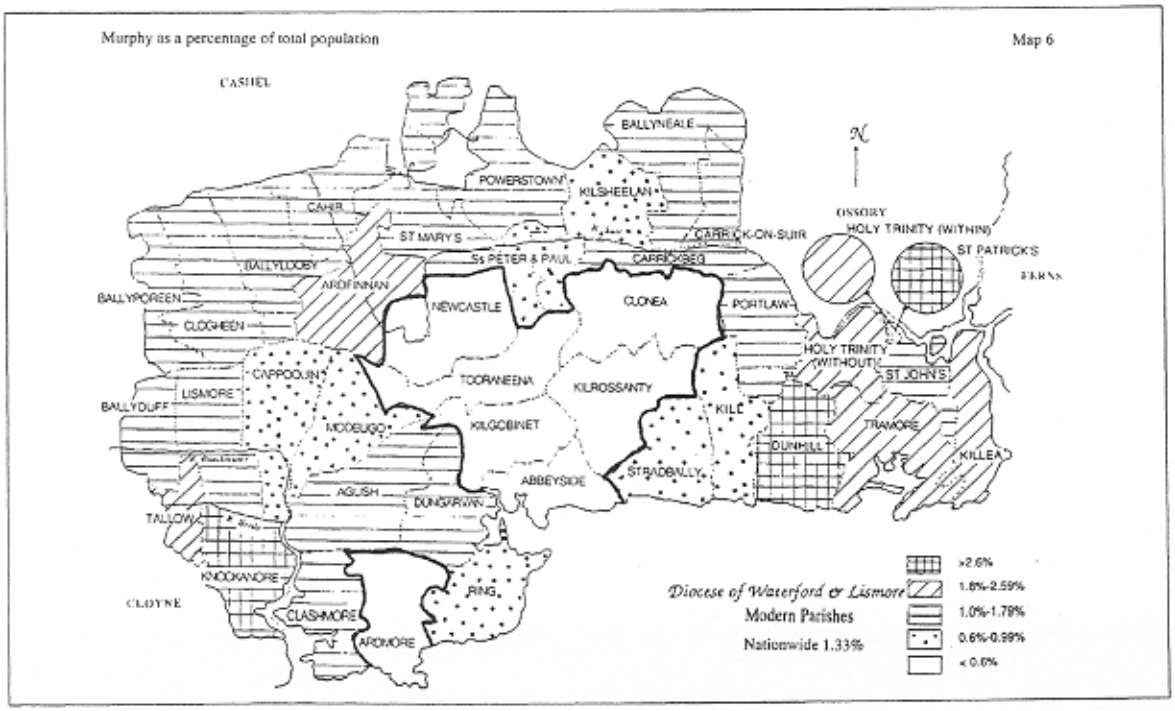
The O'Brien homeland is of course Thomond, in West Munster, from whence with their Dál gCais tribesmen they attained the throne of Munster and later high kingship of Ireland. The Decies O'Briens derive from a branch of the family loyal to Turlough Maol (the Bald) O'Brien, king of Thomond in 1367. Having been ousted from power by members of his own family he and his followers moved into the Desmond territories and were given lands on the frontier between the Desmond lordship and Power territories, along the eastern flank of the Comeraghs.

In more recent centuries (Map 5) the chief concentrations of O'Briens are a little west of their original tenures. This may be due to successful Power expansion in the later middle ages

or to opportunities taken by the vacuum created at the destruction of the Desmond lordship and plantation of west Waterford in the late sixteenth century. O'Briens occur at over five times the national average in the parishes of Clashmore, Aglish, Lismore, Ballyduff, Ballyporeen, Clogheen and Ballylooby. The highest concentrations are in Ballyporeen, where O'Briens make up 6.32% of the total population — almost nine times the national average. Significant O'Brien numbers away from their western core occur at Kill (2.84%) and Tramore (2.70%).

Murphy

Murphy was the fourth commonest surname in county Waterford according to Matheson, and he ranked it the commonest surname in Ireland as a whole, accounting for 1.33% of the total population. Only one other surname (Kelly) exceeded 1% of the total population. Several different Gaelic septs had their name anglicized into Murphy [Ir: Mac Murchaidh; Ó Murchú]. There were Murphy septs in Tyrone and Sligo, but the largest Murphy clans were those of Leinster, centred on Wexford, and of Munster, based around Muskerry in Cork. Murphy ranks as the most numerous surname in Carlow and Wexford in Leinster and Armagh in Ulster. It is in second place in Kildare and Cork, and third place in Kilkenny, Wicklow and Louth. Murphy is in fourth place in county Kerry.



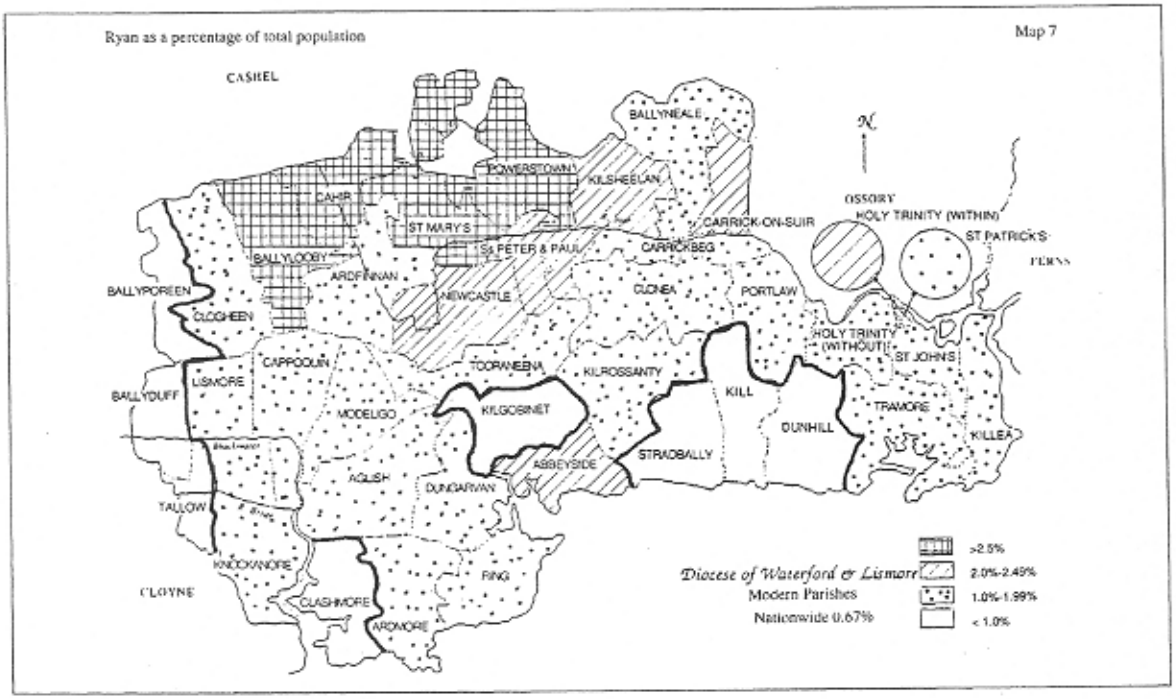
The distribution of Murphy in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (Map 6) shows evidence that the Decies Murphys come from two different septs of the name. Two distinct concentrations occur, one in east Waterford, which is an extension of the south Kilkenny Murphys, and a part of the great MacMurrough clan of the Wexford Murphys. In Dunhill Murphy accounts for 3.05% of the population, the highest in the diocese. The neighbouring city parishes of Holy Trinity Within, Holy Trinity Without and St Patrick's have more than 2% of their populations with the surname Murphy, and it is the third commonest surname in all three. The central part of the diocese is poor hunting-ground for Murphys, containing less than half the national average.

Two quite separate concentrations occur in the west of the diocese, at Ardfinnan with an incidence of 2.44% — where it is the second commonest name in the parish — and also on the western bank of the Blackwater. The Blackwater Murphys are 2.65% of the population at Knockanore and 2.57% at Tallow. Both these western concentrations of Murphy would seem to be the result of migration eastwards by the Cork Murphy sept of Muskerry, and are quite distinct from the Murphys of east Waterford.

Ryan

The surname Ryan (Map 7) is the most numerous in both Tipperary and Limerick according to Matheson and the fifth most numerous in Waterford. It is also prominent in Kilkenny where it is number four. Nationwide it is the eighth most numerous, with 0.67% of the island's population bearing the name. Originally most Ryans were Ó Maoilriain from north-west Tipperary; a separate sept, the Ryans of Idrone in southern Carlow, provides the origin of the Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare and Wexford Ryans.

In the diocese of Waterford and Lismore Ryan is primarily a Tipperary phenomenon. It is the most numerous name in the Clonmel area. Though only the third most numerous surname in Ballylooby after Lonergan and O'Brien, it still accounts for 3.77% of the total population of the parish, some five and a half times the national average. Ryan is also the third commonest surname in Cahir, Carrick-on-Suir and Kilsheelan. The only parish exclusively in county Waterford where Ryan exceeds 2% is Abbeyside. The anomalous position of Abbeyside is illustrated here, but this is not unique — in several instances the surname geography of Abbeyside bears significant similarities with south Tipperary. Over most of the rest of the diocese Ryan forms between 1% and 2% of the total population. Stradbally has the national average population of Ryans at 0.67%; Kilgobinet, Dunhill, Clashmore, Kill, and Ballyduff have fewer Ryans than the national average. The low incidence of Ryans in Ballyporeen is also noteworthy.

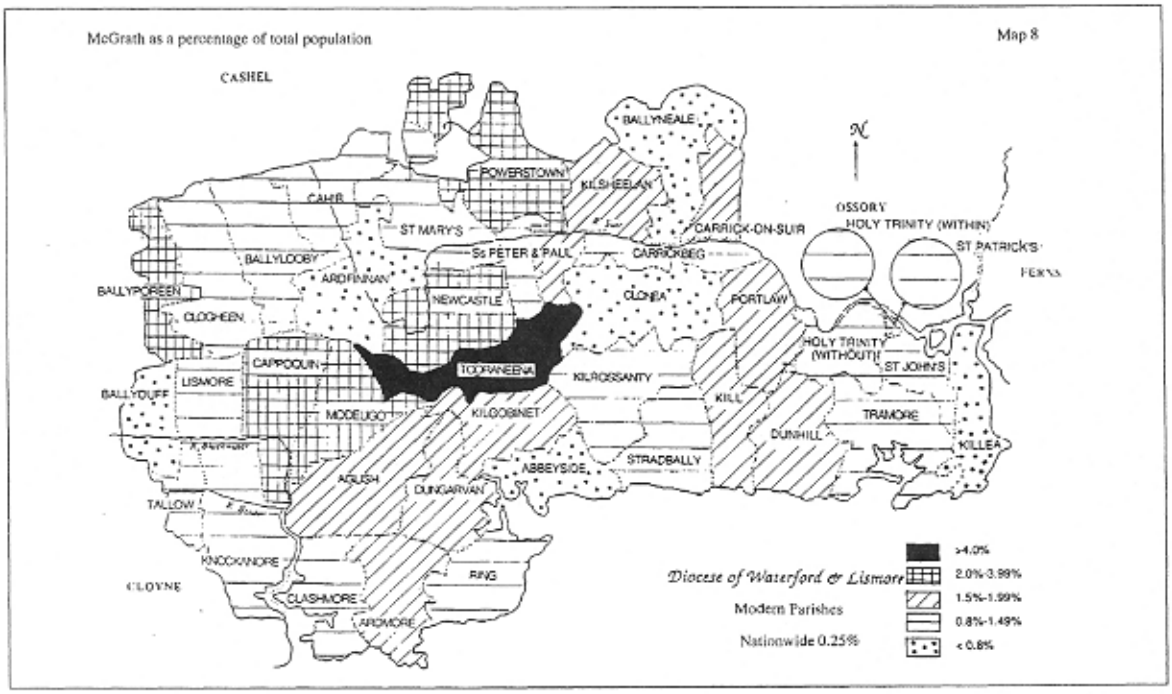


McGrath

The surname McGrath ranks according to Matheson as sixth in Waterford and ninth in Tipperary. It is the fifty-fifth commonest surname in Ireland, and one in every four hundred of our population bears the name. There are two main septs of McGrath in Ireland, one originating in Donegal and Fermanagh, and the Munster McGraths originating in Co. Clare but now much more numerous in the Decies.

Like the other Clare name in the Decies, the O'Briens, the Clare McGraths moved into the Fitzgerald of Desmond lordship and received land grants in Sliabh gCua (Map 8). This is precisely the area where they are most numerous today. They lost much of their holding in Sliabh gCua and neighbourhood during the devastation which accompanied the Munster Plantation.

Tooraneena is the heartland of the Decies McGraths, where they account for 4.19% of the total population and are the fourth commonest name, at levels seventeen times the national average. In three adjacent parishes — Newcastle, Modeligo and Cappoquin — they exceed 2%, as also in Ballyporeen. The McGraths never succeeded in populating the prosperous parishes to the north and east of the Comeraghs to any great extent. Ardfinnan, contiguous to the McGrath core area, has a McGrath population of only 0.31%, little above the national

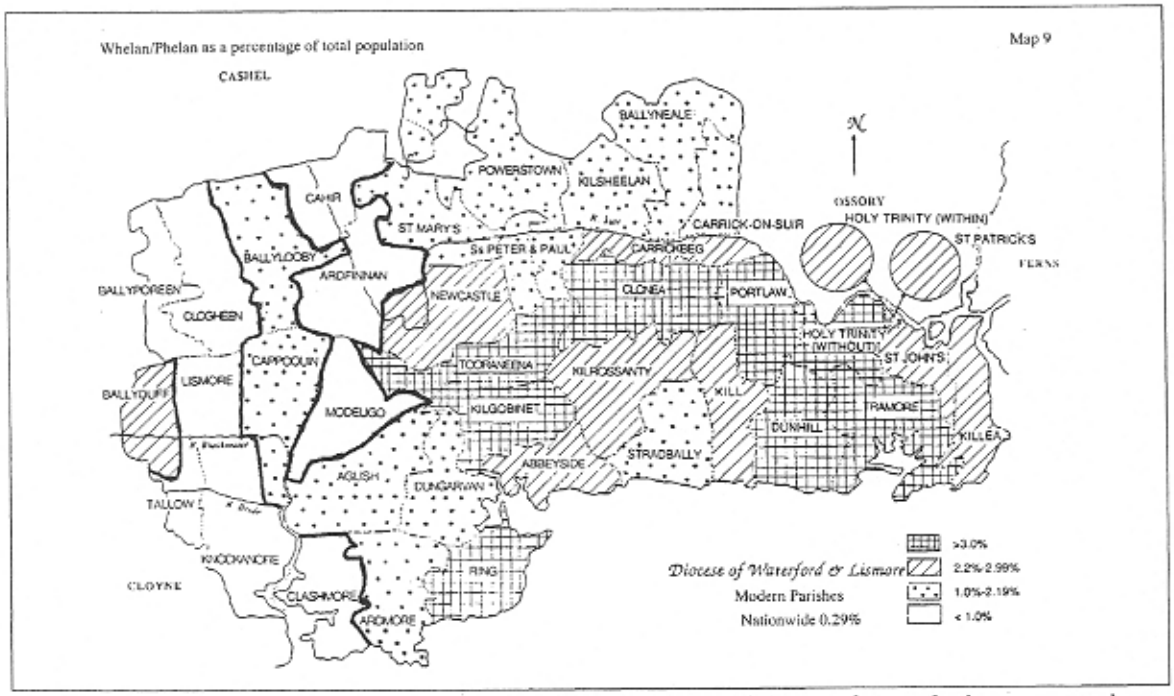


average of 0.25%. Clonea likewise has only 0.68% of its population bearing the McGrath surname. Otherwise the McGraths have a fairly regular diffusion pattern from their home base, Ballyneale and Killea having low densities, and Ballyduff the lowest incidence of all with only 0.13%. This rate in Ballyduff, at only one twenty-second of the rate of the neighbouring parish of Ballyporeen, clearly illustrates the formidable barrier presented to human interaction by the intervening Knockmealdown mountains.

Phelan/Whelan

The most numerous Gaelic family native to the Decies is rendered in English variously as Phelan, Whelan and Healan (though one finds Whalen and Hyland in Atlantic Canada). It is the forty-fourth commonest surname in Ireland and is borne by 0.29% of Ireland's population. It is the third most numerous name in Waterford. The Phelan form is heavily concentrated in Waterford and Kilkenny while the Whelan form is more widely scattered. The original sept, the Ó Faoláins, were the princes of Decies prior to the Norman invasion.

The distribution of Phelans/Whelans is shown on Map 9. The name exceeds 3% of the total population in an arc of territory through Tramore, Dunhill, Portlaw, Clonea, Tooraneena, Kilgobinet and Ring. In Clonea it is the third commonest surname after Power and Walsh. Contiguous to the heartland is an

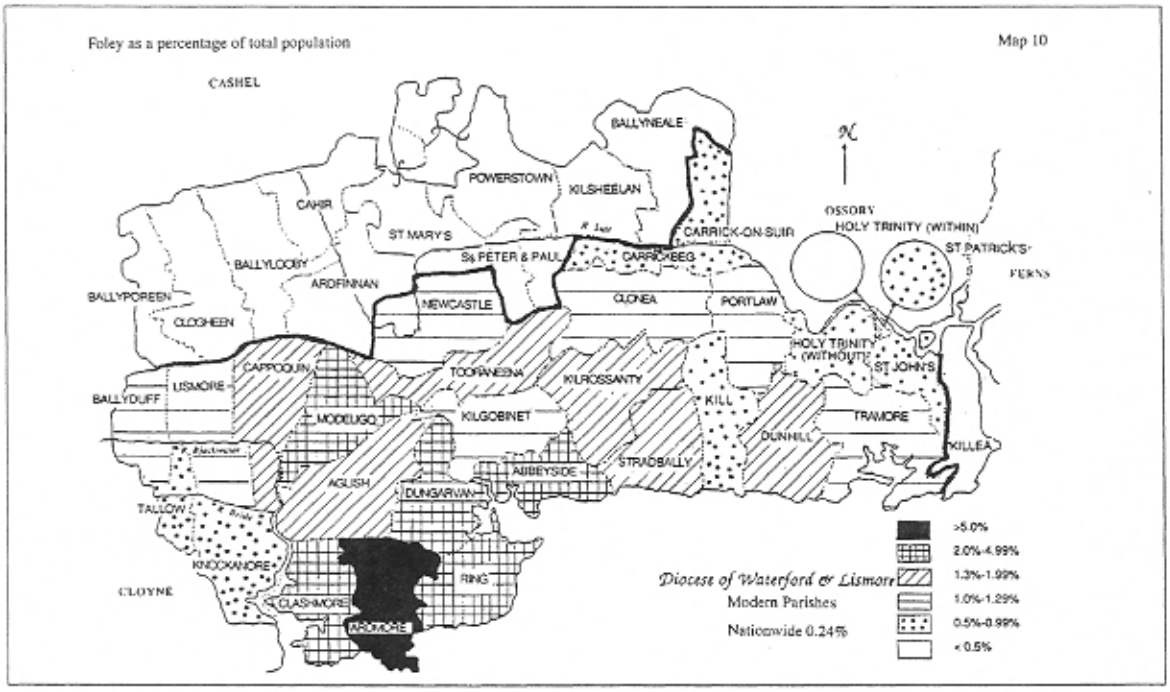


aureole of territory where Phelan/Whelan exceeds 2.2% of the total population, seven times the national average. West Waterford and south Tipperary have far smaller numbers, generally less than 1%, with the anomalous Ballyduff outlier where 2.06% of the population are of Ó Faoláin stock. Cahir and Tallow are the only parishes in the diocese where the Ó Faoláins are less numerous than the national average.

Foley

Another Gaelic sept native to the Decies is Ó Foghludha, anglicised Foley or Fowloo. It is the sixtieth commonest surname in Ireland, accounting for 0.24% of the population. It is the eighth commonest name in county Waterford. Foleys are heavily concentrated in the barony of Decies within Drum, especially the parish of Ardmore (Map 10). In Ardmore Foley is the commonest surname, with 5.11% or one more than one in twenty of the parish population bearing the name. This massive concentration is over twenty-one times the national average. The adjacent parishes of Clashmore, Ring, Dungarvan, Abbeyside and Cappoquin all hold Foley populations of over 2%.

The Foleys are comparatively scarce west of the Blackwater. The mountain barrier of the Knockmealdowns was an even more durable obstacle, with the south Tipperary parishes of Ballyporeen, Clogheen, Cahir, Ardfinnan, Ballyneale and SS Peter & Paul returning figures below the national average. Clogheen has a Foley population of only 0.07%, less than one-

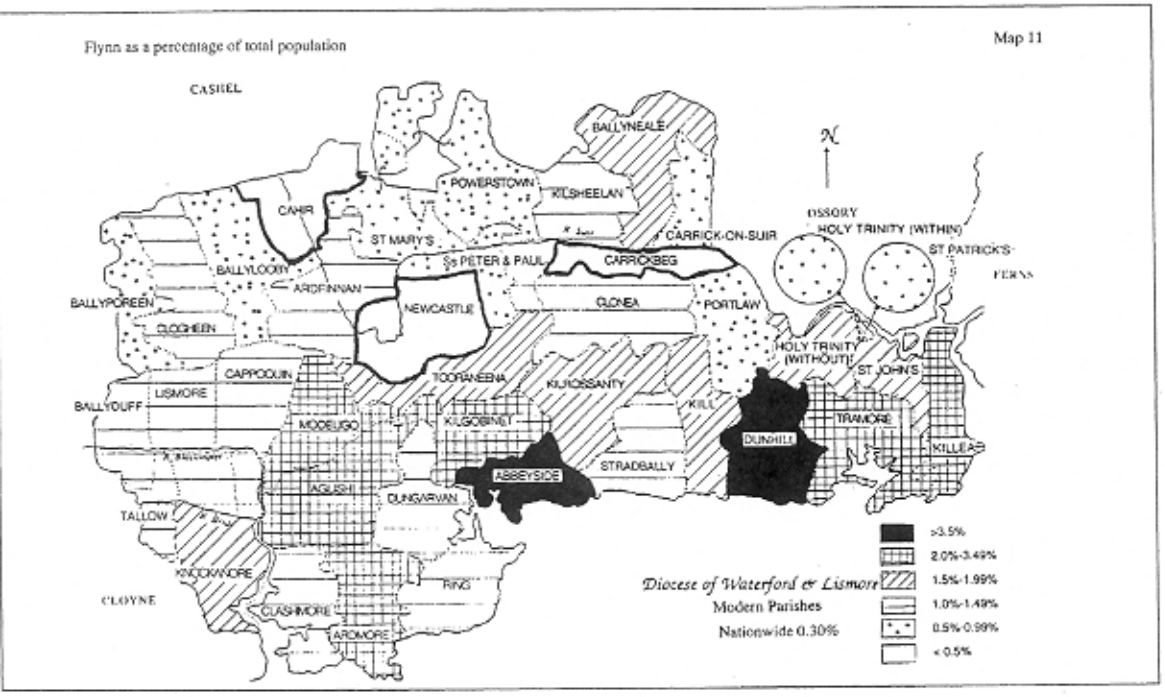


third the national average, though it is only thirty miles from Ardmore. Few phenomena have such a steep spatial gradient in Ireland as the distribution of this surname.

Flynn

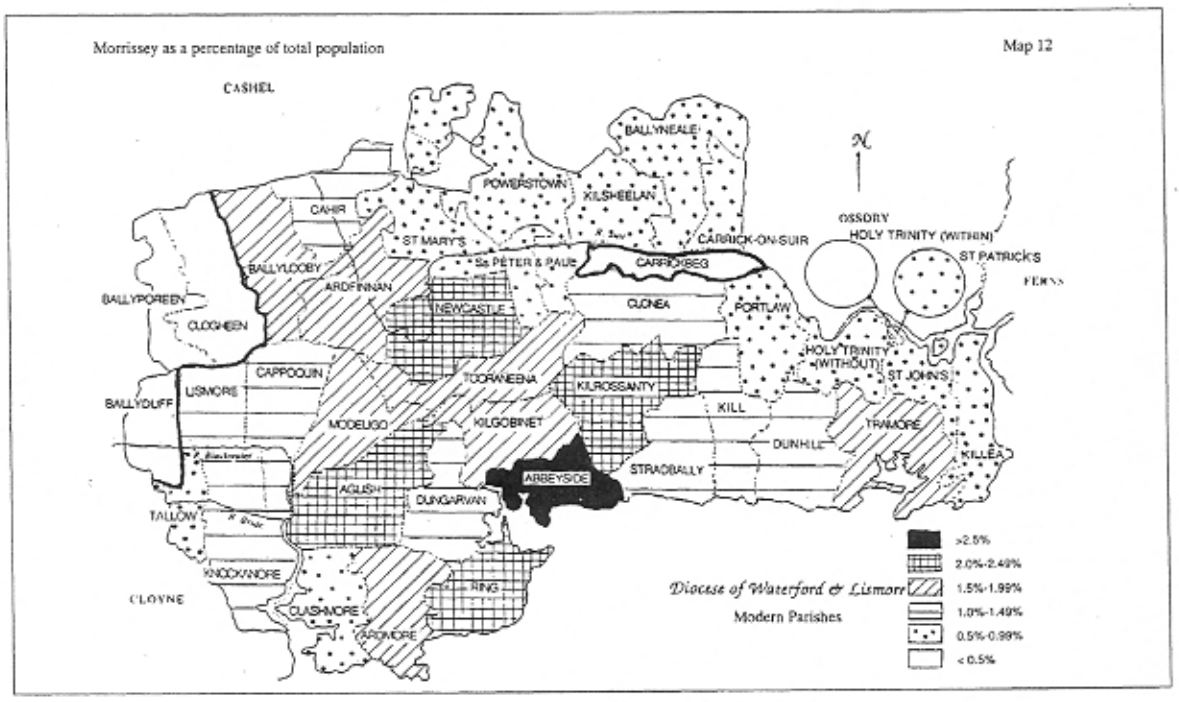
The Gaelic surname Ó Floinn derives from Flann, meaning one of ruddy complexion. There were several different septs who bore the name. At least two originated in Cork and these are probably the ancestors of the Waterford Flynns. Nationwide Flynn is the forty-first commonest surname, with 0.3% of the national population. In the Decies (Map 11) Flynn is the ninth commonest name in county Waterford but is much less common in county Tipperary.

There are two concentrations of the surname in the county, one centred on the south-east of the county, the second around the parish of Abbeyside. In Dunhill and Killea Flynns are the third most numerous name, with 3.65% and 2.33% respectively, between eight and twelve times the national average. The western core is even stronger: in Abbeyside Flynns make up 4.08% of the total population, the second most numerous surname after Power. The western Flynns are also numerous in Kilgobinet, Modeligo, Aglish and Ardmore, where in each case they exceed the national average by at least sixfold. In Aglish, at 2.7% of the total population, Flynn is the third most numerous surname. Across south Tipperary the Flynns are generally less than 1.5% of the total population, with the exception of Ballyneale.



Morrissey

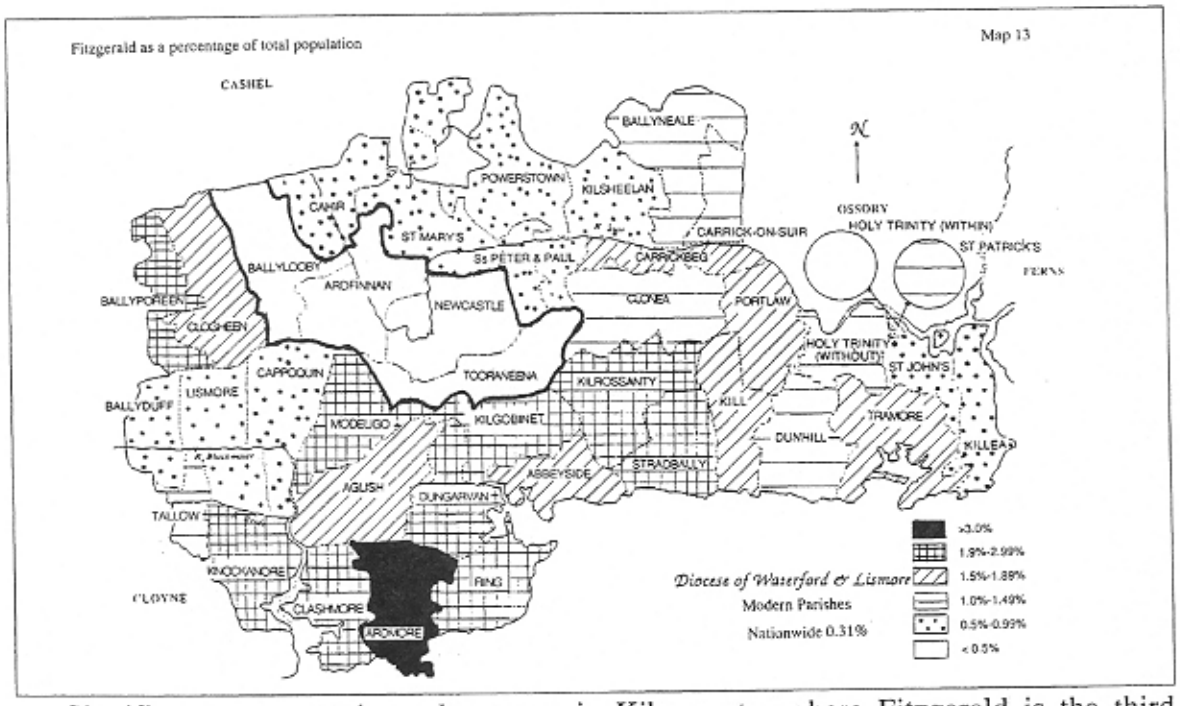
Morrissey is a name with complicated origins. Some Morrisseys may be of Gaelic stock [Ir: Ó Muireasa], but these are mostly to be found in Connaught. Some may be variants of Fitzmaurice, but most Decies Morrisseys are reckoned to be the descendants of the Norman family of De Marisco, associated with the house of Ormonde. In the diocese of Waterford and Lismore Morrissey has a distribution which contradicts this (Map 12). The Morrisseys are most heavily concentrated along the frontier zone between the Norman lordships, a pattern which mirrors many Gaelic families, e.g. Foley and McGrath. The Morrisseys are most numerous in Abbeyside, where they comprise 2.8% of the population and are the third most numerous surname. In four adjacent parishes the Morrissey population exceeds 2%: Ring, Aglish, Kilrossanty and Newcastle. The intervening parishes stretching from Ardmore across Sliabh gCua to Ballylooby have significant numbers also. Elsewhere with the exception of Tramore the Morrisseys are less than 1.5% of the total population. They are virtually absent from Ballyduff (0.15%) and Ballyporeen (0.11%) and are also very scarce in the Waterford city parishes.



Fitzgerald

The Fitzgeralds were one of the most important Norman families to establish themselves in Ireland. There were two main branches of the Geraldines, centred on Kildare and Desmond. Between 1329 and 1601 sixteen earls of Desmond were amoung the élite few that dominated Irish life. Their vast lands included most of the western part of county Waterford, and along with the Powers and the Ormonde Butlers they jockeyed for power, position, privilege and profit throughout the later middle ages. They were eventually destroyed as a political and military force in the late sixteenth century and their lands forfeited and colonized by English settlers. Minor branches of the family survived to this day, e.g., the Knight of Glin and the Knight of Kerry.

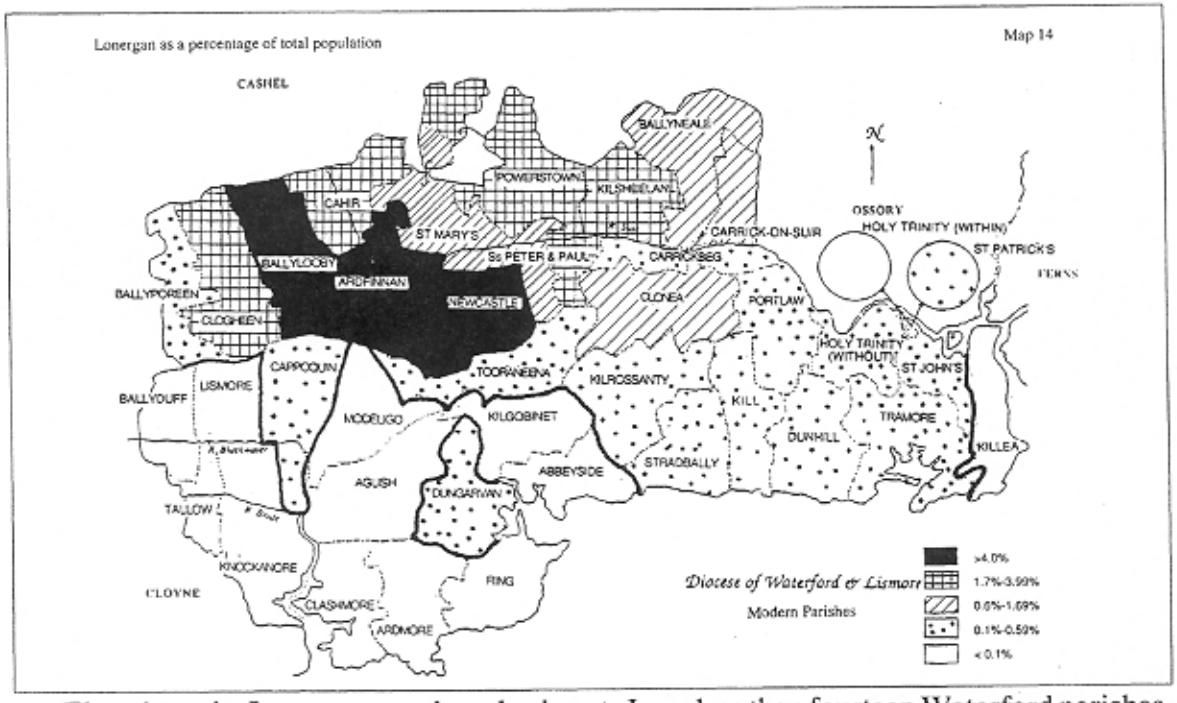
Though not among the fifteen commonest names in either Waterford or Tipperary, the Fitzgeralds are numerous in parts of both counties (Map 13). Nationally the Fitzgeralds are the thirty-sixth commonest, with 0.31% of the population bearing the name. In the Decies they are found primarily between the mouths of the Mahon and the Blackwater rivers. In Ardmore parish they comprise 3.37% of the total population or almost eleven times the national average. Here they are the third commonest surname. In neighbouring Clashmore, with 2.31% of total population, they are the second commonest name after O'Brien.



Significant concentrations also occur in Kilrossanty, where Fitzgerald is the third commonest surname, and Stradbally, Kilgobinet, Modeligo and Ballyporeen, where over 2% of the total population are named Fitzgerald. A glaring void emerges in the riverine parishes of south Tipperary upstream from Clonmel: this is Lonergan territory and the Fitzgeralds are virtually absent. In Ardfinnan the incidences of Fitzgeralds is less than one quarter of the national average.

Lonergan

One of the most dramatic distributions of any name in the Decies is that of Lonergan (Map 14). The Gaelic family Ó Lonargáin, according to Mac Lysaght, in pre-Norman times inhabited the part of county Tipperary on the shores of Lough Derg. The advancing Butlers forced them south to the great bend of the Suir where they are found in large numbers to this day. Matheson places them as the twelfth commonest surname in county Tipperary. Their concentration in this area is by any measure remarkable. Lonergan is the commonest surname in three contiguous parishes: Ballylooby, Ardfinnan and Newcastle. It is the second commonest surname in Cahir and Clogheen and third in Powerstown. In its core area of Ballylooby, Ardfinnan and Newcastle it exceeds 4% of the total population: in Clogheen it stands at 3.41%, in Cahir and Powerstown it is greater than 2.5%. In the adjacent parishes of Clonmel, Kilsheelan and Ballyneale it is over 1%.



Elsewhere the Lonergans are largely absent. In no less than fourteen Waterford parishes, less than 0.1% of the population bear this name. In Ballyduff no baptism was ever registered for a Lonergan. No other family studied has remained as rooted to place as the Lonergans of south Tipperary, and their preeminence in their home turf, coupled with their inertia, is surely a phenomenon worthy of further study.

The maps in this article will, I hope, prove interesting to geographers and historians, and be useful to genealogists also. This study has sought to bring Irish families under the scrutiny of spatial analysis, and provide a statistical base from which to study family history. The study has shied clear of heraldry and the construction of pedigrees, which by the nature of records are often socially exclusive. By utilizing the baptismal records for over 700,000 Roman Catholics, it seeks to be of relevance to a wider audience. The small but significant Church of Ireland community has been excluded because in no instance does its surnames reach levels which would alter the patterns illustrated here. For the first time surnames have been mapped at the intimate scale of the parish, and it is hoped that this method of analysis can be expanded into other areas of the country. The distribution of surnames may yet provide insights into the occluded corners of human experience of late medieval and early modern Ireland.

The author wishes to acknowledge that the use of these records is due entirely to the cooperation, hard work, improvisation and dedication of Eddie Synnott, Carmel Meehan and Fr Michael O'Connor of Waterford Heritage Survey.

Protestant, Planted and Provincial

"An ache in need of appeasement"[1]

Brian Robinson

Several years ago, the "Irish" poet Seamus Heaney wrote to the editors of a collection of poetry in which he had been anthologised under the heading of "British." His claim was that he was Irish not British. As he put it:

> My passport's green
> No glass of ours was ever raised
> To toast *The Queen*.[2]

The verse wasn't great, but the point was taken and the editors, though rather taken aback because they meant well, accepted that they had editorialised beyond the Pale.

So it was Heaney's defiance I recalled when I heard that my name had been used in the context of Saint Mary's University's claim to have "Irish" people on its staff. I replied to the powers that be with the following piece of doggerel:

> May I submit, remind, have you recall,
> Whatever fits, defines (underline all),
> My passport's Maroon, completely E.U.,
> A mixture of Orange, with a touch of Blue.
>
> Nowhere here to take a stand.
> No claim here on no-man's-land.
> We choose our poison, render the hue,
> "Ourselves Alone," "No Surrender," yours true.
>
> From me to you across the Pale,
> His self the Prod to the designer Gael,
> A little advice, a small complaint,
> On the rhyming Celt's Siren lament

Nowadays, Heaney's passport is no longer green. As he recently described it, "it is a Euro-, but not an imperial, purple."[3] We may not have much in common, but no doubt in the coming days the green and the purple will merge in a plethora of post-colonial slippages. But not surely to the point where even my minor tradition could be claimed by greener than green Irish-Americans? That is, a minor tradition with no effective purchase on the outsider's imagination. How am I to explain without the insider's baggage of shibboleths, nuances, and tests (not to mention testiness)?

Heaney is helpful enough on this (so much so that he has been accused of not being spokesman enough for his side of the equation). As he put it a long time ago, it's a question of finding symbols and images adequate to our common predicament.[4] In particular, it is what Heaney had in mind when he said that his poem about a Presbyterian farmer standing in the yard at night, not going in to his Catholic neighbour's house until he heard them finish their prayers, was not intended as a contribution to better community relations. Instead:

> It had come out of creative freedom rather than social obligation, it was about a moment of achieved grace between people with different allegiances rather than a represen-

> tation of a state of constant goodwill in the country as whole, and as such it was not presuming to be anything more than a momentary stay against confusion.[5]

"Emblems adequate to our predicament" and "stays against confusion," these are the near silences of the word-hoard Heaney has worked from. But if Heaney's marvelous sounding of language is so close to the limits of speaking for his own tradition, how much more inarticulate are the overly politicized emblems of "The Other Side" (the title of Heaney's poem).[6] For example, it's interesting to find Heaney (the Gael) describing John Hewitt (the Planter) in the very words he applies to himself. To paraphrase, Hewitt's peculiar mixture of lyric tenderness and secular tough-mindedness is best read as a momentary stay against confusion.[7] But, however sympathetic he is to Hewitt's work, Heaney puts him to a test he would not apply to his Presbyterian farmer. For Heaney, Hewitt's interrogation of the Ulster colony erased the original native culture of *Ulaidh*, even as it established a voice for the Protestant planter.

Therefore, instead, as a representative Northern voice who had not rejected "prior Irelandness," Heaney advocated Louis MacNeice: "His English domicile and his civil learning is an aspect of Spenser, ... his ancestral and affectionate links with Connemara an aspect of Yeats and ... his mythic and European consciousness an aspect of Joyce."[8] These are extraordinary credentials. The geographies involved are more indicative of the pitfalls than they are of whatever MacNeice resolved in his poetry. This is not to suggest that MacNeice's "displacement" was misplaced.[9] On the contrary, his distance was often too close to the bone. Rereading his "Autumn Journal" for the first time in about forty years, I was surprised at the number of lines that have remained in memory. Fragmented, not entirely in context, but there nevertheless:

> We envy men of action ...
> who shoot to kill and never
> See the victim's face become their own ...
> the noise of shooting
> Starting in the evening at eight
> In Belfast in the York Street District;
> And the voodoo of the Orange bands
> Drawing an iron net through darkest Ulster,
> Flailing the limbo lands —
> The linen mills, the long wet grass, the ragged hawthorn.
> And one read black where the other read white, his hope
> The other man's damnation:
> Up the Rebels, To Hell with the Pope,
> and God Save — as you prefer — the King or Ireland.
> The land of scholars and saints:
> Scholars and saints my eye, the land of ambush ...[10]

MacNeice's lines become a litany of complaints which, to tell the truth, I resented. After all, he had absented himself and was educated and domiciled in England:

> Why should I want to go back
> To you, Ireland, my Ireland ...
> I hate your grandiose airs
> Your sob-stuff, your laugh and your swagger
> Your assumption that everyone cares ...
> For common sense is the vogue

And she gives her children neither sense nor money
Who slouch around the world with a gesture and a brogue
And a faggot of useless memories.

Nevertheless, these words have probably had more effect on me than I have realised. Perhaps my resentment came from the fact that I could not counter them with some more local voice. I knew nothing of MacNeice's contemporary, John Hewitt. Hewitt's Ulster might have fleshed out what academic geography failed to give me. Was this the appeal of the early Heaney — a voice for the rural part of me that thought the westernmost parts of Fermanagh (mailing address, Towermore, Scribbagh, Enniskillen) the closest I would ever get to knowing Ireland? My grandparents were from Leitrim and Sligo. A photo of Yeats' Glencar hung above the mantle piece in the west room. The cottage was thatched. Peat burned in the open hearth. The turves were cut on our own land. Often I helped "win it." (Or was turf, like hay, "saved"?). I could go on, but the appeal of this should be obvious enough. [11] The problem was that no one on the farm would let me believe that farming was anything more than a difficult way to make a living. They couldn't understand why I spent so much of my time there. Me, "a scholar," as I was described to the neighbours (mostly Catholic as it turns out). And, of course, disillusion did set in in my late teens. I was now ready for Patrick Kavanagh's Monaghan and "The Great Hunger" that was his epithet for life on 30 acres of marginal land:

The poor peasant talking to himself in a stable door —
An ignorant peasant deep in dung.
What can the passers-by think otherwise?
Where is his silver bowl of knowledge hung?
Why should men be asked to believe in a soul
That is only the mark of a hoof in guttery gaps?
A man is what is written on the label.
And the passing world stares but no one stops
To look closer. So back to the growing crops
And the ridges he never loved.[12]

And so on, much of which I cannot quote, thinking as I do of real people in a real place, which is now as tumbled as any famine village.

But looking back, what interests me now is not so much the geography of divisions I grew up with, but the need for alterities and alter egos which were necessary as both ways into and out of the provincialism of, what I was provincial enough to think of as, Northern Ireland's culture.[13] Heaney, MacNeice and Kavanagh, the alterities, were ways in, and Joyce was the ultimate alter ego taking as he did the exile's route to Europe. Hewitt, on the other hand, would have given me the kind of understanding that Heaney regrets when he would not entirely admit the Protestant coloniser to whatever, in Heaney's terms, poetry can redress. The final words of Hewitt's poem "The Colony" read like a manifesto for what might have been:

for we have rights drawn from the soil and sky;
the use, the pace, the patient years of labour,
the rain against the lips, the changing light,
the heavy clay-sucked stride, have altered us;
we would be strangers in the Capitol;
this is our country also, no-where else;
and we shall not be outcast on the world.[14]

Credentials, credentials. Two traditions, each in search of emblems. Emblems that are not adequate as symbols. Symbols that can never appease. The ache that remains knowing all of this. And the final least potent part, the claims that are made on behalf of Irishness by those too distant from events to know any better.

Let me then put myself to the test with a reference to the kind of history which we in Ireland are supposed to parade, but which I have avoided so far. I am thinking of an essay by the historian Hugh Trevor-Roper on Sir Walter Scott in which Trevor-Roper compares the kinds of events that are remembered by Scottish nationalists to seemingly similar ones in Ireland which are not in the canon of memory, let alone the invective of emblem mongering.[15] It seems the difference is that the defeats in Scottish history are more easily remembered and absorbed because the vehemence of the struggle is no longer an aspect of present life and politics. Trevor-Roper cites Lord Macaulay on the matter: "The Anglo-Saxon and the Celt have been reconciled in Scotland, and have never been reconciled in Ireland. In Scotland, all the great actions of both races are thrown into a common stock and are considered as making up the glory which belongs to the whole country." Thus, Killiecrankie is remembered in Scotland, whereas the victory of the Ulstermen at Newtown Butler is buried in, as Trevor-Roper says, "diplomatic silence." So prevalent is the notion of garrulousness and bondage to history, outsiders know little of this aspect of Irishness. But that is not my point or, at most, I would wish to make it more silently. So for what it's worth, let it be recorded that I had never heard of this battle (nor had two of my colleagues in Irish Studies).

May I submit, remind, advise (whatever), that silence and emblems are closer than are often thought. My parting gesture is therefore more like that quiet combination of nod and wink which Irishmen use to acknowledge one another. Those who are not Irish will simply have to imagine the anonymous diplomacy of such a moment.

Brian Robinson teaches Geography at Saint Mary's University.

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2. Heaney, "An Open Letter," *Ireland's Field Day*, Hutchinson, London, 1985, 25.
3. Heaney, *The Redress of Poetry*, 201.
4. Heaney, *Preoccupations*, Faber and Faber, London, 1980, 56.
5. Heaney, *The Redress of Poetry*, 194.
6. Heaney, "The Other Side," *Wintering Out*, Faber and Faber, London, 1972, 24-26.
7. Heaney, *The Redress of Poetry*, 198.
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9. See Heaney, *Place and Displacement: Recent poetry of Northern Ireland*, Trustees of Dove Cottage, Grasmere, 1984, 4-9.
10. Louis MacNeice, "Autumn Journal" in John Montague, ed., *The Book of Irish Verse*, Bristol Park Books, New York, 1998, 302-305.
11. On Heaney and pastoral poetry see Sidney Burris, *The Poetry of Resistance*, Ohio University Press, Athens, 1990. For Fermanagh in particular, and the poetry of place in general (but notably not Hewitt's) see Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Balleymenone*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1982, Chapter 31 "The Idea of Place"

and its footnotes, 797-799.
12. Patrick Kavanagh, "The Great Hunger" in John Montague, ed., *The Book of Irish Verse*, Bristol Park Books, New York, 1998, 288.
13. I have taken the notion of "alterities and alter egos" from Helen Vendler's *Seamus Heaney*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1998, Chapter 4, 78-110.
14. John Hewitt, "The Colony" in Alan Warner, ed., *The Selected John Hewitt*, Blackstaff, Belfast, 24. See John Montague, *The Figure in the Cave*, The Lilliput Press, Dublin, 1989, 151-153.
15. Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Scott's Scotland" in Ian Campbell and Peter Garside, eds., *Talking About Scott*, Sir Walter Scott Club, Edinburgh, 1994, 166-167.

The Penal Laws in Newfoundland

(Continued from page 12)

but not the first names. Thus Rd Tobyn becomes Rd Gusho and John Qusho becomes John Tobin. The John Qusho in the above list is likely the progenitor of the numerous and distinguished Conception Bay family nowadays spelled Gushue. Although this family name has frequently had a Jersey origin ascribed to it, the John Qusho [Gushue] in this document most likely came from France. The surname Guiziou is quite common in Britanny (especially in the north of Finistère) whose chief port St. Malo sent thousands of fishermen to the Newfoundland fishery.]
7. *ibid.* III f 260 ff.
8. *ibid.* III f 261.
9. *ibid.* III f 262.
10. *ibid.* III f 263.
11. *ibid.* III f 264.
12. Cyril J. Byrne. ed., *Gentlemen-Bishops and Faction Fighters: The letters of Bishops O Donel, Lambert and Scallan and other Irish Missionaries.* St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1984, 70.
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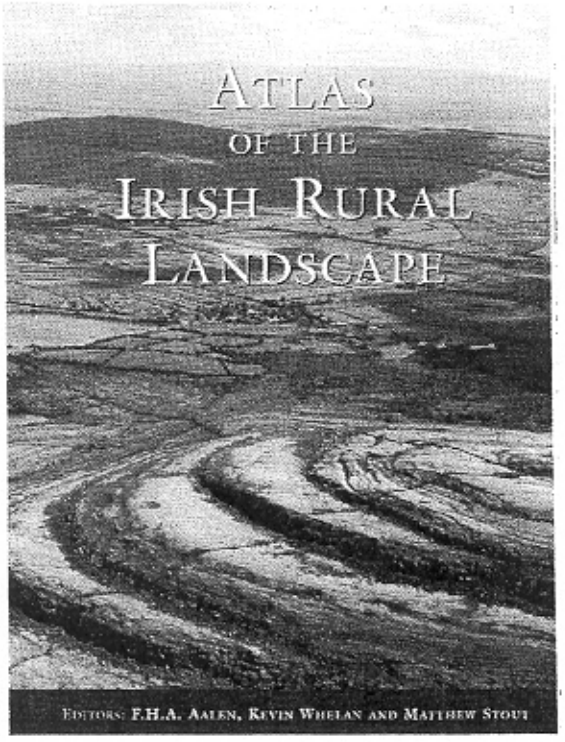
Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape

F. H. A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (Eds.), Toronto. University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Reviewed by Donald S. Wyllie



I have to confess immediately that I use the *Atlas* as the textbook in the Geography of Ireland and Irish Material Culture courses offered by Irish Studies. This subjects the book to rather different critical attention than it may otherwise receive as it lies on the coffee table in the Irish-American household — for this appears to be its intended destination. A student mentioned that she was going to take the Material Culture course and had bought the textbook. "Oh good, and what do think of the *Atlas*?" "I don't know, since I brought it home I can't get it back from my mother." To some extent this is because the *Atlas* is inoffensive to Irish memory while it is also big, evocative, beautiful, and inexpensive. There is no hint of revisionism within its 352 pages of maps and photographs, all superbly designed and reproduced.

The *Atlas* is in the modern mould for this is not a mere book of maps. The maps not only stand on their own merits but are also carefully integrated into the text which is divided into four main sections. The first — 'The Making of the Irish Landscape' — provides an introduction to the linkage between culture and the natural environment which results in landscape. There is a brief introduction to the physical environment including physical regions, together with too brief sections on climate, soils and vegetation, and no mention of fauna. Then follows the 'The Cultural Imprint' examining the impacts of successive groups of different incomers. A helpful transect is shown portraying the human transformation of the environment at seven stages from 10,000 BC to the present. The section ends with a consideration of the 'Future Orientation' which worries about the current 'destruction' of the landscape. But, as the landscape of Ireland is human made, can one consider modern developments as any more destructive than past changes? After all, the archetypal Irish bog landscapes which exist today are very much the result of human use in the past. An instructive addition would be a consideration of why the rural landscape is 'better' than the changes now occurring, for example, an examination of the contrast between the 'fit' of traditional buildings

into the environment with the negative impact of current developments.

The second chapter, 'Early Landscapes: From Prehistory to Plantation', examines the remains left by various groups who have occupied the land. Here the distributions of the artifacts are plotted on a series of maps together with consideration of the societies producing them. While the photographs, maps, and diagrams are excellent, there are gaps in the sequence. Curiously, there is little coverage of the various Plantations which occurred between 1534 and 1609 and their widespread alterations to the landscape. Similarly, the important influence of the Scandinavians is dismissed in a sentence where they are referred to as "predatory" Vikings. No effort to change received wisdom here. The chapter ends with a short description of the use of aerial photography in archaeology.

The third chapter covers the period from the Plantation to the present and commences with the demesne and 'Big House' building period. Then the pre-Famine regional settlement patterns are examined in some detail. Proto-industrialisation, clachans, rundale, potatoes, and lazy beds are eloquently explained by Kevin Whelan. However, there is little effort made to place Irish developments in a European historical context. It would be enlightening to know about the larger European developments influencing England and Ireland. The chapter then moves on to examine post-famine landscape change and the efforts of the Congested Districts Board and the Land Commission to ameliorate social and material conditions. Finally, consideration is given to the effects of partition and divergence of land uses in Northern Ireland and the Republic, and the influence of the European Union.

I have given some attention to this section of the *Atlas* because it should provide the background discussion for the subsequent chapters which examine individual aspects of the landscape. However, the section makes little effort to include any of the academic reinterpretation of Irish events which has been taking place for some time. While the exclusion of cities may be warranted, towns and villages are an intimate part of the rural scene, and their interesting and unusual development also deserves introduction here. The *Atlas* perpetuates the myth — not unique to Ireland — that the rural is somehow more important or 'real' than the urban, or that the rural is less artificial than the urban.

The second main section is entitled 'Components of the Irish Landscape' and constitutes the main body of the text. The chapters examine bogs, forests and woodlands, fields, buildings, towns and villages, demesnes, communications, and mining, power and water. While the coverage is generally good and well written, there are several omissions. The Communications section makes no mention of the semaphore stations, the radio and TV stations, and more seriously, only very brief mention of the many ports around the coastline. A significant addition would have been maps showing the sequence of development of tracks and roads over time. Bog utilization gets short shrift in the *Atlas* considering the extent of the changes taking place in this landscape, and could receive more attention in the mining section. A second problem is the inadequate coverage of industry, for industrial remains form a dominant landscape element, especially in the northern part of the island. Ports deserve much more attention for they also form a major landscape element, especially so given the former importance of water transportation and fishing.

The third section examines 'The Challenge of Change' by considering the contemporary challenges and landscape management. The con-

temporary challenges include the effects of Ireland being a part of the European Union, rural buildings, forestry, field boundary changes, bogs and demesnes. Aalen's introduction bemoans the lack of landscape philosophy in Ireland but does not mention the efforts by the Department of the Environment in Northern Ireland to introduce design guides which attempt to reduce the worst of the excesses in rural areas. Some consideration could have been given to the construction of industrial parks which have become a spreading blight in rural Ireland. The policies for countryside management are shown to focus on protection of small 'natural' or scientifically important areas, and less on overall landscape/countryside management. This chapter could be expanded to examine the possible effects of the various methods of management, for an important theme of the *Atlas* concerns the conflict between change and preservation. One area the *Atlas* does not examine are the reasons for the general flight from the land, its general neglect, and the perceived stigma attached to living in traditional housing in Ireland. The notion of a rural Arcadia is a rather urbanized view not supported by the experience of living west of the Shannon.

The final section contains six Regional Case Studies by authors with differing backgrounds. It is not clear why these particular regions are chosen; is it because the authors were available, or is that these regions are more meritorious than others? As a result there appear to be different criteria for each region's importance. It would be beneficial to have summarized the often conflicting goals of conservation and to show how they could be applied to the regional differences in Ireland. Nevertheless, the different approaches reveal the regional variety of Ireland and remind us, again, that Ireland's landscapes are the result of many interacting processes.

After the mythmaking of the nineteenth century there is always a need to examine Ireland with a critical eye and attempt to understand the reality, warts and all. In terms of landscape development it is important to understand that Ireland was subject to change from internal as well as external forces. Many changes resulted from developments occurring in Europe as a whole and were bound to ultimately affect Ireland. The *Atlas* could have done much more to locate Ireland as a part of Europe rather than maintain the fondly cherished myth of Ireland as a place apart subjected to 'predatory' outsiders.

These comments, however warranted, do not detract from the *Atlas*'s many excellent qualities. These range from the artwork, maps, and prose, to the maps in the margins showing the photograph locations. The *Atlas* pulls together a wealth of information not otherwise available in one source, and the documentation is adequate for readers with more enquiring minds. After the neglect of rural Ireland since the pioneering efforts of Caoimhín Ó Danachair, Estyn Evans and Henry Glassie, the *Atlas* represents an important reminder that Ireland is an often beautiful, interesting, and largely rural island. The gathering forces of the 'Celtic Tiger' also make the *Atlas* a particularly timely reminder that Ireland appears to be unprepared for this latest round of landscape developments.

Donald S. Wyllie teaches the Geography of Ireland and Irish Material Culture at Saint Mary's University.

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