

force for the burning of the people's houses, and for the massacre of the poor Catholic tenantry if they ventured to defend their homes. Admiral John Carden has described in his *Memoirs* (printed at the Oxford University Press, 1912), how he took part in such a savage onslaught by a Volunteer Corps under Captain Minnitt, near Borrisokane, in the second year of "Grattan's Parliament." "The ruffians," he wrote of the defenceless cottiers, "were all killed or badly wounded. The captain and his company returned to Borrisokane. Neither judge nor jury, that I ever heard of, took any notice of this affair."

The Cromwellian landlords of County Tipperary were in 1740-1790 as well organised for lawless aggression as they were for "the clearances" and wholesale evictions where carried out from 1830 to 1870. Before they had the "Irish Volunteers," their own henchmen, at their service, they had raised irregular forces within the county in 1755 and later. Among the officers that they brought into the county for this purpose was Sir James Caldwell of Castle Caldwell in Ulster. He had command of a collection of Ascendancy bandits and murderers who operated for several years in Tipperary and in Limerick. At the close of his period of action, Caldwell entered the Dublin Parliament, and gave vigorous opposition to the first feeble proposals to relax the Penal Laws, by giving Catholics power to purchase land. This was in 1764: that concession was not made till 1778. Caldwell had observed the Catholic schools, and in his pamphlet in defence of *The Penal Laws relating to Land in Ireland* (1764) he incidentally noted that

"The Papists are not only connected by the general tie of Religion with France and Spain, but there is not a family

in the island that has not a relation in the Church, in the Army, or in Trade, in those Countries; and in order to qualify the children for foreign service they are all taught Latin in schools kept in poor huts, in many places in the Southern Part of this Kingdom."

Testimony, this, to the fine work done by the Catholic Lay Teachers of the worst period of the Penal Times: testimony, too, all the more valuable as a commentary on the content of the Cashel Register, because it is incidental, and because it comes from a hostile writer possessing first-hand personal knowledge of the region and of the educational facts.

For the same area, one other piece of contemporary evidence as to that period of local school work may here be subjoined. It bears its own credentials, and it covers the lands eastward of the Lower Shannon, Lough Derg and the estuary, from Borrisokane and Nenagh to Rathkeale and North Kerry.

SOME TIPPERARY, LIMERICK, AND KERRY TEACHERS, 1787

[List of SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES, prefixed to *A Treatise on Gunnery in Theory and Practice, to which is subjoined An Appendix on Surveying*. By James Irwin of Limerick, *Mathematician*. Limerick, Printed by A. Watson and Co., 1787. Pp. 157, with Plates.]

Mr. Thomas Brett, of Bruff, *Mathematician*.
Mr. Tim. Brosnan, *Surveyor*, near Tralee.
Mr. T. Cunningham, of Nenagh, *Philomath*.
Mr. John FitzGerald, of Lough Gur, *Surveyor*.
Thomas FitzGerald, *Student*.
John FitzGerald, *Student*.
Mr. John Geran, of Bruff, *Surveyor*.
Mr. John Grace, of Nenagh, *Surveyor*.
Mr. William Irwin, of Nenagh.
Henry Irwin, *Student*.
Mr. Denis Kennedy, of Nenagh, *Writing-Master*.

Mr. Michael Londrigan of Hospital, *Writing Master*.
 Mr. John McLan, of Assolas, Merchant, 2 copies.
 Mr. Jere Molony, of Limerick, *Surveyor*.
 Mr. Michael McCormack, *Philomath*.
 Mr. Pat Meredith, *Philomath*.
 Mr. Thomas Meagher, of Pallasgrene, *Surveyor*.
 Rev. Laurence Nihell, D.D.
 Mr. Michael O'Flanagan, of Rathkeale, *Philomath*.
 Mr. Pat. O'Galagher, of Cahirconlish, *Mathematician*.
 Mr. M. Touhy, of Borrisokane, *Philomath*.

The teachers of Ireland will need no commentary as to the honourable significance of the designations used in this list of Munster educators, among whom is named the Bishop of Kilfenora. But for others, a few words of commentary will be apposite. The lay Catholic teachers were by 1787 classed by their own professional traditions, as *Philomaths*, who laid main stress on the teaching of Greek and Latin, and as *Mathematicians*, who specialised on the side of Applied Science in the local schools. These descriptions were terms of art. Not uncommonly, as in the case of the distinguished schoolmaster, John FitzGerald, who was interred in the ancient Abbey of Mungret, County Limerick, 1843, the term was inscribed after his name on the tombstone. The Catholic merchant made much use of applied arithmetic in those days: there are several Catholic text-books, manuscript and printed, which were specially written for his use, from 1770 to 1830. The Catholic mathematician, also, was in request as a Surveyor. That kind of skilled work, like the unorganised occupation of the general merchant and the export trader in country produce, escaped the close-meshed net of the Penal Laws. By these laws, every profession, every art and craft, every trade guild, was firmly closed against the Catholic worker. Men like

Charles Lucas of Dublin were especially active, in the middle of the eighteenth century, in keeping the law in rigorous execution, and in devising new penalties and new barriers, wherever possible, against the Irish Catholic in Ireland.

V

THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL CENSUS OF
CLOYNE AND ROSS, 1807

AT London, in 1809, Major Thomas Newenham published his elaborate and permanently useful *View of Ireland*. Addressed rather to English than to Irish readers, it contained a specific account of the conditions of popular education, given by Catholic lay teachers in the Dioceses of Cloyne and Ross, then united under the care of Dr. William Coppinger, whose long and laborious episcopate was signalled by his staunch opposition to the *Veto* of the English State on Catholic episcopal appointments, and by his strong support of the forward policy in the Catholic claims, 1815-1828, initiated in the Cork local press by the Reverend Dr. John England, and followed up by O'Connell's new departure in 1820-1823. Newenham made use of the Catholic School Census of his two Dioceses, prepared by Bishop Coppinger, and published it, with cognate supplemental matter, in the series of Appendices to his survey of Irish social and economic conditions.

The two passages here cited, preceding the tabular School Census, indicate Major Newenham's aim in its publication, and the state of opinion as to Catholic

a year from the Kildare Place Society. Curraghlewin : *Margaret Mannise*. 30 Catholic pupils, by Protestant return; none, by Catholic return; "in a very wretched cabin." Aided by the London Hibernian Society.]

MOYNOE. Moynoe : James Nolan (20). Meenross : Ellen Brady (13).

[Ballyboy : 14 Catholic and 1 Protestant pupil, by Protestant Return; no Catholics, and 2 Protestants, by Catholic Return, under a Protestant master, in "a cabin of the worst description: cost £4." (Official State Report.) Aided by the Baptist Society.]

(COUNTY OF GALWAY—2 PARISHES)

CLONRUSH. Clonrush (in the Chapel) : Patrick Tracy (110). Islandmore : William Fury (30). Cous : John Collins (32). [Furnass Ballinruane : *James Rourke and Mary Rourke*. By Protestant Return : 114 Catholic and 21 Protestant pupils. By Catholic Return : 4 Catholic and 14 Protestant pupils. London Hibernian Society and Kildare Place Society.]

INNISCALTRA. Cappaduff (in the Chapel) : Henry Heffernan (69). Mahirareagh : Penelope Page (30). [Mountshannon : 18 Catholic and 51 Protestant pupils under a Protestant teacher, in the Protestant Parish School. Aided by Kildare Place (ADV), London Hibernian Society.]

DIOCESE OF KILLALOE

(B.) EAST OF THE RIVER SHANNON

(COUNTY OF LIMERICK—2 PARISHES)

STRADBALLY (CASTLECONNELL). Castleconnell : Terence O'Brien (27). Mount Pelier : James Ryan (75). Ballynacourty : Roger Ford (53). Garden Hill : Henry Clarke (90). [84 Catholic pupils in the Protestant parish school (ADV and KP).]

KILLEENAGARRIFF. Shanavay : James Tuohy (59). Dromonboy : James Kenelly (76). Ballyvara : Michael Hannan (68). [Shanavay : *James O'Neill and Margaret Molloy* (KP) (73).]

(COUNTY OF TIPPERARY—36 PARISHES)

BURGESS BEG. Gurtalassa : James Brien (64). Carrigatogher : Patrick Guilseday (43).

CASTLETOWN ARRA. Portroe : William Gleeson and Michael Molony (in the parish chapel) (212). Castletown : Patrick McDonnell (96).

YOUGHAL ARRA. Carhabane : John Gildea (45). Curragh-temple : John Brien (32). Thur : Patrick Malone (36). Boulagress : Patrick Daly (80).

KILMORE. Silvermines : Thomas Burke (29). Mucklin : Patrick Kelly (58). Kyleterome : Patrick Gleeson (70). Lisheen : John O'Reilly (44). Derry : Catherine Marshall (30). Ballycahill : Winifred Farrell (20). [58 Catholic pupils in the Protestant School at Kilboy (KP).]

KILNANEAVE. Knockbrack : John Reynolds (72). Killeen : William Kennedy (50).

KILRUANE. Ballymagrue : Michael Casey (47).

LATTERAGH. Glanagill : Joseph Costigan (56). Latteragh : James Walsh (52).

ANNAMEADLE. Toomevara : Joseph Connor (78), Patrick and Maurice Mann (93), Margaret Francis (29), John Donohoe (22). Binnanogh : Andrew Tierney (51). Annameadle : James Dalton (92). Alitrum : Patrick Guilfoyle (37).

TEMPLEDERRY. Gurtnagoona : John Collier (60). Garrane : Terence McKiernan (15). [36 Catholic pupils in Templederry Protestant parish school, held in the porch of the Protestant Church.]

KILKEARY. Kilkeary : John Ryan (60).

BALLINACLOUGH. Ballinacloough (parish chapel) : Patrick Butler (80).

LISBUNNY. Ballynalick : John Ryan (60).

BALLYMACKEY. Clashnevin : Henry Spain (36). Ballymackey : Eliza Hanley (9). Grennanstown (parish chapel) : James Connors (91). Clash : Francis Kennedy (16).

BALLYGIBBON. Bantis : John Conway (35).

NENAGH. Nenagh : Mrs. Strickland (35), Patrick Ryan (79), Mr. Michael O'Flanagan (18), James Holland (14),

- Charles Elliott (19), Patrick Connellan (67), Mary Healy (46), Denis Lahy (55), James Gordon (46).
[*John Byrne and Mary Byrne*: 121 Catholic pupils (KP and BS). 21 Catholic pupils in Protestant School (ADV and ES).]
- MONSEA. Monsea: Michael Grace (80).
- DROMINEER. Cushoona: Ellen Curtin (57).
- KNIGH. Knigh: Michael Walsh (75).
- KILLCDIERNAN. Puckawne: Honor Brien (22). Killadangan: John Herbert (41). Urra: James Garry (54).
- CLOGHPRIOR. Carney: Michael Griffin (35). Claree: James Develin (60). Firr Hill: Hugh Kelly (59).
- ARDCRONY. Saulmoy: Patrick McGrath (30). Longfodda (chapel): James McGrath (55). Derranaslin: Michael Ryan (25).
- MODREENY. CloghJordan: Thomas Flynn (18). Silverstream: William Brophy (34). Ballynevin: Francis Garvin (58). Knocknacree: Patrick Flynn (6).
[7 Catholic pupils in the Methodist Meetinghouse School (the Protestant Parish School: LHS and KP): 14 Catholic pupils in another Protestant School; CloghJordan.]
- KILBARRON. Loughane: James Donohoe (82). Coolbawn: Pat Moran (50). Ballinderry: Michael Moran (60). Curraghmore: Miss Mary Alt (Curraghmore House) (9).
[28 Catholic pupils at Protestant school (Miss Cambie, Brookfield).]
- FINNOE. Boherline: Cornelius O'Donnell (35). Srah: Michael Kerney (35).
[14 Catholic pupils at Protestant school (Miss Barry, Bell Park).]
- BURRIS O'KANE. Killeen: Timothy Keegan (27), Michael Carson (26). Ballyhaden (parish chapel): Pat Broderick (20).
[6 Catholic pupils in 3 Protestant schools, of which one is aided by KP and ADV and LHS.]
- USKANE. Greyfort: Patrick Hannigan (20).
- BALLINGARRY. Pike (the chapel): Michael Hannally (66). Lisadana: Patrick Nowlan (40). Liscreenan: James Gavin (11).
- TERRYGLASS. Terryglass (the chapel): Laurence Murray (46).
[75 Catholic pupils in the Protestant parish school (LHS and KP). Teachers: the Protestant sexton and *James Horan*.]

- AGLISHCLOGHANE. Aglish (the parish chapel): William Kennedy (50).
- LOUGHKEEN. Corrigy (parish chapel): John Mannion (61). Lacka Hill: John Abbott (32). Riverstown: Thomas Staunton (29).
- LORRHA. Lahinch: Thomas Ward (30). Loughlin: Patrick Smith (36). Moatefield (Moatefield House): The Misses Clarke (15). Kilnacross: John Hogan (30).
[*Mathew Troy*, 104 Catholic pupils at Harvest Lodge (KP).]
- DORRHA. Monturre: Thomas Greelis (52). Armaghanery: Patrick Coonan (45). Tougher: Patrick Mara (30). Rathcabbin: John Kelly (40). Bonaham: Peter Shea (53). Two Bushes: Timothy Moylan (59). Coolagown: Peter Byrne (24). Connegella: Michael Cunneen (94). Ballycairn: Edmund Ford (28).
- RATHNAVOGUE. Gurteen Shingaun: Joseph O'Brien (86). Montore: John Dooley (23). Ballinakill: Patrick Meagher (50).
- BOURNEY. Gurtilleryboy: George Monahan (139). Gurt-nacully: John Tracy (39). Behaglass: William Spillane (19). Kilana: Patrick Duncan (24). Boula: Edward Hayden (60). Gurteen: John Stapleton (54).
[37 Catholic pupils in Protestant school, at Clonakenny.]
- CORBALLY. Cullane: John Dunn (54). Cloneen: Henry Grace (54).
- ROSCREA. Roscrea: William Quinlan (148). Judith Malone (31). George Dunn (18). Mary Sheehy (21). William Sheehy (10). Michael Carroll (43). Mary Maher (6). Michael Carroll (43). Edward O'Donnell (27). Martin White (48). Bohereengloss: Judith Larney (24). Carrick Hill: Thomas Leahy (33). Lisnageera: Patrick Croggan (55). Keilogue: Patrick Sheppard (51). Killavilla: Thomas Kennedy (10). Coolehall: Daniel Connelly (44).
[122 Catholic pupils in 6 Protestant schools, of whom 28 in the Erasmus Smith's School.]

(COUNTY OF LEIX—1 PARISH)

- CLONFERTMULLA. Kyle (Chapel): Martin Ryan (74). Ballyduff: James Hayden (20), John Molony (18). Cloncoote: Eliza Steele (10).
[Ballintaggart: *Thomas Furn* (59) (KP).]

23.

20

CATHOLIC LAY TEACHERS

II

EXECUTION OF THE PENAL LAWS ON
EDUCATION

OF the vast Documentary Sources for the history of the local execution of the Penal Laws against Catholic Teachers and Schools, the Assize Records of Irish Counties, only a few fragments of a few counties survived in a legible state down to the close of the nineteenth century. Limerick and Kerry Records did so survive, but only for a few years, 1711 to 1722, and there were gaps even in these. The following First List of Irish Catholic Teachers, sufferers in the good cause, is taken from that fragmentary source of evidence:

INDICTMENTS OF CATHOLIC LAY TEACHERS

(A.) *Limerick Grand Jury Presentment Book: 1711-1722.*

- 1711 Thomas Gibbons, a popish schoolmaster.
- 1711 Thomas Gorman, a popish schoolmaster.
- 1713 Daniel Noonan, popish schoolmaster.
- 1714 Denis Brien and James Kennedy popish schoolmasters.
- 1715 William Heas a popish schoolmaster.
- 1715 William Croe a popish schoolmaster.
- 1715 Daniel Calahan schoolmaster a reputed Protestant seen at Mass.
- 1716 Michael Dwan a popish schoolmaster.
- 1717 We present ten pounds, to be raised on the popish inhabitants of the County, to Captain James Odell for his service in taking Thomas Fitz Gerald, a popish schoolmaster.
- 1718 Daniel O'Brien for teaching school.
- 1718 Joseph Dwyer Irish popish schoolmaster.
- 1720 Cornelius Hoe a popish schoolmaster.
- 1720 Laurence White a popish schoolmaster.
- 1721 John Cannan for teaching school being a papist.
- 1722 John Bowler a popish schoolmaster.
- 1722 John Smith, a popish schoolmaster.
- 1722 Patrick Caghill, a popish schoolmaster.
- 1722 Patrick Bryan, a popish schoolmaster.
- 1724 Derby Hickey a popish schoolmaster.

(B.) *Meeting of Kerry Justices of the Peace, at Tralee, 11 June, 1714.* We issued summons to severall persons. Most did appear and after some reluctance gave informations. Patrick Trant deposed that one Teig Connell about February last went to France for foreigne education in the ship belonging to Captain Butler. Morris Pierce sent his son to France for foreigne education, as did Stephen Price, Bartholomew Rice: one Daniel Breen a papist did teach youth in learning.

A list of the Popish Schoolmasters in the County of Kerry against whom the subsheriff has warrants.

Warrant dated 21 June 1714, per John Blennerhassett and Josiah Kennington, Clk: against Murrrough Connell, Stephen Rice, Barthol. Rice, Garrett and Maurice Pierce, for sending their children to France. Against Derby Conner, Donogh Rue, Boetius Egan, flor. Gillycuddy, Daniel Browne, Popish Schoolmasters.

It need hardly be said that "presentation," that is, indictment by a Grand Jury in Ireland, in those days, meant, automatically, conviction and transportation into penal servitude for life, servitude on the cotton and tobacco plantations in the American colonies of England. The Grand Jury and the trial jury, no less than the judges and all officials of the law, and the whole State Executive Service, ardently desired conviction and its return in enforced labour. American owners of plantation swamp lands bid for such labour, and wanted it greatly: their prosperity depended on a good and constant supply. The price paid went to the officials exporting the labour. This typical specimen of how the Penal Laws on Education took effect, an entirely impersonal and ordinary record, needs no emphasising.

The unwillingness of the State Church and of its allied Houses of Legislature at Dublin, to provide the funds needed for Compulsory and Universal Protestant Education of Irish Catholic Children, as planned for in 1711, caused chief reliance to be placed on the

