

AN IRISH TEXT ON THE 'WAR OF JENKINS' EAR'

THE PERIOD 1700–1850 is the best documented phase of the Gaelic tradition in terms of the number of its surviving manuscripts.¹ Paradoxically, however, it is as yet the least understood, due to a comparative dearth of editions of major (not to mention minor) works and writers, together with a lack of the type of informed critical commentary one might expect for such a significant era. Professor Ó Cuív has written with distinction on many aspects of the Irish past, but in few areas can his contribution be as welcome as the untilled field of pre-Famine studies. Here he has provided general guides to issues and sources² as well as painstaking analyses of individual compositions on which all sound investigation of the penultimate years of Gaelic culture must rest. Regarding the elucidation of specific literary creations in particular he has shown the way by comparing Irish material with parallel data in other languages as a means of highlighting the nature and import of the Gaelic matter³. The object of this paper in his honour is to follow his practice with reference to a text from the time in question. While the outcome may not be as felicitous as if Professor Ó Cuív himself were to set about the task, one nevertheless hopes the results confirm the method's worth as an indispensable weapon in the arsenal of pre-Famine Irish scholarship.

THE TEXT AND ITS SOURCES

The subject-matter of the composition discussed here is an early eighteenth-century conflict involving England and Spain. The war broke out in the closing months of 1739, but hostility between the two countries had been growing for some time before then. Spanish interference with English ships journeying to the New World gave rise to the difficulty. Spain's dominance in the Americas was diminishing. However, she continued to claim the right to regulate many aspects of trade there, particularly in the West Indies. The authority to board vessels suspected of smuggling was among the latter privileges. This freedom irritated English merchants, not only because of disruptions to a growing commerce, but also on account of apparent Spanish abuses during arrest and search operations. Concerning the latter point, one incident became a *cause célèbre*. In 1731 Robert Jenkins, captain of the *Rebecca* was allegedly stopped during a voyage from Jamaica. Spanish *guardacostas* could find no contraband in his cargo. They nonetheless cut off one of his ears, ordering him to tell his tale at home as a reminder of their

¹B. Ó Cuív, 'Ireland's manuscript heritage', *Éire-Ireland* 19/1 (1984) 87–110, especially 104 ff.

²For instance his chapter 'Irish language and literature, 1691–1845' in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland IV* (Oxford 1986) 375–423.

³In this connection one thinks of his seminal article, 'A contemporary account in Irish of a nineteenth-century tithe affray', *RIA Proc.* 61 C (1960) 1–21.

understanding of the laws of the sea. The episode received little attention just after Jenkins' return to England. However, when he related the occurrence to an interested Parliament in March 1738, English public opinion was outraged. The event became a convenient rallying-point in opposition attempts to compel the government of the day to bring Spain to terms on the trade control issue. Diplomatic efforts on the part of both states in 1738 and early 1739 failed to resolve the matter. English dissatisfaction culminated in King George II's formal declaration of war on 23 October 1739. The ensuing struggle became popularly known from the mutilation mentioned earlier as the 'War of Jenkins' Ear'.⁴

The war was primarily a maritime conflict.⁵ Hostilities broke out along the west coast of France, off northern Spain, in the Mediterranean, particularly around Gibraltar, and on North America's eastern seaboard. Naval and merchant fleets alike joined in the pursuit and capture of either nationality's ships. A certain amount of land-based activity did occur. This began in earnest with Admiral Edward Vernon's successful siege in late November 1739 of Porto Bello, the well-known Spanish naval base and trading town on the Panamanian coast. Both countries engaged in substantial diplomacy to ensure the neutrality of potential adversaries or the support of allies. The affair remained a bipartisan struggle at first. However, it soon merged with a more consequential international dispute, the War of the Austrian Succession.⁶ This pan-European conflict arose following the death of the Emperor Charles VI in October 1740 and his daughter Maria Theresa's accession to the Austrian throne. Spain and France were among a number of countries which took advantage of Austria's weakened position. They attacked the latter's possessions in central and northern Italy. England responded in Austria's favour by reinforcing its Mediterranean fleet to counter Franco-Spanish advances. These issues are interesting in their own right and, as we shall see, from the perspective of the Irish tradition. Nevertheless, they fall outside the scope of the present paper whose focus remains events immediately preceding the more complex scenario.

The Irish text (T) edited below deals primarily with incidents during the first three months of official Spanish-English hostility. The work is located in Dublin and is part of a manuscript written in the same centre. Its contents may be briefly outlined as follows. T commences with the

⁴See H. W. V. Temperley, 'The causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear', *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* 3rd ser. 3 (1909) 197-236, for a succinct account of the background to this dispute. The atmosphere of parliamentary debates on the matter is conveyed in A. Ballantyne's dated but still readable *Lord Carteret: a political biography 1690-1763* (London 1887) 201-220.

⁵H. W. Richmond, *The Navy in the war of 1739-48* I (Cambridge 1920) 1-138, sets out the course of the war in detail. See M. S. Anderson, *War and society in Europe of the Old Regime 1618-1789* (London 1988) 77-204, for the nature of contemporary warfare.

⁶Richmond, *Navy in war of 1739-48* I, 138-50, briefly describes the circumstances which led to this dispute.

proclamation of war in the city in late October 1739 (§ 1). Information on ship seizures forms the core of the following narrative (§§ 2–5, 8). For the vessels listed, details given often include either the name, point of origin, destination, cargo, value or identity of the ship's master. Events in Ireland at a remove from the battle-front but nonetheless associated with the war are also recorded (§ 7). This portion of the piece and other entries not ostensibly linked with the conflict (§§ 6, 9, 10) will be considered in the context of the atmosphere prevailing during the struggle. The sole entry from 1740 (§ 11) brings the notice of the dispute to an end.

A number of verse compositions and one prose passage are found between § 10 and § 11. I omit them from the present edition because I would argue their subject is further from the war than the sections treated here. I believe, however, that the matters they discuss cannot be entirely divorced from the conflict. I attempt to show the nature of the relationship between them and this study's main focus of attention later.

T mentions its source, *an nuaighidheacht*, in § 3. I understand this term to mean news circulating in contemporary journals and related productions. Dublin had a flourishing newspaper industry at the time.⁷ I would suggest the Irish work originally derived in its entirety, directly or indirectly, from the city's periodicals. Copies of three Dublin publications from late 1739 are extant, the *Dublin Gazette (DG)*, *Faulkener's Dublin Journal (FDJ)* and *Pue's Occurrences (PO)*.⁸ None of these is complete for the period in question. A table outlining the dates and numbers of surviving issues is given below, p. 98.⁹ Despite gaps, a considerable amount of information from the available numbers may be seen to match data in T. The newspaper entries are set out after the Gaelic work for the purposes of comparison. The nature of the facts reported and the style in which they are presented argue strongly in favour of the Irish compilation's ultimate dependence on its journalistic counterparts. While the work's derivation from newspapers is clear, further analysis shows the relationship between the Irish and journal material to be rather complex. At a basic textual level, it is generally difficult to determine T's specific source, whether it is one of the three periodicals reviewed here, a combination of their entries or otherwise. Some examples illustrate the type of problem encountered in resolving this matter. § 2 is dated Mon. Nov. (*An naoichidh*) 12 and consists of a report from Dublin. Information regarding five named parties is

⁷R. L. Munter, *The history of the Irish newspaper 1685–1760* (Cambridge 1967) *passim*.

⁸For the present location of copies of these papers see R. L. Munter, *A hand-list of Irish newspapers 1685–1750* (London 1960) 3 (§ 15, *PO*), 15 (§ 84, *FDJ*), 19 (§ 104, *DG*).

⁹The table should be consulted to determine the dates of various numbers of the journals listed in it referred to hereafter, with the exception of the specific issues discussed in the next two paragraphs. References to *PO* are to vol. XXXVI.

included, the Maltese and four other ships, the *Stubington*, *Britannia*, *William and Mary* and *Aurora*.¹⁰ Data on four of these survives in one paper, *PO* no. 89, dated Tue. Nov. 6 – Sat. Nov. 10 and not the following Monday, as in the Irish work. The entries appear in a different order in this periodical, the *William and Mary*, *Aurora*, *Stubington* and then the Maltese. News concerning them comes from London rather than Dublin, dated Nov. 1 for the first three of *PO*'s items and Nov. 3 for the Maltese vessels. There is no mention of the *Britannia* in *PO*'s report. The ship may be the vessel of the same name noted in *DG* no. 1294, whose date, Sat. Nov. 10 – Tue. Nov. 13, does overlap with that mentioned in *T*. However, the *DG* reference to the *Britannia* originates in a Bristol account, dated Nov. 3, and is certainly identical with the *Britannia* departing from the same port noted in § 3. Furthermore, this newspaper omits all mention of the four other named items from its narrative. The dating and layout of the Irish text may have reflected *FDJ*'s handling of these entries, but unfortunately the latter journal's no. 1392 of Sat. Nov. 10 – Tue. Nov. 13 is not now available to shed light on the issues raised. Similar problems arise in the case of § 3. This section is dated Nov. 14. It includes a notice of the capture of the *Golden Fleece* and the *Betty*, their captains and the masters of other vessels. Reports of these seizures appear in *DG* no. 1294 and *PO* no. 90, both dated Sat. Nov. 10 – Tue. Nov. 13 and not Wed. Nov. 14. On this occasion the latter date is represented in a surviving issue of *FDJ*, no. 1393 of Tue. Nov. 13 – Sat. Nov. 17, but the particular number contains no reference to the ships or officers in question.

It is now difficult to reconcile *T* with one or all newspapers as regards particular instances of dating and the grouping of entries. What brought about this position is not certain. One possibility is that the Irish text derives from a somewhat imperfect copy of the journals. Other news sources were also available at the time. These were handwritten sheets,¹¹ whose information was presumably excerpted from the more professionally produced periodicals of the kind explored here. It might be proposed that a marginally inaccurate and distorted circular of this type underlies the Gaelic source. The fact that elsewhere the scribe of the Irish work appears to have drawn directly from the established newspapers probably weakens this case.¹² Confusion could more reasonably be expected if the account in *T* is not itself the original but rather a version of an earlier text in Irish into which discrepancies have crept. Because the composition appears in one manuscript only, the chance of assessing the

¹⁰Ships' names and other related details are given in their English form here.

¹¹Munter, *History of Irish newspaper*, 95.

¹²For instance the scribe cites 'Falkner's new's letter' as the source of the item he enters in National Library of Ireland MS G 132, p. 25 (N. Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland IV* (Dublin (1977) 58).

plausibility of this argument seems remote.¹³ T contains some further idiosyncrasies when compared with the periodicals. At times its information parallels the newspaper data quite closely, the matter presented in § 5 being a case in point. There are more pronounced differences on other occasions. Reports in the Irish work are in the main quite condensed. The *da long Spaineach ro shaidhbhir, 7 long eile* statement in § 1 is possibly the most telling demonstration of the tendency to shorten. In contrast, one also finds material which seems not to have been a feature of the journalistic source but exists as an added flourish in T. This is an aspect of § 6 in particular. The section identifies the informant whose testimony led to the conviction and sentence mentioned in the article. The description of the witness's immoderate delivery of his evidence (*do bean a bhróga dhe mar adhradh do GREEN CLOTH. Do spailp an leabhar*),¹⁴ together with the apparently pejorative term (*sagairtin*) used to characterise Fond, highlight the author of T's considerable dislike of this person. The newspaper equivalent of § 6, on the other hand, places its emphasis on the abuse the victims of the crime suffered. The additional element in the Gaelic work indicates that an episode more complex and provocative than the report in the periodical version would suggest must underlie the story. T's compiler was presumably aware of this extra dimension from personal experience of the circumstances or acquaintance with the figures involved.

A category of entry seen abundantly in the journals but on one occasion only in T is perhaps the most striking difference between the Gaelic text and the newspapers. The Irish source concentrates almost exclusively on Spanish seizures of English ships. The sole exception occurs in § 2, the taking of two rich Spanish ships and another vessel cited in the last paragraph. From T one might infer that England made no headway in military matters during the hostilities. However, the periodicals convey a different impression. From the beginning of the conflict onwards they report English successes in detail alongside the type of losses instanced in the Irish document.¹⁵ In addition to this, they show various aspects of the war effort under way. Naval recruitment

¹³There is one significant indication that T could be a later copy. It is preceded in its own manuscript, NLI G 135, by material on pp. 5 and 8 (which appears to derive from newspapers) dealing with events from the years 1742-4 (Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue IV*, 70), and therefore subsequent to those recorded in T. The fact that the proper chronological order is not observed here may deserve consideration in determining the issue of when T was actually compiled.

¹⁴The Green Cloth was a department of the Royal Household controlling various matters of expenditure and jurisdiction of the court-royal (*Oxford English dictionary* s.v.; I thank Séamus de Barra for drawing my attention to the usage). The term's employment here may be metaphorical, signifying undue deference to authority. I am not sure what is intended by the witness's gesture of removing his shoes when delivering his evidence under oath.

¹⁵For example, in two successive issues of one newspaper alone English seizures of Spanish vessels from Buenos Ayres (*DG* no. 1293) and Bilboa (*ibid.*, no. 1294) were reported.

began early in the campaign: 'LONDON, Oct. 25, and 27. We hear that Orders will be speedily issued for raising some Regiments of Marines, to serve on board his Majesty's Fleet' (*DG* no. 1291). The same account suggests provisioning of strategic bases was attended to with a similar sense of urgency: 'On Saturday no less than 560 Barrels of Beef were shipp'd for Gibraltar' (*ibid.*). Britain's allies, especially her North American colonists, were stated to be siding with her: 'LONDON. (Nov. 1). They are fitting out twelve Privateers at New England, to cruize on the Spaniards' (*ibid.*, no. 1293). Concrete results of this assistance were soon announced: 'LONDON, November 27. Yesterday came Advice by the Union, Capt. Homans, arrived from New-England, that a Ship belonging to Rhode Island, of twenty Guns and a hundred and twenty Men, had brought into the last Place a valuable Cargo of Spanish Effects, which she had taken and brought from a Town in the Island of Cuba' (*PO* no. 96). The war attracted civilian as well as military participation, indicated by the following authorisation arrangements: 'Last Week not a Day passed, except Holidays, but more or less Letters of Marque were taken out of the Admiralty Court by the Merchants, for making Reprisals on the Spaniards' (*DG* no. 1294).

Much of the reporting is obviously the kind of patriotic propaganda normal in situations of conflict. Nevertheless, both preparation for war and achievements in battle were real. Given the fact that *T* bears a close relationship to the newspapers in which articles of the type just considered regularly appeared, the compiler of the Irish text must have been acquainted with the nature and progress of the English campaign. The absence of this information from *T* is noteworthy and invites comment. Reasons for believing the text to be an expression of its author's pro-Spanish sympathies rather than a neutral list of Spain's victories will be explored presently.

I would argue that there are other political dimensions to the work as significant as the omission of the English perspective noted above. They may be observed in § 7, to an extent in § 10, and possibly also in § 9. § 7 deals with the burning in Thurles, during the proclamation of the war against Spain, of what seems from the wording of the account to be a Catholic church. The altar, priest's vestments, host and chalice were destroyed in the fire. I have not succeeded in locating material corresponding to this article in the newspapers. It is nevertheless likely that the story came from a journal source. The preceding and following sections have counterparts among the extant periodical records. Furthermore, accounts of scenes of the declaration of war in other parts of Ireland were published in the papers. The mood of these events may be sensed from the following examples drawn from different parts of the country. The Dundalk ceremony is described thus:

November 12. This Day William Mercer, Esq; Bailiff of the Antient and Loyal Corporation of Dundalk, with the Officers in

their Formalities was attended with the Burgesses and Freemen of said Corporation, to the Number of two Hundred Protestant Gentlemen on Horseback, with Drums beating, the Musick playing, that the Protestant Boys may carry the Day; and as soon as his Majesty's Declaration of War was proclaimed and read by the Town Clerk, each Man drew his Sword with Huzzas of the greatest Acclamation that can be expressed; then the Drums beat, and the Musick play'd, Britain strike home (*FDJ* no. 1393).

A similar account originated in the other end of the island:

COUNTRY NEWS. Bandon, Nov. 6. 1739. Yesterday, the 5th of this instant November, John Stammers, Esq; Provost of the Antient Protestant Corporation of Bandon [ordered procession of burgesses to proclaim war against Spain]; but as that Corporation suffers not a Papist to reside within their Walls, it was remarked, that there was not a popish Spectator to give an Account of the Joy and Pleasure that appeared in the loyal Countenance of that zealous Protestant Assembly, and then the Provost and the Assembly retired and concluded the Day in drinking Success to his Majesty's Arms, and the known loyal Toasts (*PO* no. 90).¹⁶

The above citations point to the existence of a state of heightened emotion which could conceivably have led to the type of outrage reported in § 7. They provide grounds for thinking that the war exacerbated sectarian tensions in the community.

There may also be a hint of this phenomenon in § 10. T's second-last segment relates the burning of a Quaker meeting-house and workshop (*seapodh oibre*) in Timahoe, Co. Kildare. Nineteen Catholics (*Papists*) were arrested for the crime but later released. The wife of the Quaker whose property was destroyed testified that her husband had removed goods and valuables from the buildings immediately prior to the fire. The account concludes that the Quaker himself probably burned the houses so that his brethren would come to his assistance, believing him to be destitute. The indictment of this person's venality and the demonstration of his failure to realise his aims are tantamount to an expression of wry humour at the Quaker's expense. As such the narrative conforms to the treatment this religious group received in contemporary journals, which concentrated on the 'mysteries and oddities' of Quakers.¹⁷ Within the main episode there occurs a detail I believe to be of special relevance to the present discussion. Preparations were made for the execution of the Catholics accused of the misdeed before their trial at Naas. The

¹⁶The newspapers also record war proclamation ceremonies in a number of other centres like Carrickfergus, Galway, Monaghan, Newry, Strabane (*FDJ* no. 1391), Belfast, Dromore, Enniskillen (*ibid.*, no. 1393), Mountmellick (*PO* no. 89), Phillipstown (*ibid.*, no. 90), Tralee (*ibid.*, no. 93) and elsewhere.

¹⁷Munter, *History of Irish newspaper*, 70.

Dublin hangman was brought to the town with one rope for each of the nineteen prisoners. There could be an element of facetious exaggeration here, particularly in view of the fact that the elaborate execution arrangements were destined to come to nought on this occasion. However, I would argue that the comic aspect, if there is one, should not deflect attention from another point of interest, the ease with which unfounded suspicion might fall on innocent Catholics.

Doubts about the actions of the majority of the population appear to have grown in tandem with the developing Anglo-Spanish hostilities. On 10 October 1739, before the war was formally announced but when conflict seemed imminent, the Irish parliament presented an address to King George II, stating:

The vigorous Measures your Majesty hath been pleased to enter into, in the present Situation of Affairs, for the Protection of our Trade and Commerce, Abroad, will be always considered by us as the strongest Instance of your Majesty's watchful Care for the Good of your People.

Mindful of the delicate circumstances then prevailing, the Dublin government hoped to assist by such means as the following:

We shall, at all Times, and upon this Occasion in particular, be most zealous to support your Majesty's Government and the Protestant Religion, against all such as dare to attempt the Disturbance of all publick Peace and Tranquility, which we have the Happiness to enjoy under your Majesty's most wise and gracious Administration.¹⁸

When war officially began, parliament took steps to give effect to the policy outlined above, certain of which were publicized in the press thus:

DUBLIN. Last Tuesday a Proclamation was published by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, and the Privy Council (upon an Address of the House of Commons of Ireland) to search for, take and seize all Arms, Armour, and Ammunition of what Kind soever, that shall be found in the Possession of any Papist, reputed Papist . . . ; and if any Papists carry Arms, the Justices of the Peace, and other Magistrates, are to proceed against such Offenders, and to put the Law in force against them. No Search is to be made, but between the Rising and Setting of the Sun, other than in Cities, and their Suburbs, Towns-Corporate, Market-Towns and Houses there, if thought necessary, and Warrants for that Purpose do so direct and appoint (*FDJ* no. 1395).

¹⁸This and the foregoing citation are from *The journals of the House of Commons of the kingdom of Ireland* IV (Dublin 1746) 295.

Ordinances like this, together with other anti-Popery measures actually before the Irish House of Commons in its 1739–40 session,¹⁹ belong to the regulatory corpus generally known as the Penal Laws. In her seminal study of this code, Maureen Wall demonstrated that it was easier to formulate such instructions than to secure their enforcement.²⁰ Her investigation of the circumstances surrounding the Penal Laws in real life has consequently provided an important corrective to the simplistic approach of earlier historians. While she may have questioned the practical implementation of the rules, the issue of the spirit of the laws still remains. The matter of the contemporary ambiance they produced is perhaps as relevant as their actual application. That the creation of a certain type of atmosphere was envisaged while Spanish–English differences hardened is readily apparent from the newspaper accounts of the proclamation of war in various Irish towns seen earlier. It is perhaps more subtle in the case of celebrations which took place in Dublin on 5 Nov. 1739, reported the following day:

Yesterday being the Anniversary of Gun Powder Treason Plot, and likewise of the Glorious King William's Landing in England, the same was most solemnly and religiously observed in this City, his Grace the Lord Lieutenant went in State to Christ Church attended by a great Number of the Nobility and Persons of Distinction . . . the Great Guns in our Barracks fired three Rounds and were answered by the Regiments on Duty drawn out on the Royal Square (*DG* no. 1292).

In sections of the Irish text studied here, notably §§ 7 and 10, unequal treatment based on religious difference reaches the level of tangible reality.

In her catalogue of the manuscript where the Gaelic work occurs Nessa Ní Shéaghdha has distinguished between § 10 and the preceding nine sections, suggesting it is a separate piece.²¹ I believe it should be considered an integral part of **T** for the reasons just stated. Furthermore, the article's November dating places it firmly within the main body of the other entries on chronological grounds. Ní Shéaghdha's distinction between § 10 and the rest is helpful insofar as it implicitly draws attention to the fact that the article in question is out of its proper temporal sequence. It is not clear why this dislocation happened. The feature again illustrates the type of difficulty encountered earlier in determining when and how **T** was composed.

¹⁹On Thursday, 1 November 1739, the Irish House of Commons began discussion of bills to prevent the further growth of popery and for disarming papists (*ibid.* IV, 299). For the measures subsequently enacted see *The statutes at large, passed in the parliaments held in Ireland* VI (Dublin 1786) 495–505.

²⁰*The Penal Laws, 1691–1760* (Dundalk 1961), now conveniently reprinted among her collected essays in G. O'Brien and T. Dunne (ed.), *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century* (Dublin 1989) 1–60.

²¹Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue* IV, 71.

I have not succeeded in finding the counterpart of § 10 in the journals, and the same holds true for § 9. This article deals with attempts on the part of 'Idle Boys' (*buachaillidh diomhaoin*) near Wexford to obtain four calves (*domhain*) with which to feed themselves and extort the payment of twelve pounds of money from a grocer (*gráiseir*). When they did not succeed, they punished him by stealing a dozen of his cattle. They flayed the beasts, returned their tallow (*geir*) and hides (*seathachadh*) to the owner and, in a moment of grotesque levity, suggested that if the grocer cared to join them, they would prepare an excellent Christmas feast for him. This episode's ingredients, a furtive assault by an aggrieved, organised group on the property of an apparently better-off person, the maiming of animals and black humour, are features associated with the activities of secret societies later in the eighteenth century. The emergence of such bodies from circumstances existing during the time of the events treated in T might also have been expected.

Groups like the Whiteboys,²² the Rightboys²³ and others grew out of efforts to secure the rights of labourers, small farmers and other increasingly disadvantaged classes from the 1760s onwards. The closing years of the 1730s witnessed significant underprivilege as well. From the beginning of December 1739 until February 1740 some of the century's worst weather occurred, a spell of severe and sustained frost. This was followed by periods of starvation and mortality unequalled in Ireland until the early nineteenth century. While the winter itself was uncommonly harsh, the preceding summer and autumn of 1739 were also excessively wet. This led to a reduced grain harvest and curtailment of the drying of such essential fuels as turf.²⁴ A threatening scarcity of foodstuffs and other commodities in the final months of 1739 no doubt helped generate the type of climate in which the altercation reported in § 10 could develop. The scribe of T may have appreciated that the kind of internal unease within Ireland represented in the Gaelic work's third-last item had wider implications when placed against the background of the war currently in progress.

While the source of § 9 is not available, some circumstantial evidence suggests that it derives from the newspapers. It is not the only occasion an account of wrongdoing from the south-east involving some form of violence survives, as the following entry of a few months later shows:

²²J. S. Donnelly, 'The Whiteboy movement, 1761-5', *Ir. Hist. Studies* 21 (1978) 20-54; idem, 'Irish agrarian rebellion: the Whiteboys of 1769-76', *RIA Proc.* 83 C (1983) 293-331; M. J. Bric, 'The Whiteboy movement in Tipperary, 1760-80', in W. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: history and society* (Dublin 1985) 148-84, 448-52.

²³J. S. Donnelly, 'The Rightboy movement, 1785-8', *Studia Hibernica* 17-18 (1977-8) 120-202; M. J. Bric, 'Priests, parsons and politics: the Rightboy protest in County Cork 1785-1788', *Past and Present* Aug. 1983, 100-123.

²⁴For the conditions summarised here see M. Drake 'The Irish demographic crisis of 1740-41', in *Historical Studies* VI (ed. T. W. Moody, London 1968) 101-124. Aspects of this article relevant to the present paper are also examined by Louis Cullen in the discussions cited below, note 36.

DUBLIN, March 4. We hear from Wexford, that last Week several Rogues broke into the House of one Mr. Sparrow, a Quaker in that Neighbourhood, and Robbed him of 9 l. besides other things of Value, they almost strangled his Wife, and afterwards made off undiscovered (*PO* Vol. XXXVII no. 19, Sat. Mar. 1 – Tue. Mar. 4, 1740).

One also wonders whether this incident is a product of the conditions discussed with reference to the other Wexford event just examined.²⁵

AUTHORSHIP

Apart from references to Thurles, Wexford and Timahoe, the bulk of the work is located in Dublin. This city was also home for the greater part of his life to the compiler of T. The author is the well-known scribe and scholar, Tadhg Ó Neachtain (1671 – *post* 1752).²⁶ The Ó Neachtains were a learned west of Ireland family. Tadhg's father Seán (*ob.* 1729), apparently a native of Co. Roscommon, had migrated to the Meath-Dublin area about 1690.²⁷ Tadhg inherited the family profession of Gaelic learning from Seán, and like him also enjoyed a substantial level of contact during his own lifetime with Irish language scribes and scholars in the capital and surrounding districts.²⁸ Dean Swift (1667–1754) may have known the work of the Ó Neachtains and their colleagues.²⁹ As an aside, one may mention that Swift's seventy-third birthday occurred during the events recorded in T. It was marked in Dublin as follows:

Yesterday being the Anniversary of the Birth of that Glorious Patron, the Rev Dr. SWIFT. Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, he received the compliments of his Friends at the Deanry House, who all congratulated with him upon that Occasion, and paid him several Compliments on his great and unparelled Love to his Country and the many Services he hath done it, as likewise for his great and extensive Charity to poor Tradesmen, and other Persons in Distress. There were several fine Poems written on the Occasion; 21 Guns fired in Honour of the Day; Bonfires and Illuminations in many Parts of the Town, and on the four Pinnacles of St. Patrick's Church; Bells ringing all the Day, and the Evening was concluded with the greatest

²⁵For a map depicting the severe impact of the 1740–41 famine in the Wexford area among others see D. Dickson, *New foundations: Ireland 1660–1800* (Dublin 1987) 84.

²⁶Nessa Ní Shéaghda draws attention to the latest extant material in his hand in her *Catalogue* IV, 69.

²⁷See M. H. Risk, 'Seán Ó Neachtain: an eighteenth-century Irish writer', *Studia Hibernica* 15 (1975) 46–60, which also includes data on the Ó Neachtain family background.

²⁸See T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Irish scholars in Dublin in the early eighteenth century', *Gadelica* 1 (1912–13) 156–62.

²⁹This topic is explored in C. Ó hÁinle, 'Neighbors in eighteenth-century Dublin', *Éire-Ireland* Winter 1986, 106–121 (I thank Prof. Ó hÁinle for the reference) and also in the work mentioned below, note 33.

Demonstrations of Joy, by all Persons who are true Lovers of this Kingdom (*FDJ* no. 1397).

Upwards of thirty manuscripts associated with Tadhg survive, either in his own hand or close copies of his originals.³⁰ Their varied contents include Tadhg's own verse, his father's compositions, traditional Irish history, medical treatises, religious and other matter. One of his productions, NLI MS G 198,³¹ consists in large measure of Irish-language geographical tracts based on contemporary English manuals dealing with the same subject. A historical geography of the world, written in the form of a conversation between Tadhg and his father, has been published from this compilation.³² The codex's unedited sections are of considerable relevance to the present paper. They include the histories of European countries like Poland (pp. 511–22) and Hungary (pp. 523–50), together with an account of Turkey (pp. 551–609). Descriptions of Canada, Newfoundland, New England, New York and New Jersey (pp. 611–22) are found in the same compilation. These aspects of Tadhg's output demonstrate his familiarity with recent geopolitical issues as well as with geography proper. One might suggest that an awareness of the former topic is also a feature of the text studied here. Tadhg was not dependant on theoretical works alone for his knowledge of overseas countries and events. In an illuminating study of Anthony Raymond (1675–1726), a Protestant minister, Gaelic enthusiast and acquaintance of Ó Neachtain's, Dr Alan Harrison has lately drawn attention to the period the latter spent in France searching for Irish-language documents on behalf of Dublin-based patrons.³³ Furthermore, Tadhg's son Peadar, who became a Jesuit priest, visited the Iberian peninsula. One of his father's Gaelic manuscripts accompanied him there on his travels. Peadar was in Spain as recently as 1737.³⁴ The proximity of this date to the year of the events recounted in T suggests that personal factors contributed significantly to Tadhg's interest in Spain, and may have motivated him to compile the data represented in the Irish composition.

Tadhg Ó Neachtain's goodwill towards Spain is evident in another unlikely source, but nonetheless one which has poignant associations in the circumstances of the time. This is *Má bhí brón romhór gan teimheall*, a poem he composed on St Stephen's Day 1739 on the subject of the harsh frost discussed earlier, which is found together with T in NLI MS

³⁰For a convenient summary of these documents see R. J. Hayes (ed.), *Manuscript sources for the history of Irish civilization* 3 (Boston 1965) 714–5; idem, *Manuscript sources . . . first supplement 1965–1975* 1 (Boston 1979) 574.

³¹Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue* V (1979) 72–3.

³²M. Ní Chléirigh, *Eólas ar an Domhan* (Leabhair ó Láimhsgríbhíbh XII, Baile Átha Cliath 1944).

³³A. Harrison, *Ag cruinniú meala* (Baile Átha Cliath 1988) 43, 77.

³⁴ibid., 28–9.

G 135 (pp. 24–7).³⁵ In this work he suggests that whatever suffering Ireland may have experienced hitherto, matters have lately reached a critically low ebb (stt. 1–4). This is because the staple food of the country's poor, the potato, is locked in winter's icy grip (stt. 5–6). He claims its demise will lead to hundreds of deaths (st. 8). When tracing the history of the plant as a factor in the Irish diet he stresses its benevolent Spanish background in st. 9:

Ór ar mbeatha an fata naomhtha
plúr Spáinneach d'fhás in Éirinn
chun furtacht Gaoidheal taoi re tréimhse
i bhfuacht fo smacht gan teas gan téagar. Ochón.

The term 'Spanish' itself becomes synonymous with the potato as the poem concludes. Tadhg ends his piece by asking Ireland's premier saints, such as Patrick, Brigid and Columcille, not to allow the destruction of the vital foodstuff, the *Spáinneach gléigeal* (st. 17).

The work forms part of a set of compositions found in the same manuscript between T's §§ 10 and 11, dealing with the severity of the 1739–40 winter. Two items discussing this topic precede it. The first (p. 23) is the poem *While the fierce winter rages all around*. An Irish-language introduction, dated 12 January 1740, ascribes the latter to an unknown English author and states the subject-matter to be the great frost beginning at the start of December. The piece exhorts the rich not to forget the sufferings of the indigent in the unnatural conditions then disrupting normal life. The second entry in the series (p. 23) is a Gaelic version of a letter from Holland to London dated 1 January [1740], which describes the effects of the climate in mainland Europe. Food and drink are so frozen that they cannot be consumed, according to this account. One item follows *Má bhí brón romhór gan teimheall*, a poem commencing *Fo liag sheaca i ngeibheann tá* (pp. 27–8). It also sets out the harm the inclement weather has done to the potato harvest in Ireland, resulting in the impoverishment and immiseration of large sections of the population.³⁶ These and other texts³⁷ show Tadhg Ó Neachtain's awareness of the susceptibility of the disadvantaged in

³⁵Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue IV*, 71.

³⁶*Má bhí brón romhór gan teimheall* speaks eloquently of the ease with which the potato may be cultivated (st. 14) and its resultant popularity among all categories of Irish people, especially the less well-off (stt. 12–13). *Fo liag sheaca i ngeibheann tá* claims the destruction of the potato crop is a grave development. In the poem Tadhg Ó Neachtain suggests the plant supplies two-thirds of the country's food requirements (q. 1). The evidence of the verse compositions merits further investigation in the context of discussion of the potato's place in the Irish diet, for which see L. M. Cullen, *The emergence of modern Ireland 1600–1900* (Dublin 1983) 145–6; idem, 'Economic development, 1750–1800', in *New history of Ireland IV*, 159–95, particularly 159–66, and C. Ó Gráda, *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin 1989) 22–7.

³⁷For other aspects of Tadhg Ó Neachtain's awareness of the harshness of the 1739–40 frost and its consequences see Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue IV*, 71–2.

society to hardship and deprivation. I have proposed above that similar forces of poverty and want could underlie events reported in § 9 of the Gaelic work edited in this paper. Combined with the ongoing war, the extreme circumstances of the 1739–40 winter may have added to the delicacy of the political situation which the conflict itself apparently produced.

In *Má bhí brón romhór gan teimheall Ó Neachtain* does not as such blame the English for Ireland's current difficulties. Nevertheless, we learn elsewhere of his negative attitude to England's influence in Irish affairs. The memory of seventeenth-century Cromwellian atrocities is still fresh in his writings.³⁸ He is sensitive to various forms of discrimination against the native Irish on the part of the English settlers now ruling the country, such as the adoption of panic measures following the spread of what he regards as ill-founded rumours about impending revolt in 1726.³⁹ As we have seen, he made abundant copies of his father's verse which expresses dismay at the turn of events in Ireland in the 1690s and continued sympathy with the Jacobite cause.⁴⁰ These and the foregoing arguments favour the view that the nature of the entries in T suggests Tadhg's loyalties are with Spain rather than England during the conflict it describes.

Apart from reasons of this kind, one might have expected an Irish person to be naturally curious about the course of events in the Spanish-English war. T itself indicates (§§ 3, 5, 8) that many of the vessels caught up in the dispute were of Irish origin, sailing either to or from this country.⁴¹ Irishmen served in both navies, particularly the Spanish. With the latter since 1711 was a brother of the Co. Clare Gaelic poet, Seon Ó hUaithnín, who was also for a while a member of the same country's armed forces.⁴² The actions of other anonymous compatriots of theirs in the service of Spain are related in this rather caustic periodical account:

An Extract of a Letter from on Board the Ruby Man of War, lying at Spithead, dated Oct. 29. Yesterday the Chester, a fifty Gun Ship, brought in here from Cadiz, a Spanish Man of War of sixty Brass Guns, said to be worth, including the Treasure on Board, 150000 l, Sterling. She was a Convoy to the Carracca Ships, and

³⁸See NLI MS G 132, pp. 3, 52 i (Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue* IV, 57, 59–60).

³⁹NLI MS G 132, p. 92 (ibid., 60–61).

⁴⁰Ó Cuív in *New history of Ireland* IV, 394–6; Risk, *Studia Hibernica* 15 (1975) 55–6.

⁴¹Ó Neachtain may have appreciated the effects of this on aspects of Irish commerce. § 5 mentions the seizure of two Irish boats carrying pilchards (cf. also the newspaper source for § 8). It is interesting to note that this country's trade in the latter species declined seriously in 1740 after enjoying a boom period at the end of the 1730s, for which see A. E. J. Went, 'The Irish pilchard fishery', *RIA Proc.* 51 B (1946) 81–120, especially 99 ff. One wonders to what extent the war and contemporary food shortages may have played a role here.

⁴²E. Ó hAnluain, *Seon Ó hUaithnín* (Baile Átha Cliath 1973) 20–25.

was it seems, taken with little Trouble, being mann'd mostly with Irish, who could not fight for fear of being Hang'd (*DG* no. 1294).

The following inconclusive report suggests the authorities in Ireland were concerned about recruitment in this country for the forces of England's enemies:

DUBLIN, November 17. On Wednesday last Four Men were Tried at the King's Bench for Inlisting Men for Foreign Service; the Prosecutor was one Mc'Laughlin, who on his Examination denied that he had Swore against them before, upon which they were acquitted, and Mc'Laughlin sent to Newgate, in order to be prosecuted for Perjury (*PO* no. 91).

Finally, increased naval activity off the British, Irish, French and Spanish coasts would have posed a threat to Ireland's vibrant smuggling trade as practised by the likes of Bearra peninsula native Muircheartach Óg Ó Súilleabháin, whose career in various proscribed enterprises was by then well established.⁴³

THE WIDER CONTEXT

The foregoing considerations indicate that *T* acts as a helpful point of departure for discussing many central issues in early eighteenth-century Ireland. I believe the text sheds valuable light on other aspects of the tradition besides the matters already explored. Certain of these will be mentioned briefly here in conclusion. The work as we have it is written in an archaising form of Irish, with, for instance, frequent non-lenition of consonants in positions where one would expect this feature to be shown (e.g. § 3 *do gabh*, *Gabhadar*), the use of obsolete or obsolescent prepositional forms (e.g. § 1 *forin*, § 2 *riu sin*) and the like. When shorn of its antique dress, however, the language appears to be direct, forceful and idiomatic. The occurrence of words like *seapodh oibre* (§ 10) demonstrates the use of viable and creative new Irish terms. The issue of whether one may detect the everyday vernacular of Gaelic-speaking Dublin at such points in the compilation arises. The phenomenon of pre-Famine urban Irish remains by and large unexplored in its own right.⁴⁴ Further analysis of *T* and other Ó Neachtain data may provide important evidence on this topic.

⁴³J. O'Mahony, 'Murty Oge O'Sullivan, captain of the Wild Geese', *Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. Jn.* 1a (1892) 95–9, 116–27; cf. *ibid.*, 249; 62 (1957) 96, 99; 63 (1958) 90–91, 96, and other items cited in C. Ó Síocháin, *Seanchas Chléire eagrán nua* (Baile Átha Cliath 1970) 8 (for which reference I thank Dr Roibeárd Ó hUrdail).

⁴⁴The foundation for this work has been well laid in studies by B. Ó Buachalla, *I mBéal Feirste cois cuain* (Baile Átha Cliath 1968), B. Ó Madagáin, *An Ghaeilge i Luimneach 1700–1900* (Baile Átha Cliath 1974) and B. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí* (Baile Átha Cliath 1982). For Dublin see L. Mac Mathúna et al., *An Ghaeilge i mBaile Átha Cliath* (Baile Átha Cliath 1985), P. Fagan, *The second city: portrait of Dublin 1700–1760* (Baile Átha Cliath 1986) 202–9, and Harrison, *Ag cruinniú meala*.

We have seen that the contents of the Irish work must in fact, as *T* itself states, ultimately derive from periodicals of the day. The text is but one example of the employment of journalistic material in Irish-language situations. I have argued elsewhere that the format of newspaper advertisements could have served as the model for praising a Cork tailor's skills in a poem completed by about 1760.⁴⁵ The Co. Clare composer Tomás Ó Míocháin learned of what seem to be incidents in the Seven Years War (1756–63), a naval and colonial conflict between Britain and Prussia on the one side and France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Saxony on the other, from the contemporary press.⁴⁶ The appearance of newspaper sections in the binding of Gaelic manuscripts particularly in the nineteenth century is perhaps the most overt testimony of Irish speakers' contact with the journal sources.⁴⁷ The use of these periodicals in Irish-language circles is one facet of the question of the growth of literacy in pre-Famine times, a field of study Professor Louis Cullen has initiated with such promise.⁴⁸ A review of *T* suggests that the openness of the Gaelic tradition to English-language material is patent but complicated as well. An elementary illustration of the latter contention is that *T* and its sources share the same medium, the press, but as we inferred from its favouritism towards Spain, not necessarily an identical message. The issue of the destination of this message should also perhaps be addressed. The manuscript in which *T* occurs is apparently a book of commonplace entries for Tadhg Ó Neachtain's own use. Various entries show the codex later circulated among a selection of other readers.⁴⁹ One wonders whether it could have had a wider audience during the time it was in Tadhg's possession. Could Tadhg, for instance, have prepared the list discussed here for the benefit of Irish speakers unable to read the periodicals but nonetheless anxious to keep abreast of events in the Anglo-Spanish fray? Finally, the work draws our attention to the fact that the Gaelic community took a keen and detailed interest in events outside Ireland by means of their own language. This observation is valid for important European and world affairs throughout the

⁴⁵*Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. Jn.* 93 (1988) 126–37.

⁴⁶I believe this may be the conflict referred to in st. 3 of his piece *Is subhach linn an scéal do léitear le fírinn*!. Its introduction states the work was composed after the poet read a true account of the war in a publication whose title in Irish is given as *Tuairisceoir Muimhneach*. For both introduction and poem see D. Ó Muirthe, *Tomás Ó Míocháin: filíocht* (Baile Átha Cliath 1988) 49–50.

⁴⁷See, for instance, the occurrence of a March 1806 issue of the Co. Kerry publication *Chute's Western Herald* in one of the poet Seán Ó Braonáin's manuscripts (RIA 23 O 67), noted in P. de Brún, *Filíocht Sheáin Uí Bhraonáin* (Baile Átha Cliath 1972) 27.

⁴⁸In his article, 'Patrons, teachers and literacy in Irish: 1700–1850', in *The origins of literacy in Ireland: language change and educational development 1700–1920* (ed. M. Daly and D. Dickson, Dublin 1990) 15–44 (I thank Diarmuid Ó Giolláin for this reference); cf. M. O'Riordan, 'Historical perspectives on the Gaelic poetry of *The Hidden Ireland*', *Ir. Review* Spring 1988, 73–81.

⁴⁹Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue* IV, 69.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Data in the remainder of NLI MS G 135 where T is found show Tadhg Ó Neachtain's curiosity about personalities and events connected with the War of the Austrian Succession (pp. 122, 132, 138). In the middle of the latter conflict, the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart, made his ill-fated visit to Scotland to overthrow King George II and restore his forebears' dynasty. The published verse of composers like Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill⁵⁰ and Tadhg Gaodhlach Ó Súilleabháin⁵¹ displays an informed awareness of various aspects of his campaign on the part of the Gaelic literati. The poetry of another Munster author, Liam Inglis, shows his meticulous understanding of progress during the Seven Years War mentioned earlier.⁵² In this conflict Prussia was confirmed as a great power and Britain defeated France and acquired its first empire.

Unpublished Irish sources contain a wealth of precise data on later incidents. They include a list of those captured, injured and slain in the opening phase of the American Revolution extracted from a Baltimore, Maryland, letter dated 1778 and now surviving in a compilation from south-east Ireland,⁵³ a description of Napoleon's victories in Germany in late 1806 found in a Cork-Limerick Gaelic source⁵⁴ and the like. These and related texts show external circumstances attracting the attention of a public largely denied the opportunity of contributing meaningfully to domestic politics in eighteenth-century Ireland. It is now over two hundred and fifty years since the war reviewed here began. The dispute is in the main forgotten, especially as the two-hundredth anniversary of a much more significant event, the French Revolution, is celebrated. The incident is not unimportant, however. The conflict was the precursor of a series of wars in the later seventeen hundreds which led to Britain's predominance in international affairs, to the extent that in the nineteenth century world history could effectively be said to be British history. The military eclipse of France in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, beginning with the distant rumblings of 1739, led to the creation of a new type of army whose impact in Europe was felt only after the events of the French Revolution itself.⁵⁵ The 'War of Jenkins' Ear' may indeed be overlooked in the present but, as T reminds us, contemporary Irish speakers were aware of it in the past. They watched with interest the fortunes of participating superpowers whose fate at the battlefield was bound to influence their own.

⁵⁰R. Ó Foghludha, *Seán Clárach* (Baile Átha Cliath 1932) 59–60, 103–6.

⁵¹idem, *Tadhg Gaedhlach* (Baile Átha Cliath 1929) 109–110.

⁵²idem, *Cois na Bríde* (Baile Átha Cliath 1937) 32–9, 42–3.

⁵³RIA MS 24 C 57, ff. 174–6 (*RIA Cat.*, 3216). I am preparing an edition of this work.

⁵⁴RIA MS 23 G 24, p. 212 (*RIA Cat.*, 701). An edition of this text is published in *Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. Jn.* 95 (1990) 107–119.

⁵⁵Anderson, *War and society*, 158–9, 196–202.

EDITION

In what follows I present a diplomatic edition of *T* from NLI MS G 135, pp. 20–22, the only copy of the work of which I am aware. I do not attempt to standardize the language, indicate lenition or provide accents where these features are not shown in the manuscript. The supply of capitals and minor changes in punctuation (mainly the replacement of commas by periods to mark the end of a sentence) are the sole alterations to the original text. I have numbered *T*'s paragraphs (clearly set apart as such in the manuscript) for ease of reference. The newspapers cited following *T* are given as originally printed.

I am indebted to the authorities of the National Library of Ireland for permission to publish *T* and to quote material from the unpublished poem *Má bhí brón romhór gan teimheall*.

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TEXT

[p. 20] At Cliath

[§ 1] 1739 Ochr. 30 Re hordúghadh an darra Seorsa righ Sacson do fuagradh cogadh for in Spainn in Ath Cliath.

[§ 2] An naoichidh 12 Dia Luain Ath Cliath. Do ghabh cuig longa Maltaois ceithre longa Sasanach ag triall on Morea. Ghabh na Spáinibh an long Stubington ionna slighe go Sasana. Do gabha an long Sasanach .i. Britania mar an gceadhna. Do ghabhadar fos an long .i. Uiliam 7 Maire ó Nuafondland. Do ghabhadar mar an gceadhna an long Aurora. Gabhadar fos mar aon riu sin thuas se longa oile. Do ghabh Sasana da long Spaineach ro shaidhbhir, 7 long oile.

[§ 3] Nov 14. Deir an nuaighidheacht, do gabh na Spainib ocht gallonga on on [*sic*] Morea. Gabhadar fos long ionn a slighe o Naples. Ghabhadar mar an gceadhna an Golden Fleech, Lee, Beti, Stevens ionn a slighe o Newfoundland, 7 d'eirge an riocht ceadna do na caiptinidh Woodburi, Le Crav, 7 Caille do tugadh go Bilbo. Gabhadar ar chuan Burdocs san bhFhraing an St John of Waterford, 7 gabadh an Britania os Bristol maille re trí longa eile 7 sin re long Spaineach inn a slighe Charruna.

[§ 4] Nov. 19. Do gabh na Spainib na longa Argíl 7 Partipreec fo croithneacht, ags [*sic*] Rachil fo arradh ceannuighibh, 7 an San Iosep o Lonnduin ionn a raibhe luach 150000 ocht mboinn do eadach, 7 ceit longa eile, fo arbar, 7 ocht longa deag fo iasg o Newfoundland do tugadh go San Sabaistin, 7 fos long Albanach fo cruithneacht, 7 long eile fo ghual, 7 fo fos [*sic*] an Dalphin o Lunduin. Gabhadar a Sumerset ionna fille ó righeacht Sicili.

[p. 21] Duibhlinn

[§ 5] 1739 Nov. 23 Ath Cliath. Tug Spainnib long Sasanach go Cadis 800000 luach a lucht. Tuga coig longa o Nuashasana et calaidh iad a mBilbo. Do heigheamh tri longa go San [24 *in marg.*] Baistin a haon o Sasana fo iasg, 7 da long Eireannach fó glasain no peilceards.

[§ 6] Do meannaigh sagairtin .i. Alastar Fond a naghaidh [25 *in marg.*] cirbhsire no bribheir dos na Flaithbheartaigh ro bhadh na comhnaidh a sraid San Seim, 7 tre dhuthracht ag meannughadh na aghaidh san Chingsbinch do bean a bhróga dhe mar adhradh do GREEN CLOTH. Do spailp an leabhar gudh raib laimh ag an Fhlaithbheartach ceadna a mbualladh dá Excismen tre ar tugadh breitheamhnas cáin trí céad puntadh 7 braighdeanas no priosuntacht trí bliadna air mhac Ui Fhlaithbheartaidh, 7 geallamhuin cead go leith puntadh don tsagairtin ar son a fhiadhnaisi.

[§ 7] Ar mbeith ag fuagradh cogadh naghaidh na Spainnibh do lucht Dhurlais [*space here in MS*] do mheadughadh an chaithréim cuirid teine a ttion seipéil san mbhaile, ag deanamh luaithe de mar aon ris an altoir, culadh an tsagairt, 7 gach ní eile ro bha ann idir corp naomhtha cailis 7 eile.

[p. 22]

[§ 8] Duibhlinn Decbr an 4 lá. Do ghabh na Spainibh an long Frindship ionn a slighe ó Oporto go Sasana 7 fos an long Prince of Oráng ó Athclíath 7 an long Mountsbay íona slighe go Bheinch 7 long eile o Athclíath cum na Maderas, 7 an long Enfilid chum Barbados, 7 an long Success, 7 tri longa Albanach.

[§ 9] Cuir na buachaillidh diomhaoin laimh re Loch Garmann fios go gráiseir dos na Smiocach fa deighin ceithre domhain ria a mbiadha 7 da puint deag d'airgead doibh dar dhiult. Ann sin tugaid cuairt air ag tabhairt da dhamh deag da bhuar riugh. 7 iar a marbhadh doibh cuirid a ngeir 7 a seathachadh chuige ag radh ris da naontadh triall na nochum go ndalfadaois fleith Nodlacha ro maith do.

[§ 10] 1739 Novbr. Do loisgeadh meeting-hoús na Quakers a tToigh Ma Chuach a gcontae Chille Dara, trear dearna braighibh do naoi bhfhear-aibh déag do na Papists, noch do fridhe neimhchiontach tre ar saora iad a gcúirt in Náis. 7 in la roimhe a ttriathail do tugadh crochadoir Atha Cliath gus in Nás, 7 naoi ttéadaibh déag chum crochtadh na mbraighibh bochta sin ar a raibhe morghárda saigheaduiribh gus a saora. 7 do dhearbhadh bean in Quaker dar loisge a seapodh oibre 7 an tiogh thuas go raibhe a fear fein tri la ag athrughadh gach a raibhe do mhaoin, éadach is eadail is na toighibh sin, 7 ann sin gur ghlac na toighibh sin tine, 7 gur sin a raibhe dfios aice fein, ar loisgeadh na tteach sin. Cosmhuil mar so gurab é an Quaker féin chuir tine a ttóin, re go ndeanfadh an chuid eile diobh é féin suas aris, dar measa a bheith bristeadh.

[p. 28]

[§ 11] 1739/40. Feb 27. Ghabh na Spáinibh na longa Sussana, City, Pas Gharden [?], 7 an Dispatch.

NEWSPAPER EVIDENCE

[§ 1] *do fuagradh cogadh*: 'DUBLIN, October 31. 1739. This Day Ulster King of Arms and Athlone Pursuivant of Arms, in their Coats of Arms, accompanied with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of the City of Dublin, read and published His Majesty's Declaration of War against Spain, according to the Manner in such Cases accustomed, in the most Publick Places within the said City' (*DG* no. 1291).

'DUBLIN, November 3. Wednesday last War was Proclaimed here against Spain in the usual Manner, amidst the Acclamation of a Multitude. A Troop of Lord Tyrawley's Horse preceded the Procecion from the Parliament Horse [*sic*], then followed the State Pursuivants; Serjeants at Arms with their Maces; Athlone Pursuivant; Ulster King at Arms (properly habited). The Whole was clos'd by a Squadron of Horse commanded by Major Brown, and continued their March to Cork Hill, where one of the City Gates formerly stood, and were there met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Recorder, and all the City Officers on Horseback, in their Formalities, when Ulster King at Arms demanded of the Lord Mayor Entrance into the City to proclaim War, and shewing him his Authority was accordingly admitted, when his Lordship and the City Officers fell into their Rank immediately after the King at Arms, and proceeded to the Castle, his Grace the Duke of Devonshire was presented with the Sword, who drew it, and said GOD HELP. Then the Declaration was read at the Castle-Gate, at the Tholsel, Corn Market, Old Bridge, Ormond and Essex Bridges,

by William Hawkins, Esq; Ulster King at Arms, and Athlone Pursuivant Proclaimed it aloud' (*PO* no. 89).

[§ 2] *cuig longa Maltaois* . . . : 'LONDON. ([Nov.] 3d). We hear from Malaga, that five Malteze Galleys that sailed from Malta, in order to cruize upon the English, have taken four of our Ships off the Mores, which they value at a very great sum' (*PO* no. 89).

an long Stubington: 'LONDON. (Nov. 1). Yesterday arrived an Account, that the Stubington, Capt. Mauger, (who had taken out a Letter of Marque) was attack'd some Days ago by a Spanish Ship of considerable Force, with whom she fought for several Hours, and at last sunk, having lost several of her Men, - Some say, that the remainder of the Crew were taken up by the Spaniards; and others, that they were drowned, the Spaniards refusing to take them on board' (*ibid.*).

Cf. 'LONDON, ([Nov.] 22). The Merchants have Advice, that the Stubington, Capt. Maugar, bound from London, reported to be sunk by a Spanish privateer, was safe arrived at Leghorn' (*DG* no. 1299). 'LONDON, February 23. They write from Dover, that on Thursday last Capt. Mauger, in the Stubington, arriv'd there from Leghorn, who say that in his Passage home he was attack'd by a Spanish Privateer; but that after the Exchange of some Shot, Capt. Huddy, in the Warren Galley, coming up to his Assistance, the Privateer was glad to sheer off' (*PO* Vol. XXXVII no. 18, Tues. Feb. 26 - Sat. March 1 1740)]. *an long Sasanach .i. Britania*: see § 3 *an Britania os Bristol* (?). *Uilliam 7 Máire*: 'London. (Nov. 1). The William and Mary, Capt. Damaon, bound from Newfoundland with 1600 Quintals of Bacalao for Naples, was taken by a Half-Galley belonging to Majorca, and carried into Alicant' (*PO* no. 89).

Aurora: 'London. (Nov. 1). The Aurora, Captain Maxwell, bound from the Western Islands for Portugal, was taken in her Passage by the Spaniards, and carried into St. Ube's' (*ibid.*).

se longa eile: not identified.

da long Spaineach ro shaidhbir: 'LONDON. Whitehall, Oct. 29. This Day an Express arrived from Captain Cooper, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Chester, at Spithead, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, with Letters from Rear Admiral Haddock, dated September the 26th, giving an Account, that on the 22d of September, a rich Spanish Ship, called the St. Joseph, bound from the Carraccas, and belonging to the Guiposcoan Company, was taken, off Cadiz. The said Ship, St. Joseph, arrived at Spithead Yesterday, the 28 Inst. under Convoy of his Majesty's Ship the Chester. The Money and Goods on board, as mentioned in the Bill of Lading, are computed to be worth upwards of 100,000 l. Sterling; besides Silver and other Effects not expressed in the Bill of Lading, which are supposed to amount to a considerable value.// There was also advice, that Capt. Ambrose in the Greyhound Man of War, came up with a Genoese Ship between St. Andero and Cadiz; that he obliged the said Ship to bring too, and on searching her found 23 Chests of Silver on board, each Chest 3080 Pieces of Eight; (consign'd to some Persons at Cadiz, and suppos'd to be part of the Money brought by the Assogues Ships) which Capt. Ambrose thought convenient to move on board his own Ship, as being a Place of greater Security; but paid the Master the common Freight to Cadiz and gave him a Receipt in full, which he desir'd him to shew to the Spaniards to whom the Money was consign'd' (*PO* no. 89).

long eile: 'Whitehall, Oct 31. This day George Harriot, Master of a Merchant Ship called the Vigilant, came to the Office of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and gave the following Account, That he was at Gibraltar with his Vessel on the 2d or 3d of October O.S. and that either on the 2d or 3d, Rear Admiral Haddock, in the Somerset, with three others of his Majesty's Ships under his Command, came into the Bay of Gibraltar, and brought with him a Spanish Ship of about 250 Tun, and 14 Guns, (the Name unknown) bound from the Caraccas to Cadiz. Mr Harriot says, that the proper Officers at Gibraltar were taking an Account of the Cargo on the said Spanish Ship, which they had not finished when he sailed from Gibraltar on the 7th Instant O.S.; but that it was generally thought the Value of the Cargo of this Ship

is greater than that of the St. Joseph, the other Caraccas Ship, taken some Days before by Rear Admiral Haddock. Mr. Harriot sailed from Gibraltar on the 7th Instant O.S. and arrived with his Vessel at Dover Yesterday the 30th' (*DG* no. 1293).

[§ 3] *ocht Gallonga*: not identified.

long ionn a slighe o Naples: 'LONDON, NOV. 6. We hear that a Vessel from Naples, having on board the Corpse of the Lord Charles Fitzroy, Son to his Grace the Duke of Grafton, and who died some Months since at Milan, has fallen into the Hands of the Spaniards, and is carried into St. Sebastians' (*DG* no. 1295; *PO* no. 90).

Golden Fleece . . . Bilbo: 'LONDON ([NOV.] 6). Yesterday Advice came that the Golden Fleece, Lee, and the Betty, Stephens, both from Newfoundland, were taken by the Spaniards. Also// That Isaac Le Crawe, and Captain Moses Calle, have shar'd the same Fate, and carried into Bilboa' (*DG* no. 1294).

'LONDON. Yesterday came advice that the Golden Fleece of Topsham, John Lee, Master; the ——— Isaac Newbury the ———, Moses Galley, the ———, Isaac Lecrass, and the Betty, Stephens, being carried into Bilboa by the Spaniards; and the John and Mary, James Bottley, into Xijon, all laden with Fish from New England and Newfoundland' (*PO* no. 90).

an St John of Waterford: 'LONDON ([NOV.] 8). The last Letters from Bourdeaux, mention that the St. John of Waterford, Capt. Chesty, bound from that Place to Dublin, had been taken by a Spanish Privateer with French Colours about 11 Leagues from Bourdeaux: The same Letters add, that there then was in the River a Spanish Privateer under French Colours' (*DG* no. 1295).

'DUBLIN, November 13. By Letters from Bordeaux we are informed that a Ship from Waterford, ——— White Master, bound for Dublin, was seiz'd by a Spanish Privateer, while she lay at Anchor at Soliac, in the River of Bourdeaux, which is eight Leagues within Land. As this is within the Limits of a French Port, and consequently under the Protection of the King of France, we wait with Impatience to hear the Determination of the Court on this Occasion' (*PO* no. 90).

'LONDON, NOV. 8. From Bourdeaux we hear, that the St. John of Waterford, Capt. Chisty, bound from Bourdeaux to Dublin, was taken within 11 Leagues of that Port by a Spanish Privateer under French Colours. They add, that when the Letters came away there was a Spanish Privateer under French Colours riding in that Harbour. — From long Experience we give little Credit to French News: That the Ship St. John is taken we justly fear, but rather think it was by a French Privateer with Spanish Colours, than a Spanish Ship with French Ensigns' (*ibid.* no. 91). *an Britania os Bristol maille le trí longa eile*: 'Bristol, Nov. 3. The Britannia, Capt. Bond, that sail'd from this Port the 5th of October, was taken by a Spanish Ship bound to the Caracca [*sic*] (which had taken three other Ships) 100 Leagues Westward of Cape Clear, and is since cast away near Bayonne; she was bound for Philadelphia, and had on board besides her lading some indentured Servants' (*DG* no. 1294) (*cf.* § 2 *an long Sasanach .i. Britania* [?]).

[§ 4] *Do gabh na Spainib . . . long eile fo ghual*: not identified.

an Dalphin o Lunduin: 'LONDON, November 15. Tuesday Advice came, that the Dolphin, Captain Rhymes, bound from London to Barbadoes, was taken 90 Leagues to the Westward of the Lizzard, by a Spanish Privateer of 10 Guns and 70 Men, and carried into St. Sebastians.// The above Ship had on board the State Coaches, Twelve fine Horses, and a great Part of the Baggage of his Excellency Robert Byng, Esq; Governor of Barbadoes, besides a large Quantity of very valuable Goods, and we hear was chas'd six Hours before she was taken' (*DG* no. 1297; *idem PO* no. 93).

a Summerset ionna fille ó righeacht Sicili: 'LONDON, November 15. The Somerset Capt. Oliver, bound from Sicily to Lisbon, is taken by the Spaniards and carried into Alicant' (*ibid.*).

[§ 5] *long Sasanach go Cadis . . . coig longa o Nuashasana . . . a mBilbo*: 'Madrid, October 25. By Letters from Cadiz it appears, that an English Prize is lately brought in thither with a Cargo valued at eight hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, which is some Comfort to the Publick for the loss of the two Carracca Ships

that belong'd to the Guipuscoan Company. We hear that five Ships are lately brought into Bilboa from New England' (*DG* no. 1297).

Do heigneamh tri longa . . . peilceards: 'LONDON, ([NOV.] 17). The last Letters from Bayonne say, that three English Ships were carried into St. Sebastians, two from Ireland with Pilchards, and one from Falmouth with Pilchards and Newfoundland Cod Fish' (*ibid.*).

[§ 6] *Do meannaigh sagairtin*: 'DUBLIN. Last Monday Mr. Flaherty, a Brewer in Thomas-Street, was tryed at the King's Bench, for assaulting, beating and abusing in a most cruel and inhuman Manner, Mr John Morris, Surveyor of Excise, and Mr John Jourdan, Gauger, both of the City of Dublin, in the Execution of their Office the 14th of last August, and was found guilty of the same; He is fined 200 l. on Account of the former, and 100 l. for the latter, and is to be imprisoned two Months and find Security for his good Behaviour' (*FDJ* no. 1397).

[§ 7] *Ar mbeith . . . cailis 7 eile*: not identified.

[§ 8] *Do ghabh na Spainibh an long Frindship . . . 7 an long Success*: 'LONDON, ([NOV.] 22). 'Tis wrote from St. Sebastian, the 8th Instant, O.S. that late the preceeding Night, one of their Privateers brought in a Ship bound from London to Barbadoes, call'd the Ertrim, Capt. Smith, rather the Enfield, Smith, who sailed out of the Downs on the Voyage the 30th of October; tho some hope from the Shortness of the Time, that it may mean the Dolphin, Rhymes, which we lately mentioned to be carried in there, because a Considerable Person, whose name is Smith, was with his Family on board this Ship' (*DG* no. 1299). 'LONDON, November 27. The Friendship, of Southhampton, Capt. Joseph Smith, bound from Oporto to Guernsey with 130 Pipes of Wine, has been taken by a Spanish Privateer and carried into St. Sebastian's.// As has also the Prince of Orange, Sears, from Dublin and Mounts Bay for Venice; and a small Vessel from Dublin, etc. with Pilchards for Madeira.// A letter from Bayonne, of the 24th of November N.S. confirms the account of the Endfield, Capt. Smith, bound from London for Barbados, being carried into St. Sebastians by a Spanish privateer of 16 Guns and 150 men. She was taken the 3d Instant, O.S. in the Latitude of 48 Degrees, which was four Days after her sailing. She was off Portsmouth the 1st of November, and the Greenwich Man of War with several Ships under her convoy sailed from thence the next Morning.// The Success the Sebastian Privateers have met with has been very much owing to our outward bound Ships standing to the Southward too soon.// The Spaniards had four Privateers fitted out in the Bay.// One call'd the St. Ignatius, belonging to the Guipuscoa Company of St. Sebastian's.// One call'd the Biscayen.// One built at Orco, by whom the Success and the Friendship were taken. And another,// A Sloop from Port Passage, which had taken several Ships in the River of Bourdeaux, under French Colours.' (*ibid.*, no. 1300)

'London, Nov. 27. The Friendship of Southampton, Capt. Joseph Smith, bound from Oporto to Guernsey with 130 Pipes of Wine, has been taken by a Spanish Privateer and carried into St. Sebastian.// As has also the Prince of Orange, Sears, from Dublin and Mounts Bay off Venice; and a small Vessel from Dublin, etc. with Pilchards for Madeira' (*PO* no. 96).

tri longa Albanach: not identified.

[§ 9] *Cuir na buachaillidh diomhaoin . . . fleith Nodlacha ro maith do*: not identified.

[§ 10] *Do loisgeadh meeting-hoús . . . dar measa a bheith bristeadh*: not identified.

[§ 11] *Ghabh . . . Dispatch*: not identified.

EXTANT NEWSPAPERS

[n.a.: not available]

<i>Date</i>	<i>DG</i> no.	<i>FDJ</i> no.	<i>PO</i> no.
Sat. Oct. 27 – Tue. Oct. 30	1290	1388	86
Tue. Oct. 30 – Sat. Nov. 3	1291	n.a.	87
Sat. Nov. 3 – Tue. Nov. 6	1292	1390	88
Tue. Nov. 6 – Sat. Nov. 10	1293	1391	89
Sat. Nov. 10 – Tue. Nov. 13	1294	n.a.	90
Tue. Nov. 13 – Sat. Nov. 17	1295	1393	91
Sat. Nov. 17 – Tue. Nov. 20	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Tue. Nov. 20 – Sat. Nov. 24	1297	1395	93
Sat. Nov. 24 – Tue. Nov. 27	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Tue. Nov. 27 – Sat. Dec. 1	1299	1397	n.a.
Sat. Dec. 1 – Tue. Dec. 4	1300	n.a.	96
Tue. Dec. 4 – Sat. Dec. 8	1301	1399	97

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