

- 488** [wrapper of part 1] *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry; with biographical sketches of the authors, interlinear literal translations, and historical illustrative notes, by John Daly; together with metrical versions by Edward Walsh.* [epigram from Denis Mahony the Blind]. Dublin: Samuel J. Machen, 28, Westmoreland Street, and all booksellers, 1844. LNG 901
- 489** [wrapper of part 2] *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry; with biographical sketches of the authors, interlinear literal translations, and historical illustrative notes by John Daly; together with metrical versions by Edward Walsh.* [epigram from Denis Mahony the Blind]. Dublin: John Cumming, Lower Ormond-Quay, and all booksellers, 1844.
- 490** [titlepage in RIA] *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry: with Metrical Translations by Edward Walsh. Biographical sketches of the authors and interlinear literal translations by John O'Daly.* | [epigram from Denis Mahony the Blind] | Kilkenny: John O'Daly, Rose-Inn-Street, 1844.

viii, 120 p.; 8vo

IRISH TYPE: Christie type for the main text of the poems, the smaller Fry type in notes and interlinear layout. McGuinne notes the replacement of Christie's original capital S with a more usual one. McGuinne, 83

[from the back of the wrapper of either part with either Machen's or Cumming's name on front] Goodwin, Son, & Nethercott, Printers, 75, Marlborough-st., Dublin.

Edward Walsh, the translator, had urged on O'Daly the importance of printing the poems in Irish types in a letter dated 10 January 1843 (NLI MS 2261; quoted by Ó Drisceóil, *Seán Ó Dálaigh*, 74). A later letter dated 'Sunday night' says: 'I have been with Goodwin & have to say that Christie has not yet brought him the Irish types' (ib.). Michael Goodwin had been using the Fry types since 1823, but in order to provide for the larger fount, which O'Daly has presumably asked for, he needed to borrow the Christie types from James Christie, who appears to have retired from printing as long ago as 1829.

The bibliographical data are complex and do not come across well in library catalogues. These sometimes refer to part 1 (pp. i–viii, 1–64) and part 2 (pp. 65–120), and three different imprints appear on wrappers and titlepages. It is obvious from internal evidence that publication began with single sheets produced in Dublin while John O'Daly was still in Kilkenny. Letters written by the translator Edward Walsh show that Goodwin was printing, and the bookseller Machen was involved from the start. On 2 January 1844, Walsh writes, 'I called at Machen's at 10 today. He informed me that the printer did not yet give him your second number, and that many gentlemen called to enquire for it, and seemed disappointed' (Walsh, *Irish Popular Songs* (1883), 33). By April 1844, Machen was discouraged and argued for selling more than sheets: 'unless you made them up in parts & in a green cover they wd never do' (Walsh to O'Daly, 20 April 1844; Ó Drisceóil, *Seán Ó Dálaigh*, 98). The first part, comprising nine sheets, cannot have been ready for some time, but Machen continued as the bookseller

involved. Cumming's involvement may be secondary, but there are copies of both parts with his name on the wrapper. O'Daly also issued bound volumes of all sixteen sheets with an added titlepage under his own name in Kilkenny.

The individual sheets sold at 1d, but the wrappers on parts comprising nine and seven sheet show that each part was priced at 1/–.

When he introduced a reprint in 1866, O'Daly gave his view on what had happened. The poems were first published in 1844, he says, 'They were printed in penny weekly numbers, and had a circulation from one to two thousand copies. The publication ceased with the sixteenth number (120 8vo pp.) as we found the publisher took so little interest in increasing the circulation that the number published had not repaid one-tenth the outlay expended on them. The failure is therefore to be attributed to want of business enterprise rather than to any coldness in the reception given to these poems by the public press, which warmly welcomed them'.

Samuel Machen, it may be noted, had been in business since 1838, selling school books. He made a success of selling Frances Peck's story, *Emun a Knuck*, coming out in numbers in 1842 and reportedly selling 2000 copies of each number (Benson). He would be in financial difficulty by 1845. John Cumming was a long-established bookseller, starting in the business in partnership with P. Wogan as long ago as 1809. By 1847 he too was facing bankruptcy (Benson).

O'Daly's address to the public (pp. i–ii) is dated at Kilkenny, November 1843. This is followed by Introduction to the Irish Language (pp. iii–viii). The last two lines of p. viii say, 'The next number will contain an Ode to the Irish language, and an elegant Irish Song, with literal translations'. The work was produced in instalments, but, if each number comprised a single sheet of eight pages, they were certainly not self-contained. The ode and the song, the first of Seaghan Clarach's, occupy sheet 2. On the first page of the third sheet (p. 9), O'Daly writes, 'At the suggestion of some friends I have altered my original plan, in order to facilitate the reading of the Songs to those who do not understand the Irish language; and, in the present number, is given an interlinear translation on the Hamiltonian system, from which I shall not depart in future. A second edition of the second number will shortly appear in this form, and, as the literal translation, which accompanied that number is now dispensed with, I have engaged Mr Edward Walsh, [. . .] to furnish the metrical version which now appears, as well as that which will appear hereafter; thus making my penny publication suit the views and wishes of the community'. (Some copies have the original second sheet, others the revised second sheet, which omits the poem on the Irish language.) O'Daly goes on to thank those who have supplied songs in manuscript. Elsewhere notes refer to his seeking or receiving songs. At p. 43, which is in sheet 7, he lists nine songs and asks for copies; the date here, April, 1844, shows that drafting was proceeding, but surviving correspondence indicates that printing was far behind.

The edition ends incomplete at the sixteenth sheet (pp. 113–120), thereby leaving Irish text untranslated.

At the very beginning of the book, while promising to acknowledge the names of those who send him poems, he advertises one as forthcoming: 'An Elegy on the death of the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, who was executed in Clonmel, on the 15th of March, 1766, with *historical notes* and *translation*, is in preparation, and shall

appear in due course, with such other favours as the public may think fit to place at my disposal' (p. ii). There are two well-known elegies on Fr Nioclás Mac Sithigh, 'Ag taisdeal liom fá smúit im aonar', 'Do chuala geóin ag slóighte ar thaobh cnuic'; the edition has neither of them.

Contents:

[front of wrapper] Donnchadh Caoch Ua Mathghamhna, *An Teangadh Ghaoidheilge*, beg. 'As iseadh ba bhlasda, ba cneasda, ba fhíor-líomhtha' ('Unlike the jargon of our Saxon foe')

[on O'Daly's titlepage] (the same epigram, beg. 'Is iseadh', and without English translation)

[after caption title, p. i] Thomas Moore, 'Dear harp of my country' (1q, 'A chaoín-chruit mo dhúithche!'), at the head of O'Daly's 'To the Public'

[as originally issued, pp. 2–3] *Dán-mholadh na Gaoidheilge*, beg. 'Sí'n teanga Ghaoidheilge is greanta cló' ('The Irish language is the neatest print'), from a manuscript written by Philip Fitzgibbon, 1750, 1785

Seaghan Mac Domhnaill.

(At the end of the note on the poet, O'Daly quotes his epitaph; this is surrounded with a black border in the revised issue of the second sheet.)

[as originally issued, pp. 6–9] *Aisling air Eire. Seaghan Clárach ro chan*, beg. 'Oidhche bhíos aig luighe am shuan' ('One night as I lay in deep repose', without the interlinear translation)

[as revised, pp. 4–9] *Aisling air Eire. Seaghan Clárach ro chan*, beg. 'Oidhche bhíos aig luighe am shuan' ('One night my eyes in seal'd repose', by Edward Walsh; now with interlinear translation); reprinted in Walsh's *Irish Popular Songs* (1847), 122–9

[pp. 10–13] *An bonnaire fiadha-phuic. Seághan Clárach ro chan*, beg. 'A sé do leónaidh mo chumas'

[pp. 12–19] *Mac an Cheanaighe. Seághan Clárach ro chan*, beg. 'Aisling faon do dhearcas féin, air leabadh 's mé go lag-bhrígeach'

[pp. 18–25] *Anfhocain Bhreatain. Seághan Clárach ro chan*, beg. 'Eisdig le 'm ghlórtha a mhór-shliochd Mhilésius' ('Ye offspring of heroes')

[pp. 26–35] *Uaill-chúmhadh na mnaoi Alban a ndiaigh a céile, righ Séarlius. Seághan Clárach ro chan*, beg. 'Ní mhuídeafad féin cia e mo stór'

[pp. 34–39] *Freagradh air an mnaoi Albanaicc. Seághan Clárach ro chan*, beg. 'A Ríogain uasail suaic 's a stór' ('O royal maid, my bosom's gold')

Eóghan Ruadh Ua Suilliohbáin.

[pp. 44–53] *Diothiátriughadh Gall. Eóghan Ruadh Ua Súilliohbáin ro chan*, beg. 'Ag taisdiol na bláirne, lé 's me ag machtnamh'

[pp. 54–63] *Géibhionn na n-Gaoidheil. Eóghan Ruadh ro chan*, beg. 'Ag taisdiol na sléibhte dham sealad am aonar' ('I wandered the moorland all weary and worn')

[pp. 64–71] *Súil-chabharthadh Éirionn! Eóghan Ruadh ro chan*, beg. 'Cois abhain a neí, 's me ag taisdiol a g-céin' ('By a green-margined stream, at evening, I stray'd') ['The present song was supplied by Mr C. McSweeney, Author of *Songs of the Irish*. Another copy appears in Mr Michael O'Sullivan's collection.']

[pp. 72–81] *Filladh Righ Séarlus. Eóghan Ruadh ro chan*, beg. 'Am aonar seal ag siubhal bhíos' ('Alone as I was roaming')

[pp. 80–91] *An Seothógh. Eóghan Ruadh ro chan*, beg. 'Seothó thoil! ná goil go fóil?' ('Hush, baby mine, and weep no more')

Uilliam Dall Ua h-Eifearnáin.

[pp. 96–103] *Caoinéadh na n-Gaoidheil. Uilliam Dall ro chan*, beg. 'Mo dhainíid go n-éagaidh na feara-choin aosda' ('Alas for the records of ages afar')

[pp. 104–107] *Bén-Éirinn í. Uilliam Dall ro chan*, beg. 'A n-gleann-taibh séimh na h-éigse bhím' ('In druid vale alone I lay')

[pp. 106–111] *Uaill-ghuith an aoibhnis. Uilliam Dall ro chan*, beg. 'Air bruach na Coille-móire, faoi chruadh-bhretaibh bróin!' ('By Kilmore's woody highland wand'ring dark and drear')

[pp. 110–120] *Uilliam Dall agus an táilliuir*, beg. 'S duine me siubhaladh a lán' ('I've rambled full many a mile') [ends incomplete].

In *The Vindicator* (June 1844), published in Belfast, Conor McSweeney wrote: 'We warmly recommend the songs now in course of publication by Mr Daly to the patronage of all true-hearted Irishmen', and of Walsh's English versions, 'We think them much better than those furnished by Furlong and others for Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*' (quoted by Ó Drisceoil, *Seán Ó Dálaigh*, 97). As Ó Drisceoil makes clear, McSweeney had provided the model for O'Daly.

The reviewer in the London-based *Dolman's Magazine* 2 (No. 7, 1 September 1845), 201–2, was 'glad that the "Irish peasantry" have pennies enough to spare for such food for the mind' as O'Daly's penny numbers but objected to his tone of hostility to the Saxon foe. Walsh's poetic merit was recognized: 'we only regret that he has not expended his talents on subjects more worthy of them'. If it had been 'a Repeal publication', says the review, 'it would call for a more serious notice', but Jacobite songs were not worthy.

Evidence for the coming together of the parts of the book is provided by letters from Edward Walsh to John O'Daly (NLI MS 2261). A glimpse of the early distribution of numbers comes from O'Daly's file of letters on his Irish literary business, NLI MS G 389 (MS Ó Casaide 56), pp. 167–78. Fr William Heffernan, PP Clerihan (Co. Tipperary), 24 September 1844, asked for '100 copies of the 1st and 2nd numbers and I will endeavour to sell them for you' (Ó Drisceoil, *Seán Ó Dálaigh*, 87); on 6 January 1845, he sent O'Daly '£2.0.0, being amount of all the numbers I could sell for you. I return 40/80 being the number originally sent'. It appears that each unit was fetching 6d, a high price for two numbers. Heffernan offered to sell copies of the third sheet, but it was not yet available.

O'Daly's work in assembling the collection is discussed by P. Ó Drisceoil, 'Lámhscríbhinní agus an léitheoir coitianta sa 19ú haois; John O'Daly agus foinsí Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry', *Oidhreacht na lámhscríbhinní*, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 34 (2004), 257–315; id. *Seán Ó Dálaigh: éigse agus iomarbhá* (Cork, 2007), 64–130, 330–33. The merits of Edward Walsh's translations are discussed by Robert Welch, *A History of Verse Translation from the Irish 1789–1897* (Gerards Cross, 1988), 120–32.

- NLI A9621 (with green paper wrappers from both parts, Machen's name on titlepage and wrapper of part 1, Cumming's name on part 2); J 89162 (part 2)
- RIA MR/37/M/22 (with Kilkenny titlepage and O'Daly's name, lacks sig. 1; revised second sheet; given to RIA by Lord Moyne, 1934)
- NUIG 891.3 Dal (Cumming's name)
- BL 11595.f.10 (Machen's name)
- Bodl. (OC) 280 f.3 (1) (part 1)
- CUL Hib.5.844.36 (Machen's name) [not in the Bradshaw catalogue]
- Manchester UL R91358 (James Cassedy Collection) (Machen's name); R91631 (James Cassedy Collection) (O'Daly's name)
- UCL Whitley Stokes 113.c.4 (Machen's name); 113.c.19 (Machen's name)
- Liverpool UL Y84.3.1358 (part 1) (Machen's name)
- Aberdeen UL (Cumming's name)
- Glasgow UL (Machen's name)
- Munich BSB (part 1 with blue paper wrapper, Machen's name; contents page and revised second sheet; part 2 with blue paper wrapper, Cumming's name) [Google Books]
- Vienna ÖNB (with blue paper wrapper of part 1, with Cumming's name) [Google Books]
- Harvard FNR 417.5.64 (Machen's name); Celt 1370. 6 (Machen's name; original second sheet) [Google Books]
- University of California Berkeley PB1353 .R45 1844 (parts 1–2, with green paper wrapper, O'Daly's name, lacks sig. 1; original second sheet) [Internet]

Archive]

Copies in the hands of individuals:

1850 O'Daly 1/62, 'Irish Jacobite Poetry, Reliques of, with Biographical Sketches of the Authors, interlinear literal Translations, and Historical Illustrative Notes, by J. O'Daly [. . .] 8vo, sewed, 1843. 2/-'

1859 O'Daly 18/276, 'Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry with biographical sketches of the authors, interlinear literal translations, and historical illustrative notes, by John Daly; with metrical translations by Edward Walsh, 2 parts, 8vo, all published, 1844, very rare, 3/-', sold

1860 O'Daly 20/414, 2 parts, 8vo, all published, scarce, 4/-

1875 O'Daly 44/601, 'Original Edition, 8vo, half green calf, Kilkenny, 1844, scarce, 5/-'

Manuscript copies derived from printed edition:

◆ CUL Add. 6485, written by S. H. O'Grady, before 1850, pp. 28–30, 38–67, 69–70, poems copied from the first part, including (p. 46) the poem on the Irish language from the original second sheet.

◆ RIA MS 24 L 12 (cat. 774), compiled and written by Mícheál Ó hAnnrachain, Kilrush (Co. Clare), 1856–7, and apparently sent by him to John O'Daly, 1862, p. viii [the poem on the Irish language from the original second sheet], pp. 84–89 [from pp. 54–63], pp. 90–96 [from pp. 64–71], pp. 96–? [from pp. 72–?] The manuscript copies text, name of air to be used, and English translation; also O'Daly's introductions to several poets, pp. 120–28, Eoghan Ruadh [from pp. ??], pp. 146–8, Seaghan Clárach [from pp. ??], pp. 178–84, Uilliam Dall Ó Híartnán [from pp. ??, where the poet is named Ua h-Eifearnáin]. This is a very late date for manuscript copies to be made from print; it surely represents post-traditional anthologizing rather than any need to copy because the printed book was itself too expensive to own.

Reprinted by John O'Daly in 1866.