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# Tomás Ó hÍcí, Scríobhaí Chill Náile

B'é Tomás Ó hÍcí an fear ba bhísiúla de scríobhaithe Thiobraid Árann sa 19ú haois. Maireann suas is anuas le dhá scór lámhscríbhinn dá chuid, a bhformhór scaipthe ar fud na hÉireann<sup>1</sup>, a thuilleadh fós i bhfad ó bhaile; in Ollscoil Wisconsin - Madison<sup>2</sup> mar shampla, i Harvard<sup>3</sup>, agus sa British Museum.

Rugadh é sa bhliain 1775 i mBaile Ghrae, láimh le Cill Náile<sup>5</sup>. Seán Ó hÍcí a athair, Máire Ní Bhraonáin a mháthair. Seisear clainne a bhí orthu: Tomás, Mícheál, Donnchadh, Seán, Eibhlín and Cáit.<sup>6</sup> Ní mórán scoilaíochta a fuair Tomás. Fear bocht oibre ba ea é "gur duine gan dámh-oideas é, le nach éidir léann ná scríobh a chleachtadh ná do mheabhrú ach le comhéigin, óir ní bhfuil slí mhaireachtain agam ach le daor-mhogh-obair."<sup>7</sup>

Conas a bhí ag an nGaeilge faoin sin? Deir Dáithí Ó hÓgáin: "Ceantar láidir Gaeltachta ba ea Co. Thiobraid Árann san 18ú céad. Níl amhras ach gurb í an Ghaeilge an ghnáth-theanga labhartha ag formhór mór phobal an chontae i dtús an chéid sin, ach bhí traochadh ag teacht cheana ar neart an teanga sa leath thuaidh. Bhí an Béarla ag teacht in uachtar i ngach cearn den chontae ó lár an chéid amach. Daonáireamh na bliana 1851 an chéad tuairisc i bhfigiúirí atá againn de staid na dteangacha sa chontae, agus is léir ar na figiúirí sin go raibh an Ghaeilge á labhairt go forleathan fós sa deisceart."<sup>8</sup>

Ní miste féachaint ar na figiúirí sin; agus ar líon na gcainteoirí i gceantar Thomáis go háirithe, i Sliabh Ardach, mar a raibh 6778 cainteoirí Gaeilge, sé sin 25.4% de'n phobal.

Cainteoirí Gaeilge 1851 <sup>9</sup>		
Barúntacht	Líon	Céatadán an Phobail
Urmhumhain Íocht	271	0.7
Uí Chairín	296	1.3
Urmhumhain Uacht	437	2.3
Uaithne agus Ara	1001	5.2
Éile Uí Fhógartaigh	2254	6.7
Cill na Manach Uacht	1875	12.3
<hr/>		
T. Á. Thuaidh	6134	
Cill na Manach Iocht	1070	11.7
Clann Liam	7056	16.7
Sliabh Ardach	6778	25.4
An Trian Meánach	9167	26.4
Uíbh Eoghain agus		
Uíbh Fhathaidh Thoir	10976	28.2
Uíbh Eoghain agus		
Uíbh Fhathaidh Thiar	21,583	65.8
<hr/>		
T. Á. Theas	56630	
T. Á. ar fad	62764	

Mar le comharsana Thomáis Uí hÍcí, is léir nárbh í an Ghaeilge ba scim dóibh go léir, ach a mhalairt. "Is cuimhin liom féin an tan bhíos ag scoil gur mhór an bhagair do nithí ar aon dalta do dhéarfadh aon fhocal Gaeilge, agus ba chúis smachtaithe agus piónóis é, maille re cur táideadha fána muineálaibh, agus ag tabhairt buailte agus easmalta dhóibh, ar chor go mbíodh a gcróithe ar crioth ina gcliabhaibh re heagla agus fós do mheasas fein nach raibh ní ar bith ba thaircaisní ná Gaeilge do labhairt nó gur fhásas in aois agus i gcríonnacht agus go gcluinn idir dhaoineibh ársaidhe gur bhreá an caitheamh aimsire sean-sgéalta Gaeilge agus ag déanamh molta mhóir ar lucht a léata . . . Uime sin do ghabhas orm féin a foghlaím, gé gurbh fada ar a thí dhom d'uireasba leabhar ná oide."<sup>10</sup>

Ní hamhlaidh a bhí sé dall ar labhairt na Gaeilge, measaim, ach nach raibh a léamh ná a scríobh aige. Deir sé "nach fuaras riamh aoinneach do stiúródh mé in mo sheachrán"<sup>11</sup>, rud is aisteach liom i bhfianaise scríobhaithe na tíre sin. Bhí Tadhg Mac Carrthaigh i gCaiseal Mumhan;<sup>12</sup> bhí Seán Ó Néill i Maoldroim;<sup>13</sup> bhí Tomás Ó Briain i Lios a' Mhaghna<sup>14</sup> i 1797, pé fada gearr a fhan sé ann. Tháinig Eoghan Caomhánach go Cluainín<sup>15</sup> agus é ag siúl roimhe aniar ó Luimneach. Cuirtear san áireamh leis oighreacht "Ghleann an Óir" a rianaigh Eoghan Ó Néill dúinn.<sup>16</sup> Ní raibh na sagairt dall ar an nGaeilge, ach oiread; feach gur scríobh sagart paróiste Ghort na hUamha<sup>17</sup> searmóin as Gaeilge sa bhliain 1825; chaith an sagart céanna seal i gCill Náile.

Ó tharla go leor scríobhaithe ina múinteoirí ag an gcumann Protastúnach úd, "The Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish through the medium of their own Language", cumann a bhí go mór i gceist lena linn, ní miste a fhiafraí an raibh aon bhaint ag Ó hÍcí leis. (Ar na múinteoirí úd bhí Tomás Ó Briain,<sup>18</sup> Muiris Ó Buadha,<sup>19</sup> agus Seán Ó Floinn<sup>20</sup> ó Mhuileann na hUamhan.) Ní dócha gur ghaibh sé leo agus é go mór faoi chuing na cléire. Mar sin féin tá ainm Pheadair Uí Ainle stampáilte ar lámhscríbhinn Uí Ící in Ollscoil na Gaillimhe.<sup>21</sup> Duine de mhaoir an Chumainn ba ea Peadar Ó hAinle ó Chnoc Rafann.

Chuir Ó hÍcí isteach ar phost leis an Ibero-Celtic Society sa bhliain 1821<sup>22</sup>, agus dhearbhaigh go rachadh i mbannaí air "Seamus Ó Meára, ceannaí i gCluain Meala, mo dhíonaitheoir, mo thearmanóir is m'fhear cabhartha." Tá cáipéisí an Irish Society á gcióradh ag an Ollamh Pádraig de Brún faoi láthair; seans go dtiocfar ar a thuilleadh eolais faoi chúrsaí Thomáis.

Pé'r bith scéal é, d'fhoghlaim Tomás a chéard, agus d'fhoghlaim go maith é. A chéad fhiontar ná leabhar urnaithe a scríobh dó féin "a léafainn in am Aifrinne d'éisteacht . . . agus gé gur dhána an gníomh dhomhsa é, do ghabhas rem ais a threasbhéarlú ó Shaxbhéarla go Gaeilge."<sup>23</sup>

"Créad do bheir Béarla chomh hiomadúil agus Gaeilge chomh gann?"<sup>24</sup> ceist ag Tomás. Tá go leor freagraí aige: an creideamh nua, ansmacht na nGall, an cló Rómhánach, an bata scóir, drochmheas ar dhaoine gan Bhéarla — agus mná ladúsacha. "Is eol dom féin mná uaisle mánla dea-mhúinte do labhrán í gan scáth ar bith, gan aon dochar dá ngné ná dá ndealradh, agus fós gan sracadh ná salcadh dá gculaith, dá fheabhas í. Is aithnidh dhom, ina fharradh san, caileadha ladamsacha nach leigfeadh orra féin focal Gaeilge a thuigsin atá a labhairt Béarla ó tháinig urlabhra dhóibh gan breis ar bith do chur ar a sgéimh."<sup>25</sup> Géar go leor; ní hionadh, b'fhéidir, nár phós sé riamh!

An chaint sin thuas is as réamhaiste le haistriúchán ar an Leabhar Aifrinne í agus Gaeilge nádúrtha sothuisceanach inti, dar leis an Athair Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, O.F.M. Is fíor go dtugtar léas ar chanúint Thiobraid Arann i scríbhinní Uí Ící ach í a aithint thar "Ghaeilge na leabhar", obair nach furasta.

B'é Seamus Ó Meára a chéad phatrún, fear deisiúil a raibh siopa éadaigh aige ag 39-40 an tSráid Mhór i gCluain Meala.<sup>26</sup> (Fós féin tá ainm Ghaeilge ar an siopa sin: "Ní Artagáin"). Bé Tomás a bhí buíoch beannachtach dó: "Ag sin agat, a Chríostaí Chatoilice, an leabhar do scríobhasa dho Sheamus Ó Meára, chónaíos san tsráid mheonach a gCluain Meala an nDéiseach; agus gan gá ar bith aige lem shaothar ach fheabhas leis slí do cheapadh chun cúnaimh rís an uireasbach."<sup>27</sup>

Cara lena phatrún ba ea an Gaeilgeoir mór, an t-Athair Siomón Breatnach, sagart Chill Mhic



Bhúith agus páirtí Amhlaoihb Uí Shúilleabháin. (D'iarr Amhlaoihb deirfiúr an tsagairt le pósadh, gnó nár éirigh leis).<sup>28</sup> Seo ráiteas an Bhreathnaigh i litir chuig Amhlaoihb:

"I also send you a valuable collection of Mss belonging to a Mr. James O'Mara, a shopkeeper in the Main St., Clonmel, who has lent them to me some months ago. This collection, which I now place in your care, Mr. O'Mara would not give for £50. He is an independent man in circumstances and has a great passion for Irish literature."<sup>29</sup>

Scríobh Tomás Ó hCí lámhscríbhinn ar mhaithe leis an sagart sa bhliain 1823<sup>30</sup> agus dealraíonn sé go raibh tuilleach lámhscríbhinní de chuid Thomáis aige. Scríobhaí ba ea an t-Athair Breatnach é féin, agus é mór le Hardiman agus leis an Osraíoch léannta úd Seamús Ó Scoireadha; sheoladh sé amhráin chucu. Níor fhág sé fuíoll molta ag Ó hCí agus é ag scríobh chuig Hardiman sa bhliain 1828:

"If you should want another to help to write out the 'Irish Minstrelsy', I don't know any man more capable of succeeding James Scurry (I should have said so capable) than Thomas Hickey whose name you heard me mention so often and whose name poor Scurry mentioned in his essay. He is by far the best Irish scholar I ever met, except poor Scurry — he read and wrote more Irish than Scurry, tho' Scurry knew the language radically and gramatically better."<sup>31</sup>

Is dócha, áfach, go raibh sagart eile in a phatrún ag Tomás sara dtáinig an t-Athair Breatnach ar an bhfód. Ba é siúd an t-Athair Pádraig de Bhál, sagart paróiste na Carraige Bige. Deir Tomás gurbh é Seamus Ó Meára a chuir in aithne dho é.<sup>32</sup> nó bhféidir dearthair leis, Seán Ó Meára scríobhaí, a raibh siopa éadaigh aige ag 43 Sráid an Droichid i gCarraig na Siúire.<sup>33</sup> Fostaíodh Tomás ina bhuachaill aimsire agus ina scríobhaí — ba chomhdheas ar an rán agus ar an bpeann é. Nuair a aistríodh an t-Athair de Bhál go Maohail (Cluain Fhia Paorach) sa bhliain 1825 d'imigh Tomás ina fhochair, agus d'aistrigh arís leis go Sráidbhaile agus Baile Uí Láithnín in 1829.

Is i nGarrán na bhFionnóg i bparóiste Bhaile Uí Lainnín a bhunaigh Pilib Barún a choláiste Gaeilge. Fuair Tomás Ó hCí post ann, é féin agus Tomás Ó hAthairne agus Breatnach na Carraige Bige. Ní ró-fhada a sheas an coláiste. D'éirigh idir an fhundúir agus a fhoireann — pointe éigin gramadaí ba chnámh spairne acu, má's fíor, agus b'éigean do Thomás an bóthar a thabhairt air féin.<sup>34</sup>

Ghlac an Dochtúir Doininic Ó Briain ar láimh é ina dhiaidh sin agus chroch leis é go Coláiste Eoin i bPort Lairge chun bheith ina scríobhaí aige, chun ábhar diaga a aistriú go Gaeilge agus chun an teanga a mhúineadh.<sup>35</sup> Scór bliain a chaith sé ann gur fhill sé ar Thiobraid Arann in 1854. Ba mhaith ann é an Dr Ó Briain. Bhí sé ina uachtarán ar Choláiste Eoin ó 1834 go 1853. Deineadh easpag de in 1855<sup>36</sup>. "The bishop was of low stature and decidedly obese, but he had a very handsome head and features. He left his library, including many rare Irish books and some Mss., to St. John's College."<sup>37</sup>

Cé'n bhail a chuir sé ar Thomás? Tá dhá insint ar an scéal sin. Bail na muc, má's fíor do "Harianus" a scríobh litir chun an *Nation* (27 Márta, 1852):

College,  
March 23rd, 1852

Sir.

In a note to the 1st volume of "Cambrensis Eversus" the Rev. Mr. Kelly regrets the want of a good Irish dictionary. I am not surprised that a first rate one has not been printed as it was by the "charity" of foreigners that most Irish works saw the light, yet it is hard to imagine that the great scholars of bygone days had not a vocabulary of their native language.

I have lately seen a dictionary in Mss. in the possession of Mr. Hickey, Professor of Irish at Waterford College, which, he says, exceeds any of those he has seen. It was given him by an old priest who got it from the learned Jeffrey Keating, the famous Milesian historian. The work is in Latin, Irish and English. This industrious Professor has transcribed several works into Irish, amongst which are the Roman Missal, the Glories of Mary etc. without receiving one farthing for his trouble. He is one of the last of the great Irish scholars of whom the editor of



Dunleavy's catechism remarks that they were able by "stratagem" to keep themselves in existence. This is literally true of him for he is buried alive in a stable loft where he can say with holy Job "soror mea vermibus".

I recommend this poor professor to your Gaelic readers, hoping that by an examination of his works they may be able to appreciate his worth as an Irish scholar.

Harianus.

Ní mó ná buíoch a bhí Tomás d'fhear a pháirte agus chuir freagra borb chuig an *Nation* (17 Aibreán 1852).

St. John's College,  
April 12th 1852

Sir

Having heard of a paragraph in a recent number of your newspaper regarding me I was anxious to see it, and on reading it I find it to be entirely erroneous. Allow me to put you in possession of the real truth in order to undeceive you and your readers. I led the life of a country peasant until I was forty two years of age, labouring hard at learning to read and write the language of my forefathers. I at last became so fond of it that I determined not to read anything but Irish, even at Mass; for I thought I could not pray fervently in English, and for that purpose I fixed my eyes on the pocket missal which I translated and sent to Clonmel to be bound, where Mr. O'Mara, a most benevolent gentleman who kept a cloth shop, happened to see it, and he liked it so well that he gave me some Irish works to transcribe, for which he paid me honourably and behaved a sincere friend and benefactor to me as long as he lived. He introduced me to a patriotic clergyman the Rev. Patrick Wall, for whom I wrote the first copy of that dictionary mentioned in your paper, for which he gave me more than £30. Father Wall gave me employment while he lived, and it was through his means I became known to my present benefactor, the very Rev. Dr. O'Brien, for whom I wrote the second copy and who has since been most kind to me.

Now, Sir, as to my present condition, it is my own choice. Here I am far from the bustle and confusion of society writing my native language without interruption, but when I am visited by those who occasionally want to see me on the score of my vocation. Nor would I change my condition for a situation in the best university in England or anywhere else without the permission and approbation of Dr. O'Brien, from whom I wish never to be separated as long as he is pleased to keep me. So now I have said enough to convince you and your readers that you informant was erroneous; but I leave it to yourself to judge whether there was prejudice in his assertion. If he wrote in Irish I might make him an adequate answer; but my knowledge of the English language is very superficial nor am I sorry for it, for I don't like anything that comes from England save a Redemptorist.

I know this scroll is too tedious and that you'll get tired of it — however, I know your character too well to suppose you would refuse a little space or at least as much of it as is sufficient to refute the assertion of "Harianus" concerning your humble servant,

Thomas Hickey.

Má's mar sin a chaith Tomás le Harianus, bíodh geall go dtabharfaí an íde chéanna do'n Chanónach Pádraig de Paor a raibh an liodán sin arís aige agus é ag cur síos ar dheareoile an scríobhaí i bhfochair an Athar de Bhál.<sup>38</sup> Ní sa tigh a bhíodh Tomás, adeir sé, ach amuigh sa chró, é ar droch-ghléas, clár adhmaid ar a ghlúin mar theannta aige, an bunscríbhinn leagtha ar chathaoir lena ais agus é ar a tháirm scríofa, "a work for which his retentive memory, his knowledge of Irish, and his beautifully neat and clear style of calligraphy peculiarly fitted him." Spléachadh amháin agus thugadh sé leis an abairt ba chasta amuigh, má's fíor do'n sagart.

Foinse eolais ar dheireadh a shaoil isea litir<sup>39</sup> a fuair Seamus Ó Meachair, Muileann na hUamhan, sa bhliain 1949 ó Thomás Ó hIcí eile arbh as Doire Creamha, Cill Náile dhó. Maoidheann Tomás seo



gur chuimhin leis na sean-daoine an scríobhaí; go dtéadh sé go Portláirge de shiúl cos is a thíachóg leabhar leis. Deir sé go raibh siopa beag ag Tomás san áit a bhfuil teach tábhairne Uí Chaoimh ag Droichead an Lafánaigh, agus fós go mbíodh ranganna Gaeilge aige ann is go dtéadh athair fhear na litreach orthu.

Sa bhliain 1854 a d'fhill sé ar Chill Náile, ach is cosúil go mbíodh sé ann as; chaith sé tamall ar a laghad de 1854 agus 1855 i dtigh an Athar de Búrc in Ard Fhionáin. Scríobh sé lámhscríbhinn<sup>40</sup> ann ar mhaithe leis an Athair Pádraig Ó Maonaigh a raibh an-bhaint aige le Cumann an Chéitinnigh ina dhiaidh sin, agus a bhí ina shagart paróiste i gCloichín an Mhargaidh tráth dá raibh.

Ar mhaithe leis an Athair Pádraig Ó Domhnaill, sagart paróiste Bhéal Átha Lúbaigh, a scríobh sé a shaothar dheiridh: "Eochairsíoch an Aifrinn". "Is dóigh liom fá lá Nollag, go rachad le cúnamh Dé do bhúr bhfiosrú", ar seisean in aguisín léi,<sup>41</sup> rud nár tháinig i gcrích. Cúig lá tar éis a scríofa tháinig ceann de na Trí Biorghaoithe á ionsaí agus d'fhág marbh é. Cuireadh a chorp i Mágh gCorbáin.<sup>42</sup> Bíodh aitheasc an *Nation* mar fheartlaoi aige.<sup>43</sup>

On Saturday, the 11th inst., Mr. Thomas Hickey, the great Celtic scholar of the south, breathed his last in his humble and quiet cottage near the town of Killenaule, Co. Tipperary, having attained his 80th year. It is a long time since the death of a person in humble life has caused so general and widespread a feeling of sincere regret in the district. His gentle retiring and unassuming manners endeared him to all who had the good fortune to know him, whilst his varied literary attainments, and especially his being in the present age one of the most accomplished scholars of the Irish tongue, rendered him an object of general admiration. He was a patriot of the loftiest sentiments, pure and unsullied in his motives, and though an old man yet full of fire and enthusiasm. He never despaired of Ireland's freedom. When the dark pall of woe and desolation spread its sable folds over the land; when famine, with its manifold accompanying evils, stalked through our cities; when the rulers, with folded arms, looked heedlessly on the unparalleled scenes of human misery presented to their view — yes, and even mocked and gibed at us in our distress; when the miscreants whom the people raised to a position of influence wherein they would be able to wring some measure of justice for their poor country, Judaslike grasped the proffered bribe, struck their colours and betrayed their sacred trust — still the venerable old man did not despair. From behind this dark and dismal drapery he hoped a bright and cheering prospect would issue forth, and that, ere death would conduct him to a better and happier home, he might see the salvation of his country. But Heaven had decreed otherwise; he went to his true country before he witnessed the realisation of his hopes.

"Mr. Hickey was Professor of Irish for upwards of 20 years in St. John's College, Waterford, during which time he was respected and esteemed by the professors and students of that college. Very many priests of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore studied the Irish language under his direction.

"When age and an impaired constitution rendered him no longer adequate to the discharge of the duties attending his distinguished office, he vacated the professor's chair which he had so long occupied with honour to himself and advantage to others and returned to the humble home of which he was the life and pride. However, he did not incline to pass the evening of his life unemployed and inactive. He was almost constantly engaged in some useful literary pursuit. He translated several remarkable works into the Irish language. Among the books he translated are the Roman Missal, the Glories of Mary and the greater poriton of the Bible.

"I never saw any specimens of pensmanship executed with such taste and accuracy as his manuscripts written in the Irish characters. Unless on a very close examination you would conclude that they had been issued from the press.

"The clergy who knew him well constantly visited him in his retirement and rendered his declining years smooth and happy by their unvarying kindness and attachment.

"In him the Irish language has lost one of its finest supporters and most zealous propagandists and the British government an uncompromising foe. May his soul rest in peace.



## Litriú

Tá cuma nua-aoiseach curtha ar litriú Uí Icí ag an Athair Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin sna dréachtaí leis a luadh san aiste seo. Rinneadh leasú ar na deismsuireachtaí eile freisin.

## Nótaí

1. Cf Ist R.I.Á. 24L24, 24L33, etc.; Leabharlann Náisiúnta G388, G415, etc.; Coláiste Eoin, Port Láirge Ls1 25, 27, etc.; Ollscoil na Gaillimhe Ls 24; Ollscoil Chorcaí Ls 94, 101 etc.
2. Ls 176, cf. Buttimer C.G.: Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the University of Wisconsin-Madison (B.Á.C. 1989), 21.
3. Gaelic Ms3, Leabharlann Náisiúnta, misroscannán MF 460.
4. Ls B.M., Eg 121, cf. Ó Fachtna Anselm, Éigse X, 90-95.
5. Ó Súilleabháin, P: Éigse XIII, 11-25.
6. Ó Dufaigh, Seosamh: Tráchtas neamhfhoilsithe M.A. "Inchéimniú dochum Beatha Crábhaidh" Mánuaid 1960. Táim go mór faoi chomaoín ag an Dr Ó Dufaigh as ucht cead féachana ar a thráchtas a thabhairt dom.
7. Ó Súilleabháin, P: Irisleabhar Mhuighe Nuadhat, 1957, 75.
8. Ó hÓgáin, D: Duanaire Thiobraid Árann (B.Á.C. 1981), 9-10.
9. Ibid.
10. Ó Súilleabháin, P: Irisleabhar Mhuighe Nuadhat, 1957, 75.
11. Ibid.
12. Cf. Ls 28 Ollscoil Chorcaí.
13. Cf. Ls R.I.A. 24 P, 58.
14. Ó Foghludha, R: Tadgh Gaedhlach (B.Á.C. 1929), 23-4.
15. Cf. Ls R.I.A. 23 C, 21.
16. Ó Néill E.: Gleann an Óir (B.Á.C. 1988).
17. Fr. Michael M(e)ighan. Cf. Ó Fachtna Anselm Éigse XIII 177-198; Skehan W. Nótaí naemhfhoilsithe Coláiste Phádraig, Dúrlas Éile. Ó pharóiste Bhaile na hInse don Athair Ó Míocháin (1711-1847); fuair scolaíocht i gCill Choinnigh, oirníodh ina shagart timpeall na bliana 1801, chaith seal ina shagart óg i gCill Náile. Ceapadh ina shagart paróiste ar Ghort na hUamha é in 1805. I nGleann an Ghuail atá sé curtha.
18. de Brún, P: Éigse XXI, 131.
19. de Brún, P: Éigse XX, 48.
20. de Brún, P: Éigse XXI, 110.
21. Ls 24.
22. Ls G230 Leabharlann Náisiúnta.
23. Ó Súilleabháin, P. Irisleabhar Mhuighe Nuadhat, 1957, 75.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Pigot: Directory of Ireland 1824, 236; Kinder's Triennial Directory: 1840-42.
27. Má Nuad 108.
28. de Bhaldrath, T. (eag.) Cín Lae Amhlaobh (B.Á.C. 1970), 60-62.
29. de Paor, P: Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society XIV (1913), 148.
30. Ls A60 Leabharlann na bProinsiasach, Cill Ionóin Léinín.
31. R.I.A. 23E1.
32. *Nation* 17 Aibreán 1852.
33. Ls BM Add 11722; Pigot: Directory of Ireland 1824, 228; Kinder's Triennial Directory 1840-42.
34. Ó Súilleabháin, P: op.cit.
35. Ibid.
36. *Nation* 17 Aibreán 1852.
37. de Paor, P.; Waterford and Lismore, 39.
38. de Paor, P: Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society 1, 186-188.
39. Ó Dufaigh, S: op.cit.
40. Cf. Ls 31 Ollscoil Chorcaí.
41. Ls G 329 Leabharlann Náisiúnta.
42. Ó Dufaigh, S: op.cit.
43. *Nation* 25 Deireadh Fomhair 1856.

