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Title	A Tipperary emigrant's manuscript
Authors	Ó Macháin, Pádraig
Publication date	2013-09
Original Citation	Ó Macháin, P. (2013) 'A Tipperary emigrant's manuscript', Tipperary Historical Journal, pp. 96-108.
Type of publication	Article (peer-reviewed)
Link to publisher's version	http://www.tipperarylibraries.ie/ths/thj2013.htm
Download date	2026-11-01 09:24:03
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/1413



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A Tipperary emigrant's manuscript

Pádraig Ó Macháin

The manuscript described here, National Library of Ireland MS G 1417, is a relic of a significant period of emigration from Ireland to Québec in the period after the Napoleonic Wars, and in the 1820s in particular. This first wave of emigration is regarded as a formative one for the city of Québec and its environs, and is to be distinguished from the second and catastrophic wave that occurred during and after the years of the Great Famine. In the words of the late Marianna O'Gallagher, historian of the Irish in Québec City: 'it was the immigrants from the 1820s and earlier, and not those of the late 1840s, who founded the Québec community'.[1] At the time, and for a long time afterwards, emigration to Québec and New Brunswick was encouraged by the fact that, due mainly to the timber trade, these were among the cheapest passages of all destinations in North America.[2] For this reason, the region was used by many as a gateway to the United States.[3] From the archives of the city and province – a significant and largely untapped source for Irish studies – and from the history of the manuscript described here, it is also clear that a great many Irish stayed and made their homes in Québec City and in the surrounding territories.

The manuscript bears testimony to a Tipperary family who emigrated to and settled in Québec in the 1820s. It consists of 220 pages, and was written by Patrick Ryan (Pádr[a]ig Ó Mreinn) in Drumclieve (civil parish Templenoe, R.C. parish Tipperary), Co. Tipperary. The years of writing were mainly 1817–18, but parts of the manuscript were written at the later dates of 1819, 1823, and 1825–6. Our first source of information regarding Patrick is a copy of a letter written by him that is found on pp. [60]–[58] (writing in reverse) of the manuscript. It is given here in full.

> Droumcliff April the 10th 1826, / Dear Brothers & Sister / I have to remark a few observations to you, tho my Cappacity [*sic*] is but weak, yet there is no person whatsoever, but can acquire Knowledge from experience, and reflection[s *del*.] on this case has ennabled me to make a few remarks to you, 1st when an opportunity offers that will suit your convenience be always ready to embrace it, 2dly be carefull of whose Company you keep for without long acquaintance it is impossible to [know A *above*] persons Mind – 3dly you should never be anxious to travel much for idle cures to try is ofentime dangerous but if you get employment Convenient embrace it for traveling is always attend with expence & Danger, 4thly Let nothing persuad [*sic*] ye to part with each other for A person by himself in a strange country is always attended with the greatest perplexity of Mind, 5thly never forget Mary for A female is always subject to dangers and many intricacys are contrived to pervert their Mind 6thly When you arrive in Quebec if the vessel has no delay

[1] Marianna O'Gallagher, *Saint Patrick's, Quebec: the building of a church and of a parish 1827 to 1833* (Québec 1981) 10.
[2] Ibid., 27–8; James M. Bergquist, *Daily life in immigrant America, 1820–1870* (Westport CT 2008) 91; Fidelma and Edward T. McCarron, '"To begin the world anew"': James Brown and Irish emigration to New Brunswick', *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 2 (2006) 181–206: 185.
[3] Gerard Moran, *Sending out Ireland's poor*: *assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century* (Dublin 2004) 32; John O'Hanlon, *The Irish emigrant's guide for the United States* (Boston 1851) 71–2.

which my [*sic*] afford ye [the *above*] better Knowl^{d} of the Country you are better write to us Imme^{d}, but if the vessel delays untill ye get employment So much the better, and by the Knowl^{d} Rec^{d} from the Inhabitants you can easily Judge what we can do, so have it mention^{d} in the Letter that we may repair early the ensuing Spring for our mind will not permit us to determine on any thing but barely Support ourselves by the Labour of our hands until we Shall be together again for we are tired of this Country [p. 59] And in writing, if you Consider that if a multitud [*sic*] of persons were to repair to America throug [*sic*] that means as Probably there will which might be the cause of blame to you [of *del.*] or of prejudice to ye its better have some little remarks to take place that may appear Obscure to other persons, The first is as said before to write for us, on pretence that ye consider that we are not settled to stop in Ireland any longer and therefore that we are better go as soon as we can ~ 2^{dly} If ye are in a bad state and that ye do not wish that the persons at home would Know of it Let this be in Three part [*sic*] of the Letter, &C, [&C &C, *del.*] This will signify etsettera [*sic*] and will not be Understood by any but by me.

Those two remarks will be sufficing, for I will have a Coppy of this [Letter *del.*] which will [be *above*] what I will apply to for the Knowledge of this ~ If the Country is as good as we hear of [or ye w(r)ite of *above*] let the Asterism or Star * be placed in three parts of your Letter which will be Sufficient Remarks! So after these Remarks the [*interlinear*: If middling let none of those Remarks be in the Letter] the [*sic*] truth then is the best of all. But be carfull now not to overpraise or dispraise it for fear you might be counted a Lyier.

Dear Brothers you should be ready to communicate to each other any thing that may occur which [might *above*] improve ye, This is all I have to remark to ye [58, inner margin] If ye were wrong^{d} in the voyage let this Mark ~ ~ ~ be in one part of the Letter / Patrick Ryan

The letter is then followed (p. [61]) by a piece of verse which seems to refer to the emigration.

Place all your Confidence in the Lord on high
And never from his holy Cannons should you fly
For he that seeks him finds him where e^{r} he goes
Throug [*sic*] Seas and Oceans, In foreign Lands & groves
Never violate that trust Reposed in thee
And from all bad Vices Keep thy Conscience free
Make it appear to those ye left behind
That ye are firm, and, Never prove unkind
O Heavens expel the gloom far from my brest [*sic*]
And grant me Courage to over come the rest
Of all those Sorrows which does me Surround
Which never will be, till I make good the ground
Where ere it is Ill never be at repose
Untill my watery Eyes, meets their final Close
And then my Soul shall cross the Noctual line
[This from the Heart and hand of Patrick Ryan *cancelled*]

> And cross the Atlantick, in a more remote time

This letter, addressed to his unnamed brothers and to his sister Mary, is noteworthy for the series of marks (~, &C, * and ~ ~ ~) devised by him as a code for information about the voyage and the prospects for Patrick's own emigration. His purpose in making a copy of the letter, as he explains, is to enable him to decipher the code in due course. We also learn from the letter that Patrick was a labourer, though we may surmise from the calculations that occur on pp. [iii], [91] and [116], and perhaps from the somewhat sententious tone of the early part of the letter, that he may have supplemented his labourer's income by teaching.[4] In any case, a marginal note by him on p. [102] of the manuscript, giving his address on 15 August 1827 as Québec, shows that the reports of the advance party must have been favourable, and that he had carried through his intention to travel 'early the ensuing Spring' and had joined his brothers and sister there the following year.

Emigrants wishing to settle in Québec in the 1820s were encouraged to combine in groups, and to these groups were assigned units of land called concessions. The concession were Patrick Ryan eventually settled was known as the Ballyporeen Concession, and was located in what became the parish of Saint-Malachie, so named by the number of emigrants from Armagh who laboured there. It is from the historian of that parish, Fr Jules-Adrien Kirouac, that we learn that Patrick's father, Edmund Ryan, was among the pioneers who first cleared the land and settled in the Ballyporeen Concession.[5] Fr Kirouac's notes on the Ryan family – though possibly confused in one or two details – indicate the high esteem in which they were held, and that Patrick Ryan's writings included more than the present manuscript. The travel journal mentioned by him has so far not come to light.

> This brave Ryan family, natives of Tipperary in Ireland, had embarked in the month of April 1826, at Limerick, for Canada. The vessel that carried them towards the new continent did not enter the harbour of Québec until the 4th of June following. Patrick Ryan, eldest of the sons, very intelligent and speaking the Irish language fluently, has left a journal of the family. He gives all the details regarding the departure of the family from Tipperary to Limerick, and from Limerick to Québec. He made a daily report of what happened on board the vessel during the crossing. He tells of the strains of the journey from Québec to East Frampton. Patrick Ryan was not only an intelligent and active farmer, but also a very knowledgeable man. In his travels in Ireland he addressed to his family in East Frampton numerous letters that suggest a religious temperament, a devout Catholic. Here is the inscription that he composed and had placed on the gravestone dedicated to the memory of his father Edmund Ryan. We would like to reproduce the original text here that we discovered in the memoirs of the writer, dated 1840:[6] To the / Eternal

[4] Note also the reference to Dryden's translation of a line from Virgil in a jotting on p. [116].
[5] Jules-Adrien Kirouac, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Malachie* (Québec 1909) 70. Edmond Ryan (presumably either Patrick's father or brother) made entries in the manuscript at pp. [66] and [163]. The names of the others who cleared the land are given by Kirouac as: Thomas Carroll, Patrick Cahill, John Dwyer, Michael Donohoe, James O'Farrell, Hubert Gosselin, Patrick Healy, Joseph Healy, Patrick Halligan, Daniel Hayes, [–] Kennedy, Patrick Kinsella, John Kinsella, Timothy Connell, Cornelius Lyons, Peter Lyons, and Patrick Sheehy.
[6] Ibid., 75–6 ('Cette brave famille Ryan, native du Tipperary, en Irlande, s'était embarquée au mois d'avril 1826, à Limerick, pour le Canada. Le vaisseau qui la conduisait vers le nouveau continent

memory/ of / Edmund Ryan / who departed life / the 28th January 1840 / aged 69 years

Lord have mercy on his soul.
his pains and trials with patience bore,
Through Christ, our Lord who did relieve.
The blessed Virgin he did admire,
Whose power no mortal can conceive.
His youthful days in pleasure spent
In Erin's lovely isle
In that clear air amidst his friends,
Beloved by all, his heart being free from guile.

The details given here about the emigration from Limerick in 1826 make it almost certain that what is being referred to is the sailing of the brig *Mary Ann*, which left Limerick on 28 April 1826, arriving in Québec on 6 June with ninety-one settlers.[7] Patrick Ryan's manuscript shows that the emigration of the family took place in two stages, rather than the one stage suggested in this account, but it can be deduced from Fr Kirouac's text that accompanying Patrick in the second stage must have been his father Edmund. Research among the records of the Archives Nationale de Québec suggests that Patrick's mother Mary also made the journey, as did another sister Bridget, and that the names of his brothers who accompanied his sister Mary in the first stage of the family's emigration in 1826 were Edmund and William.

The evidence for this information is to be found in the records of the marriage of Mary (1828), Bridget (1831) and of Patrick himself in 1833. In the record of the marriage of Patrick's sister Mary to James Kelly[8] in the parish of Notre Dame, Québec City, 1 July 1828, it is stated that she is the daughter of Edmund Ryan and Mary Kennedy 'de cette paroisse [of this parish]'; among those recorded as being present are her father, her brother Patrick, and her sister Bridget.

Three years later, 21 November 1831, Bridget Ryan, the younger sister, was married in the parish of Saint-Édouard-de-Frampton, adjacent to Saint Malachie. She married Andrew Connell,[9] a farmer of that township, though she herself is said to belong to

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n'entra dans le port de Québec que le 4 de juin suivant. Patrick Ryan, l'aîné des fils, très intelligent et parlant couramment la langue irlandaise, a laissé un journal de famille. Il donne tous les détails concernant le départ de la famille depuis Tipperary à Limerick, et de Limerick jusqu'à Québec. Il fit un rapport journalier de ce qui se passait à bord du vaisseau pendant la traversée. Il raconte les fatigues du voyage depuis Québec jusqu'à East-Frampton. M. Patrick Ryan était non seulement un cultivateur intelligent et actif, mais aussi un homme très renseigné. Dans ses voyages en Irlande il adressa à sa famille d'East-Frampton de nombreuses lettres qui dénotent un esprit éminemment religieux, un catholique convaincu. Voici l'inscription qu'il composa et fit placer sur le monument funéraire dédié à la mémoire de son père Edmund Ryan. Nous aimons à reproduire ici le texte original tel que nous l'avons trouvé dans les memoires de l'auteur, année 1840.').

[7] www.theshipslist.com/ships/Arrivals/1826b.htm (consulted January 2012). Ships' lists cited in this resource show a total of 893 settlers arriving in Québec from Limerick port in 1826, and a total of 1810 in 1827.

[8] Described as 'marchand de cette ville [a merchant of this city]'. Son of Patrick Kelly and Bridget Murphy, par. Ballykillane, Co. Carlow.

[9] Son of Timothy Connell, farmer, and Honora Riddell, par. Croagh, Co. Limerick. The Connells were among the earliest settlers in Frampton, and Andrew and his siblings (Mary, Helen, Caroline, James

the parish of Québec. She is described as the daughter of Edmund Ryan, farmer, and of Mary Kennedy of the parish and county of Tipperary. Recorded as present are Bridget's brothers Patrick and Edmund, as well as an Ellen Ryan, who is not otherwise identified but may have been another sister.

The third marriage record is that of Patrick himself to Bridget Healy,[10] in Saint-Édouard-de-Frampton, 5 February 1833, having received a dispensation of the second degree of consanguinity from the Bishop of Québec.[11] This record gives Patrick's occupation as farmer, and states that his parents, Edmund and Mary, are 'of this parish'. The witnesses are Patrick's brother-in-law, Andrew Connell, William Ryan whom I take to be Patrick's other brother, and Patrick Healy.

These three records indicate that the family initially settled in Québec City, and had completed the transfer across the river to Frampton about six years later. Patrick Ryan appears to have prospered as a farmer in Saint-Malachie. In 1846 he is listed among the freeholders there who elected his brother Edmund as one of three church wardens of the chapel of Saint-Malachie, and Patrick himself is listed as a church warden on another occasion.[12] We know from the parish records that he and Bridget had at least three children: Mary, Ellen, and Edmund. The same records show that Patrick died at Saint-Malachie, 7 December 1875, and was buried there two days later. His age is given as 77.

The history of the Ryan family of Drumclieve/Drumcliffe prior to emigration is more difficult to trace, and requires further research. An Edmundus Ryan and Maria Kennedy, of the Parish of Tipperary, were married on 23 February 1794, a date that would suit the details of Edmund given in the parish history of Saint-Malachie.[13] Edmund Ryan is listed as holding 2 acres and 3 roods of titheable land in Drumcliffe in October 1824, one of twenty-eight landholders in that townland.[14] By 1851 this number had been reduced to three, only one of whom – the owner, Rodolf Scully – was resident. One of these three was Edmond Ryan, his holding comprising land (but no buildings) to the extent of 31 acres 3 roods and 22 perches.[15] Whether or not this Edmond had any connection to the Ryans of Québec is not known.[16]

The manuscript

The disjointed way that various parts of the 220 pages of the manuscript were bound – out of sequence and with some sections upside-down, and some pages missing – may indicate that the binding was done in haste, and not necessarily by the scribe. The last date among the jottings is March 1827 (p. [197]), and the latest date in the book is

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and Michael) are recorded as attending school in that township in 1828 (Kirouac, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Malachie*, 39).

[10] Daughter of Matthew Healy and Bridget Kennedy, both deceased, of Co. Tipperary.

[11] This suggests that Bridget Kennedy (Bridget Healy's mother) and Mary Kennedy (Patrick Ryan's mother) were sisters.

[12] Kirouac, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Malachie*, 87–9.

[13] Diocese of Cashel and Emly, Records of Tipperary Parish, Marriages p. [7]. No location or address given. Witnesses: James ('Jacobus') Kennedy and John ('Johannes') Ryan

[14] Tithe Applotments, Co. Tipperary: Parish of Templenoe, Tithe Applotment Book 27s/19, p. 5.

[15] Richard Griffith, *General valuation . . . County of Tipperary, S.R. Barony of Clanwilliam . . .* (Dublin 1851) 183. The other landholder was Mary Cronin (24 acres 22 perches).

[16] Further research should also take account of the inscription on p. [iv] of the manuscript: 'Thomas O'Ryan Shronehill / in the County of Tipperary / and Barony of Clanwilliam / and Parish of Lattin'.

August 1827 (p. [102]), when Patrick Ryan records his presence in Québec. There is no evidence that any further additions were made to the manuscript, and so the March 1827 date is probably the last entry in the book prior to binding and prior to Ryan's departure from Ireland.

The presence of numerous jottings, together with the miscellaneous, commonplace aspect of the book, makes it clear that it was written for Patrick Ryan's personal use. Contents of personal manuscripts are always of importance as revealing firstly the scribe's range of interests, and secondly the sources that were available to him at the time of writing. In the case of the present book there is the additional fascination of the association of the manuscript with the emigration of the Ryan family to Québec, and especially of the presence in it of the copy of the letter that is transcribed above.

The inclusion of a grammar in what may have originally been the opening pages of the manuscript (pp. [91]–[111]) reflects a development in the structure of some Irish manuscripts that comes to prominence in the eighteenth century, where descriptions of the Irish language – sometimes, as here, deriving from the Louvain grammar – occurred at or near the beginning of the manuscript.[17] This may be reflective of the influence of the structure of printed Latin readers and primers, and it is clear that by the nineteenth century, interaction between the printed and the hand-written book had become commonplace, and had extended to include contents, as well as structure. While Patrick Ryan's manuscript can be placed in the context of other Irish manuscripts produced in the Tipperary-Limerick region at the time,[18] it is obvious that an amount of the material copied by him has its origins in printed works.

The English-language material in the manuscript derives from a mixture of printed books and near-contemporary pamphlets. Thus, the matter on pp. [67]–[90] is from a work that went through many editions, and which was supposedly written by Denis Taaffe.[19] The text on pp. [215]–[207] (in reverse) is taken from a pamphlet first published in 1816.[20] That on pp. [194]–[163] (in reverse) ultimately derives from Sylvester O'Halloran's *General history of Ireland*, first published in 1778.

Printed sources also account for a significant amount of the Irish-language material. The Irish sermon on pp. [66]–[61] (written in reverse) comes from a popular printed source, Bishop James Gallagher's *Irish Sermons*, a work that went through multiple editions after its first publication in 1735/6.[21] The poems of Tadhg Gaedhlach Ó Súilleabháin on pp. [118]–[162] may derive from one of the Clonmel editions of that poet's work;[22] the title *Pious Miscellany* itself is mentioned on p. [123]. Comparison

[17] E.g. RIA MSS 27 (A iv 2), 162 (24 L 29), 404 (23 I 13).
[18] Compare, for example, RIA MS 339 (23 M 21, Séamus Ó Glasáin, Herbertstown, Co. Limerick, 1811) or RIA MS 1399 (24 D 35, Tomás Ó Briain, Glenbane, Co. Tipperary, 1818–19).
[19] *The life of St. Columb-kille, patron of Ulster and Apostle of the Pictish and Scottish nations . . .* (Dublin n.d.): Royal Irish Academy, Haliday Collection, MR/16/H/14.
[20] *The vision of Melachlin O'Phelan, King of Decies* ([Cork] 1816): National Library of Ireland, Dix Collection.
[21] *Sixteen Irish sermons, in an easy and familiar stile on useful and necessary subjects . . .*, the title changing to that given by Ryan (*Seventeen Irish sermons . . .*) as early as the edition of 1767 (RIA 24/G/56); see Pól Breathnach (ed.), *Seanmóirí Muighe Nuadhad* IV (Dublin 1911) xii–xiii.
[22] Séamus Ua Casaide lists editions printed in Clonmel in 1802, 1810, 1812 and 1816 ('Some editions of O'Sullivan's Miscellany', *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Journal* 14 (1911) 113–22).

of the poems with the Cork edition of 1817,[23] suggests that Patrick Ryan's transcript is a very accurate one, to the point of reproducing typographical errors such as 'adabhuin' or 'na tslainathora'.

Tadhg Gaedhlach's poetry, though perhaps disproportionate in quantity, fits in with the other, manuscript-derived poetry in the book, in that all the poems are of Munster origin. Some, naturally enough, display a local, Tipperary interest: Tadhg Mac Carthaigh's reply to Diarmaid Ó Riain and the lament for Fr Sheehy (pp. [40] and [55]) are cases in point. One folk-song occurs in the manuscript (p. [205]), and it is of interest that, rather than being in conventional Irish orthography, it occurs in a spelling that is based on pronunciation. The song is *Maidin cheo nuair do dh'éirigh mé 's do bhuail mé i measc na gcoillte*,[24] and is represented here by *Modinn cough nour do giri medh s do mhoúl megh masg ne cholte*. The reason for the quasi-phonetic spelling is unclear, but it may be an indication that the item was transcribed, not from dictation, but either from a manuscript source written by someone not wholly acquainted with the usual orthography, or from a broadside printed in quasi-phonetic spelling.[25]

Taken together, the contents of Patrick Ryan's manuscript reflect the scribe's interest in traditional matter in Irish such as saints' lives, charm-prayers and historical poems; in contemporary and near-contemporary literary productions in Irish; and also in antiquarian and historiographical publications in English. They confirm that in the second decade of the nineteenth century, a literate man living in a rural location – in this case, roughly two miles north-west of Kilfeacle – had ready access to such material in print and manuscript. Begun in 1817 when he was nineteen years of age, the manuscript is Patrick's personal digest of Irish literature, which he valued enough to bring across the Atlantic with him in 1827.

Later history of the manuscript

We know that the manuscript was for a period in the collections of the Collège de Sainte-Anne-de-La-Pocatière, 90 miles north-east of Québec City. The pencil inscription on what is now the first page of the manuscript records that it was a gift of Fr John O'Farrell ('Don de l'abbé John O'Farrell'). Fr O'Farrell (1848–1931) taught English at Sainte-Anne, 1870–73, and was Parish Priest of the parish of Saint-Édouard-de-Frampton, 1883–1917.[26] Born in Saint-Malachie in 1848, he was son of James O'Farrell[27] and Bridget Cleary. The parish records of Saint-Malachie show that

[23] *A new edition of Timothy O'Sullivan's . . . Pious Miscellany . . .* (Cork: J. Geary 1817): RIA 23/R/23. Patrick Ryan's version of 'Carbhal Muire' (pp. [137]–[138]) does not contain the final six lines.

[24] Cf. the version entitled 'An Bhruinneall Mheirbh' in Edward Walsh, *Irish popular songs with English metrical translations and introductory remarks and notes* (Dublin 1847) 78–82.

[25] I owe the latter suggestion to Donnchadh Ó Duibhir, who refers to one such version of the song, under the title 'The Foggy, Velvet Morning', beginning *Maddin cheog nuar ieom, agus goum tri var no gilte*, in the collection of TCD (Early Printed Books, John Davis White Collection, OLSK-1-530, 531, 532).

[26] Élias Roy, 'Feu l'Abbé John O'Farrell', *Semaine religieuse de Québec* 44/24 (11 Févier 1932) 376–82.

[27] Son of James O'Farrell (see n. 5 above) and Bridget Matthews. John, Edmund and Michael Farrell are listed for Drumcliffe in the Tithe Applotments (cited n. 14 above), and Donnchadh Ó Duibhir suggests to me that they may be the same family.

his godmother was Bridget Ryan, possibly Patrick's wife, and it is possible that the manuscript was given or bequeathed to him by the scribe, Patrick Ryan.[28]

The manuscript remained at Sainte-Anne until, along with other papers, it was acquired by a Québec bookseller, who in turn sold it to a collector, Sebastien Hudon, in late 2001. Through contacts established via the Irish Script on Screen project of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, I became aware of the existence of the manuscript and acquired it from M. Hudon for the National Library of Ireland in May 2008.[29]

Description of the manuscript

19th century. Paper. 18.5 x 15 cm. Pp. [iv] + 216 (pp. 1–20 numbered; pp. [65]–[61] numbered 1–5; pp. [118]–[162] numbered 1–45; remainder unnumbered). Scribe: *Pádrig Ó Mrein*(*n*) (*Patrick Ryan*), Droumcliebhe (*al*. Droumclieve, Droumcli(e)ff) (Drumclieve, par. Templenoe, bar. Clanwilliam, Co. Tipperary). Writing mainly 1817–18, but pp. [61.18]–[66] written 1819; [67]–[90] written 1823; [i]–[61.17] written 1825–6; pp. [101]–[104] 1825 (with an addition in 1827). Note p. [163].15 signed *Edmn*^{d} *Ryan / Edmond Mreinn*.

'Scholar's binding' of cardboard covers, sewn with thread and twine. 'Patrick Ryan of Droumcliff' inside back cover, inverted. Collation obscured due to tightness of binding. 7 leaves excised (because of content?) after p. [28], stubs remain, and six of these leaves, formerly loose inside back cover, now restored to proper position; one leaf missing between p. [28] and p. [29], and an indeterminate number of leaves missing after p. [162]. Pp. [59]–[60] written in reverse; pp. [61].18 – [66] in reverse and inverted; pp. [163]–[216] a bundle of bifolia and small gatherings bound in inverted; pp. [101]–[104] are two later additions (list of abbreviations) pinned into book. 20–30 lines.

Names and jottings: (a) p. [iii].6. 'Patrick Ryan proprietor.' (b) [iii]. 11. 'This book [. . .] you may understand.' (c) [iii].12–15, inverted. Three names ([. . .] Desmond, Michael O'Kearney,[30] and Patrick Ryan) dated 'April 30 1819', with calculations. (d) [iii].17. 'What do you mean by the Sacrament.' (e) [iii].18–19. 'Provost' (repeated). (f) [iii], inverted. Irish lettering repeated. (g) [iv]. 'Thomas O'Ryan Shronehill / in the County of Tipperary / and Barony of Clanwilliam / and Parish of Lattin / [Patt Ryan of Dromclieve *cancelled*]. (h) 1, outer margin, transversely. 'Patrick Ryan May the 2^{d} A.M. 5819 A.N. 1819; [? N[.]ion] 19^{t}.' (i) 9, lower margin, inverted. 'Patrick Ryan of the / Patrick Ryan.' (j) 15, outer margin, transversely. 'Leabhar Phadrig i Mrein Datalta in fithedh la / do Mharta blighinn ocht geid deig 7 fihegh do Chriosd – / Leabhar Pha.' (k) [57], outer margin, transversely. 'Leabhar Phadrig I Mrein o

[28] The marriage record (3 November 1840, par. Saint-Édouard-de-Frampton) of Fr John's parents show that his maternal grandmother was Mary Healy, the same maiden name as Patrick Ryan's wife; cf. Kirouac, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Malachie*, 74–5.

[29] I wish to record my thanks to the staff of the Archives Nationale de Québec for their courtesy and assistance during my visit there. I am grateful to the late Marianna O'Gallagher (1929–2010) for helpful advice. I also thank M. Houdon for clarification of a number of points relative to the provenance of the manuscript. I am indebted to Donnchadh Ó Duibhir and to Padraig de Brún for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper.

[30] Pádraig de Brún draws my attention to a Mícheál Ó Cearna, a Tipperary poet of this period mentioned in a poem composed either by Seán Ó Braonáin or Silbhestar Ó Sé (Pádraig de Brún, *Filíocht Sheáin Uí Bhraonáin* (Dublin 1972) 109–10.).

Dhroimcliebhe 18th day of March 1826.' Foll. by *Oh where are those pleasures which did often us surround*. 1 st. (l) [61], lower margin 'Wrote the left hand side.' (m) [61].15–16, interlinear, inverted. 'St Patrick the Apostle of the [Irish nation?]'. (n) [61].16–17, interlinear, inverted. 'O Mhuire Amen.' (o) [66] 'hundred and Eighteen / Ednd Ryan &c.' (p) [91] 'loubher / Padrig O Mrein / Patrick [*changed to* Culprit] Ryan's Book / Osin and St Patrick / Paorig nobheis / Mach Colphshihnuch / Alpran / The preface.' (q) [91]. Assorted calculations and repetition of words in text 'This', 'Mac', 'The', 'May'. (r) [106], lower margin, inverted. 'and his face [. . .] good.' (s) [109] 'Patrick Ryan' (t) [110], transversely. 'Some ye find / an / ABCD / [. . .] to pay.' (u) [116].4. 'omnuo.' (v) [116].4 'Patrick Ryan.' (w) [116].7–8. 'Despair of life the means of living shows Drydens translation.' (x) [116], tranversely. Calculation. (y) [116], inverted. 'The young mans Dream / suil na neinn' foll. by four lines of numbers. (z) [117], outer margin, transversely. 'Patrick Ryan Proprietor of The Irish Manuscript Dated October 1817 teen.' (aa) [123], outer margin, transversely. 'Padrig O Mreinn his Book Dated' [*sic*]. (bb) [123], transversely. 'any PIOUS MISCELL.' (cc) [131], outer margin. 'Patrick Ryan / his manuscript.' (dd) [146], outer margin, transversely. 'Padrig O Mrein.' (ee) [197].6. 'March the 5th 1827.' (ff) [201] 'Patt Ryans Bo[ok] / [? Leabur Padrig O Mreinn].' (gg) [201] Number of days in each month, with calculation based on 1819. (hh) [200], outer margin. 'Patrick Ryan' (twice).

p.

[i]. '<u>1818</u> / Manuscritt / Patrick. Ryan / écrit en. Anglais / et gaelique / Don de l'abbé John O'Farrel' (pencil), written over calculation (now only visible under u.v. light) similar to that on p. [ii].

[ii], transversely. Arithmetical problem and calculation. 'If 1 quarter and 14 lb of merchanidzes [*sic*] cost 2 £ 13 Shillings and 9 pence . . ..'

[iii]. (a) Recipe. 'Take a handfull of the Bourdoc Root and of the Docklave root and take a handfull of the Bogbane the same of the Dandelion the same of Robinrun the hedge. Take 2d worth of L[ime?]stick and pound it and split it in shares as small as possible. Take three pounds of Rock lime [. . .] 18 Quarts of Spring Watter [*sic*] leave to stand 24 hours and stir it several times.' (b) Inverted. List of sixteen abbreviations in Irish script and their meanings. (c) Jottings noted above.

[iv]. See jotting (g) above.

1. 'Achtra Shedhan I Conuill.' *A uair smaoinidhim air shaoithimh na Heirion*. 'Duine leighfeas an dioghacht so tugach beanocht le hanimun Seaghan I Conuill' (margin). 492 lines arranged in 123 stt., numbered. Further scribal signatures: see jottings above.

[23]. 'Hghuim Phadrig ann so sios.' *Cloistior* [sic] *fon fíal eithne ann sa cceillidh is buin ghluise bruonn tareis na greige*. Ends (p. [24]) *Da ngabha tu an marbhna so go móch ar madionn ag dul ag iasgareacht ar loch 7 creidiomh ó criodhe do chriosd caig is gheabhar do lann gaibhailá dá ngabha tu an marbhna so a bpannc an bhas gibe dearfach nó da mbias an cas na tri rann deighnioch an tanam do breith o iofrion saor leis*. 'Foircheann mar fuarus / Conclusion to this Hymn 16 of Nov 1825.'

[25]. ‘Orrtha Muire.’ *A thighearna ro millis Iosa Chriost aon mhic dé aithir uilechomhachta*. Ends (p. [26]) *Taisbainfedh muire i fein tri huaire rimh an mbas donn tae do ghnidh an tseirbis sin di*. ‘Deo graitias crioch.’

[26].13. ‘Cuid do crasantacht Oision 7 Phadrig / O.’ *A Phattruicc is truadh an sgeal righ seimh na bfleadh*. Breaks off (p. [28]) with st. 12.

[29]. [*Mo phúir mo phráinn mo chás mo chréimghoin*.] Beg. acephalous *Uch a Mhartin cas mo chleibh thu*. 55 stt. ‘Deirio mar fuirios le Padrig O Mreinn Nov. the 19th 1825.’

[40]. ‘Tadhag Mac Carrha aig freagra Diarmada O Riann.’ *Mo chra is mo chumhadh an smuit seo ar Eire*. 15 stt. ‘Feb the 8th 1826.’

[43]. ‘Beatha agus Martra Maghreaide naomhtha / Life of St Margret / [*three Maltese crosses*].’ Beg. *Gein naomhtha bheanuighthe mhoir miorbhuilteach . . . darab comhainim Magraed .i. inghean Theodosius duine ardchomhachtach don cineal cedna*. Ends (p. [55]) *agus thangadar aingill flathas De aig iarra a thanama*. ‘Deo gratious [*sic*] foircoin mur do furios / Patrick Ryan / March the 10th 1826.’

[55].9. ‘Marbhna an Aithir Niochilas Mic Sithe anseo.’ *Do cuala geoin aig sloighte air taob cnuic*. 22 + 1 stt.

[60]. Draft letter in English (written in reverse) addressed to his brothers and sister by Patrick Ryan re. emigrating from Ireland to Québec. Foll. (p. [61]) by: *Place your Confidence in the Lord on high*. 17 lines. Text given above.

[66] in reverse and inverted (see above). ‘Seventeen Irish Sermons in an easy & fam[iliar] stile. On useful and necessary subjects By the Rev. James Gallagher [in] which is included a sermon on the Joys of Hea[ven] &c &c &c / This 7th Day of April, the [ye]ar of Salvation one thousand Eight [hu]ndred and Eight & 11 / By me Patrick Ryan of Droumclieve 1819.’ Beg. (p. [65]) *On the assumption of the Blessed Lady* [. . .] / *Guidh orain r peacuidh a nois agus ar* [. . .] / *As an ghearr urnaigh so do ni an Eagluis Chatoilce is iontuicse dhibh cad e mheud an dochus ata aice*. Breaks off (p. [61].18) *Ordaighmid dhuit o niu amach a bheth ad bhainrioghan ar ceann na naingil agus na harchainghil ar ceann naomh agus bannaomh parthus go hiomlan. Ex*[*a*]*ltata est Sancti Dei genitrix supr*[. . .].

[67]. ‘A historical acct of the life of Columbanus Kill Patron of Ulster and Apo[s]tle of the Pictish & Scottish Nations. Including Historical Sketches, Together with his Prophecies respecting Ireland / By an Eminent Devine [*sic*] of the R.C. Church.’ Beg. *Ireland acknowledged by her greatest callumniators to have been the sequestered seat of civilisation sanctity & science for Eight Centuries Anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1172*. Ends (p. [90]) *Buagh will come to the North with a Mighty host after 7 days fighting the Goill will be routed Eastwards there shall not be found of them so much as would fill the claw of a Bird*. ‘Finished the [. . .] / Beginning the year 1823 / Leabhar Phadrig I Mrein datalta an Dara la fitid don meihibh mblian Criost ochtth cheid deig 7 tri bline fihid. don saoghal 5 m. cead 7 trigh mblina fithid.'

[91]. ‘The Irish Grammer Dated This 20 Day of Sepember 1817’. Beg. (p. [92]) with heading ‘The Preface’, *The Language has been thought in this kingdom this many hundred years with Deligence* [sic]. Sections include: ‘The Elements of the Irish Language’ ([93]), and ‘The Abbreviations most commonly Used in This Language’ ([97]) ending p. [100]a9. Foll. (p. [100]b) by ‘Priomh Eolus ann aneolais no clár ná Gaoidheilge sonn / Ag so síos grameir na Gaoidhelge do reir mar do cuiredh an egar agus an ordugh oe [*sic*] a ccolaste na mbrathar mionur neronnach a lobhainn.’ Beg. *Gach nduine léar mían Gaoigheilge do leigheidh na do sgreibh.* Ends (p. [111]) *an tan sgriobhtar iad a lar no a ndeire aon-focaill eile ni bhionn brigh ag ceachtar diobh mur ata brigh breagh treadh.* ‘Deridh an Grameir no Geilge [*sic*] honn.’ Includes colophon (p. [107]) ‘Padrig O Marein an trigh la deig don mie November 1817.’ Pp. [101]–[104] comprise additional list of Irish abbreviations pinned in, with colophon p. [102]: ‘The Irish Abbreviations by Patrick Ryan August the 5th 1825’ with addition ‘15th 1827 Patrick Ryan Quebec Canada N^{thth} [*sic*] America [? Second Ire]’.

[112]–[117]. Notes in English on how to find Golden Number, Epact, and Dominical Letter for 1817 and 1818.

[118]. ‘An paidrin pairteach.’ *Adabhuin fein don saoghal gur pheacios*. 4 stt., written continuously.

[118].21. ‘Duain na tslainathora = Tune Emon an Chnuc.’ *Mo gradhsa mo Dhia mo gharda mo liaghi*. 9 stt., written continuously.

[121]. ‘Dúain Christ – Adapted to the tune of Seagan O Daoire an Glana or that of Uair Mic na Chroinne.’ *Iosa mhic Muire a righ ghil na rigte*. 5 stt.

[122].6. ‘Duain in spioraid naoimh.’ *Is aocht in teirleach so an Eirinn le spas.* 3 + (‘An Ceangal’) 1 stt.

[123]. ‘Pious Miscellany [*repeated*] – Duain Iosa.’ *A mhor mhic charanacht chalice na soillse aoibhion*. 28 + (‘An ceangal’) 1 stt. ‘Amen.’

[129]. 21. ‘Duain Mhoire.’ *Olamh a Ios*[*a*] *naoimhig neartuig*. 39 + (‘An ceangal’) 1 stt. ‘v’, ‘bhearsa’ or ‘mhearsa’ in margin before each stanza.

[135].26. ‘Carbhal Iosa.’ *Iosa an dhioghon is am gharda*. 9 stt. ‘Amen.’

[137]. ‘Carbhal Mhuire / This Spiritual Song is Adapted to the Tune of Carolans Devotion.’ *Is treithlag mo chealltair a gcanntha na gcas*. 12 stt.

[138].21. *Is meing liom lobhairt ar roeltion roinnteacht*. 5 stt.

[140]. ‘Duain Duaise na bhior mhaighdon [*inner margin*:] Padrig O Mrein Dhroumcliebhe January 1 1818.’ *Seo comharla tar chomhairleaca an saoighuil*. 5 stt.

[141]. ‘Duain an Athair sior nidheadh [*sic*].’ *An uir* [sic] *thaguing go tighgan tabhuirne*. 5 + (‘An ceangal’) 1 stt.

[142].22. ‘Duain na Trionoide adapted to The Tune of the Flowers of Edinburgh in Irish Blath puin eadn’ [*sic*]. *Eisdeach gach eolach san Eóruip go theuchtach*. 5 stt.

[144]. *Staduig is sgeithfiod sgeul na sgathaidhe*. 5 stt.

[145].5. ‘Dothchus an Maighdin Muire.’ *Dibhse Ghaodhaill bhochta do leighfead eachtra*. 8 stt.

[146].5. ‘Iargnodh na Eairnioch.’ *Mo dheacuir dhubhach is mo ceasnamh cumhadha*. 4 + (‘An ceangal’) 1 stt.

[147]. ‘Duain na naomh.’ *O bhainnriogan na bhlathusaibh is tu mo crann bagartha*. 16 stt. ‘Deirea.’

[149]. ‘Duain Naomh Diaglan.’ *A Dhigalan* [sic] *ordha onoruig easbuig*. 17 stt., numbered.

[151].5. ‘Buidheachus rem Tigherna.’ *Buidheachus rem thigherna ta Dia aguin mar gharda*. 3 stt.

[152]. ‘Duain an Domhain.’ *Is fior gur comairle thar comhairle na gceudtha*. 41 stt.

[158]. ‘Slan le Eire.’ *Mo shlan le duthracht dEire*. 7 stt.

[159].25. *Peacha na druise a cu dhubh craosach*. 21 stt.

[162].21. ‘Comhairle Thaidhig dha cairde erachach.’ *Mo theagasg a dtraith glaaig* [sic] *le gradh*. Breaks off with st.1.

[216] (see above). Acephalous text. Beg. *and his name is Corsica and the people and the people* [sic] *whom thou savest asemble and greet him with the Signs and tokens of Rejoiceings*. Ends with page *And the wrath of the high one Shall not be appeased but with the blood of the people and know the great arch thou souvest* [sic] *like* [. . .] *has been prophesied in a portion of* [. . .]. Foll. (p. [215]) by: ‘The Vision of Melachlin O Phelan King of Decies an Irish manuscript above 600 y^{rs} old Discovered on the 29th Day of August last [1817 *above*] in the Earthern Urn by 2 peasants as They ware [*sic*] diging up the remains of an old limekill in a field in the vicinity of Cork Translated by a Rernd Gentleman Eminent for his Learning and piety and Perfectly Skilled in the Accidents of the Irish language. / M^{r} Thornhill the proprietor of the Irish manuscript begs leave to advance as a caution that should any person presume to print or Sell a copy of this Translation unless Duley authorized they Shall be Dealt with According to Law. – M^{r} Thornhill.’ Beg. (p. [214]) *I Melachlin – King deposed of my right, the septre of my Inheritance A proscribed exile of the Land of my fathers*. Foll. (p. [207]) by ‘The Prayer’. *O Lord ever merciful and benign we acknowledge they justice*. Ends (p. [207]) *Strengthen me O father Against the Approaching Evil and in the Day of Calamity have Mercy upon me. Amen.*

[206]. ‘Remark the Commandments In prose.’ Foll. ([206].14) by ‘The precept of The church chiefly Six in prose.’

[205]. *Modinn cough nour do giri medh s do mhoúl megh masg ne cholte*. 5 stt., written continuously.

[204]. ‘Bad.’ *A generous Friendship no cold medum know*. 58 lines. Foll. (p. [202].13) by *Be not deceived one Lately Did advise / Beware I say Christs day be not surprised*. ‘Patrick Ryans Book January the 28 1818 / Gentilitious “do highly approve of The Emergency of Fortune of Various Denominations Embossed with Embellishment and adorned with beauty of All Kinds” . . . “da hiuich in toim dum eirin tar clieue le feiul – data is mouil le sanahcus’’ . . . .

[201]. ‘Poetry.’ *If enigmatically we stand*. 12 lines. ‘Patrick Ryans Book Dated 17 Day of March 1818 teen A Day of Exultation to the people of Erin.’

[200]. ‘The Hymn in honour of St Joseph.’ *Hail holy Joseph whose pure mind*. 52 lines. ‘Amen. Jesus Mary and Joseph.’

[197].7. ‘Hymn in honour of St. Wenefred.’ *Sweet as the rose that sents* [sic] *in vernal year*. 6 stt. P. [195] blank.

[194]. ‘The Iera or Epocha of Ireland January the 2d the year of Salvation One Thousand Eight Hundred & Eighteen.’ Beg. *The Milesians of Ireland begin there* [sic] *Epocha with Phaenius*. Foll. ([p. 193].8) by remarks on O’Halloran’s use of English characters for quotations in Irish. Foll. (p. [191]) by ‘A Succinct account of the Valiant Sons of Erinn from the History of Ireland.’ Beg. *Clana Baoisgne the Knight of Leinster so called from this Baoisgne Ancestor to the famous general Fion Mac Cumhal*. Ends (p. [163]) *290 Fearchorb succeeded his father in the Kingdom*. Foll. ([163].15) by note on punctuation, signed ‘Edmn^{d} Ryan / Edmond Mreinn.’