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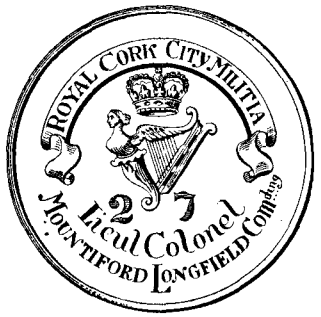
All who are familiar with Richard Millikin's once popular ballad, "The Groves of the Pool," will remember his allusion to the home-coming of the regiment either in 1799 or at a later period.(3)



The gold medal of Captain Corker is a most interesting and enduring historic memento of the Royal Cork Regiment, which is now No. 4 on the Irish establishment of the Royal Artillery.

(3) Vol. iii. (1894), p. 259 of this "Journal."

Ferat, qui Meruit, Palmam.

"SOME ACCOUNT OF THE NORTH CORK REGIMENT OF MILITIA (now the 9th Battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps). Especially with reference to its services in the year 1798. By the REVEREND CANON COURTENAY MOORE, M.A., B.D., Council Member and Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster R.S.A.I.; Member of the Henry Bradshaw Society."

AN interesting article, under the above title, appeared in the issue of this "Journal" for July-September, 1898, and as the intention of the reverend author was, no doubt, the publication of the truth regarding the distinguished corps whose achievements during the troubled period of the Irish Rebellion he undertakes to recount, he, in common with the readers of this periodical, will, I trust, tolerate a few additional remarks on the same subject. In all such enquiries it is well to remember that the most reliable sources of information are to be sought in original documents

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and contemporaneous authentic history. This principle I purpose to adopt in the present instance, and if the conclusions I arrive at differ from those accepted by Canon Courtenay Moore, he will, I feel confident, at least give me credit for an attempt to ascertain the facts of the case as they actually occurred.

Canon Moore states (p. 223) that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was captured on the night of the 18th May, 1797. The contemporary historian, Musgrave ("Hist.," vol. i., p. 253), Froude, etc., say that this event took place on the 19th of May, 1798 (vide Froude, "English in Ireland," vol. iii., p. 343). This arrest, Canon Moore adds, "precipitated the rising," but it may be questioned whether the seizure of the brothers John and Henry Sheares, with their compromising papers, on the 21st of May (Musgrave, vol. i., p. 256; Lecky, "Hist. of England," vol. viii., p. 51, 8vo. edition) did not contribute more to that result, especially as on that day Lord Castlereagh wrote, by direction of the Lord Lieutenant, to the Lord Mayor, announcing that a plot had been discovered for placing Dublin Castle, in the course of that week, in the hands of a rebel force, and seizing the executive Government; and, on the following day, a similar announcement was made in the House of Commons (Lecky, *ut sup.*). This opinion is borne out by the contents of the documents discovered, and the particulars disclosed at the trial of the Sheares. Canon Moore next informs us that the North Cork Regiment was one of those "hurried to the capital," and adds the circumstantial detail that they were "quartered in George's Street Barracks." Where Canon Moore obtained this information we are not permitted to know, as, unfortunately, he has not seen fit to supply any reference. That *one* Cork militia regiment was stationed in Dublin at this period is certain, and that it was not the North Cork will, I think, be equally clear, if the reason of the case, and the evidence to be produced, can be relied on. Musgrave writes: "When this dreadful volcano (the rebellion) burst forth, there were no other troops in the county of Wexford but the North Cork Militia, consisting of but three hundred men; and they did not arrive there till the 26th of April. Their headquarters were in Wexford, where three companies of them were stationed, the remainder were quartered at Gorey, Enniscorthy, and Ferns ("Hist.," vol. i., p. 402). An official return, preserved in the Record Office, states as follows: "Strength of the North Cork Regiment, May, 1798, at Wexford and neighbourhood—Total, 422; rank and file, 306; on command (i.e., detachment), 92." The officers are doubtless included in the total.—"Military Books," MSS., Record Office, Dublin. If, as Musgrave asserts, the regiment marched into Wexford on the 26th April, and, according to the above return, was there in May, it could scarcely have been in Dublin during the latter month, unless, indeed,

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it possessed the remarkable attribute ascribed to Boyle Roche's famous bird. Canon Moore informs us that, on the night of the 23rd of May, "the North Cork were formed in St. Stephen's Green," and a little further on (p. 229) relates the catastrophe of Oulart Hill, near Wexford, when 109 men of the regiment were killed, Lieut.-Col. Foote and one serjeant only escaping (Musgrave, vol. i., p. 419-20). This occurred on the morning of Whit-Sunday, May 27, and the latter historian states that the party consisted of "picked men," presumably selected from the rest of the corps. Wexford is, or was, some seventy-four miles from Dublin ("Lewis' Topographical Dictionary S. V.") and we have no reason to think that any special means of transport then existed, the intervening country was also, for the most part, in the hands of the insurgents.

If, then, this was not the regiment that occupied the metropolis on the 23rd and 24th May, we may enquire what corps actually did? And the answer is not far to seek. It was the Royal Cork City Militia. This regiment had been quartered at Naas during the preceding winter ("Memorial of Lt.-Col. Longfield," MSS. Record Office), and seems to have been moved to Dublin subsequently, where they were stationed, occupying a barrack in Stephen's Green (called the Shelburne Barracks, and situated behind the present hotel of that name), as related in Walker's "Hibernian Magazine," p. 535. May 25, 1798.—"Yesterday the City of Cork Militia marched from their barrack at Stephen's Green on an expedition to the country," etc. Musgrave writes that, on the night of the 23rd of May, "as it was known that a strong spirit of disaffection had existed among the troops quartered at Lehaunstown Camp, seven miles from Dublin, and as it was suspected that they would come to the assistance of the insurgents in the metropolis, the Lord Mayor, Alderman Thomas Fleming, posted the *City of Cork Regiment*, noted for its loyalty, with their two battalion guns, at the north side of Stephen's Green, and remained all night at their head." (The italics are mine.) The regiment appears to have remained in county Dublin, or county Kildare, for the remainder of the months of May and June, as the successful attack by them on Rathangan, May 28th (Musgrave, p. 316; Lecky, vol. viii., p. 68), and Lieut. Pearce's skirmish near Sallins ("Hib. Mag.," Aug., '98) testify. Canon Moore next quotes Professor Froude's graphic account of the massacre at Prosperous, a village some thirty miles from Dublin. He prefaces his relation by a general reference to the historians Musgrave, Maxwell, and Froude, and it seems almost a pity that, before doing so, he did not think fit to consult them all; had he done so, he might have perceived that the most reliable, and the only contemporary one of the three, Musgrave, differs from the others, and, as it will appear from the sequel, rightly.

Canon Moore says (p. 225) that "Captain Swayne was at Prosperous

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with a detachment of sixty men of the North Cork," quoting Mr. Froude. Unfortunately for the latter's accuracy, there does not seem to have been a Capt. Swayne at this time in that regiment.[1] There was a Lieutenant or Ensign Hugh Swayne, but Richard Longfield Swayne commanded the Light Company of the 27th Royal Cork City Regiment. He was a connection of the Colonel's (as I have ascertained through the kindness of Mr. R. E. Longfield, D.L., of Longueville), and was appointed lieutenant May, 1793, and promoted captain, vice Menzies, Oct. 14, 1795. His subalterns were John Corker, lieut. (father of Thomas Ware Corker, solicitor, Cork), and Thomas Power, ensign (MSS. *penes me*). His company (No. 8) was the strongest in the regiment, having 97 names on the roll, and he had been, as all agree, sent on detachment some three or four days before the outbreak, to Prosperous. The account given by Musgrave (vol. i., p. 288, *seq.*) is clear and unmistakable. He says: "On Sunday, the 20th of May, Captain Swayne arrived there (Prosperous) with a detachment of the City of Cork Regiment." Again, "Besides the City of Cork detachment at Prosperous, there was a party of Ancient Britons. Twelve of them lodged in a house opposite the barrack of the City of Cork company." It seems probable that Lieut. Corker and his (the right) half company may have been detached to collect arms in the neighbourhood, and so escaped. Ensign Power was a Roman Catholic, and unmolested. The actual loss suffered by the regiment was 1 captain, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, and 28 privates (MSS. *penes me*). The contemporary historian, Gordon, whose book is praised by Mr. Lecky, referring to the attack on Prosperous, says: "The barrack was fired, and twenty-eight men of the City of Cork Militia, with their commander, perished in the flames, and by the pikes of the enemy." —"History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 86 (1803).[2]

The following entry in the "Regimental Accounts, 1798-99," Record Office, should, I think, decide the question:—

"27th Royal Cork City Regiment. Contingencies.—Under this head £115 1s. 0½d. compensation to Ensign Power[3] and the non-commissioned officers and privates for losses sustained at Prosperous on the 24th of May,

(1) Letter approving of the appointment of Mr. Hugh Swayne to be ensign, Nov. 30, 1795.—"Military Books," Record Office.

(2) Capt. Griffith, who commanded the Clane Yeomanry at Clane, some three miles from Prosperous, on the 4th of May, writing to a friend, says: "We learned that Capt. Swayne, with fifty of the City of Cork Militia, had been surprised, murdered, and burned in the barracks of Prosperous."—"Griffith's Narrative," MSS., British Museum. I am indebted to Mr. Lecky for this reference.

(3) "April 28, 1796.—Thomas Power to be ensign."—"MSS., Record Office."

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1798, is allowed, agreeably to order of Government. Dated, Dublin Castle, 25th May, 1799.

Signed, E. B. LITTLEHALES.

MSS. Record Office."

As I may perhaps be deemed presumptious in venturing to challenge statements made by such writers as the late Professor J. A. Froude, Mr. Lecky, Maxwell, and Canon Courtenay Moore, I transcribe portions of letters received some years ago from Miss Froude, acting as her father's amanuensis, and Mr. Lecky. The former writes: "It was very good of you to let my father know. He sees by the particulars you send that you must be quite right, and he will alter the name of the regiment in his next edition." And Mr. Lecky: "I must thank you for your kind and interesting letter. I think you have quite proved your point. Capt. Swayne and his men evidently belonged to the City of Cork Militia." After referring to the ubiquitous services of the North Cork during the month of May, 1798, Canon Moore proceeds: "Actions on a much larger scale were still in store for it, as it fought at the battle of New Ross, 5th of June; at the battle of Arklow, on the 10th of June, and at the battle of Vinegar Hill on the 21st of June. The Battle of New Ross.—I have been unable to find any distinct mention of the presence and action of the North Cork at this important engagement in several of the larger Irish histories, yet I believe there is no doubt whatever they were there, and bore themselves bravely, as their list of killed and wounded testifies. The situation of the North Cork was outside the Three Bullet Gate. The North Cork in this action lost in killed and wounded nearly two hundred officers and men." (!)

It is remarkable that Canon Moore's belief should be in the inverse ratio to the grounds he alleges for it, and the evidence on which he relies. He has discovered no "distinct mention" of the regiment's presence at New Ross, and at the same time, he states that they were stationed "outside the Three Bullet Gate," and lost nearly two hundred officers and men. As on a former occasion, he gives no authority for this astonishing announcement of a fact which appears to have been unknown to contemporary writers, large or small, but which is reserved for Canon Moore to disclose. He may, however, be in possession of some occult sources of information hitherto uninvestigated, or he may be acting on the principle, alluded to by Bishop Butler, with which, of course, he is familiar, that "a thing's happening is accounted for by the possibility of its happening." Be that, however, as it may, I am content to follow such accounts as have come down to us from reliable authors who flourished during the periods of which they wrote. Musgrave ("Hist.," vol. i., p. 503) enumerates the several corps engaged at Ross as follows:—"In consequence of the en-

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campment at Carrickbyrne, the Donegal, Clare, and Meath regiments of militia, detachments of the English artillery, the 5th Dragoons, and Mid Lothian Fencibles marched into Ross; and on the 4th of June the County of Dublin Regiment afforded a very seasonable reinforcement to the garrison." The force assembled at Ross amounted to, Musgrave says, about 1,200 effective men and about 150 yeomen (vol. i., p. 503). No mention is made of the North Cork, whose hands were quite full elsewhere. Musgrave, to be sure, may be mistaken, but for my part—*Malo errare cum Platone.* The historian specifies the Dublin regiment as the corps stationed outside the Three Bullet Gate. Are we to understand that if the North Cork occupied that position he would not have said so? According to Canon Courtenay Moore (pp. 230-4) the losses sustained by the North Cork were as follows:—On May 24th and 27th, 167; June 5th, nearly 200. If we add to this the seven casualties which occurred on May 28 at Enniscorthy, where Captain Snowe guarded the bridge, and the further losses inseparable from the peculiar character of the campaign, and the constant and desperate fighting in which the regiment was engaged, the survivors must have been very few. But if what Musgrave and the official return of the nominal strength set out may be trusted, the survivors would appear to have been still fewer, if, indeed, there were any, which we may hope there were, as otherwise they could hardly have been present at Vinegar Hill, as we learn from Canon Moore was the case, although, as in the former instance of Ross, "he has not been able to trace any particulars about them," in which, to do him justice, he is not, apparently, singular.

As we have already seen, the nominal strength of the regiment in May was a gross total of 422. Canon Moore informs us that its losses during May and June amounted to 367, to which if we add seven for Enniscorthy on May 28th (Musgrave, vol. i., p. 437), and, say, six for other casualties, missing, etc., we shall have a total of 380 men; this deducted from 422 leaves 42. Again, if we accept the statements of Canon Moore and Sir Richard Musgrave as both equally correct, we shall be face to face with the appalling fact that 80 men more than the actual number in the regiment were *hors de combat* during these months (Musgrave, *ut sup.*, p. 402 —"The North Cork Militia, consisting of but 300 men"). However, Canon Courtenay Moore is evidently of another opinion, for he says that three days after Vinegar Hill, viz., June 24, "We find that the North Cork, *numbering a hundred,* and the same strength of yeomanry, under General Dunn, defended the town of Athy," etc. (p. 236).

I will but refer to a few matters of interest connected with the eminent services rendered by this distinguished militia corps, under circumstances such as we can now scarcely realise, and conclude these remarks.

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After the defeat and almost destruction of the advance party despatched by General Fawcet from Duncannon Fort, early on the 30th of May, at the Three Rocks, Wexford was considered no longer tenable, and an evacuation decided on. Gordon, "Hist. of the Irish Rebellion," is responsible for the following account: "To complete the distrust and depression of spirits of the rest of the garrison, the North Cork Militia, who had been stationed near the barrack, quitted their post about half-past ten o'clock, directing their march to Duncannon, and were followed immediately, and soon overtaken, by Captain Cornock, with his yeoman infantry, who retreated in like manner. In excuse of Captain Cornock, who is generally admitted to have behaved well in the defence of Enniscorthy, his friends allege that, seeing the retreat of the North Cork Militia, he thought it a retreat of the whole garrison. But Captain Snowe seems to intimate that the retreat was begun, at least, as soon by Captain Cornock's men as by his (the North Cork). His words are these: "I was preparing to march my men back to the barrack, when the Scarawalsh Yeomanry, with their officers, and part of the North Cork from the barrack, with an officer and sergeant-major, advanced to the barrier; the men of the North Cork at the barrier immediately joined them, and, in spite of my utmost endeavours, marched out along with them; some even scaled the breastwork. Here I thought it my duty not to abandon such a number of men. I therefore took charge of them, and succeeded in keeping them together on the retreat, and preventing every species of violence, not a single instance of which occurred, except the taking of some horses from the adjacent fields to mount some of the fainting and worn-out soldiers."

Mr. Lecky, speaking of the Rev. J. Gordon, says: "Gordon was a Protestant clergyman who had resided for about twenty-three years near Gorey, which was one of the chief centres of the rebellion; he was intimately acquainted with the circumstances of the country, and his son had been a lieutenant in a yeomanry regiment, which took an active part in suppressing the rebellion. He was a writer of little ability and no great research, but he had admirable opportunities of knowing the truth, and no one who reads his "History" can doubt that he was a most excellent, truthful, and humane man, singularly free from religious and political bigotry, loyal beyond all suspicion, yet with an occasional, and very pardonable, bias towards the weaker side."—Hist.," vol. viii., p. 81.

One touching incident connected with the unfortunate affair at Oulart, which exhibits the gallantry of Lieutenant Ware, a nephew of Lieut.-Col. Foote, I may be forgiven for inserting. He was, it appears, in the act of making his escape on horseback when appealed to by a boy of the band, who was wounded, to rescue him. Ware at once endeavoured to lift him on his horse, but before he could succeed in doing so, he was himself

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dragged from his horse by a rebel armed with a pike, which had a hook attached, and instantly killed. With regard to the officer named Swayne, who belonged to the North Cork, and who may have been confounded with his namesake in the Cork City Regiment, I find the following notice in Gordon, "Hist.," p. 124. He is alluding to events immediately subsequent to the retreat of the yeomen from Oulart, May 27th: "Gorey, consisting of only one street, with a number of lanes, was garrisoned by no more than thirty men of the North Cork Militia, under Lieutenant Swayne, and a number of yeomen," etc. This officer can scarcely be identified with the Captain R. L. Swayne killed at Prosperous on the 24th of May, especially as the latter place is some distance from Gorey, the one being in Kildare, the other in county Wexford, and bicycles were not then in common use. Moreover, Captain Swayne is said to have been actually killed, as Canon Moore, in common with other writers, admits. Poor fellow, he fell a victim to his confidence in wretches who seem to have deliberately planned his destruction from the beginning. Requiescat in pace.

The Knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust;
Their souls are with the saints we trust.

Canon Courtenay Moore (p. 240) furnishes a list of the officers serving in the regiment during the Indian Mutiny, including Major Robert Aldworth, late captain 94th Regiment, and adds, "This officer became colonel of the regiment in 1873." If by "colonel of the regiment" Canon Courtenay Moore means that this officer succeeded to the command, his statement hardly agrees with the information supplied by the official Army Lists for 1873-4, in neither of which is Major and Hon. Lieut.-Col. Robert Aldworth specified as the commanding officer. On the contrary, the following appears (North Cork Rifles), "Lieut.-Col. Richard William Aldworth, late 7th Foot, 29th October, 1873."

I had the honour of being acquainted with both of these officers, and well remember the latter when in command. The former retired from the regiment, and went to reside, I think, at or near Cheltenham.

Although I have not been able to endorse all the statements contained in the treatise we have been considering, I feel sure that Canon Courtenay Moore's readers must appreciate the valuable and interesting details he has so diligently collected, and now presents in so agreeable a form. I hope that he will forgive me if I venture to suggest the importance, in all such enquiries, of recollecting the dictum of Martin Joseph Routh, the eminent President of Magdalen: "I think, sir, since you care for the advice of an old man, sir, you will find it a very good practice—always to verify

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your references, sir!"—(Dean Burgon's "Lives of Ten Good Men," vol. i., p. 73). Sound advice indeed, it seems, and worthy of all acceptation, even by members of the "Henry Bradshaw Society."

— Fontes ut adire remotos
Atque haurire queam—
(Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 94.)

T. A. L.

A Reminiscence of a Famous Cork Man.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES H. DONEGAN. J.P.

AMONG the long roll of Cork's illustrious sons, which includes the names of James Barry, Daniel Maclise, John Hogan, and a host of other men of genius, that of James Sheridan Knowles must also find a place. This famous dramatic author, and at one time highly popular actor, whose renown belongs to a past generation of play-goers, has left the literary world a valuable inheritance in his cultured and moral dramaturgy, which promises to live long into the future.

He was born in Cork in 1784, and his talents were developed at an early age. He left his native city to seek a wider sphere for art, and died at Torquay, in Devonshire, in his seventy-ninth year. His father, James Knowles, was author of a once well-known dictionary of the English language, and was closely related to the famous orator and dramatist, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, after whom the subject of these pages was named. In the year 1862 James Sheridan Knowles visited his native city, as it so happened, for the last time, his death taking place but a few short months subsequent to his return to the home of his adoption at Torquay.

There are a few circumstances connected with the great dramatist's final visit to Cork, in revival of old ties and associations, which are practically now unknown, and which, according to my judgment, appear to be well worth preserving from oblivion.

Coming to the cradle of his birth merely as an ordinary visitor in the year 1862, when it once became bruited abroad that Mr. Knowles was in our midst a number of old friends and admirers got together to determine how they could best pay him some fitting compliment upon the occasion of his visit. Finally, it was decided a banquet should be given in his honour at the Imperial Hotel, Cork, and, accordingly, a suitable entertainment took place there, presided over by my father, the late Daniel

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