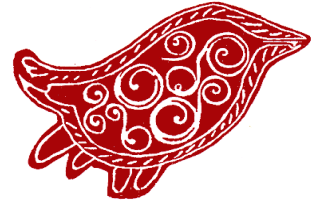


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Celtic and Irish in College 1849 - 1944

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INTRODUCTION

In common with other features of UCC's past, the history of the Irish Department remains largely unwritten. This is not because the story is basically uninteresting. On the contrary, the affairs of Celtic and Irish in College involve some fundamental aspects of life in this country. They include politics and religion, as well as the subject's academic and educational dimensions. While some of these issues are explored below, the paper will focus on the activities of the Department itself. The discussion examines the role of the major teaching personalities, the matters dealt with in lectures, library and financial resources, and related topics. Such items are more than simply pedestrian considerations. They are the realities which define the presentation of the material. In this case the subject is not without its own importance. Irish language and culture form a basic strand of our civilization. For the past hundred years or more, the universities have been at the forefront of investigation into the nature of this tradition. To look at the workings of even one college department is thus to gain a revealing insight into Irish intellectual history. We glimpse what we have seen of ourselves and of our past in that time, and how we have attempted the enterprise. UCC has experienced various views of this undertaking. The following analysis highlights the principal circumstances which have either clarified or blurred that vision.

1849 - 1863

It may come as a surprise to discover that the

teaching of Irish was sanctioned in a state-supported educational system as early as the middle of the last century. Contemporary government-sponsored bodies such as the National Schools were renowned more for indifference¹ towards the language than for endorsement of it. However, departments of Celtic, which in real terms meant departments of Irish, were established in each of the Queen's Colleges at the opening of Ireland's new university in 1849. There were several reasons for this recognition. Individual researchers and recently-founded institutions like the Royal Irish Academy had brought many facets of Irish culture to public attention in the years prior to the creation of the Queen's Colleges.² Their efforts gave the study of native tradition a measure of academic respectability. While this activity was mainly in Dublin, places like Belfast³ and Cork also figured prominently. Cork enjoyed a solid tradition of Gaelic scholarship in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴ In tandem with this the local Cuvierian Society⁵ and the South Munster Antiquarian Society⁶ fostered exploration of different forms of the region's heritage. Members of these groups canvassed for the inclusion of a programme of Irish studies in the proposed Cork college.⁷ Side by side with its research interest, the Irish language itself appeared in certain circumstances to possess a practical, day-to-day utility. The mainly Protestant organizations which sought to spread the word of Scripture among the ordinary people of Ireland in the initial decades of the nineteenth century employed Irish as a

medium of instruction, published Gaelic religious tracts and hired teachers adept in the language.⁸ Proselytizing and the demands of higher education were linked in 1838 through the endowment of a chair of Irish in TCD.⁹

Factors like the foregoing undoubtedly helped the introduction of Celtic into the new college scheme. However, it is arguable that political expediency ultimately determined the subject's appearance in the curriculum of studies. There was no mention of the establishment of Celtic professorships when proposals were first drawn up for the faculties and departments of the various Queen's Colleges in early 1846.¹⁰ Between then and the completion in early 1848 of the concluding report on the academic divisions in the new institutions,¹¹ a sustained campaign of opposition to the Colleges, chiefly from elements of the Catholic hierarchy,¹² took place. One of the most vigorous opponents of the scheme was John MacHale (1791-1881), archbishop of Tuam and a noted patron and exponent of Irish tradition. I would suggest that the inclusion of Celtic chairs in the final draft of 1848 represented an attempt to conciliate nationalistic-minded prelates and other public figures of a similar disposition on at least one front, that of culture. The limitations imposed on Celtic, to be considered presently, reinforce the view that concern for the token, symbolic value of the issue weighed more than the desire to give the subject full-blown academic expression. Whether or not the move to include Celtic in the university curriculum was government-inspired, the question of administration influence certainly arises. The board responsible for the decision was required to report to the Lord Lieutenant for final approval.¹³ As the history of QCC would subsequently demonstrate,¹⁴ it was not the only occasion when Celtic might interest the Dublin authorities.

Political considerations may also have affected the selection of Cork's first Celtic pro-

fessor. The leading candidate for the position by any objective criteria was Kilkenny-born John O'Donovan (1806-61).¹⁵ He was the greatest scholar of his day, a pioneering researcher in the fields of native history, topography, law and manuscript tradition, and a language teacher of proven ability. O'Donovan was in the event offered the Belfast chair, although he had specifically sought the Cork post in his application.¹⁶ The Cork professorship went instead to Owen Connellan (1797-1871),¹⁷ a Sligoman based in Dublin. The curious fact is that Connellan appears to have wished to be sent to Belfast.¹⁸ O'Donovan believed the choice was made on the grounds of the personal preference of Sir Robert Kane, QCC's president, for Connellan.¹⁹ However, another possible explanation of this paradoxical decision is that the selection represented an attempt to curb the appeal which the appointees might have hoped to generate for their subject in their respective colleges. It may have been anticipated that O'Donovan, a southern Catholic, would not succeed greatly in Belfast among what was likely to be a largely Protestant student body. Similarly the authorities might have desired that Connellan, a northern Protestant enjoying close ties with establishment figures, would experience an equivalent though reverse fate in Cork. Here the student population would probably include a sizeable Catholic element. The government may thus have wished to ensure against the danger that the presence of Celtic in the college curriculum would unduly foster the growth of nationalism among the undergraduates. This may have been a realistic approach in the late 1840s while the country lived through the disturbances of the Young Ireland movement.²⁰ Noted supporters of the latter cause like the celebrated John O'Leary (1830-1907)²¹ who afterwards participated in Fenian activities and survived to influence figures such as Yeats and Stephens at the turn of the century, registered as first year students in QCC in 1849.

Even if his scholarly achievement was not comparable to O'Donovan's, Owen Connellan was a man of some considerable teaching and research experience by the standards of his day. He was a native speaker of Irish who came from a background conducive to the study of Gaelic. Like many of his family he became an instructor in the language from an early age, in his home area and farther afield in Belfast and Dublin. His teaching experience led to the production of a number of aids to the learning of Irish, such as his *Gospel of St John*, published in Dublin in 1830. This work used Scripture text to impart a knowledge of the basics of Irish syntax, morphology and vocabulary. It also aimed at enabling the student to converse with Irish speakers. This and his more formal *A Practical Grammar of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1844) were much appreciated by contemporaries. Connellan's other main interest lay in Gaelic manuscript materials and their contents. He helped focus attention on the collections of the RIA and of TCD by cataloguing and duplicating some of their more important codices. He drew on native sources in studying various aspects of the past, presenting the results of his work in, for instance, his popular 'Annals of Dublin', published in Pettigrew and Oulton's *Dublin Almanac and General Register of Ireland* from 1836 onwards. His translation and annotation of the post-Norman section of the Annals of the Four Masters in 1846 prompted John O'Donovan to publish his planned edition of the same compilation a few short years later. Connellan was sufficiently proficient at archival work to be appointed Royal Historiographer to Kings George IV and William IV and to Queen Victoria in the early years of her reign. He was well-known in literary and political circles in his time. Many public figures such as scientist William Rowan Hamilton and novelist William Carleton subscribed to the publication of his work.²²

Connellan's experience and interests are

reflected in his teaching in Cork. The probable nature of his classwork may be deduced from surviving examination papers and other sources.²³ He aimed at imparting a colloquial knowledge of the language, teaching students everyday phrases and exercising them in topics of conversation about the weather, for example. Underlying this approach was a solid grammatical core in which he taught the basics of Irish in an almost Latinate fashion. Connellan set his students to work on texts earlier in date than contemporary spoken Gaelic. His Cork scholars, even at beginners' level, read such productions as Geoffrey Keating's seventeenth-century history of Ireland, *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn*,²⁴ and the twelfth-century Munster saga *Cath Mhuighe Léana*,²⁵ — probably to strengthen their grammatical appreciation of Irish.

Connellan's instruction also dealt with broader aspects of Irish civilization. In this his own historical interest had a predominant influence. His course appears to have concentrated on medieval Irish life with little or no reference to the controversial period after the seventeenth century. The topics dealt with in the medieval studies area were wide-ranging and included political and social organization, tribal history, archaeology and traditional learning, although the knowledge imparted seems to have been more superficial than profound. His treatment of the literature was also more historical than critical in nature. Thus when tackling the issue of Irish verse-craft, he appears to have emphasized the role of the poet in society rather than investigate the character of certain poetic genres. During the early years of his presence in Cork he was preparing an edition of *Imtheachta na Tromdháimhe*,²⁶ a text which has as its theme the function of poets in the community. This work was presented in lectures, especially at senior level, while being edited.

The evidence suggests that Connellan's rapport with his pupils was favourable. Equal

numbers of Catholics and Protestants came to his courses, as well as students from a variety of faculties, Arts, Medicine, Agriculture and Law. His classes included both mature, part-time students and regular undergraduates.²⁷ Contact with his charges extended to areas beyond the lecture-hall. He consulted with some of his students about manuscripts on which he was working²⁸ and appears to have influenced a number to join the Ossianic Society,²⁹ one of the more active organizations promoting the cause of Irish learning in mid-century. Connellan himself was a vice-president of this body and member of its committee of publication. Many of his students were highly successful at university-level examinations. Among the latter was George Sigerson (1836-1925)³⁰ who attended Connellan's lectures in 1856-57 and again in 1858-59 while studying medicine in Cork. During his student days, possibly under Connellan's guidance, Sigerson began to publish English renderings of well-known Irish poems, and his own versions of texts in John O Daly's best-selling anthology, *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*. Sigerson also participated actively in the Ossianic Society. These early endeavours on his part foreshadowed a lifelong interest in Irish tradition which was in turn to influence others such as Douglas Hyde and Gavan Duffy at the end of the century.

Although his course work appears to have been reasonably coherent, Connellan drew relatively small numbers to his classes, as the following table shows:³¹

Year	Celtic Students
1849-50	0
1850-51	1
1851-52	2
1852-53	1
1853-54	2
1854-55	1
1855-56	0
1856-57	1 (2)

1857-58	0
1858-59	4 (5)
1859-60	8 (9)
1860-61	2
1861-62	3
1862-63	3

In his professorial reports Connellan complained that the reason circumstances were thus was that Celtic courses suffered from restrictions which made them appear unnecessary and unattractive. Celtic could not be taken as a fully-fledged subject to BA level. In addition to this the prizes Celtic departments offered were meagre and uncertain. Members of the public also commented on the adverse conditions facing Celtic studies.³² Connellan claimed he would have had greater student numbers if a more positive attitude to his subject were taken. There may be a basis to this assertion. It is possible to gauge something of the potential of Celtic in Cork by comparing the QCC figures with those of Galway and Belfast. QCC's Celtic Department had no students in the years 1849-50, 1851-57 and 1858-59, three in 1850-51, 1857-58 and 1859-60, six in 1860-61 and none from 1861 onwards.³³ In QCB no pupil ever presented for Celtic courses, although as late as 1857 John O'Donovan 'continued to expect that students may spring from some place'.³⁴ Thus the Cork numbers surpassed in size and to a degree in consistency the totals for the other Queen's Colleges. This suggests that Connellan's view was plausible to an extent.

Rather than respond to his plea, however, the university authorities were shortly to seal the fate of Celtic in Cork and elsewhere. In 1857, less than ten years after the establishment of the new system, a Royal Commission was set up to make a full enquiry into the state of the Queen's Colleges.³⁵ Like the remainder of the academic staff the Celtic professors were sworn and examined on the affairs of their departments up to that point, and on a series

of wider issues relating to their field of studies. Information was sought on the numbers of students attending courses and on the status of Celtic in each campus. Enquiries were made about the condition of the Irish language in the country at large and its likely development in future years. Replies proved necessarily bleak in all areas. The examinees reported on the low level of encouragement for Celtic within the Colleges and on the steady decline of Irish as a vernacular. In defence of their academic domain, Connellan and others suggested that although the reduction in the numbers of native speakers was proceeding apace, a sizeable residuum of Gaelic was still spoken. In addition to this, he and his colleagues stressed the value of Celtic for a student pursuing a course of study in philology. The Commissioners were unimpressed by these arguments. Concerned with consolidating the fortunes of a fledgling institution, they decided to terminate the Celtic professorships:

Practically useless as they are . . . in the educational system of the Queen's Colleges, we cannot recommend that the Chairs of the Celtic Languages should be retained. We think that it would be more desirable to promote antiquarian research in connexion with the history and records of Ireland by employing the present Professors, at even higher salaries, at such labor, either under the direction of the Royal Irish Academy, or otherwise as may be deemed most advisable.³⁶

The Celtic departments were not actually abolished until such time as the professors actually retired or otherwise departed. Connellan continued in his position for some time, teaching his last class in 1862-63. He lived in retirement in Dublin until 1871, and was lamented on his death in that year as 'the last of the Four Masters'.³⁷ The others, O'Donovan, Eugene O'Curry (*ob.* 1862) and George Petrie (*ob.* 1866) had predeceased him. In accordance with the Commission's decision, no provision was made for the retention of Celtic in QCC

after Connellan's departure. It is conceivable that such could have taken place. In 1873 W.K. Sullivan (1823-1890)³⁸ was elected president of the College to replace Sir Robert Kane. Sullivan had an interest in Irish tradition and some experience in publishing relevant matter, such as his edition of O'Curry's *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (London, 1873). Sullivan's knowledge of Celtic, though general rather than profound in character, would have been sufficient to allow him to direct, if not actually teach, an elementary course on Irish civilization.

1897-1909

We next hear of Celtic as a discipline in College towards the end of the 1890s. While it did not enjoy a significant presence in QCC at this time, the manner whereby the subject was re-admitted to the curriculum reflects the development of a number of interesting social and educational forces. In 1896 QCC's fourth president, Sir Rowland Blennerhassett (1839-1909),³⁹ was appointed to replace James W. Slattery who held office in the years 1890-96. Disagreement and financial scandal had marked Slattery's presidency. The selection of his successor suggests that more responsible management of College affairs was envisaged. Blennerhassett came to the post with a range of experience in education and administration, and a lengthy record of creditable public service. Prior to his establishment in Cork he had acted as a Commissioner of National Education, a member of the Senate of the Royal University and as an Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. Earlier, while an MP for Galway city and subsequently for his native county, he had made informed contributions in the Commons to debates on the reform of third level education in Ireland and to his other principal area of concern, the resolution of the land question. The seeds of his lifelong interest in the workings of university systems in the British Isles and continental Europe were

sown in his days as a student at Oxford and Louvain, where he had taken a doctorate in political and administrative science 'with special distinction'.

Blennerhassett's familiarity with continental universities in particular had led him to suggest that these institutions provided models for his own new College to adopt in charting its further development.⁴⁰ He was chiefly impressed by the manner in which seats of learning, small as well as large, in centres like Paris, Berlin, Giessen and Rostock, afforded facilities for the advancement of 'free teaching and free study'. By this he meant that the foregoing locations allowed specialized courses to be given which, though attended by few students, exercised a profound influence on research in a variety of domains in literature and the sciences. Blennerhassett was especially impressed by the contemporary evolution in one such specific field in linguistics, the growth of Comparative Philology 'which has thrown and is throwing such volumes of light on the early history of our race'.

The generous sentiments with regard to language studies expressed in Blennerhassett's inaugural address as president were not to fall on deaf ears in Cork. For a number of years prior to his arrival at QCC the city had witnessed an increase in public awareness of many aspects of Ireland's linguistic heritage. Cork readers had given an enthusiastic reception to the *Gaelic Journal*, the principal publication of the Gaelic Union, a Dublin-based society dedicated to safeguarding the interests of the Irish language and to spreading its literature.⁴¹ In 1883 one of the region's last traditional scribes, Pádraig Stúndún, had welcomed the periodical in a formal Gaelic ode.⁴² By 1894 fully one half of the *Gaelic Journal's* total circulation was in city and county.⁴³ Cork writers, such as Béarra peninsula native Pádraig Ó Laoghaire (1870-96),⁴⁴ contributed significant articles to the magazine on local customs and language practices. Politicians had begun to take ac-

count of the popular development. The colourful MP, William O'Brien (1852-1928), in a speech to the newly-founded National Society of Cork in 1894 encouraged his audience of 'young Irishmen' to support the language because of its rich cultural value and its potential as a badge of nationalism. His proposal received 'loud and prolonged applause' on the evening in question.⁴⁵

A further significant event took place in the city in the year of O'Brien's address. On 24 April 1894 a local branch of the Gaelic League was founded.⁴⁶ This organization had recently been established in Dublin and set out as its objective the aim of restoring the Irish language.⁴⁷ The Cork representation soon developed a vigorous offshoot known as the Lee Branch. This group had fewer adherents than its parent, but its activities were better supported and more coherently planned. The Lee Branch undertook the teaching of the language by the up-to-date Gouin method,⁴⁸ whereby words were linked to a series of appropriate actions. It maintained regular contact with associations throughout Ireland employing the same approach. It published weekly accounts of its agenda in three local newspapers and publicized its affairs more widely in the columns of the *Gaelic Journal*.

One of the most active members of the Lee Branch was a young Cork schoolteacher, Osborn J. Bergin (1873-1950).⁴⁹ From a Congregationalist business family of liberal outlook, he had been educated at Cork Grammar School and later at QCC. In College he enjoyed a most distinguished undergraduate career, winning scholarships and prizes in each year of his programme. He specialized in the Classics, though his training also included modern languages, literature and logic. His attendance at the initial meeting of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society in 1891 suggests a youthful curiosity about local traditions of a kind which may have confirmed his initial interest in Irish.⁵⁰ It is possible that one

of his Classics lecturers in QCC, the renowned William Ridgeway (1853-1926),⁵¹ may have further encouraged the student's approach to this new linguistic horizon. Ridgeway was among the first classicists in these islands to take the evolution of Indo-European seriously, and to use cross-cultural comparative study as a means to examine the traditions of a particular civilization. He was, for instance, fascinated with Cú Chulainn as an exemplar of the heroic type. Bergin's absorption with Irish soon developed into a robust and creative competence. This became apparent from the mid-1890s onwards through publication in the *Gaelic Journal* of his articles on points of language as well as textual editions in the field of Modern Irish. He also began to produce original lyric verse in Gaelic displaying a meritorious sense of form and style.⁵² He strengthened his knowledge of spoken Irish by visits to Eyeries, the home district of folklorist Pádraig Ó Laoghaire mentioned earlier, with whom Bergin developed a deep friendship. Large stretches of the Béarra peninsula were still Gaelic-speaking at the turn of the century.

Given his familiarity with QCC, Bergin must have appreciated the possibilities for Irish inherent in the thinking of the College's new president. Shortly after Blennerhassett's appointment, at a meeting of the College Council held on 7 April 1897 'a letter from the Secretary of the Gaelic League Dublin following a resolution of the Executive Committee of the League requesting the establishment of a Celtic lectureship in the College' was read. It is clear from the next item considered at the meeting that Bergin was aware of the move and was probably one of its instigators . . . 'also a letter from Osborn J. Bergin B.A. former scholar of the College offering himself as a candidate for such a lectureship if established and including testimonials'.⁵³ We may attribute Bergin's enthusiasm for the project to zeal rather than to less characteristic motives of self-advancement. The directives of



OSBORN J. BERGIN

the Gaelic League had suggested that its members capitalize on any reasonable opportunity likely to advance the cause of Irish. After some deliberations which included the matter of referring the creation of a teaching post in the subject to the Chief Secretary, the College Council advertised a Celtic lectureship in June.⁵⁴ In October 1897 Bergin was appointed to the position of Lecturer in Celtic ahead of the two other candidates who applied for the post.⁵⁵

QCC thus became the first of the Queen's Colleges to reinstate Irish in its syllabus. The event is now quietly forgotten, standing in the shadow of the controversial measure undertaken some ten years later to make the language a Matriculation requirement in the university. It was, nonetheless, a significant move in its time, one of the Gaelic League's earliest successes in the implementation of its policy. The promise of the venture was not, however,

matched by the performance. The fortunes of the Celtic programme in the initial years of its reappearance in College appear to have been rather mixed. Bergin had only two pupils for the duration of his involvement with the lectureship.⁵⁶ Ethel Sarsfield, from a well-known landed family in Doughcloyne on the western outskirts of the city, an Arts student, attended his course in 1897-98. Catherine Magnier, daughter of a prominent local doctor and also an Arts undergraduate, registered for Celtic in 1903-04. There is no record of the material Bergin treated in lectures with these learners. Classes in all probability consisted of elementary instruction in the language. The greatest utility of the presence of Celtic in College appears to have resided in its symbolic value. Whenever Bergin addressed a Gaelic League meeting or published a journal or newspaper article on Irish topics, his title 'Lecturer in Celtic at QCC' or some such was stressed. The College affiliation thus served to enhance the image of a movement which attempted to obtain more widespread acceptability at the opening of the new century.

While Bergin actively participated in the affairs of the Gaelic League in Cork during the period of his lectureship, as time progressed his involvement with Irish underwent certain modifications. His contact with the academic side of the subject grew more extensive. In the summer of 1904 he attended the language classes of the School of Irish Learning, an institution founded by leading Celtic researchers in Dublin the year previously. In the first volume of the journal *Ériu* published by the School in 1904, Bergin's scholarly paper on the complex topic of analogy in the verbal system of Modern Irish appeared. The quality of this contribution demonstrated that its author's linguistic command had reached masterly proportions. Recognizing his potential, the School offered Bergin a Travelling Studentship to study Celtic Philology in Germany. This move launched the Corkman on an illustrious aca-

demical career. On 28 October 1904 Bergin duly informed the College Council at QCC of the award, stating that he would not be able to lecture during the approaching session.⁵⁷ In his absence Sir Bertram Windle (1858-1929),⁵⁸ appointed College president to succeed Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, took steps to secure the services of a *locum tenens*. Bergin himself was consulted regarding a suitable replacement, and suggested Mr Éamonn O'Donoghue (1876-1953).⁵⁹ On 23 October 1905 the College Council unanimously adopted the recommendation, and the continuity of the Celtic presence was thereby maintained.

The person chosen to stand in for the absent Bergin was well-known in Irish language circles in Cork in the early 1900s. He was born in Carraig na bhFear, a village some eight miles north of Cork city. This area had a venerable tradition of Gaelic poetry and song, especially in the eighteenth century. By the late nineteenth century the Irish language, although speakers of it were still in the locality, was steadily losing ground as a vernacular. The family to which O'Donoghue belonged was one of the last to retain it as an everyday medium of communication. This appears to have been largely due to the enthusiasm of the head of the household, Donnchadh Ó Donnchadha, who became deeply involved in the activities of the local branch of the Gaelic League, and was, in the view of experienced League organizer Peadar Ó hAnnracháin, one of the few farmers known to him to attend the Connradh's *ard-fheiseanna*.⁶⁰ Éamonn was educated in the Cork area and in St Patrick's Training College, Dublin. After graduating from there in 1897 he obtained a teaching post in St Mary's NS, Eason's Hill, Cork. His school was noted for the promotion of Irish among its pupils. O'Donoghue developed a special competence in instructing the language at beginners' level. The fruits of his experience appeared in the handbooks *Mionchainnt Scoile* (1903) and later *Ceachta Míoneolais* (1906).

He was at the same time an active member of the vigorous North Parish Branch of the Gaelic League, in which figures like Terence McSwiney and Tomás MacCurtain were enrolled. He was also a regular contributor to the League organ *An Claidheamb Soluis* under the pseudonym 'An Muimhneach'.

O'Donoghue, like Bergin, succeeded in forming a class in his first year of instruction at QCC. One of his students, Catherine Magnier, had worked with his predecessor. The other three, two Corkmen and a past-pupil of the Christian Brothers' School, Waterpark, Waterford, were newcomers.⁵⁶ The slight increase in numbers may be attributed to a decision of the College Council to offer prizes for the sessional examinations in Celtic.⁶¹ The College Calendar announced that lectures in both language and literature would be 'conducted as far as possible bi-lingually'. It was stated that 'The Classes will follow the courses prescribed for the Examinations of the Royal University, Pass and Honour.' RUI Matriculation and First Year Pass and Honours courses focussed largely on texts of the late Modern Irish, post-seventeenth-century period, while the tendency in the Second and Third years of the programme was to deal with matters of increasing age within the tradition.⁶² O'Donoghue prepared his students for the RUI's First Year tests, in line with his own capability in contemporary spoken Irish. His pupils were successful at this level, and two were given the QCC Council's prize on the basis of the sessional papers in 1906.⁶³ No students attended his course in 1907-08.⁵⁶ Also in this year, following a productive stay in Germany, Bergin was offered a teaching post in the School of Irish Learning. He resigned from Cork in early January, 1907.⁶⁴ By the end of the same month, after being advertised in the local newspapers, the Celtic lectureship at QCC was awarded to O'Donoghue.⁶⁵

The small number of pupils which both Bergin and O'Donoghue drew to their courses in-

dicates that the degree of acceptability of Irish among the students was low. The following considerations could account for the subject's lack of penetration. It may have been due to the fact that in the late 1800s Celtic was poorly taught in the secondary schools, where it was allotted minimal marks in a strongly results-based system.⁶⁶ Few scholars presented for the Junior, Middle and Senior Grade examinations in Celtic at that level. The pool of students with exposure to Irish before College was therefore restricted. In the highly utilitarian university colleges, where career orientation predominated,⁶⁷ there was little chance of attracting pupils to a subject which was likely to offer few if any professional outlets. The political complexion of the undergraduate population may also have been a determining factor. For a sizeable quota of students, Irish was likely to have been associated with an unwelcome measure of advanced nationalist sentiment. Thus in the 1904-05 session, when the 'Irish Language Question' was discussed at a meeting of the Philosophical Society, the College's debating union, the talk 'produced some fierce exchanges'.⁶⁸ Underlying polarization clearly emerged following the introduction of the GAA to the campus in 1905,⁶⁹ resulting in contrasting identifications among students with native and foreign games.

1909 - 1916

Controversy regarding Irish touched QCC and other third level institutions in a more complex manner shortly after O'Donoghue's permanent appointment. The Gaelic League had registered significant advances by securing the placement of Irish on programmes of study in locations like Cork, and by the gradual upgrading of the subject at secondary school level after 1900. A new opportunity arose to promote the language when the reform of the Irish universities was seriously discussed from 1905 onwards.⁷⁰ The League sought the establishment of chairs of Irish and of

professorships in related fields such as Irish history and archaeology in the proposed new National University. In addition, it committed itself to making the language a required subject for matriculation in the system. Many were in sympathy with measures to improve the study of Gaelic and its culture. However, prominent individuals who had hitherto supported the League's general objectives spoke out against compulsory Irish. Jesuit president of UCD, William Delany, believed it would be an inequitable imposition on those 'who did not care enough about Irish to have it taught to their children'.⁷¹ The views of the president of QCC echoes the sentiments of his Dublin counterpart. Possibly on the grounds of his experience in Cork, Windle felt that compulsory Irish would alienate large segments of the undergraduate population. Some students in Cork were already lamenting the imminent change of the title of the College from QCC to UCC.⁷² As regards others, Windle feared that the introduction of compulsion threatened 'to wreck the whole higher education of Catholics by driving boys and girls wholesale into Trinity and Belfast'.⁷³ He suggested a compromise whereby Irish would not be a Matriculation requirement, but 'that for students who, at matriculation, did not pass in Irish language and history, instruction in this subject shall be provided in the colleges of the university, of which instruction students shall be obliged to avail of themselves'.⁷⁴ Windle's proposal did not succeed, and following a meeting of the NUI Senate on 5 May 1910, compulsory Irish became a reality.⁷⁵

Windle's disenchantment with the Gaelic League's intensive lobbying tactics on behalf of compulsion may have had one significant consequence. This was in the selection of Cork's first professor of Irish in 1909 under the National University arrangement. The person chosen for this post was effectively a *bête noire* of the revival movement. Richard Henebry (1863-1916)⁷⁶ favoured the re-emergence of



DR RICHARD HENEBRY

Irish as the national language. While he held spoken Gaelic in a certain regard, he firmly disapproved of basing the restoration of the language on the vernacular, *caint na ndaoine*, the approach widely endorsed at the time. Henebry's position derived from reflection on his youthful experience. On his father's farm in east Waterford he had learned Irish from the labourers among whom Gaelic was the everyday means of communication in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Social snobbery in Waterford city and county towns tended to associate the use of Irish with inferiority and ignorance. Exposed to this prejudice, speakers of Gaelic were, in his view, losing both their self-esteem and regard for the beauty of the language. Having read Irish manuscripts at St John's College, Waterford, and later at Maynooth as a clerical student, Henebry came to realize that Gaelic civilization was old and distinguished. After his encounter with manuscript materials, he

suggested the best way to restore dignity to the language and its speakers alike was by exposure to the earlier traditions. In a paper published in 1892⁷⁷ he argued that scholars should endeavour to acquaint learners with the proper sources of Irish. Equally he proposed that native speakers 'correct their vernacular to the normal of the last classical writers'. Modernisms of all types were to be eschewed as being anathema to the true nature of Gaelic.

Henebry attempted to put into practice in his own life the theory formulated thus. While serving as a curate in England after his ordination in 1893, he learned Old Irish from the renowned scholar John Strachan (1862-1907), then also teaching in the Manchester area. He began to produce editions of early Irish texts in professional journals. He later spent the years 1896-98 in Germany where he took courses in Celtic philology from such authorities as Rudolph Thurneysen (1857-1940) and Heinrich Zimmer (1851-1910)⁷⁸ who supervised his doctoral dissertation. Henebry spent an unhappy period in America as Professor of Celtic in the Catholic University, Washington D.C. His views that Irish-Americans displayed excessive reverence for the shamrock and other tokens and were not sufficiently concerned with the substance of the Gaelic tradition led to harsh criticism of him in the United States. After his enforced return from Washington Henebry taught for some time in the Waterford area, especially during the summer in the Irish-speaking Ring College from 1905 onwards. His teaching and reading brought him into contact with literature then being produced in modern Gaelic. The *Leader* published in four parts between winter 1908 and spring 1909 his scathing commentary on recent works written in 'Revival Irish'. In these articles Henebry attempted to demonstrate how in his opinion novels, short stories, book reviews and the like were, in terms of language, form and style, totally deviant from the norms of the past. Prominent figures like

Agnes O'Farrelly (1875-1951), Patrick Pearse (1879-1916) and even on occasion Canon Peter O'Leary (1839-1920) felt the wrath of his pen. The rancorous debate which followed Henebry's pronouncements in this year of compulsion revealed that he had become firmly *persona non grata* in League circles. In this respect, and having regard for his evident academic credentials, it may have been felt that Henebry was the appropriate choice for the Cork professorship as a counterbalance to the ambitions of more orthodox revivalists.

The Irish courses offered in UCC at the start of Henebry's tenure of the professorship suggest that he tried to inculcate his particular approach to the language from the outset.⁷⁹ Thus scholars even in First Year Pass were obliged to learn the rudiments of Irish grammar from John Strachan's *Old Irish Paradigms* (Dublin, 1709), a standard handbook of Old Irish (600-900 A.D.) 'simplified for pupils of modern Irish' in the case of the noun, and from *Sgéalai gheacht Chéitinn* (Dublin, 1909), a primer of seventeenth-century Irish, in the case of the verb. Very few revival works were permitted in the pass courses for all three years; only texts reflecting traditional life-styles such as An tAthair Peadar's *Séadna* were countenanced. The honours courses were of an even more antique flavour. In Second Year, students' practice at writing Irish was to be confined to compositions in the Early Modern Irish idiom (1200-1600 AD), while in Third Year this requirement had reached the earlier, Middle Irish (900-1200 AD) stage. The Third Year syllabus placed a heavy emphasis on Old Irish hagiography and metrics, as well as 'the main principles of Indo-Keltic Philology and of comparative Keltic grammar'.

Henebry's ambitions appear to have outrun either the ability or the tolerance of his pupils, or perhaps both. In this connexion the statistics may be allowed to speak for themselves. Broadly classifying Irish students into two groups, the data for attendance at the

Department's lectures in Henebry's time are as follows:⁸⁰

	<i>Ancient Irish</i>	<i>Modern Irish</i>
1909-10	26	4
1910-11	10	19
1911-12	6	26
1912-13	4	45
1913-14	4	41
1914-15	5	43

The trend was clearly away from the rigour of Henebry's classes to the shadier groves of O'Donoghue's material. The changing character of the Irish Department's syllabus after 1911, in which greater measures of post-seventeenth-century and even revival texts made their way into the curriculum confirms the shift in emphasis, Henebry did, however, succeed in making an impact on some of his charges. His influence is readily apparent in the writings of his student Seán Ó Cuirrín. The latter's account of the history of Ring College, *Psaltair na Rinne*,⁸¹ is cast in classic pseudo-archaic Irish of the type his mentor in Cork advocated. Robert Owen reached a tolerable degree of competence in the early language, and began to publish texts from the twelfth-century codex, the Book of Leinster.⁸² Individuals such as these were nevertheless in a strict minority.

One of the most pronounced alterations evident in Henebry's era is the substantial increase in student numbers taking Irish. The growth was undoubtedly due to the introduction of compulsion. This measure opened up employment prospects for graduates with a degree in the subject, especially in secondary schools, as the entire educational system began to experience the impact of the decision. The influence of the expansion was felt throughout the College in various ways. There was an increase in demand for library resources in Irish which were quite scarce up to this point. In Connellan's time some attempt had been made to keep holdings in Celtic up to date, and library expenditure in the area was cons-

tant throughout.⁸³ After his time acquisitions were decidedly more intermittent. To fill the lacuna, the College purchased the library of the distinguished French Celticist Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville (1827-1910) in 1913. Numbering some 700 volumes and including both textbooks and journals, it formed the nucleus of a working collection of the essentials in Celtic studies.⁸⁴

The greater number of undergraduates studying Irish meant that for the first time in the College's history, the subject had a coherent and extended interest group on campus. Formal expression was given to this reality when *An Chuallacht Ghaelach* was established in 1912.⁸⁵ The society, which remains in existence, was dedicated to the revival of Irish and to spreading Gaelic among the students. Regular meetings through the medium of Irish were held. Papers in the language discussing various topics of relevance to the tradition were read. Students prepared themselves for Gaelic inter-varsity debates with UCD, UCG and Queen's University, Belfast. Reports of its affairs were published in Irish in the student magazine. Few attempts were made to disguise the unabashedly nationalist character of the organization. Its *engagé* nature did not, however, hamper the enjoyment of occasions such as *céilís* or group outings to historic sites.

Henebry participated in the work of *An Chuallacht* and of other student bodies. At one meeting of the Philosophical Society he played the fiddle to the delight of his audience.⁸⁶ Traditional music was one of his lifelong interests. This domain and not teaching attracted most of his energies during his period in Cork. In 1911 College agreed to fund an attempt to gather a collection of Irish music recorded directly from traditional players.⁸⁷ The project was placed under Henebry's supervision. Material was sought from exponents throughout Munster and especially in the Waterford area. Henebry made detailed annotations from this sound archive, and used its

evidence in conjunction with other sources in preparing an extended study of the Irish musical tradition. He was on the point of completing this undertaking when ill-health overtook him early in 1916. He had never been particularly firm since childhood, and his condition was aggravated as a result of contracting tuberculosis in the United States. Eccentric cures such as lying out on the damp banks of the River Lee by the western approaches to Cork city⁸⁸ did little to improve the situation. He died on 17 March 1916. The president and members of College staff attended his funeral in Waterford, bearing the recently-completed silver College Mace. This ended one of the least-remembered but nonetheless most unusual periods of pedagogical experimentation in the Department's history.

1916 - 1944

Henebry's death gave rise to the only vacancy in the chair of Irish at a constituent college of the NUI that was likely to arise for the foreseeable future. This consideration probably accounts for the large number of candidates, eight in all,⁸⁹ who applied for the Cork professorship when the post was advertised in September 1916. The calibre of the applicants was high. Established figures like the Revd F.W. O'Connell (better known by his pen-name *Conall Cearnach*) and historian Paul Walsh were on the list, which also included capable younger men such as Séamus Ó Searcaigh and Éamonn O'Toole. The contest ultimately resolved into a choice between a member of each of these groups. The representative of the latter category was Thomas Francis O'Rahilly (1883-1953).⁹⁰ A native of Listowel, Co. Kerry, he was educated locally and subsequently at Blackrock College, Co. Dublin, where Eamonn de Valera and the writer Pádraic Ó Conaire were among his classmates.⁹¹ Later at UCD he studied under the famous Jesuit authority on Irish, Edmund Hogan. His secondary school and undergrad-

uate academic achievements were of the highest order. In 1912 he enhanced a growing reputation for accurate research by producing a journal entitled *Gadelica*, devoted to the scientific study of Modern Irish language, literature and traditions. O'Rahilly received the unanimous endorsement of the scholarly community in his application for Cork. The list of his supporters reads like the 'Who's Who' of contemporary Irish and international academics in the field of Celtic studies, — Osborn Bergin, Richard Best of the National Library, Robin Flower of the British Museum and London University, Edmund Quiggin of Cambridge, Fred Norris Robinson of Harvard, Carl Marstrander of Oslo, and the grand old man of Gaelic letters, Canon Peter O'Leary. One of O'Rahilly's aims, if appointed to Cork, would be 'to train up' a band of young researchers.

O'Rahilly was not to have an opportunity to realize this ambition, however, and the course of Irish studies in Cork thereby took a different direction. Though evidently a man of great promise, at the relatively youthful age of thirty-three he as yet lacked the elusive quality of eminence which was deemed to be a prerequisite for the appointment. It was felt that of all the candidates only one could fulfill this requirement as well as satisfy the other criteria. This was Tadhg O'Donoghue (1874-1919),⁹² better known in his own day by his nom-de-plume *Torna*. A native of Carraig na bhFear, Torna like his brother Éamonn was trained as a national teacher, and found employment in Dublin. He availed of the opportunity to develop two of his major interests while in the capital. The first was the revival and cultivation of the Irish language and its traditions, issues which had engaged his attention since childhood. To this end he joined the Gaelic League and worked in its famous Keating Branch.⁹³ By the late 1890s he had become one of the organization's most prominent members. He submitted entries for the League's

literary competitions, and later acted as an adjudicator in the same.⁹⁴ He promoted the translation of the best of other European literatures into Irish as a means of extending the powers of expression of the latter.⁹⁵ He also took part in Irish language drama productions, in which capacity he toured with Gaelic League groups to various parts of the country. In addition to these activities Torna familiarized himself with the great Dublin collections of Irish manuscripts, particularly those of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College. He produced pioneering editions of the works of seventeenth and eighteenth-century poets, particularly from Munster and more especially from his home county. In the years 1902-09 he acted as editor of the *Gaelic Journal*, the flagship of contemporary periodicals, and was chosen as Professor of Irish in St Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra, in 1905. Support for Torna came from those with whom he had worked closely during his days in the capital. Figures intimately involved and identified with the revival movement chiefly endorsed his candidature for the Cork professorship. These included Douglas Hyde and the Revd Patrick Dinneen with whom he collaborated in editing the poems of Aogán Ó Rathaille. While Torna did receive some backing from academics *pur sang*, his support from scholars was not as pronounced as in the case of O'Rahilly. The difficulty to which the presence of two brothers in the same department might give rise was also considered but not regarded as an obstacle to Torna's selection.

Torna quickly set his own stamp on the teaching of Irish in Cork.⁹⁶ Henebry's preference for imparting an archaized form of the language was abandoned. In fact the teaching of Old Irish was almost completely eliminated from the BA programme, and was instead transferred to the syllabus for the BA in Celtic Studies and to the MA requirements. Torna gradually filled the courses with the works with which he was most conversant.



TADHG Ó DONNCHADHA (TORNA)
1874-1949

These included the poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a large complement of the texts of contemporary Irish writers such as Canon O'Leary and An Seabhad. Modern Irish adaptations, frequently bowdlerized, of early Irish sagas and the like were the means whereby pre-twelfth-century Irish literature was explored.

The course of events in Ireland in the opening years of the 1920s enhanced the revival trends evident within the Department from the syllabus implemented between 1916 and 1920. The restoration of the Irish language to the position of the country's vernacular became an object of national priority. The principal vehicle for the execution of this policy was to be the educational system.⁹⁷ Numbering committed revivalists among its ranks, Cork's Celtic Faculty actively embraced this ideal. At a meeting of the Faculty held on

8 November 1921,⁹⁸ the likelihood of an increased demand for facilities in Celtic Studies was perceived. Those present decided to promote the aim of having all university subjects taught through Irish. This measure would dictate the Faculty's vision of its responsibility over the next twenty years, and have a significant impact on the life of the College and the community.

The Gaelicization of the educational process was first undertaken in the Irish Department itself. In the academic year 1921-22 all instruction in the Department took place through the medium of Irish.⁹⁹ Shortly afterwards the Department extended its efforts outwards by initiating a course for secondary teachers who would be required to instruct the language at their own level under the new dispensation, but who lacked a formal qualification in the subject. A diploma known as *An Barántas Gaedhilge* was awarded to those who successfully completed the programme.¹⁰⁰ Students of the *Barántas* were encouraged to attend summer courses in Irish held in July under the auspices of the Celtic Faculty in conjunction with the Department of Education in Dublin. Irish and other subjects through the medium thereof were taught during this month. Among the latter, History, Geography, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics and Domestic Science were the most common. Secondary and Vocational teachers mainly attended, and the courses were held between 1922 and 1929. Staff from both within and outside UCC acted as instructors. Individuals such as Daniel Corkery, T.F. O'Rahilly, Mons. Pádraig de Brún and others participated in the work of the school. Those responsible for the courses 'hoped to make the College a veritable Gaoltacht' during July by providing traditional storytellers and Irish music for the entertainment of the students.¹⁰¹

Torna and his colleagues aimed at encouraging writing in Irish. The Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin Prize, commemorating a nineteenth-

century Cork scribe and poet,¹⁰² was established in 1918 for this purpose, and declared open to graduates of the College of not more than two years' standing. The Prize would be awarded for merit in original composition in Gaelic, either prose or poetry. The Irish Department also undertook publication of a journal *Éarna* . . .¹⁰³ 'a magazine dealing in Irish with Art, Literature and the Sciences' to bolster other attempts to introduce the language to the sphere of education. It received articles from Daniel Corkery, language enthusiast Seoirse Mac Niocail (later to become Chief of the Inspectorate in the Department of Education) and staff members of different departments and disciplines in UCC. The publication circulated in the Cork area and was sent to locations as distant as Bonn and Cambridge, Massachusetts. A glossary explaining Irish versions of each subject's technical terms accompanied all numbers of the journal. *Éarna* brought out one of Seán Ó Faoláin's first serious attempts at a short story to appear in print,¹⁰⁴ as part of its stated policy to encourage the work of younger writers. The magazine also carried selections of his critical study of the life and compositions of the renowned seventeenth-century Gaelic poet Dáibhí Ó Bruadair.¹⁰⁵ Though now somewhat inaccessible and generally overlooked, each of these items supplies interesting evidence of Ó Faoláin's development in the early stages of his writing career.

Faced with a growth in its volume of work, the Celtic Faculty actively sought to increase the numbers of staff within the Irish Department and the hiring of lecturers in other disciplines — such as Commerce and the Sciences — who would teach their subjects through Irish. Approaches to the College authorities on these and related matters were frequently made during Torna's professorship. A great deal of the attention and energies of both parties was absorbed in the process. The thrust of the College's position appears to have been

that while it wished to accommodate, the burden of its financial constraints circumscribed its power of action. With regard to the other side, although the expansion of demands on its facilities seems to have justified the Irish Department's request for further resources, contemporary commentary suggests there were complicating factors in its case. The Kinsale-born scholar and revival figure Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh (1884-1960)¹⁰⁶ worked in the Department between 1923 and 1931. During this time as well as at other periods in his life he kept a diary which subsequently formed the nucleus of an unpublished autobiography.¹⁰⁷ In the latter source Ó Cadhlaigh claims it was difficult to distinguish between a genuine Irish Department proposal and one which served its members' self-interest. In his view suggestions were made in the guise of furthering a national objective which may have been the product of less ideal motivations.¹⁰⁸ The interplay of a number of contending forces thus meant that the raising of staffing and other issues was invariably complex. The following summary of these topics merely recounts the principal moments of what was in fact a protracted and involved saga in the history of College relationships. The events are surveyed from the perspective of the Irish Department,¹⁰⁹ to complement a review of the College's role as seen in official documentation.¹¹⁰

Ó Cadhlaigh's presence notwithstanding, the Department argued in 1924 that its establishment was still insufficient. This was particularly so in light of the fact that it wished to introduce a completely new programme for the BA in Celtic Studies, designed to cater for those using Irish in the Civil Service and other offices of state.¹¹¹ Torna made submissions to the UCC president in 1924 and again in 1926 outlining the Department's present and projected additional requirements. The 1924 figures may be cited here to indicate the changing ratio of the 1920s:

Number of Students (Session 1923-24)

I Pass	69
I Hons	26
II Pass	38
II Hons	18
III Pass	20
III Hons	6
Scholars	24
Ag. Students	9
I Pass Teachers	32
II Pass Teachers	23
Total	265 ¹¹²

Torna wished to see Éamonn's part-time lectureship made full-time, and pressed for the hiring of an extra assistant. Advances were made in 1927 when Torna's and Éamonn's salaries were increased, and in ancillary areas five assistantships for the teaching of Education, History and Geography (Combined), Mathematics, Chemistry and Experimental Physics through Irish were instituted. The fact that there was no actual enlargement of the Irish Department's staffing was not however considered satisfactory. Much ill-feeling arose in 1928-9 when the Department's request to have College provide it with the use of a typewriter and the services of a full-time secretary was refused. Torna and Éamonn occupied a room not intended for the Irish Department in protest at the neglect of their needs. This action drew down the wrath of President Merriman and the ire of the Registrar, Alfred O'Rahilly, who until then had been favourably disposed towards the O'Donoghues. O'Rahilly's change of heart was to prove significant around this time. Ó Cadhlaigh claims that the Registrar was instrumental in having his brother Thomas Francis appointed to a Research Professorship in Gaelic Languages funded by the government in 1929. Ó Cadhlaigh suggests that in the representations made prior to the establishment of the new post, it had been hoped that

the outcome would result in Torna becoming Professor of Old Irish and Éamonn of Modern Irish. An additional setback to fraternal ambitions occurred early in 1930 when, on the basis of a sterling teaching and publication record, Ó Cadhlaigh was promoted to the elevated grade of Statutory Lecturer in advance of Éamonn O'Donoghue. The brothers were also disappointed with a majority decision of their colleagues in the Celtic Faculty and of the Academic Council generally in 1929 concerning the following matter. These bodies resolved not to impose a rule that new appointees to positions in the College be required to demonstrate a knowledge of Irish. The advice of a committee which had recently been formed to consider the status of Irish in UCC was that competence in the language be made a prerequisite for appointment.

The Irish Department's dissatisfaction at the perceived lack of support both for its activities and for the cause of Irish in the College was expressed in its most decisive form in 1932. In that year Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh left UCC to take up a post as successor to Douglas Hyde in the chair of Modern Irish at UCD. At a meeting on 13 October 1932 the Cork Celtic Faculty

recommend the postponement of any appointment in the Irish Department until the general position of Irish in the College has been enquired into by a special committee; and that the Executive Committee of Saorstát Éireann be invited to send representatives to constitute with representatives of the College that Special Committee.

The Celtic Faculty was thereby responsible for a significant measure of direct government intervention in College affairs, as the foregoing resolution led to the formation of the committee so described. The committee's report¹¹³ was by and large critical of the treatment of Irish in College. It recommended that Irish be made the medium of College communication through measures such as posting official notices in the language and hiring Irish-

speaking administrative and maintenance staff. It suggested establishing a permanent group of academics to study means of spreading the language throughout the campus. It proposed that T.F. O'Rahilly's research professorship be abolished and transferred to Dublin, as no significant benefits to Cork students had resulted from it.

The Celtic Faculty found itself in general agreement with these points, and acted immediately on one specific issue raised. The government report commented on the unfavourable status of Old Irish as a component of the BA course. In 1933 the Department secured the services of an expert in this area. Séamus Kavanagh (*ob.* 1989), a native speaker from Dunquin, Co. Kerry, was trained in UCD by such renowned scholars as Osborn Bergin and Eoin Mac Neill.¹¹⁴ He had recently acquired an extensive formation in Celtic and Indo-European philology in Bonn where the award of the NUI's Travelling Studentship had taken him in the early 1930s. Kavanagh returned to Ireland with a comprehensive knowledge of the early language, as well as a special competence in Old Irish lexicography. His arrival in Cork placed the teaching of early Irish and the study of the Celtic languages in general on a sounder footing than before in the history of the Department. His presence brought the staff complement to four. In 1932 Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (*ob.* 1970),¹¹⁵ a graduate of UCC, was recruited to fill the vacancy created by Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh's departure. Ó Cuilleanáin's main interest was in the history of Irish literature. His years as a teacher of Gaelic in the celebrated North Monastery Secondary School, Cork, had also given him considerable experience as an instructor in Modern Irish. He was furthermore a deeply-committed revivalist.

Even with this increase in staff, Torna submitted that the workload remained excessive. His outline of conditions obtaining in 1934-5 ran thus:¹¹⁶

Proportion of students taking Irish is rapidly increasing. Out of about 900 students in College during 1934-5, 309 attended Irish lectures. These were drawn from the following Faculties:

Arts 215, Commerce 74, Science (1st Yr only) 18,

Dairy Science (1st Year only) 1, Celtic Studies 1. Some classes had to be subdivided. One Lecturer was completely responsible for 139 students, another for 110.

There were also the recommendations of the Joint Committee for the Promotion of Irish in College¹¹⁷ to be considered. This body among other suggestions proposed that UCC hire two *seanchaís* to be available for students at suitable times during College sessions. It hoped that College would provide a 'skilled instructor for Gaelic round-dances for a short period at beginning of year so that College Gaelic dances should not continue to be shunned by large numbers of students unable to do the Gaelic dances'. Torna unceasingly petitioned for funding of these various enterprises. He made representations to the College president, to the Secretary of the Department of Education and directly to Eamonn de Valera between 1937 and 1938¹¹⁸ up to the eve of de Valera's departure to London to recover the ports. No further advances were however secured.

The Irish Department moved to strengthen the position of the language in College and community by other means. In 1925 on the recommendation of the Celtic Faculty, the Governing Body issued a request for public aid in the formation of a collection of Gaelic manuscripts. The new archive was intended to assist teaching and research in the College.¹¹⁹ The measure led to the acquisition of the greater part of UCC's Irish manuscript material, which now comprises some two hundred items.¹²⁰ Torna took a particular interest in one document which, though not of a traditional kind, was based on such matter. This was the manuscript of Henebry's unpublished study of Irish music, which employed the

recordings of the sound archive mentioned above. Torna enlisted the aid of a number of authorities in the music world, including Séamus Clandillon (1878-1944) of the recently founded radio station 2RN, in preparing Henebry's work for the press.¹²¹ The volume entitled *A Handbook of Irish Music* appeared in 1930. Whatever its theoretical and other limits, it remains one of the few full-length explorations of its theme. Members of the Irish Department assisted in the establishment of a different sound archive from 1926 onwards. The government sponsored a project of taking recordings of Irish speech from districts where Gaelic was still spoken as a living language. The records were made according to a process perfected by Dr Wilhelm Doegen of the Prussian State Library's Sound Department in Berlin. The Royal Irish Academy directed the project in Ireland. UCC's Irish Department co-operated with the Academy by selecting speakers of various Munster dialects and arranging to have them come to Cork and other locations to be interviewed.¹²² Department members contributed to the work of other government agencies dealing with Irish, such as the Gaeltacht Commission¹²³ and *An Gúm*, the state-supported organization responsible for publication in Gaelic.¹²⁴

A varied body of research was conducted in the Department. Torna published elementary handbooks of modern Irish metrics as well as an important edition of mainly sixteenth/seventeenth-century bardic poetry.¹²⁵ While verse was always his primary interest, during his professorship he edited two extensive works chiefly in prose. One was the famous Diary of Toirdhealbhach Ó Mealláin,¹²⁶ the Franciscan priest who acted as chaplain to Sir Felim O'Neill and kept an account of his deeds in the wars of Leinster and Ulster between 1641 and 1647. The other was a voluminous collection of Munster genealogies and traditional lore.¹²⁷ Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh produced well-known guides to

various branches of the literature.¹²⁸ His handbook of Irish usage *Gnás na Gaedhilge* (1940), still a helpful source of information on Irish syntax, was based on the results of language teaching in UCC. His edition of the Fermanagh genealogies from a nineteenth-century manuscript in St Colman's College, Fermoy, consolidated his reputation for quality research.¹²⁹ Éamonn O'Donoghue's work consisted principally of the writing of scientific texts in Irish for use in schools. Séamus Kavanagh concentrated his research on the production of early Irish dictionaries.¹³⁰ Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin spent the period of the 1930s examining the background to the Irish historical compilation known as the 'Dublin Annals of Innisfallen'.¹³¹ Exchange of information on these topics took place between Cork researchers and scholars elsewhere. Torna communicated with a range of academic colleagues outside Cork. These included the leading figures of contemporary scholarship, T.F. O'Rahilly, J.G. O'Keefe, Robin Flower, Gerard Murphy, Myles Dillon and others.¹³² Many of these submitted articles to his *festschrift* in honour of Torna's retirement in 1944.¹³³

The generation which learned Irish in the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties arguably achieved the best command of the language realized to date in this century. The prevailing cultural climate which favoured the restoration and use of Gaelic helped in this regard. Nonetheless a major share of credit must go to teaching bodies like UCC's Irish Department for the amount of day-to-day effort expended in contributing towards the situation. While there was achievement at a general level, fortunes were otherwise when it came to more advanced stages of development. There does appear to be some evidence to suggest that the talents of the brightest scholars may not have been nurtured to their full potential. The yardstick in this case is perhaps crude, but it is nevertheless an effective measure of performance in the university context. Few UCC

students were successful in NUI competitions involving Irish. These include the Mansion House Fund Scholarship, established to commemorate the First Dáil (based on the results of an examination held in conjunction with the Autumn Honours BA), and also the Travelling Studentships in Irish and Celtic Studies, postgraduate awards of a number of years' duration, enabling a student to pursue academic training overseas. Only three Cork candidates won the Mansion House scholarship in the time indicated, while no UCC student was awarded the Irish or Celtic Travelling Studentship outright in the same period.¹³⁴

The reasons for College's lack of advancement in these areas are difficult to determine, and probably involve a number of factors. Seán Ó Faoláin's experience, for instance, may be instructive. He did both undergraduate and postgraduate study in Irish at Cork in the nineteen-twenties. Ó Faoláin queried the emphasis placed on the substandard productions of twentieth-century revival writers at UCC. He argued that students should have had greater exposure to the masterpieces of the early literature as a means of enriching their appreciation of the culture, and of developing their analytic faculties.¹³⁵ Even if the Irish Department had been in a position to prepare its better charges more assiduously, it may have been felt that this would represent a questionable priority in the circumstances of the time. Career opportunities for those capable of becoming professional scholars were scarce. University College Irish Departments remained small. Other locations such as the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies which later provided an employment outlet for academics in Irish were not established until the nineteen-forties or afterwards.¹³⁶

CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to show the main lines of the evolution of Celtic and Irish in QCC and UCC in the years examined. While Irish and

the other Celtic languages continue to be taught in College since the mid-nineteen-forties, the latter period has not yet properly passed into history. Thus the narrative of recent decades will be dealt with more appropriately in future. Within its temporal frame of reference, the principal interests of the present study have been the relevant department dealing with Irish, together with issues of staffing, library services and the like. Although such topics are precise by nature, they are not without a broader context. Two specific considerations stand out in this connexion. It is interesting to note how clearly the Irish Department's history reflects the circumstances of the age at any given time. In tandem with this, the same history adds a dimension to our understanding of phases of Ireland's recent past. Owen Connellan was elected to the Celtic professorship at the high-point of mid-nineteenth century advances in Celtic studies. Despite his success in establishing a reasonable curriculum, however, his subject languished for the want of adequate support. Its decline mirrored the eclipse of Irish in both scholarly circles and the world at large characteristic of the third quarter of the last century in this country. Bergin's arrival at College heralded the dawn of a cultural renaissance destined wittingly or no to play a pivotal role in national affairs from then on. Henebry's presence illustrates the complexity of the Irish revival itself, fragmented not alone in a political sense but also as regards the methods of implementing language restoration. Torna's tenure of office almost exactly corresponds with the powerful hegemony of Irish Ireland in the life of the fledgling Free State, an ascendancy also identified with Daniel Corkery, his colleague and frequent collaborator at UCC. The story of one segment of College life may therefore be seen to have wider reaches than its narrow focus would at

first appear to allow. It suggests that a similar treatment of other UCC departments in particular, and of the various NUI colleges in general, should cast valuable light on this central, largely unexplored, aspect of the Irish educational system. The outlines of the system have of course been well sketched,¹³⁷ but its various shades and hues must yet be brought out to give the picture its full living colour.

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NOTES

- 1 D.H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment* (London, 1970) employs this term (p.383).
- 2 The most concise account of these developments remains J.F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (2nd ed., New York, 1966) pp. 48-69. See E.G. Quin 'Irish Studies' in T. Ó Raifeartaigh ed., *The Royal Irish Academy: a bicentennial history 1785-1985* (Dublin, 1985) pp. 166-87 for the important contribution of this society. O. MacDonagh, *States of Mind* (London, 1983) pp. 104-25 offers a recent assessment of pre-Famine ascendancy interest in Irish.
- 3 For Belfast see Breandán Ó Buachalla, *I mBéal Feirste cois cuain* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1968).
- 4 Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí* Baile Átha Cliath, 1982) [hereafter *Scríobh Chorc.*] explores this tradition.
- 5 M. MacSweeney and J. Reilly, 'The Cork Cuvierian Society', *JCHAS* lxiii (1958) 9-14.
- 6 *Scríobh. Chorc.*, p. 189.
- 7 See S.F. Pettit, *The Queen's College Cork: Its Origin and Early History 1803-1858* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, UCC 1973).
- 8 Pádraig de Brún furnishes detailed discussions of the affairs of these organizations: 'Scriptural Instruction in Irish: a Controversy of 1830-31' in P. de Brún *et al.* eds., *Folia Gadelica* (Cork, 1983) pp. 134-59; *idem*, 'The Irish Society's Bible Teachers, 1818-27', *Éigse* xix (1983) 281-232, xx (1984) 34-92, xxi (1986) 72-149, xxii (1987) 54-106.
- 9 R.B. McDowell and D.A. Webb, *Trinity College, Dublin 1592-1952* (Cambridge 1982) pp. 189-191.
- 10 See T.W. Moody and J.C. Beckett, *Queen's, Belfast 1845-1919* (London, 1959) vol. i, p. 42.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-59.
- 12 Donal A. Ketr, *Peel, Priests and Politics* (Oxford, 1982) pp. 290-351, discusses aspects of this opposition.
- 13 Moody and Beckett, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 47-77, give evidence of Clarendon's role in the formation of the university.
- 14 See below p. 94 for details.
- 15 É. de hÓir, *Seán Ó Donnabháin agus Eoghan Ó Combraí* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1962) provides an account of his life.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 17 For a concise summary of his life see J.M. Ternan, *Here's to their memory* (Cork, 1972) pp. 120-23. I am indebted to my colleague Dr Roibeárd Ó hÚrdail for this reference.
- 18 In December 1848 his benefactor Lord George Hill (1801-79) wrote to Connellan stating 'It will give me much pleasure to hear that you succeed in obtaining the Irish Professorship at Belfast' (State Paper Office, Official Papers 1839, 255; permission to publish gratefully acknowledged). For Connellan's involvement with Hill see P. de Brún and M. Herbert, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1986) xx-xxi.
- 19 De hÓir, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3.
- 20 On the legacy of Young Ireland see F.S.L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (London, 1973) pp. 104-12.
- 21 See Marcus Bourke, *John O'Leary* (Tralee, 1967) pp. 29-30 and 238, note 16.
- 22 These and other names are found in the List of Subscribers to his *Gospel of St John*. Connellan received support from the antiquarian Sir William Betham (1779-1835) whose work he greatly admired. The latter visited the Cork area in early 1831, and wrote a report on his visit (dated 12 April) to Thomas Crofton Croker (1798-1854). Part of the account makes interesting reading in light of the later history of UCC: 'I drove in a jaunting car to Cove, by the North Bank of the river, and was much delighted with the scenery, but I cannot approve of Mr Smith Barry's taste in fixing his residence on the flat and swampy island of Foaty. Perhaps he likes to *look on*, and not be the *passive* by being *looked at*. To me Foaty is like the situation of Tantalus, so beautiful in its neighbourhood it alone is flat, marshy and disagreeable except to our friend Vigass' swimmers divers and waders and others of the web-footed (feathers *cancelled*) and scaly people' (Croker Correspondence, Cork City Library, IV No. 9; the Library's permission to publish gratefully acknowledged).

- 23 Sample examinations and Connellan's professorial reports are found in various *Reports of the President of Queen's College, Cork*, especially for the years 1856-57, 1858-63.
- 24 Irish text and translation by William Hali-day (Dublin, 1811).
- 25 Edited and translated by Eugene O'Curry (Dublin, 1855).
- 26 Published in Dublin in 1860. For a recent study of the work see Seán Ó Coileáin, *Ériu* xx-viii (1977) 32-70.
- 27 Information about the composition of Connellan's student audience may be compiled from such sources as the *President's Reports*, nineteenth-century *QCC Calendars* (which publish names of graduates together with the area in which degrees were awarded) and Class Roll-books. I failed to locate the detailed pre-1867 College Registration Book in UCC archives.
- 28 Patrick O'Herlihy, who studied with Connellan at QCC 1858-60, supplied him with details of Torna Ms 12, now in UCC Library. See P. de Brún, *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí: Cnuasach Thorna* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1967) i, 44.
- 29 The names of some six QCC students and graduates associated with Connellan occur in the organization's list of members for 1860 published in Connellan ed., op. cit., pp. 327-37.
- 30 See Douglas Hyde, 'George Sigerson', *Studies* xiv (March, 1925) 1-18, and also Diarmuid Breatnach and Máire Ní Mhurchú eds., *Beathaisnéis a hAon 1882-1982* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1986) pp. 112-3 (hereafter *Beathaisnéis*).
- 31 The information is based on the data given in the *QCC President's Reports* for the relevant years. Figures in parentheses in col. 2 are the numbers Connellan claims in his professorial accounts attended his lectures in the years in question. Average attendance at College at the time was c. 200 students p.a.
- 32 See Bryan A. Cody, *The River Lee, Cork and the Corkomans* (London, 1859) 54-55. I thank Prof. Seán Ó Coileáin for this reference.
- 33 *Reports of the President of Queen's College, Galway* for the years in question.
- 34 For this remark see work cited in next note, *Minutes of Evidence* 23.
- 35 *Report of her majesty's commissioners appointed to inquire into the progress and condition of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway* H.C. 1857-8 [2413], xxi, pp. 53-572.
- 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
- 37 Ternan, op. cit., p. 23.
- 38 For Sullivan see *JCHAS* x (1904) 236-41.
- 39 *DNB* provides a summary account of this figure.
- 40 Blennerhassett outlined his views in *University Education in England, France and Germany, with special reference to the needs of Ireland* (London, 1898). This was his inaugural address delivered at QCC.
- 41 M. Ní Mhuiríosa, *Réambhchonraitheoirí* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1968) pp. 12 ff., details the fortunes of this organization and its publication.
- 42 *Gaelic Journal* [hereafter *GJ*] II, 52.
- 43 *Ibid.*, iv, 239.
- 44 For this figure see *Béaloideas* iii (1932) 409-12. (I thank Dr Roibeárd Ó hÚrdail for this reference); *Beathaisnéis*, pp. 83-4.
- 45 *GJ* iv, 157-60, 162-65.
- 46 I am grateful to Seán Uas. Mac Mathúna, Ard-Rúnaí Chonradh na Gaeilge, for confirming this date from the League's Register of Branches, Clár na gCraobh.
- 47 For a succinct account of the organization see Seán Ó Tuama ed., *The Gaelic League Idea* (Cork, 1973). Donncha Ó Súilleabháin, *Cath na Gaeilgè sa Chóras Oideachais 1893-1911* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1988), provides an overview of the League's early influence on the Irish educational system relevant to this and the following section of the present study.
- 48 S. Mac Mathúna and R. Mac Gabhann, *Conradh na Gaeilge agus an tOideachas Aosach* (Gaillimh, 1981) pp. 37-50, chronicle the progress of this teaching approach in late nineteenth-century Ireland.
- 49 Gerard Murphy, *Studies* xxxix (1950) 385-94, supplemented by Daniel A. Binchy, *Osborn Bergin* (Dublin, 1970) provide information on Bergin's

- career. I thank the late Mr Sam McCutcheon for helpful references to Bergin's family background.
- 50 Dubhghlas de hÍde, *Mise agus an Connradh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1931) pp. 174-5, publishes an undated letter from Bergin in which the latter acknowledges the influence Hyde's publications had on his decision to learn Irish; cf. M. Dillon, 'Douglas Hyde', in Conor Cruise O'Brien ed., *The Shaping of Modern Ireland* (London, 1960) pp. 50-62, especially p. 55. I thank Prof. John V. Kelleher for the latter reference.
- 51 For Ridgeway see *DNB* and *Proc. Brit Acad.*, xii (1926).
- 52 Much of his poetry was included in the anthology *Maidean i mBéarra agus Dánta Eile* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1918).
- 53 Council Minutes, (V, 523). In *Cath na Gaeilge* p. 43, Donncha Ó Súilleabháin also draws attention to movements within QCC to have Celtic established in the College.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 551-52. (Wed. June 9).
- 55 *Ibid.*, vi, 8. In the correspondence cited above, *Mise agus an Connradh* pp. 174-5, Bergin thanks Hyde for a glowing testimonial which may have successfully influenced the outcome of his application for the QCC lectureship.
- 56 Information from the QCC Registration Book for the relevant years.
- 57 Council Minutes, vii, 16.
- 58 On this figure see Monica Taylor, *Sir Bertram Windle: A Memoir* (London, 1932).
- 59 Council Minutes, vii, 100. For O'Donoghue see *UCC Record* 6 (Easter 1946) 21-22; *ibid.*, 28 (Summer, 1953) 4; *Beathaisnéis*, p. 64.
- 60 P. Ó hAnnracháin, *Fé Bhrat an Chonnartha* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1944) pp. 530-31.
- 61 Council Minutes, vii, 110.
- 62 See *RUI Calendar* (Dublin, 1905) pp. 51, 60, 76, for details of the Celtic undergraduate programme.
- 63 Council Minutes, vii, 170.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- 66 T.J. McElligott, *Secondary Education in Ireland 1870-1921* (Dublin, 1981) pp. 154-55, discusses the circumstances of Irish in these schools.
- 67 J.J. Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society* (Dublin, 1973) pp. 31-4, provides a succinct account of the evolving ethos of the Queen's Colleges.
- 68 Reported in the student periodical *Q.C.C.* 1 no. 1 (April 1905) 17.
- 69 Council Minutes, vii, 91.
- 70 T.J. Morrissey, *Towards a National University: William Delany S.J. [1835-1924]* (Dublin, 1983), especially Part III, pp. 157 ff., considers this phenomenon.
- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 324.
- 72 *Q.C.C.* Vol. V, No. 1 (Dec. 1908) 4.
- 73 Morrissey, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 340.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 341.
- 76 For this individual, see UCC's *Official Gazette* vi, 8 (June 1916) 173-75; *Éarna* i, 4 (March 1924) 1-10, ii, 5 (June 1924) 1-6; W.F.P. Stockley, *Essays in Irish Biography* (Cork, 1933) pp. 131-191 (I owe this reference to Prof. Seán Ó Coileáin). V. Power, 'Eugene O'Growney, Arizona, the Catholic University of America, and the Irish language revival', *Éire-Ireland* (Summer, 1987) 131-52. Selections from Henebry's writings were edited by Seán Ó Cuirín in *Scríbhne Risteird de hIndeberg* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1924).
- 77 *GJ* iv, 141-44.
- 78 For Henebry's stirring necrology of Zimmer see *The Irish Educational Review* IV, 5 (Feb. 1911) 257-73. (I thank Prof. Pádraig Ó Riain for this reference.)
- 79 The courses may be reviewed in the *UCC Calendar* 1910-11, pp. 70-72.
- 80 *UCC President's Report 1914-15*, p. 18.
- 81 Published in Dublin in 1934.
- 82 See *Ivernian Soc. Journ.*, vii (1915) 147-55.
- 83 For details of the Celtic volumes present in - QCC in the early days of the College see *Catalogue of the Library of Queen's College Cork 1860* (Dublin, 1860) pp. 97, 124; also the Irish history

- section, *ibid.*, 142-44, which contains relevant matter.
- 84 Notes on the acquisition and on some of the contents of the library may be found in *Official Gazette* iii, 9 (July 1913) 71 and *ibid.*, iv, 10 (Dec. 1913) 79-80.
- 85 For the foundation of *An Chnullacht* see the student magazine *The Quarryman* i, 1 (Dec. 1913) 17-18. The same periodical published the society's proceedings on a reasonably regular basis.
- 86 Reported in the student magazine *Q.C.C.*, vii, 3 (March 1911) 90.
- 87 *Official Gazette* i, 1 (Jan. 1911) 7. Some of the recordings made under this scheme are still in the UCC Library.
- 88 Stockley, p. 144.
- 89 The applications and testimonials of each candidate are extant. They occur in UCC manuscript archive U 115, box 61. U 115 is a collection of the personal papers of Tadhg O'Donoghue (for whom see below, note 92). Box numbers only will be given for this extensive source which remains uncatalogued. I hope to publish a summary description of its contents in due course.
- 90 For a brief account of his career see *UCC Record*, 29 (Summer 1954) 12-13.
- 91 See S.P. Farragher, *Dev and His Alma Mater* (Dublin, 1984) 20-21. (I thank my colleague Pádraigín Riggs for this reference).
- 92 For a brief account of Torna's life see *UCC Record*, 17 (Christmas 1949) 16-17; *Beathaisnéis* pp. 64-5.
- 93 P. Ó Conluain and Donncha Ó Céileachair in *An Duinníneach* (Baile Átha Cliath 1958) pp. 148-53, summarize the activities of this branch.
- 94 For Torna's involvement with League contests see Donncha Ó Súilleabháin, *Scéal an Oibreachtais* (Baile Átha Cliath 1983) pp. 30, 66 etc.
- 95 Bridget M.A. Hurley 'Gnéithe d' Athbheochan na Filíochta ó 1882 go dtí 1921' (unpublished MA thesis, UCC 1976) 88-113, offers an assessment of Torna's contribution to the development of revival verse.
- 96 Torna's syllabus may be consulted in the *UCC Calendar* from 1917 onwards.
- 97 For this see Pádraigín Ní Cheallaigh, 'An Ghaeilge sa Chóras Oideachais 1919-1929' in *Teagasc na Gaeilge*, iv (1984-85) 113-32. For the more general background see T. Brown, *Ireland A Social and Cultural History* (Glasgow 1981) pp. 45-78.
- 98 The minutes of the Celtic Faculty meetings from 1916 to 1985 are kept in an unpaginated ledger. References are therefore confined to the date of a particular meeting, and are cited in the text of the paper itself.
- The Celtic Faculty consisted of the Irish Department and from time to time those of Music, Irish History, Archaeology and others. As the Irish Department was normally the dominant force, the terms 'Celtic Faculty' and 'Irish Department' may be regarded as broadly synonymous unless differentiated.
- 99 See *UCC Calendar* for this year for details.
- 100 Particulars of the *Barántas* programme are spread throughout various cartons of U 115, e.g. boxes 30 and 101. See also *UCC Calendar 1923-24*, 146 a-b.
- 101 Details of the Summer School are also to be found in U 115 especially boxes 25-27, 48-51, 85, 96. These cartons contain curricula and attendance sheets.
- 102 For Ó Longáin see *Scríobh Chorc.*, pp. 91-133.
- 103 *Éarna* ran from March 1922 to Christmas 1925.
- 104 The story entitled 'Prendergast' appeared in *Éarna*, ii, 5 (May 1924) 12-16.
- 105 *Ibid.*, ii, 3 (March 1925) 26-33; ii, 4 (Christmas 1925) 14-17.
- 106 For Ó Cadhlaigh see *UCC Record*, 36 (Easter 1961) 21, 51-56, and Mairéad Ní Craith, *An tOileánach Léannta* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1988) pp. 29-32.
- 107 I am grateful to Esther Bean Uí Dhonnchú, Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh's daughter, for allowing me to consult this work which is entitled 'Scoláire Bocht: mar is fearr is cuimhin liom'.
- 108 'Scoláire Bocht' Section iv, 843-50. Future mention of this autobiography in the text refers to the portion of the work cited here.

- 109 Documentary evidence is available in UCC manuscript archive U 215. This is a collection of some eight cartons, the personal papers of Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (for whom see below, note 115). The source is uncatalogued. The narrative on pp. 103-105 of this paper is based on items found in U 215 box 1. Because the material awaits classification, few detailed references are supplied in what follows.
- 110 Dr Brian Girvin's Study, 'The Impact of Independence on University College Cork 1919-1943' (in preparation) outlines the official College perspective on this matter. I thank him for allowing me to consult it in advance of publication.
- 111 The substance of the programme appears in *UCC Calendar 1925-26*, pp. 229-33.
- 112 Additional classes for staff were also taught in this year.
- 113 Dr Brian Girvin's article, loc. cit., summarizes the report in detail.
- 114 See *UCC Record*, 47 (1972) 35-6 for a brief sketch of his career.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 41 (1966) 26 and 46 (1971) 53.
- 116 U 215 box 1.
- 117 The minutes of the meetings of this body, founded at the behest of the government report, occur in U 215 box 2.
- 118 Extensive correspondence involving all parties appears in U 215 boxes 1-2.
- 119 The brochure requesting public aid is in U 215 box 2.
- 120 Dr Breandán Ó Conchúir is currently completing a catalogue of the manuscripts.
- 121 Details of the preparation may be found in U 115 boxes 15b, 17, 24, 31, 93, 106.
- 122 See Royal Irish Academy, *Abstract of Minutes* (Session 1928-29) [Dublin, 1929] 19-29 for particulars. (I owe this reference to Dr Roibeárd Ó hÚrdail). Additional information regarding the project occurs in U 115 boxes 18 and 76.
- 123 Torna and Éamonn O'Donoghue gave evidence to this body in 1925. (For references to the Commission documents see P. and G. Ford, *Select List of Reports of Inquiries of the Irish Dáil and Senate 1922-72* [Dublin, 1974] 52).
- 124 A letter dated 15 Sept. 1927 inviting Torna to become a member of An Gúm occurs in U 115 box 18. Agenda documents and proceedings of the organization's meetings are in the same box.
- 125 *Prosóid Gaedhilge* (Cork, 1925); *Bhéarsaidheacht Gaedhilge* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1936); *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1931).
- 126 *Analecta Hibernica* 3 (1931) 1-61.
- 127 *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1940).
- 128 For instance his *Cormac mac Airt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1927).
- 129 *Analecta Hibernica* 3 (1931) 62-150.
- 130 For details of Kavanagh's publications in this area, chiefly his contributions to Hessen's *Irishes Lexicon*, see R.I. Best, *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Manuscript Literature* (Dublin, 1942) 5; for his lexical notes see R. Baumgarten, *Bibliography of Irish Linguistics and Literature 1942-71* (Dublin, 1986) pp. 45, 69, 159, 163, 246, 263, 561, 682. These bibliographies may also be consulted to supplement the sketch of other staff members' academic publications outlined above.
- 131 See S. Pender ed., *Féilsgríbhinn Torna* (Cork, 1947).
- 132 For this correspondence see U 115 boxes 21, 28, 53, 55, 93.
- 133 See note 131 above for details of this volume.
- 134 Data on these awards may be found in *NUJ University Honours* (Dublin, 1975).
- 135 Ó Faoláin's articles on contemporary Irish language problems were published in four parts in *The Irish Tribune*, 9-23 July 1926.
- 136 For parliamentary papers on the establishment of the Dublin Institute see P. and G. Ford op. cit., p. 51.
- 137 For which see John Coolahan, *Irish Education: its history and structure* (Dublin, 1981).