

VI

THE PAMPHLETS CONSIDERED

Penelope Woods

Take a sheet of paper, demy, pot or royal, with eight pages printed on each side; fold it once, twice and a third time; stab-stitch along the back fold to hold it together—and you have a pamphlet, in its simplest form. A slightly longer text, and an extra half-sheet, or a second and third, folded to match, can be incorporated. The title-page must serve as cover for there is no binding. It is left to the title to bait the reader:

The ensanguined strand of Merrion: or, a stuffing for the pillow of those who could have prevented the recent calamity in the bay of Dublin

BY PHELIM O'FLANAGAN¹

*Simple and
inexpensive*

In terms of function, the pamphlet, being simple and inexpensive to produce, can be widely and cheaply disseminated. In a pastoral address of 1798 given by Bishop Moylan of Cork 'to his beloved flock',² the printer James Haly emphasised that the only genuine edition, sanctioned by the bishop, was published at the King's Arms (opposite the Exchange), and that it was being sold at the cheap rate of one penny, or at sixpence per dozen, to promote its general circulation throughout the country. The London Corresponding Society, which in 1794 was advocating parliamentary reform by 'peaceful discussion and not tumultuary violence' and which sent its approbation to Archibald Hamilton Rowan for his unshaken attachment to the Irish people, resolved after its public meeting of 14 April in that year to have 'two hundred thousand' copies printed of the day's proceedings and resolutions—an extraordinarily large number.³

Conversely, the pamphlet provides the means of circulating a small group of acquaintances with information of very local interest, without putting the author to too great an expense. With a discreet anonymity, 'Mr J.M.' put together a miscellany of poems and had them printed in Dublin in 1787 by an unnamed printer.⁴

He does show an unabashed enthusiasm while watching the marching Volunteers on St Patrick's Day.

It is commonly the role of the pamphlet to impart minutiae, providing the fine detail surrounding larger events, with an acuity of time and place. Consider the newspaper report of the Battle of Waterloo, which took place on 18 June 1815. The news as it appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of 28 June was devoted entirely to reports of military movements. In contrast, consider a description of the capture of Napoleon's carriage, late in the night, on the dark streets of Genappes after the fateful battle. As prized booty, the carriage was taken eventually to England and exhibited the following year at the London Museum in Piccadilly.⁵ For the exhibition, the dark blue travelling chariot, built in Brussels for Napoleon's campaign in Russia, is anatomised in detail: bullet-proof panels; undercarriage and springs of prodigious strength; a compact interior which served as kitchen, bedroom, dressing-room, office and dining-room; a marvelling of utensils in solid gold; compartments for maps, telescopes, swords, spurs and pistols; a camp bedstead of steel which took a minute to fold and packed into a leather case four inches square; coverlets of fine merino; ornamented stockings; a flesh-brush, morocco slippers, and a green velvet travelling cap.

*Fine detail:
an example
in the fall of
Napoleon*

In the same year, at Barker's Panorama in the Strand in London, a dome painting, theatrically lit, gave a bird's-eye view of the battle scene at Waterloo. It completely encircled the observer, who was given a printed description with an engraved print with which to identify participants.⁶ Robert Barker, who had begun the business in 1788, had earlier painted similarly panoramic views of great cities of the world, including Dublin.

Poems, plays and songs on Napoleon proliferated. 'Little Boney the grinder' was to be sung to the tune of 'Terry the grinder'. In Cork, the orientalist Edward Hincks anonymously published *Buonaparte: a poem*,⁷ drawing on a manuscript account of the battle by a friend. Another personal account of the battle (otherwise known as Mont-Saint-Jean) was published 'par un témoin oculaire' and offers a wearily philosophical French viewpoint, substantiated by a plan showing how the operation

stretched from Charleroi to Brussels, with a map appended illustrating the formation for battle.⁸

On Napoleon's death in 1822, Archibald Arnott, one of the doctors attending him, published 'a succinct statement of his disease and demise', or rather a detailed and somewhat gruesome medical record of the last 42 days of his life.⁹ Napoleon had cancer of the stomach, and died at 'forty-nine minutes past five o'clock in the afternoon' of 5 May.

*Measured
and flying
exchanges*

The pamphlet allows the rapid printing of personal opinions, flying rejoinders and counter-assertions which need to appear in the heat of the moment. It is also well suited to measured public exchanges: Cornelius Nary, the redoubtable priest from Naas, challenged an address given in 1727 by Edward Synge, archbishop of Tuam, and with a rejoinder countered a reply from the archbishop. Nary's final thoughts on the matter were published posthumously in 1738 in *An appendix to the letter, and rejoinder, in answer to the charitable address, and reply . . .*¹⁰

In 1808, under the pseudonym 'A Catholic divine', appeared the Dublin edition of *A general vindication of the remarks on the charge . . . containing a reply to a letter . . . a reply to the observations . . . a reply to the strictures . . . and some [further] observations . . .* The author was John Lingard. Although the matter concerned the utterances of a bishop in the north of England, religious controversy often provoked a wide readership. According to the imprint of the Dublin edition, it was also to be sold in Kilkenny, Cork and London.¹¹ Such exchanges were particularly common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when pamphlet literature on controversial issues burgeoned.

By way of contrast, in November 1750 a Dublin merchant, Dominick Molloy, published a vindication of himself against false and scandalous aspersions. Sincere indignation is evinced, letters are reproduced, and a neat quotation from Shakespeare provides a title-page motto.¹² The dispute concerned the measuring or gauging of beer-barrels. John Crump replied to this 'libel, miscall'd a vindication', upon which Molloy in vexation published *The reply examined*.



The Microcosm, 'a matchless pile of art'
From an exhibition catalogue by Edward Davis. Dublin, 1767.

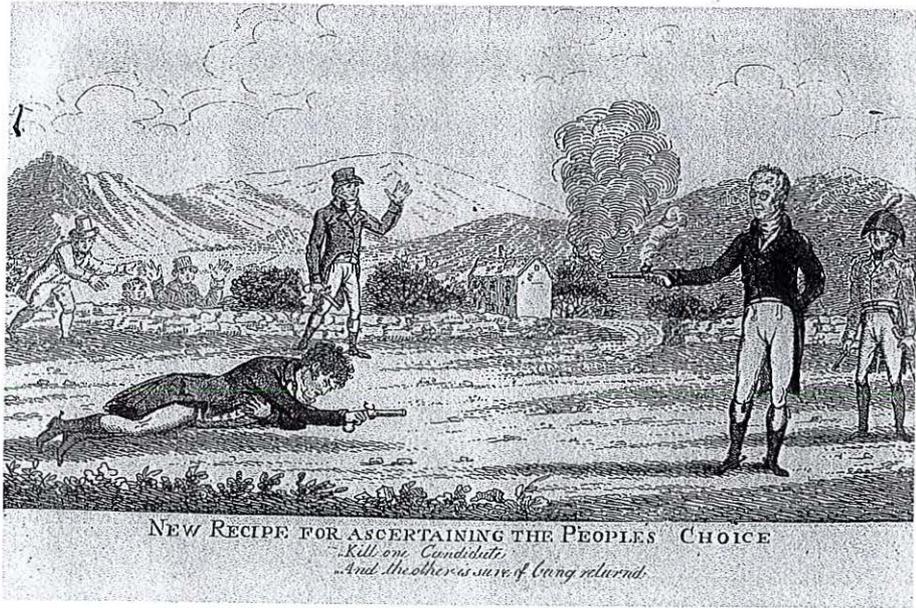
The pamphlet is a channel by which the individual can independently publicise achievements, convictions and discoveries. The first balloon ascent took place in France in 1783, with a cock, a sheep and a duck as passengers. Of the ascents by humans that followed, the first in Ireland was in 1785. Each successive attempt became ever more ambitious. On Thursday 1 October 1812, at 12.38 p.m., Windham William Sadler ascended in a red-and-white-striped balloon from the lawn of Belvedere House in Drumcondra, near Dublin, watched by an immense crowd. His object was to cross the Irish Sea and to land in Liverpool. A vivid account by Sadler himself, in which he describes his journey and his descent at dusk into the sea south-east of the Isle of Man, was printed and sold for the aeronaut's benefit.¹³

*Achievements
and discoveries*

John Wade, chemist and apothecary, had set up a dispensary for the poor of Dublin, with a chemical 'laboratory', in Capel Street in 1767. Interesting details of its history and of Wade's career and the names of supportive colleagues are all provided as testimonials of worthiness in 1797 to back up the results of his research into the alleviation of 'asthma and decays'.¹⁴

In the same year that the dispensary was established, the 'Microcosm' came to Dublin. Described as an 'elaborate and

John Colclough
and William
Alcock, candidates
in the 1807
County Wexford
election. From an
account of the
proceedings
published that
year in Dublin.



matchless pile of art' that had taken twenty years to construct, it was a hefty mechanical showpiece, ten feet high and built in the form of a Roman temple. By means of 1,200 wheels and pinions it showed ever-changing pastoral scenes, with moving figures, and the workings of the solar system—all to a musical accompaniment. It had been trundled from Scotland and had already been on exhibition in Newry.¹⁵

*Social and
economic
concerns*

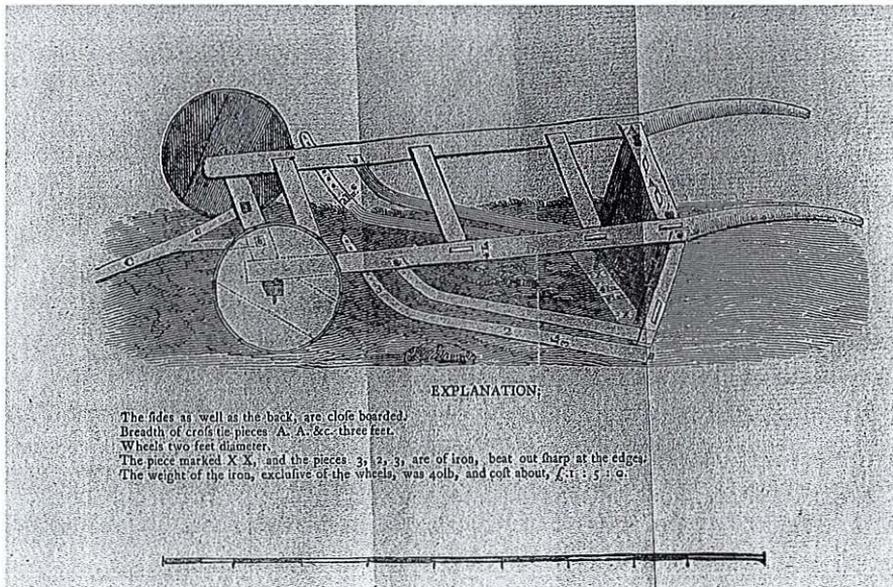
The pamphlet was often aimed at a very specific audience, and having the merit of brevity was the more likely to be read. Contemporary social and economic concerns are mirrored, including some that have since lost importance. According to Joseph Hamilton in 1829, duelling was then a serious problem in Ireland.¹⁶ There was not, he says, a respectable family that could not tell of wounds acquired in single combat. In 1814 William Butler Odell had produced cogent moral arguments against it,¹⁷ concluding that at the base of it all was pride and a fear of shame. Hamilton observed that duels were more frequent at elections than at any other public meeting, for such occasions made people strongly partisan. At the County Wexford election in 1807 even the contestants fought a duel. John Colclough refused to sanction an illegal attempt to transfer votes, and was called out and shot within half an hour by William Congreve Alcock.¹⁸ It seems to have been appallingly easy to give offence. Daniel O'Connell had only

to describe Dublin Corporation as 'beggarly' to be called out.

Swift pokes delightful fun at the banal in his *Treatise on polite conversation*,¹⁹ in which he puts together conversations of the 'choicest expressions' which need only to be learnt by rote to make one witty, smart, humorous and polite. Nonetheless to manage genuine conversation and yet sidestep offence was indubitably a serious matter.

Writing in 1814 on the state of the roads, Charles Wilks produced mathematical proofs to show the advantage of large carriage wheels.²⁰ 'One horse will draw six tons on a level railway with as much ease as he could draw one ton on a good level road.' He also offers practical hints on how to avoid being duped by gravel-merchants. John Loudan McAdam, writing eight years later, points out some fundamental principles in road-building and paints a graphic picture of contemporary roads.²¹ The native soil, he says, will support the weight of traffic of itself, if it has an impervious covering. It does not need to be made artificially strong. The popular method was to dig a trench below the surface and fill it with large stones, small stones and gravel. The trench, of course, filled with water, and for this the popular remedy was to use gravel to 'make the roads high in the middle, in the form of a roof, by which means a carriage goes upon a dangerous slope'.

Concern for the economic state of the country is evident, with



Joseph Hardy's design for a leveller in *An essay on drill husbandry*. Dublin, 1802.

regular suggestions for improvement. An 'inhabitant of Belfast' in 1792 had his local printer, John Tisdall, print twelve pages giving strictures on the vital importance, for the country's sake, of improving the finishing and colour of Irish woollen stuffs, for 'we are very remiss and negligent in discharging the grease out of the goods before they are dyed'.²² He despairs of parliament ever showing a proper understanding of commerce. Before 1792, only a small handful of Belfast printings were commercial in subject. Until 1760, printing there had been confined almost entirely to matters religious, with a noticeable leaven of literature after 1761.

Novel suggestions and the results of experiments abound in the pressing urge to improve the state of the country. There was a proposal in 1732 for the cultivation of saffron in Ireland, in which the author had already achieved some success (an engraved plate shows at what point the blooms should be picked, and, with hardly a variation, at what point they are overblown);²³ results of experiments are published in 1767 by James Ferguson and by Joseph Black on the bleaching of linen;²⁴ and in 1802 Joseph Hardy of Carmarthen sent details to the Dublin Society of his leveller, by means of which, with a 'team of two horses and two bullocks, one driver, and two labourers, with two common two-horse ploughs to loosen the earth', he could level more in one day than could fifty men. Where it had taken all the labourers on a farm a whole summer to level seven acres, it now took only a few days.²⁵

*Odes and
orations*

Poetry and sermons were popular forms of eloquence in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Poems and odes turn up written for a wide variety of occasions: for public ceremonies, such as the laying of the foundation stone of the new college buildings in Maynooth in 1796, when odes in Latin, Greek and English were specially written and declaimed;²⁶ consoling elegies written after bereavement, 'by way of condolence to the survivor'; the mock-heroic description in 1720 of a football match between the men of Swords and Lusk;²⁷ a good epitaph sought by Ned Stockdale, tallow-chandler, who left ten pounds in his will as a prize for the best effort.²⁸ Was a critical thrust at government policy safer in verse? A poem in 1737 deplores the state of trade and suggests a new means of revenue—establishing an Irish whale fishery off the coast of Donegal:

So shall returning gold reward our toil
When London lamps shall glow with Irish oil²⁹

Sermons might seem solemn fare, but certainly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they had a wide appeal. There were times when the combination of public eloquence and moral fervour could leave listeners agonised and falling to the ground—a reaction observed in London by Charles Butler³⁰ to a sermon by no less than Dr Thomas Hussey, who was later to become the first president of Maynooth College. (Dr Hussey was said to preach in the style of Massillon.) In a more practical reaction, the listeners might yield to a plea for help:

. . . bereft of their parents, they ask you to become their fathers and their mothers. Pinched by famine, they cry to you for a morsel to appease their hunger. Shivering in cold, they crave of you a rag to hide their nakedness.³¹

It was a vital but difficult task for a preacher to woo congregations on the subject of charity, for (according to the Franciscan Richard Hayes) there were by 1823 almost a hundred charity sermons delivered annually in Dublin alone. What new motive was there, he asks, for acts of benevolence?³² Not all were printed, but their publication was seen as a means of procuring further funds.

Publication also had the advantage that it allowed a preacher to develop and embroider his text, or, as one man expressed it with circumspection, 'a great part of this sermon was left out in the speaking'.³³

Other sermons were printed as memorials preached on the death of the venerated, the famous and the locally esteemed. They were also a means of communication within a large parish, just as the pastoral letter allowed a bishop to address his diocese. For most of the eighteenth century until the 1790s, sermons by Irish Catholic writers rarely appeared in print. James Gallagher's sermons in Irish and English were first published in Dublin in 1736, and a few isolated examples on broadsheets survive from the beginning of the century.³⁴ However, there was a preference on the part of printers for sermons by Catholic writers with reputations well established abroad.

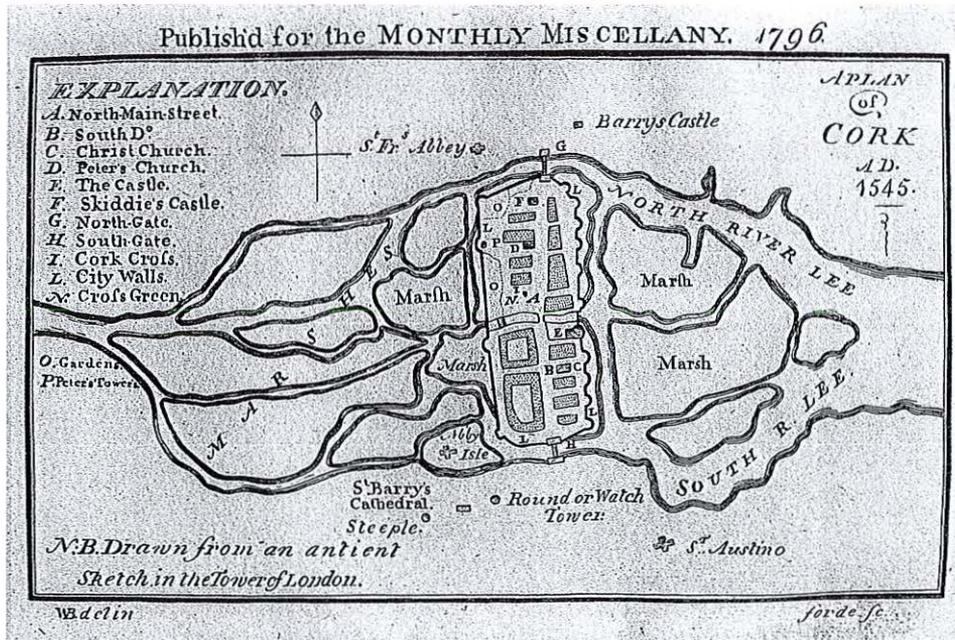
One of the earliest examples of a sermon in pamphlet form by

an Irish Catholic writer was published in 1793, when Florence MacCarthy, then vicar-general and later coadjutor bishop of Cork, preached at a Solemn High Mass held on 12 November for Queen Marie Antoinette.³⁵ He used the occasion to emphasise the importance of political stability. Seventeen years later, his own funeral sermon was preached by John Ryan, who gave a moving and detailed account of his life in what might be considered an unexpected biographical source.³⁶

St Patrick's Chapel in Soho Square, London, was founded by the renowned Capuchin preacher Arthur O'Leary, who was once complimented by Grattan as a man poor in everything but genius and philosophy. His sermons were published in London and Dublin. On the death of Pius VI in 1799, both O'Leary and the papal auditor, Mgr Charles Erskine, gave a funeral oration in Soho Square. For the occasion the chapel was hung with black cloth, from ceiling to floor. Both sermons were published.³⁷ O'Leary's was widely available, for it was printed in London and advertised as being available in town and country; it was also printed in Dublin in the following year by Hugh Fitzpatrick, who was printer to Maynooth College. O'Leary's own funeral, on 13 January 1802, was attended by 2,000 mourners, with four noted singers amongst the musicians, one of whom, Michael Kelly, had known him well.³⁸ During the 1790s there were some 1,500 French *émigré* clergy in London. While they established chapels of their own they also assisted in existing chapels, and St Patrick's was one of these.³⁹ A memorial service in French was held there for the duc d'Enghien, last prince of the house of Condé, who was court-martialled and shot in 1804.⁴⁰

There are in the Maynooth collection sermons of every persuasion, the earliest printed in 1685. There are sermons for private reading and sermons for weekly use—how else to explain the advertisement by Dublin bookseller Harriet Colbert for 'sermons in imitation of manuscript, warranted originals, never before published', and rather costly at £5.2.4 for 63 numbers?⁴¹

There are sermons preached before the lord lieutenant and printed at his command; preached before the House of Lords and before the House of Commons; preached in 1710 to 'implore God's favour in the ensuing campaign' and again in thanksgiving for peace attained; preached for the maintainance of charity



schools and for Irish communities in London; and preached commemoratively on the lessons to be learnt from natural disasters, like the great storm which struck the south coast of England on the night of 26 November 1703, 'by which were near nine hundred dwelling-houses entirely overthrown, upwards of four hundred windmills broke all to pieces, above an hundred churches stripped of the lead that covered them (most of which was rolled up like a scroll and carried to an incredible distance) and by which were twelve hundred ships, boats and barges entirely lost'.⁴²

The funeral sermons preached for ministers of dissenting congregations were often published. The loss of Joseph Boyse, minister of Wood-Street chapel, was lamented by his Dublin congregation. Richard Choppin, in his funeral discourse on 8 December 1728,⁴³ drew on an autobiographical account which Boyse had left, and in a postscript shows that it was the common habit to circulate sets of handwritten sermons amongst the congregation. Stalwarts in English congregations were given funeral sermons too, and often these were printed locally, in small towns whose output in the eighteenth century would consist of very little else. Sometimes bordered in black, they would give varying

Map of Cork in 1545, engraved from a manuscript in the Tower of London and reproduced in *Monthly Miscellany*, May 1796.



The church at
Castledermot in
*Anthologia
Hibernica*,
October 1793.

amounts of detail on the personal history of local families. Richard Pearsall in 1740 offered solace to Mrs Adlam of Bull Mill, whose husband William had died but a few months previously and who was now coping with the death of her son Nathaniel, aged 24, and with the ‘ten surviving olive branches yet around her table’.⁴⁴

*Finer detail
still: maps and
subscription
lists*

Yet more detail can be obtained by examination of accompaniments to pamphlets. Because of their small format, maps in pamphlets often escape notice. At the same time, where they form such an accompaniment they are likely to be highly specific. Maps marking out the progress of a military campaign are commonly appended to accounts published afterwards by participants. Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne’s defence of his actions after his capitulation at Saratoga in the autumn of 1777 include detailed maps showing the lie of the country and plans of encampment along the heavily wooded banks of the Hudson River.⁴⁵ The best-

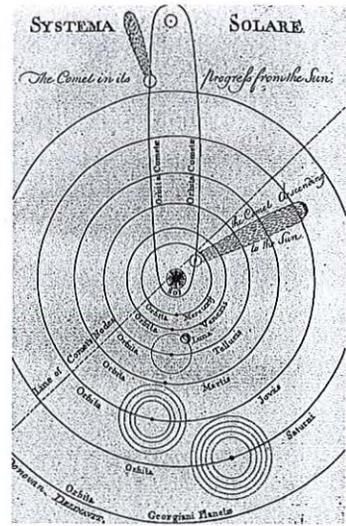
known contemporary accounts of the French landing at Killala in August 1798 are those by Bishop Stock and John Jones. Another, published anonymously by Herbert Taylor,⁴⁶ includes a map of Connacht on a scale of 69.5 English miles to one degree, showing the advance of the French troops as far as Ballinamuck and counter-movements by Marquis Cornwallis and General Lake.

Popular magazines at the end of the eighteenth century would often include an engraving to catch the eye and purse of the public. Portraits were the favourite, but views, and occasionally maps, also provided appeal. In the *Monthly Miscellany* for May 1796 there is a map of Cork city in 1545, engraved from 'a manuscript in the Tower of London'. Thought to be the earliest known map of Cork, an attempt was made in 1943 to trace the original. It was no longer in the Tower and its whereabouts remain unknown.⁴⁷

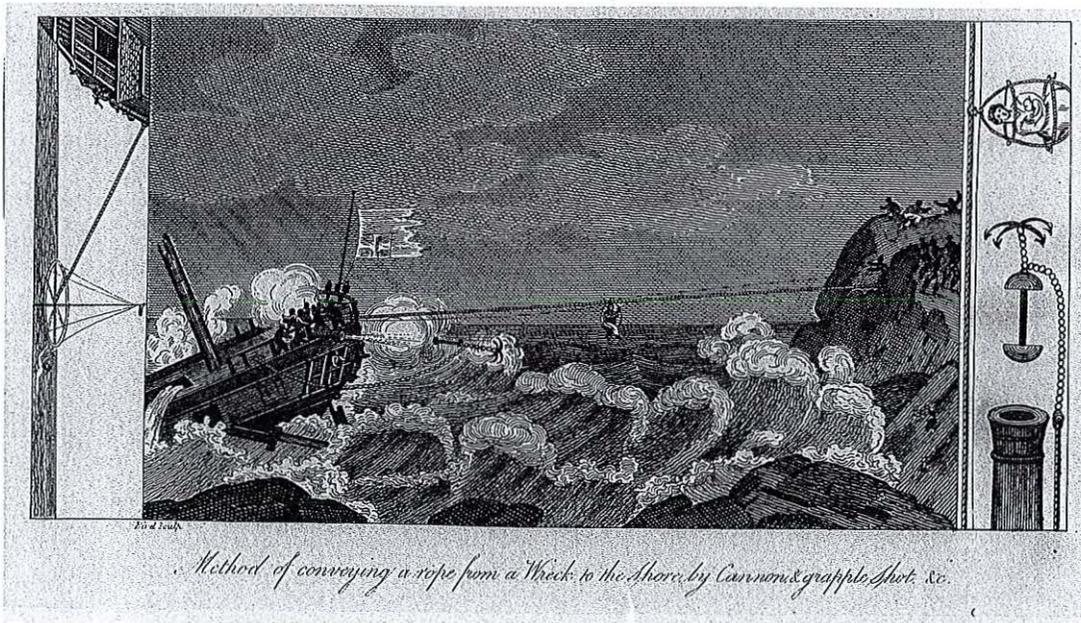
In 1814 a slim prospectus was published offering for rent the collieries of Killenaule and the silver and lead mines of Shallee on the north-west slopes of the Silvermine Mountains in County Tipperary.⁴⁸ 'The vein near the top of the hill appears on the surface about three hundred yards, dipping towards the north, as it descends towards the road.' On the attached map the mines are shown by a stippling near Cromwell's mountain road built high above the Minchin River. The boundaries of the adjoining properties, including those of Donough O'Brien of Tyone and Francis Young, are carefully mapped.

A *Catholic ecclesiastical map of Ireland*, giving diocesan boundaries and showing every chapel in the country, was published in 1859. It was Matthew Kelly, professor of ecclesiastical history at Maynooth, who realised that as each student could readily ascertain the location of chapels near his own home it should be possible to produce a composite picture. A 32-page key to accompany the ecclesiastical map of Ireland gives a list of all the chapels in Ireland and the parishes in which they stand.⁴⁹

While 92 per cent of eighteenth-century Irish printing was carried out in Dublin, the two main provincial centres were Cork and Belfast. The appearance of Cork on a title-page, therefore, sat like



John Donovan anticipates an approaching comet in his *Dissertation on comets*. Cork, 1789.



William Gregory's
Remedies for
rescuing those
'exposed to
shipwreck'.
Dublin, 1808.

a blanket over the towns and villages where literary activity was actually taking place. Take one example. Seventeen Irish miles north-west of Cork lay Mallow, with sufficient gentlemen's seats surrounding it to warrant John Donovan advertising his services as surveyor of estates, stating that he would make his returns in the form of embellished maps, and offering to make perspective views of improvements, to trace the Down surveys, to transfer old maps, and to 'decide controversies between land-surveyors so as to leave no room for future debates'.⁵⁰ All commands were to be directed to the post office at Mallow. This piece of self-interest, more usually found in newspapers, falls at the end of his *Dissertation on comets*, published in Cork by James Haly in 1789 and written in anticipation of an approaching comet, which he expected would be visible to the naked eye towards the end of May and which was filling the public with 'fearful apprehensions'.

In the same year he published *Sublime friendship delineated*,⁵¹ to which was appended eleven pages of names of friends, patrons and impressed acquaintances, all of whom had helped to underwrite its publication, several taking large stocks for distribution; several of these can be identified as residents of Mallow.⁵²

For the sake of tidiness and uniformity, it has long been common practice to bundle pamphlets together and have them bound. This provides the appurtenances of a substantial book which can then be shelved in a uniform fashion. The volumes of pamphlets in our collection have come from various sources—bequeathed, bought at auction, or simply given. Of these, each volume reflects something of the character of the original owner.

A volume from the mid-eighteenth century includes three pamphlets on gout (one of which is entitled *A treatise on the virtues and efficacy of a crust of bread* and advocates a crust followed by three hours' fasting each morning), one on nerves, and another, by John Hill, on the 'fabrick' of the eye.⁵³ Do these betoken the private disorders of their owner, or a doctor of medicine keeping up to date?

Some owners were methodical and put together all pamphlets on a single topic: Catholic franchise, the Union (and no other subject induced such a torrent of opinion), the Veto, tithes, parliamentary speeches with replies, trials, elections, the political issues of the day.⁵⁴ Other owners had their binding done annually, and consequently all the pamphlets in the volume will fall within one year. But for the most part there is a glorious disharmony. So William Gregory's method of conveying a rope from ship to shore in the event of shipwreck, when 'the violence of the surf and wind will not permit a boat to live, or assistance to be obtained from land', may be found together with an account of the management of the poor in Hamburg in 1796 and a biographical sketch of the Swiss educationalist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi by John Synge, grandfather and namesake of the playwright.⁵⁵

Some bear evidence of having belonged to Archbishop Troy of Dublin, possibly given, or bought at the auction of his books on 25 June 1823; others belonged to Archbishop Richard O'Reilly of Armagh, to two bishops of Cork, Francis Moylan and John Murphy (the latter was a noted bibliophile, and this may explain the wealth of Cork printing in the collection⁵⁶), and to Bishop Coppinger of Cloyne. In a volume belonging to the last-mentioned is a translation of the speech made in 1790 by the Abbé Jean Siffrein Maury on the civil constitution imposed on the clergy of France.⁵⁷ A handwritten note gives Bishop Coppinger the credit for its translation. Given that amongst the earliest

appointees to the staff of Maynooth College were three *émigré* Frenchmen and that seven of the remaining eleven had been educated in France, as had so many of the clergy in Ireland at that time, and given the upheavals taking place in France, it is not surprising that an interest in French affairs is reflected in the collection at Maynooth—observations by Jacques-Louis de Bourgrenet, chevalier de Latocnaye, on the causes of the revolution in France, printed in Edinburgh in the original French; Jean-Henri de Franckenberg, archbishop of Malines, writing in 1789 on the seminary in Louvain; *Domine, salvum fac regem*, described mysteriously as printed ‘sur les bords du Gange’ on 21 October 1789; a five-act *comédie* by de Plonard, *Le démocrate désabusé, ou la France en 1792*, published in Dublin, in French, in 1800.⁵⁸

From the end of the eighteenth century there was a growing interest in local antiquities, and later in local and family history. This too is reflected amongst the French pamphlets. In a description of the Roman antiquities in Nîmes in 1786, with folded copper engravings, M. B**** has abridged what he describes as the overwhelming detail of M. Menard to produce a pocket guide for visitors.⁵⁹ And in 1864, in La Réole, a small but ancient town to the east of Bordeaux, was published *Les O’Toole*, a genealogy of the O’Tooles in Ireland and in France. The author was Charles-Denis, Comte O’Kelly-Farrell, son of John James O’Kelly, who had been made a minister-plenipotentiary by Louis XVI and whose family came originally from Clonlyon in County Roscommon.⁶⁰

In conclusion

How vulnerable is the pamphlet! Its very flimsiness can seem to denote unworthiness and lead to a quick riddance. That precision of content and intimacy of time and place often make it seem quickly out of date and irrelevant. Our knowledge and understanding of the past derive from the sum of the printed and handwritten materials that survive. It is an imperfect picture, formed by time and chance. Even with printed items, so many pieces from that jigsaw survive only in single copies, or in twos and threes, more especially with pamphlets. That combination of evanescence and richness of detail has been intentionally highlighted here with the specific inclusion of some that are scarce and some that are understood to be otherwise unknown.

NOTES

1. Printed in Dublin for John King in 1808, after the storm of 20 November 1807.
2. F. Moylan, *Doctor Francis Moylan, to his beloved flock, and in particular to the lower order of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the diocese of Cork* (Cork: James Haly, [1798]); Haly had begun printing in 1789 and by 1798 was the leading printer in Cork, where he also ran a classical school.
3. London Corresponding Society, *At a general meeting of the London Corresponding Society held on the Green at Chalk Farm, on Monday the 14th of April, 1794 . . .* (London: [s.n.], 1794).
4. J.M., *A miscellany of poems* (Dublin: for the author, 1787); few clues to identity but includes a poem on Drogheda. D.J. O'Donoghue, *The poets of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1912), cites a J.M. of Ardee contributing to *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* in the 1770s.
5. *The military carriage of Napoleon Buonaparte taken after the battle of Waterloo . . . now exhibiting . . . at the London Museum, Piccadilly* (London: for William Bullock, 1816).
6. *A description of the defeat of the French army . . . in front of Waterloo . . . now exhibiting in Barker's Panorama, Strand* (London: J. Adlard, 1816).
7. [Edward Hincks], *Buonaparte: a poem* (Cork: Odell and Laurent, 1816); our copy inscribed by the author.
8. Un témoin oculaire, *Relation fidèle et détaillée de la dernière campagne de Buonaparte, terminée par la bataille de Mont-Saint-Jean dite de Waterloo, ou de la Belle-Alliance* (3rd edn; Paris: J.G. Dentu, 1815); attributed variously to René Bourgeois and to F.-Th. Delbare.
9. A. Arnott, *An account of the last illness, decease, and post mortem appearances of Napoleon Bonaparte* (London: John Murray, 1822).
10. C. Nary, *An appendix to the letter, and rejoinder, in answer to the charitable address, and reply, of his Grace Edward, Lord Archbishop of Tuam, to all who are of the communion of the church of Rome* (Dublin: [s.n.], 1738); see P. Fagan, *Dublin's turbulent priest: Cornelius Nary (1658-1738)* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1991), 177 *et seq.*
11. [John Lingard], *A general vindication of the remarks on the charge of the bishop of Durham . . .* (Newcastle: S. Hodgson, 1808); Dublin edition with variant title published by Richard Coyne, 1808.
12. D. Molloy, *The vindication of Dominick Molloy, merchant, against the false and scandalous aspersions of John Crump and Hosea Coates, merchants* (Dublin: [s.n.], 1750); Crump's reply and *The reply examined* appeared in 1751.
13. *Balloon: an authentic narrative of the aerial voyage of Mr Sadler, across the Irish Channel . . . to which is annexed a chart of the channel* (Dublin: W.H. Tyrell, 1812); Sadler died in 1824 in a ballooning accident.
14. J. Wade, *An address to the public, respecting the balsam of liquorice* (Dublin: P. Wogan, P. Byrne, J. Charrurier, N. Kelly [and others], 1797).

15. E. Davis, *A succinct description of that elaborate and matchless pile of art, called the microcosm* (8th edn; Dublin: S. Powell, [1767]). Built by Henry Bridges of Waltham Abbey, it was acquired on his death by Edward Davis; editions of the description mark a slow progress through England, Scotland and Ireland between 1762 and 1773.
16. J. Hamilton, *The only approved guide through all the stages of a quarrel . . .* (London/Dublin: Hatchard/Millikin, 1829).
17. W. Butler Odell, *Essay on duelling, in which the subject is morally and historically considered* (Cork: Odell and Laurent, 1814).
18. *Proceedings of the late County of Wexford election* (Dublin: for the editor, 1807).
19. J. Swift, *A treatise on polite conversation* (Dublin: George Faulkner, 1738).
20. C. Wilks, *Observations on the height of carriage wheels . . . and on repairing roads* (Cork: Odell and Laurent, 1814).
21. J.L. McAdam, *Remarks on the present system of road making . . .* (5th edn; London: Longman, 1822).
22. An inhabitant of Belfast, *Short strictures upon the constitution, manufactures and commerce of Ireland* (Belfast: John Tisdall, 1792); other Maynooth pamphlets on economic topics in R.D.C. Black, *A catalogue of pamphlets on economic subjects published between 1750 and 1900* (Belfast: Queen's University, 1969).
23. Dublin Society, *An account of saffron: the manner of its culture and saving for use* (Dublin: A. Rhames, 1732).
24. J. Ferguson, *An experimental essay on the use of leys and sours in bleaching* (Dublin: John Murphy, 1767); J. Black, *An explanation of the effect of lime upon alkaline salts . . . in bleaching* (Dublin: John Murphy, 1767).
25. J. Hardy, *An essay on drill husbandry* (Dublin, 1802).
26. 'Odes delivered before Earl Camden', *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* (May 1796), 386-8.
27. [Matthew Concanen], *A match at football: a poem* (Dublin: for the author, 1720).
28. J. Delacour, *Poems* (Cork: Thomas White, 1778), 95; see J.C., 'Dermoddy's biographical notice of the Rev. J. Delacour', *Journal of the Cork Historical Society* 1 (1892), 148.
29. *A friend in need is a friend indeed: or, a project, at this critical juncture, to gain the nation a hundred thousand pounds per annum from the Dutch; by an Irish whale fishery* (Dublin: [s.n.], 1737); sometimes attributed to James Sterling; Foxon F266. Scotland had become involved in the Greenland whale fishery in 1733.
30. C. Butler, *Historical memoirs respecting the English, Irish and Scottish Catholics from the Reformation to the present time* (2 vols; London: Murray, 1819), ii, 318.
31. 'Sermon XIII. Education of the poor', in R. Hayes, *Sermons* (Dublin: J.J. Nolan, 1823), 298, pleading for the orphans of the Josephian Society, founded 60 years previously.

32. *Ibid.*, 289.
33. P. Browne, *A sermon preached at the parish church of St Andrew's . . .* (Dublin: E. Waters, 1716), iv.
34. P. O Súilleabháin, 'Catholic sermon books printed in Ireland, 1700-1850', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 99 (1963), 31-6; see also T. and J. Blom, *A hand-list of 18th-century English Catholic books*, to be published shortly by Scolar Press; early broadsheets in Trinity College, Dublin.
35. F. MacCarthy, *A funeral sermon preached at a solemn high mass, celebrated in Cork, on Tuesday, 12th November, for Marie Antoinette* (Cork: James Haly, 1793); MacCarthy's own copy.
36. J. Ryan, *A sermon preached on the 8th August, 1810, at the solemn Office and High Mass celebrated in the South Chapel, for the repose of the soul of the late Rt Rev. Florence MacCarthy* (Cork: Michael Mathews, 1810).
37. A. O'Leary, *A funeral oration for the late sovereign pontiff, Pius the Sixth . . . on Saturday the 16th of November, 1799* (London: [H. Reynell] for P. Keating, [1799]); C. Erskine, *Funeral oration for His Holiness Pope Pius VI* (London: J.P. Coghlan, 1799).
38. *Memoirs of the late Reverend Arthur O'Leary, who departed this life Friday, January 8th, 1802 . . . with an authentic account of his death and burial* (Dublin: [s.n.], 1802).
39. D.A. Bellenger, *The French exiled clergy in the British Isles after 1789* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1986), 73; the Abbé René Le Sage frequently administered the sacraments at St Patrick's during the 1790s; Soho square was also the address of an important bookshop run by the Maurist Dom Armand Bertrand Dulau.
40. *Discours funèbre prononcé dans la chapelle catholique de St Patrick de Londres, le 26 avril 1804, au service solennel célébré pour le repos de l'âme de S.A.S. Mgr le duc d'Enghien* (Londres: Cox, Fils et Baylis, mai 1804).
41. R. Cumberland, *A few plain reasons why we should believe in Christ* (Dublin: H. Colbert, [1796]), advertisement on final page.
42. A. Gifford, *A sermon in commemoration of the great storm, commonly called the High Wind, in the year 1703 . . . with an account of the damage done by it* (London: A. Ward, 1733).
43. R. Choppin, *A funeral sermon occasion'd by the much lamented death of the Revd Mr Joseph Boyse* (Dublin: S. Powell for E. Ewing, 1728).
44. R. Pearsall, *The brevity and uncertainty of life, considered and improved, in a funeral sermon occasioned by the death of Mr Nathaniel Adlam . . .* (London: John Oswald, 1740).
45. J. Burgoyne, *A state of the expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by evidence* (2nd edn; London: printed for J. Almon, 1780).
46. [H. Taylor], *Impartial relation of the military operations which took place in Ireland, in consequence of the landing of a body of French troops, under General Humbert, in August 1798* (Dublin: J. Milliken, 1799).
47. E. Carberry, 'The development of Cork city', *Journal of the Cork Historical Society* 48 (1943), 67.

48. *A description of the silver and lead mines of Shalee, in the barony of Upper Ormond, and County Tipperary, now to be let, the estate of Sir Edward Newenham and his son and heir, Edward Worth Newenham Esq.* (Dublin: Thomas Courtney, 1814).
49. *Key to the Catholic ecclesiastical map of Ireland* (Dublin: Mark Allen, 1859).
50. Not mentioned in P. Eden (ed.), *Dictionary of land surveyors and local cartographers of Great Britain and Ireland, 1550-1850* (3 pts; Folkestone: Dawson, 1975-6).
51. J. Donovan, *Sublime friendship delineated* (Cork: J. Cronin, 1789).
52. A. Leet, *A directory to the market towns, villages, gentlemen's seats and other noted places in Ireland* (2nd edn; Dublin: Brett Smith, 1814).
53. G. Cheyne, *An essay of the true nature and due method of treating the gout* (6th edn; London: for G. Strahan, 1724); W. Stukeley, *A letter to Sir Hans Sloan . . . about the cure of the gout* (London: J. Roberts, 1733); N. Robinson, *A treatise on the virtues and efficacy of a crust of bread* (London: for E. Robinson, 1756); C. Uvedale, *The construction of the nerves* (London: for R. Baldwin, 1758); [John Hill], *The fabrick of the eye* (London: for J. Waugh and M. Cooper, 1758).
54. Few writers treat the pamphlet as a species, but see R.B. McDowell, *Irish public opinion, 1750-1800* (London: Faber, 1944), 265-91, a now limited but useful bibliography.
55. W. Gregory, *Remedies presented to the serious consideration of mariners, merchants and passengers, calculated to preserve the lives of such as are exposed to shipwreck* (Dublin: W. Porter, 1808); *Account of the management of the poor in Hamburgh, since the year 1788* (Dublin: R. Napper, 1796); An Irish traveller [John Syngé], *A biographical sketch of the struggles of Pestalozzi to establish his system* (Dublin: William Folds, 1815).
56. *The eighteenth-century short-title catalogue on CD-ROM* (London: British Library, 1991) is an in-progress publication. It yields 494 Cork imprints from a total for Ireland of 19,811; there are *c.* 9,700 pamphlets in Maynooth's bound pamphlet collection, which contains 129 Cork imprints from the eighteenth century; in a wide search for Cork imprints of Irish Catholic historical interest Dr Hugh Fenning O.P. located 96 for the eighteenth century, 31 of which were in Maynooth.
57. J.S. Maury, *The speech of Abbé Maury, in the National Assembly, upon the civil constitution of the clergy of France* (Cork: William Flynn, 1792).
58. J.-L. de Bourgrenet, chevalier de Latocnaye, *Les causes de la révolution de France* (Edimbourg: J. Mundell, 1797); J.-H. de Franckenberg, *Déclaration . . . sur l'enseignement du séminaire-général de Louvain* (Strasbourg: [s.n.], 1789); *Domine salvum fac regem* (Sur les bords du Gange, 1789); [de Plonard], *Le démocrate désabusé, ou la France en 1792* (Dublin: Graisberry et Campbell, 1800).
59. Mr B****, *Description abrégée des antiquités de la ville de Nismes* (2nd edn; Nismes: C. Belle, 1786).
60. C.-D. O'Kelly-Farrell, *Les O'Toole* (La Réole: Vigouroux, 1864); see R. Hayes, *Biographical dictionary of Irishmen in France* (Dublin: Gill, 1949), 236-7.