The *Divine Protection* of Dinah Goff

In 1857 William and Frederick Cash of London published *Divine Protection through Extraordinary Dangers; experienced by Jacob and Elizabeth Goff and their family during the Irish Rebellion in 1798*, by D.W. Goff. The preface states that 'Dinah Goff, having occasionally related to her young friends some of the striking incidents of which she was a witness during the rebellion, has often been requested to commit the account to paper, that it might not be forgotten. As the result of her kind compliance with this request, the following pages are offered to her friends and the public'. Thirty-seven pages later Dinah ends with 'The foregoing has been written from memory after a lapse of nearly fifty-nine years, the affecting events being still vivid in my recollection'.

Dinah would presumably have admitted that the result was not objective history, rather a set of episodes revealing how 'The Christian disposition of meekness and forbearance proved the means of safety amid circumstances of extraordinary trial'. Yet most extraordinary of all was how she could compose a long and quite complex account of these distant events purely by remembrance. Older people may be able to reminisce about their youthful activities with accuracy, but Dinah's accomplishment appears almost miraculous.

In fact, there was no miracle involved. I aim to show in this article that Dinah never actually wrote a word of *Divine Protection;* that her work includes events that she knew little about, or that never really took place; and that some of her stories have been enhanced by the stuff of ancient folktales. Yet Dinah did experience sixteen days in 1798 when her home was in the hands of rebel forces. It may therefore be possible to extract from this mass of material some of these actual experiences, and to form an impression of what the real Dinah felt and thought about it all.

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Divine Protection presents a narrative of events centred around Horetown House in County Wexford, the residence of the Quaker Goff family. Elizabeth Goff had produced twenty-two children, of whom fourteen grew to adulthood. Dinah was the youngest. She was aged 14 at the time and was at home with her parents and two of her older sisters, plus numerous servants.

The author carefully points out at the start that the rebellion was led by an unnamed 'Protestant gentleman and two Roman Catholic priests, John Murphy and Philip Roche. The aims of the insurgents were various; all determined to liberate themselves from the unequal yoke, as they believed it, of the British Government and to become a free people; some to bring all Ireland to Catholicism, etc'. A friendly Catholic neighbour had actually advised Jacob to leave and offered him a passage to Wales, but he courteously declined. He and Elizabeth 'concluded that it was right for them to remain at home, placing their confidence in Him who alone can protect and who has promised to preserve those that put their trust in Him'.

Once arrived, the rebels realised that Horetown House was of strategic importance: 'this central position caused a constant demand on us for provisions, and they often said that they spared the lives of the family for that purpose'. Dinah described the removal of their livestock and cellar contents, but then backtracked to record the rebel victory which preceded Horetown's occupation and which led to the arrival of refugees at the house. These consisted of the Heatly family, cousins to the Goffs, and a Catholic family from Enniscorthy, so that 'about twenty persons surrounded our dinner table each day, beside those in the kitchen'. No rebels actually lodged in the house, although they felt free to enter as they pleased and 'many hundreds were daily on our lawn, and our business was to hand them food as they demanded it'. Yet somehow Elizabeth Goff managed the situation, remarking that 'provisions were wonderfully granted' and that 'hinds' feet appeared to be given her, 'in being enabled with extraordinary ease to get through the numerous household duties that devolved upon her'. Under all the stress she kept her Quaker composure. When a rebel asked her if she thought they would triumph, 'after a pause she replied "the Almighty only knows"' And when a priest told her 'to put up the cross', she refused the outward sign but believed 'that her

Heavenly Father was enabling her to bear the cross'.

Interspersed with developments inside the house, Dinah recorded some events that she did not personally witness. Three in particular stand out. First, her sisters successfully walked the three miles to Forrest Meeting House on Sundays in spite of attempts to disrupt them. 'Their minds were not resting on outward help but on that Omnipresent arm which was mercifully underneath to sustain.' Secondly, 'A severe conflict took place at Enniscorthy, the garrison being forced to surrender and many hundreds left dead in the streets'. Yet two days later Leinster Quarterly Meeting was held there and was attended by David Sands, a visiting American Quaker, even though he had 'to alight and assist in removing the dead bodies from before the wheels of his carriage'. And thirdly a massacre at Scullabogue barn, less than two miles from Horetown, included the torment and execution of John and Samuel Jones, brothers 'who attended our meeting though not members'. They were supported by Samuel's wife who 'stood between them when they were shot and held up a hand of each'.

Meanwhile back at the house a series of crises threatened the family. Twice an angry mob converged on the property but were deterred by two men who reminded them that the Goffs 'are doing all they can, feeding and providing for you'. Twice also Jacob was personally threatened. 'A large company appeared carrying a black flag' and surrounded him, but they were dragged away by some women: 'thus a higher Power appeared to frustrate the murderers' and he was 'graciously delivered'. Another time 'a company came with two horses, saying they had orders to take my dear father and J. Heatly to the camp'. Heatly was removed but Jacob was spared because Elizabeth eventually produced 'protections from the generals'. These were issued by the rebel commanders to loyalists who could be useful to them. Although Dinah claims that 'these documents had been sent without any request made by the family', they may help to explain the outcome of the other incidents.

Some of Dinah's other stories are not so desperate. A group of insurgent officers appeared, demanding dinner in 'the best parlour in the house': the hall was not good enough for them until Elizabeth assured them that noblemen had been entertained

there. But after further complaints about her 'theeing and thouing them as if speaking to a dog', they 'ate their dinner and went off peaceably'. On another day a rebel soldier got Dinah and her young cousin to admire his finely decorated hat, but when he invited them to visit the camp Elizabeth providentially appeared and 'asked him how he dared to request the children to go to such a place'.

Eventually the British army's cannon fire was heard, much to Dinah's delight, but Elizabeth took a more measured attitude. 'We must rejoice with trembling', she declared. 'We know not what may be permitted; we have only to place our trust and confidence in Him who hath hitherto preserved us!' Help was still given to two wounded rebels, one of whom cried out that 'I don't mind the pain so that I may but fight for my liberty'. When some Hessian hussars arrived, they were welcomed by Jacob who immediately told them that 'We have Friends in Germany'. More edifying stories then follow. One of Dinah's sisters found their coachman weeping in the kitchen: he had sympathised with the rebels but 'Oh, our plans are too wicked for the Lord to prosper them!' Some officers 'shed tears when they reflected on the danger we had been in', because they had nearly blown up the house. Finally, David Sands, apparently unperturbed by his Enniscorthy experience, arrived for a solemn Meeting for Worship at Horetown in which the Catholic refugees joined. They attested that 'they had never before heard plain truths so declared' and that the American 'must be an angel from Heaven'.

Dinah extended her recollections to touch on how both her Goff and Wilson cousins (Elizabeth's family) had suffered similar experiences. They had also been 'wonderfully favoured with faith and patience', though the Wilsons abandoned Ireland soon afterwards. But her own family's trials were not over. Jacob had refused the offer of an armed guard, and was twice visited at night by rebel fugitives, or 'babes in the wood' as they called themselves. Both times he was told that his last moments had come, but Elizabeth stayed firm, telling her daughters that 'I have faith to believe they will never be permitted to take his life'. She was right, but Jacob was so traumatised by his ordeals that he died the following December aged 62. Elizabeth lived on until 1817, 'perfectly conscious to the last and sweetly resigned to her divine Master's will'. And so the record ends, in a mix of pieties

and regrets that their author is 'the only one now remaining of twenty-two children ... all the rest, I humbly trust, united in that happy state where all trials and sorrows are at an end'. A footnote is added that 'Money was raised by Government to compensate the sufferers in property and a portion was offered to my father; but as a member of the Society of Friends, and not taking up arms in defence of Government, he felt that he could not accept it'.

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'Divine Protection' was finished on 23 December 1856 in Penzance. A year later it was in print, with a short preface and an appendix entitled *'Record made by the Yearly Meeting of Dublin in 1810'*. This describes how Quakers destroyed their guns from 1795 onwards and how the Yearly Meeting in 1799 had raised more than enough money to compensate needy Friends. Offers from both London and Philadelphia Meetings had therefore been declined.

Dinah died in January 1858 but the work proved a continuous success, at least among Quakers. A Third Edition was printed at Dublin in 1871 and also at an unspecified date in Philadelphia. Then in 1911 there was published in Waterford a twenty-seven page essay with the title of *'Memoirs'* by Dina Wilson Goff (*sic*).

At first glance it looks like a reprint of *'Divine Protection'*; the introduction starts off with the familiar phrase that 'At the request of some friends, the following memoirs have been printed'. But the opening paragraph recounts that 'It was about the middle of the 5th month 1798 that the County of Wexford became the scene of a rebellion headed by Bagnall Harvey and two Roman Catholics. Their aim being to extirpate the Protestants and bring Ireland again into subjection to the Pope.' The essay then continues along the same lines as the earlier publication but with many differences, both large and small. It ends with Jacob Goff's death, which is followed not by the Yearly Meeting report but by extracts from three historians of 1798[1].

This *Memoir* is not readily available. The edition of which I have a copy was presented to Mrs E. Jacob (probably a member of the prominent Wexford family of that name) by Sir William Goff. This baronet, who died in 1917, was a non-Quaker descendant

of Jacob Goff and the introduction includes a paragraph on Horetown House, 'still the family place'. Perhaps he was its instigator, circulating it to his acquaintances. Yet this does not explain its origin.

This is to be found in a manuscript deposited in the archives of Trinity College, Dublin[2]. Its introduction, written in a different hand, explains that it was 'dictated by D.W. Goff, a Quaker, in 1850 to a friend at Falmouth (query Mary Forster of Tottenham as she lived a good deal at Falmouth and the book was found among Forster's documents): note by Francis Arnold Forster, March 15, 1911'. And indeed the final handwritten sentence reads '3rd month 1850 when in Falmouth'. The published *Memoir* is an almost exact reproduction of this manuscript, except that it adds two short passages identical to those in *Divine Protection* concerning the 'babes in the wood' and concludes with the postscript about Jacob's refusal of compensation.

The *Memoir* publisher had clearly read *Divine Protection* but had discovered that a more authentic picture of Dinah Goff and her family was available. Dinah had actually produced her oral recollections six years before *Divine Protection* was composed, only for them to vanish for another fifty-five years. Comparing the two will reveal the additions and alterations introduced by the anonymous editor of *Divine Protection* (who I shall refer to simply as 'the editor') for an ulterior motive[3].

After the altered opening, the most glaring addition is the Catholic neighbour's visit and offer of a passage to Wales, which goes unrecorded in the *Memoir*. It could be argued that Dinah might have recalled the event at a later date, or that another contemporary provided it. But the rebellion spread so rapidly that many were caught unawares, like the two families that took refuge at Horetown, and this is the most likely explanation of the Goffs' continued presence. I would conclude that the story is a pious fraud, composed by the editor at a time when the aged Dinah could no longer influence the text. It might be borrowed from the story of the Jones brothers, of which more will be said later. This may seem an unlikely thing for a Quaker to do, but we already know that the concluding statement about 'writing from memory' is false. Nothing therefore in the text of *Divine Protection*, as amended from the original *Memoir*, can be trusted.

Many of the editor's other changes are small but significant, particularly after the arrival of the British army. Elizabeth's cautious homily is an insertion, as is Jacob's remark on Friends in Germany; two rebels came into the house for wound dressing, but their lament about liberty is unrecorded; and the remorseful coachman does not appear. Whereas the editor spares the house from destruction because it was 'inhabited by a loyal Quaker and his family', the *Memoir* has it 'occupied by loyal Protestants'. And the editor acknowledges that 'twenty or thirty of the officers breakfasted with us'; but the Goffs of the *Memoir* 'could not but rejoice to see them' until they 'became so intimate with the family that when drinking our health they would say "If this be war, may we never have peace".'

Another episode, not witnessed by Dinah, shows the difference in outlook between the *Memoir* and *Divine Protection*. John Heatly after his arrest was placed with others in a prison ship at Wexford. Most were killed but he and a friend survived. *Divine Protection* states that 'the prisoners were called out by two and two, and when it came to his and his friend's turn, he made some excuses for delay. At this juncture, a rumour reached their guards that the English army was marching into the town; and this report throwing them into a state of terror, the lives of the two prisoners were saved. John Heatly often related the circumstance afterwards, saying that Providence had in an extraordinary manner saved his life.' The *Memoir*, however, has more to add. 'When it came to his and his friend's turn, he said "We have taken many good bottles of wine together and there is one left, let us take it and die like men". They remained to finish their bottle ... J.H. often related the circumstances, saying that that bottle of wine, under providence, was the means of saving his life.'

The *Memoir* reveals a less sophisticated Dinah who both as girl and adult was a supporter of the Protestant Ascendancy and who was happy to rejoice in the military victory of her side. But this was not the image that the editor wished to promulgate. He or she intended to publish a pacifist tract[4*], and to achieve this end was prepared to censor out undesirable passages and concoct edifying alternatives. Dinah's *Memoir* does include samples of her personal piety, but the editor lays them on with the proverbial trowel.

It is understandable, therefore, that later relatives chose to publish a more accurate version once it had come to light, though they seem to have circulated it discreetly.

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The preface to *Divine Protection* advises readers that more information can be found 'in a small interesting volume published in 1825 and entitled *The Principles of Peace Exemplified in the conduct of the Society of Friends in Ireland during the Rebellion of the year 1798*, by Thomas Hancock M.D.' This author 'studied in Edinburgh and Dublin before settling in London where he built up an extensive medical practice'[5]. Coming from an Irish Quaker family, he married the daughter of Thomas Strangman of Waterford, a relative by marriage to the Goffs. His book proved popular and went through many editions. It influenced Dinah's *Memoir* and profoundly affected the editor of *Divine Protection*, who was (literally, as will be shown) under his spell.

Thomas believed in an absolute pacifism which is expounded in his opening chapter. Classical and biblical examples culminate in the Gospels, for 'Christianity is altogether a religion of Peace'[6]. His main purpose is to provide examples of how effective a pacifist attitude had proved in the events of 1798, 'obtained from those who were concerned, either as actors or eye-witnesses in the scenes which are depicted'. He 'assures his reader of his undoubted belief in the truth of the incidents recorded. Every contribution may have some little weight in the balance to determine the minds of hesitating Christians on the side of Peace.'

The doctor was anxious to point out that he neither wished to stir up old hatreds nor to glorify the Society of Friends. He claimed to have 'omitted some circumstances of peculiar atrocity', and he deliberately left out participants' names in an effort not to over-praise them[7]. Yet in fact he does the very opposite of what he claims. Apart from one mention of a Moravian community near Antrim, all those who suffer (sometimes at excruciating length) are Quakers; and all those who torment them are Catholics, including their treacherous servants.

Thomas believed that all the Quakers caught up in the

1798 rebellion were in the end, maybe after severe sufferings, providentially preserved. This was not a new idea to the Society. As Friends could not rely on creeds or scripture, they had to live by the evidence of their own experiences; and so the recording of past experiences, including preservation from danger, became important. This was then seen as evidence of God's favour towards faithful members. Thomas's particular contribution is his claim that the converse was also true. 'If they let into their minds unchristian fears', he wrote, 'they must expect to reap the corresponding fruits'. And he goes on to lament the dreadful fate of certain non-Quakers, in particular those who had abandoned or otherwise abused the Society.

This medically educated man turns out to be a strange combination of erudition and credulity. The Dublin Yearly Meeting Epistle quoted at the end of *Divine Protection* claims that 'no member of our Society fell a sacrifice but one young man', whose tale Thomas gladly relates. 'He put on a military uniform and fled to a garrison town' which the rebels captured. 'He sought to conceal himself, where he was soon discovered and put to death'. Thomas has more stories to tell in the same vein. An elderly man was killed 'who had been a short time before disunited for inconsistency in his conduct'; a member who 'under the influence of an improper curiosity looked out of a window during an engagement was wounded in the chest but recovered'; and a Protestant clergyman who 'requested that the clothes of a Friend might be given him, expecting that in such a dress he might be preserved' was nonetheless 'found and murdered'.

In spite of anonymity, it is clear that several of Thomas's examples concerned the Goffs, and these appear accordingly in both the *Memoir* and *Divine Protection*. Thomas may have spoken to Dinah; but Elizabeth Goff, who died eight years before the First Edition was published, had sixty descendants alive at the time of her death plus numerous cousins. Any of these could be the source for stories about Horetown House[8]. However, I shall look in more detail at the three external episodes recorded in both 1850 and 1856, all of which first appeared in *The Principles of Peace*. These shed light on how the doctor's mind worked.

First comes the sisters' walk to Forrest Meeting House. Thomas

wrote that 'a strange dog accompanied them home, as an escort for some miles; and on seeing them safe to the house, which he could not be prevailed upon to enter, left them'. It may well be true that the girls on their return commented on this stray, but Thomas cannot leave the dog alone. He admits that 'This might have been only an accidental occurrence, but it engaged their attention at the time; and though simple in itself may prove nothing more than that their minds were not resting upon human help'. Maybe he was recollecting the apocryphal Book of Tobit, in which Tobias was accompanied on his travels both by his faithful hound and an angel in disguise. Yet this biblical dog was in no way a guide. Thomas's story is more reminiscent of various fairy tales in which the hero embarks on his quest with the help of a magical animal.

Second is the macabre journey to Enniscorthy Meeting House. Thomas has tales of three County Wexford Meeting Houses (Enniscorthy, Forrest and Cooladine); all were threatened with destruction or 'converting into a Romish chapel'. Instead they were not just providentially saved but, after the battle at Vinegar Hill on 21 June, the rebels 'actually assembled about the door and windows of (Forrest) Meeting House as a place of safety to themselves'. The editor of *Divine Protection* has the American David Sands visit Enniscorthy on 30 May. He subsequently attended Forrest Meeting but did not get to Horetown House until late June. The *Memoir* states only that he attended Quarterly Meeting at Enniscorthy on 22 or 23 June, when he had a different set of bodies to wade through, and afterwards repaired to Horetown. It looks likely that the *Memoir* is more accurate, as a Quaker historian notes that 'The Quarterly Meeting was held after the battle of Vinegar Hill and local Friends helped in the task of burying'[9]. Yet Thomas, their likely source, wanted to have it both ways; on the first occasion, Friends were threatened with fire but carried on regardless and returned a month later, when 'they were obliged to remove the dead bodies of the rebels out of the way'. He is unconcerned at the devastation all around. 'The way seemed to be opened and the members who attended were comforted together under a humbling sense of the providential care they had so largely experienced'. Once more he is in Fairyland, where the Quakers in their magic garb overcome all thorny obstacles to reach their enchanted Meeting House.

The events at Scullabogue barn come third. The prisoners

were massacred in a panic after rumours reached their guards about the rebels' defeat at New Ross, and the proceedings were subsequently testified by witnesses. Around thirty-six men were ordered out of the barn in groups of four and briskly shot, until it was decided that this was taking too long and the rest were burnt to death inside. Among those shot were John and Samuel Jones, described on later lists as Quakers[10].

The death of the Jones brothers presented Thomas Hancock with a problem. He had to admit that 'preservation is not the *necessary* effect of peaceable conduct', but they should have been saved if they were Quakers. They were unrecorded in Dublin Yearly Meeting's Epistle because they were not members and presumably did not wear plain dress. Thomas therefore stages a short debate outside the barn in which 'Some person said they were Quakers. It was replied that if they could make it appear they were Quakers, they should not be killed. As they were not in reality members of the Society, this was not attempted to be done'. Instead, Thomas turns them into exemplars of pacifist behaviour. Unlike the real Quakers, they were named. Their self-denying virtues were elaborated, including Samuel's refusal to abandon their home despite urgings from neighbours. In words later attributed also to Jacob Goff, 'he and his wife thought it right to remain at their own residence'. Once imprisoned they were constantly pressurised into conversion. Yet in spite of all temptations they remained firm and, with Samuel's wife between them, they were finally shot.

The doctor was familiar with the gruesome accounts in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, to which he refers. But the prolonged sufferings of the two Joneses have a quality of their own, resembling those of a much more distant time. Thomas had an interest in early Christians, and at the end of his book quotes examples of their peaceable conduct 'under most heavy persecutions'. He may have been familiar with the saintly brothers Cosmas and Damian, perhaps martyred in Syria after many tortures but at an uncertain date[11]. And there might be echoes of pagan mythology behind these legendary figures[12].

The Principles of Peace contains many more stories, none of which are likely to be pure invention but which are distorted by Thomas Hancock's quirky imagination. The true Quakers

are all preserved; the backsliders are extirpated; and the virtuous non-Quakers die like ancient martyrs. His book, at least its County Wexford sections, could be dismissed as a work of harmless fiction were it not for the sinister anti-Catholic prejudice lurking beneath its pacifist facade. It also has to be taken seriously because of the influence it cast over later Friends.

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The manuscript version of Dinah's *Memoirs* is written out in a fair hand, with few mistakes and no crossings out. Clearly Mary Forster or a colleague noted down Dinah's recollections, maybe over some time, and then compiled them into the essay we now have. At least one of these reminiscences is out of context. Dinah states that her father destroyed his fowling piece 'on hearing of the approach of the rebels', but this probably occurred two years earlier and the editor, who knew better, omits it. Others show signs of duplication. I am not convinced that an angry mob was twice deterred from entering the house, or that Jacob's life was twice personally threatened, or even that the 'babes in the wood' called on two separate occasions.

Mary Forster also decided to include some of the tales spun by Thomas Hancock, (presumably with Dinah's approval?). Dinah may not have gone along with Thomas's version of pacifism, though she would be sympathetic to his view of the Roman Catholic lower class. (She had a better opinion of the respectable Catholic family who took refuge at Horetown, though eventually they have to acknowledge the power of David Sands' ministry.) But for the editor of *Divine Protection*, the doctor's *Principles of Peace* was a godsend. His anti-Catholic prejudice was largely set aside, but his worthy stories and his streams of pious sentiment were incorporated into the reworked text wholesale.

So in the end we have two versions of Dinah's memories, both of them affected by the concerns or prejudices of other minds. Thomas Hancock, the well-meaning Mary Forster and the shameless editor have all distorted events that none of them witnessed for themselves. But beneath these layers we can still catch sight of what was actually happening at Horetown House during 1798. There are the vivid personal encounters between Dinah and the rebels; one example already mentioned was the

soldier with the fine hat, another was when a priest 'drew me towards him saying "my dear child, we shall have you all to ourselves"'. Dinah 'saw and smelled the smoke' coming from Scullabogue, as the *Memoir* puts it (though the editor mangles this into 'the dreadful effluvium which was wafted to our lawn'). The sense of relief when the British army arrives is still tangible. So is the subsequent bitterness over Jacob's death which Dinah blames on the rebellion and its consequences.

In addition, Dinah has provided an intimate portrait of her mother, Elizabeth Goff, who faced with a sudden crisis, rose to the occasion and demonstrated management skills which to her daughter in later years seemed miraculous. Ultimately it is this flesh and blood matriarch, without the pious platitudes which others would foist on her, who emerges as the true heroine of the piece.

David Ian Hamilton

END NOTES

1. The histories quoted are Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland* (1801), William Hamilton Maxwell's *History of the Irish Rebellion in 1798* (1845) and the Revd James Bentley Gordon's work of the same name (1801).
2. Trinity College Dublin MS 5116.
3. The preface in the Third Edition was written by "JA", but these initials do not appear in 1857.
4. The Philadelphia print was 'published by the Tract Association of Friends, to be had at their depository, 304 Arch Street.' (*Note: The Tract Association of Friends in the United States has been, since 1816, republishing 'religious books and pamphlets such as explain and reinforce the doctrines of the Christian religion' (constitution of the Tract Association).)
5. Glynn Douglas *Friends and 1798* (Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1998) p. 85. There is a summarised version in this *Journal* (Vol. 58 No. 2).
6. I have looked at three editions of *The Principles of Peace* and taken quotations from the Second Edition 1826). The Third Edition (1828) appeared as Tract Nine of The Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace, in which Thomas Hancock was an office-holder. In 1843 it was published by the American Peace Society.
7. Glynn Douglas adds that 'Quaker curiosity being no different to anyone else's, later editions include the names of the actors as footnotes!' (*Friends and 1798*, p. 85).
8. The Third Edition includes a narrative provided by a Goff cousin living near Horetown. Incidents from this narrative appear in earlier editions, but are not attributed.
9. Maurice J. Wigham, *The Irish Quakers* (Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, 1992), p. 66.
10. Sir Richard Musgrave, *Memoirs of the Rebellions in Ireland* (reprinted by Round Tower Books, 1995), pp. 398-401. He also gives the name of another Quaker, Henry Reason, who was shot and 'left a widow and two children.'
11. Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Penguin Books, 1965), p. 94.
12. Pollux, son of Zeus, sacrificed his divinity for his mortal twin Castor, and they then shared it, becoming patrons of healing: *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World* (OUP, 2007). Cosmas and Damian inherited this role.

I would like to acknowledge the help of Christopher Moriarty of Dublin Friends Library; Glynn Douglas, who supplied me with a copy of *Memoirs*; and my cousin John Patterson, who discovered the Trinity College Dublin MS. Without them this article would not have been written.