

DECIAS

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EDITORIAL

Firstly, the editorial Committee sincerely wishes to thank all our contributors. We feel of course that as yet the full potential of our Society has not been totally reflected in "Decies" so we would hope that many members would come forward with material. Do not hesitate to send us any information no matter how brief or unimportant you may consider it to be. If you feel you have not got time to put information in writing please have a chat with one of the editorial Committee.

We should be very glad to get some voluntary help for the production of "Decies". The labour is unskilled and the payment is nil. However, we do think it is a worthwhile cause and in time we would hope to have a team to devote a limited amount of time to each issue. If you have any suggestions to make about any feature of the magazine or it's future, please let us know.

Des Cowman, Knockanne, Annestown (96157)
 Sr. Virginia, Ferrybank Convent (4112)
 Noel Cassidy "Lisacul", Marian Park (3130)

Extraordinary General Meeting of the Old Waterford Society

An extraordinary general meeting of the Old Waterford Society was held on Friday 14th January, at the Teacher's Centre, The Mall. A revision of the Constitution had been requested at the Annual General Meeting last year. At a subsequent Committee meeting an "ad hoc" committee was appointed to consider the re-drafting of the Constitution.

The redraft was presented to the Committee in November. It was printed for circulation and sent to members three weeks in advance of the date set aside for the Special Meeting.

Despite extremely inclement weather conditions, there was a good attendance at the meeting. A few minor changes were made but in general the Constitution as prepared by the "ad hoc" committee was accepted unanimously.

Copies of the new Constitution will be available shortly.

By Emilie Bennis

Early Years of Persecution:

In the early 1650's the first small groups of followers of George Fox began to arrive in the ports of Munster. They were not well received by the Puritan Governor of Waterford, and on 30th January, 1656 the order went out to "apprehend forthwith all persons who resort there under the name of Quakers" that they may be shipped from Waterford or Passage to Bristol". (quoted in Downey, "Story of Waterford").

It seems that many Quakers were thus deported but that they gradually returned. Over the following twenty years, they continued to be persecuted. There was, for instance, Richard Roper, who with a companion visited Waterford on the 4th day of the week for "having a (public) Meeting. On the 5th day there is the Judges sermon and Richard Roper goes to the Steeplehouse, speaks to the priests and is thrown into prison". Nevertheless they had, "liberty to go to Meeting but Gaoller man goes with them", and they, "have an upper room and want for nothing. Friends very dear and tender over us". (from Besse, "Book of Sufferings", Vol.11).

Besse also mentions the following who suffered by imprisonment, fines, confiscation of goods, cattle money etc. in Waterford :
 "Richard Waller, imprisoned 1657 . Eleanor Tatlock ,1660: imprisoned in Bridewell and later with her husband turned out of the City from family. Margaret Blanch, 1660: imprisoned for preaching at a funeral. She and her husband excommunicated by Bishop Gore. General strict imprisonment throughout the country especially Waterford in 1661. William Blanch, Wm. Wright, Sam Mason and others in 1661, imprisoned for Meeting and fined £580 at Assizes. William Wright imprisoned 1663, for opening his shop on a so-called holiday".

BOWLING GREEN LANE MEETING HOUSES:

The earliest Friends Meetings were probably held in private houses but in 1694 a Meeting House was procured off Bowling Green Lane (on the site of Christian Brothers present school in Manor Street). A new Meeting House was then built in Bowling Green Alley in 1703, apparently to serve the South East Region. A minute from the meeting of the Munster Province held in Clonmel in 1701 states:

"Friends of Waterford adviseth they are like to contribute towards building a new Meeting House as discoursed at the last meeting , if it goes forward, Friends of Tipperary are desired to confer with Friends of Waterford".

This Meeting House is also mentioned in a further Minute (quoted in W.S.E.A.J.) :-

"13.10 month, commonly called December, 1703 John Dennis of Cork, Rebecca Dan of Waterford, leased to Samuel Cooke of Clonmel, skinner, Stephen Collier of Clonmel, merchant, and David Hutchinson of Clonmel & Waterford, Joyner, a parcel of ground with an entrance to the same from Bowling Green Lane", for the use of "the Society of the People called Quakers in the City and County of Waterford and elsewhere".

The Society must have been growing in these early years of the 18th Century , as the Meeting House had to be expanded a few years later. Apparently, it was rather an inadequate structure because within 60 years it had to be completely rebuilt. A minute of 1761 reads, " Our Meeting House being in bad order and judged not worth repairing, the following Friends..... are appointed to apply immediately to Friends for subscriptions for re-building the same next Summer and they likewise are desired to assist Benjamin Moore in making an estimate of the cost attending " By 3 month, 1762 , "the subscription for re-building the Meeting House is completed and Benjamin Moore is desired to proceed in getting the work carried on with expedition". In 1764 Benjamin Moore sent in his account for re-building which exceeded Friends subscriptions for that purpose by £34.11.0. and three members were appointed to call upon Friends for a new subscription. This lasted another 30 years until a new site was bought in King Street (see below).

BURIAL GROUNDS:

The first burial grounds were on a strip of land on John's Lane near the Meeting House. Little detail, however emerges from the minutes until 1764 when we read that :

"The Friends appointed are desired to get the requisite leases and Declaration of Trust respecting Burying Ground lately taken for the use of Friends of this Meeting finished".

Then three months later a Friend, Edward Howies, negotiated with a William Merchant for "his interest in the garden and tenements lately purchased by order and for accommodation of the Meetings". Subscriptions are called for to pay the charges of drawing leases and repairing the tenements and laying out the grounds. Two friends were appointed to see that Burials were "conducted orderly", and to be of assistance to the family in which a decease happened.

Isaac Jacob, who as a boy went to his father's funeral writes :

"I followed the remains of my father along the Quay of Waterford to his last resting place in a forlorn cemetary of the Friends off Manor Street where he lies without a stone....The dismal enclosure is overrun with weeds and relieved by not one solitary shrub or tree of any kind".

A later minute reads that " :

Samuel Davis, John Strangman are appointed to have the walls and gate of the Graveyard put into proper condition and have a care over both the Berial Grounds to keep them in good order".

This Burial Ground continued in use up to 1828 when a new one at Newtown was opened.

THE MINUTES:

Most of the information for this article was taken from the Minutes of the Waterford Monthly Meeting of Friends. These are preserved in the Historic Library of the Friends Meeting House, in Eustace Street, Dublin. These records are scant and rather difficult to read up to about 1760. In them the Quaker method of dating is used. Months are numbered rather than named. March was then the first month, making December for instance the tenth month. Similarly, weekdays are numbered beginning with Sunday.

These minutes reveal fascinating details, not alone about Meeting Houses and Burial Grounds as we have seen, but about human and domestic detail. For instance the Quakers refused on principle to pay Tithes and so had their possessions seized. A sub-committee was set up to record such confiscations and to help those distressed. So we find the following confiscations in the 4th Month 1792:

Benjamin Moore	7 Half deals
Wm. Barnes	2 Brass Candlesticks
Mary Howes	7 Lbs. sugar
Thomas Hutchinson	3 bundles of hoops
Isaac Wood	Bacon, value 10/10
George Penrose	Butter
Arch. Balfour	1 copper kettle
Strangman & Sons	1 cask butter
Thomas White	Taa, value 12/=
Sam. Wilson	1 pair shoes
Richard, Isaac & Thomas Jacob	Soap, value 13/.
John Strangman	1 load of hay
Jacob	barley in sheaf
John Firth	Loaf sugar, value 16/6
A. Balfour	23 knives, 23 forks
Thomas Jacob	2 cheeses
	<hr/>
	Total value: £25.19.3

There are also problems over the behaviour of some, usually the younger members and older ones are appointed to treat with them. There was for instance one Samuel White who "since last Meeting has given fresh and public occasion of reproach by his frequenting Alehouses and entering into a quarrel therein on a First day of the week; two Friends are desired to treat with him". And "John Clayton, an apprentice, removed to the Island called St. Johns on the coast of North America having married contrary to our rules is disowned". (To be married by a priest was considered dreadful). Another apprentice, Thomas Pim defrauded his master, Samuel Cherry :-

"to a considerable amount most part of which was found in his box though he attempted to cover his wickedness with lyes... two of the overseers had opportunity with him and laid before him the nature of his crime which, though acknowledged, he did not appear as much affected with sorrowness as they could have wished"

He was disowned.

The Men's Meeting on 12th Month 1789 received a message from the Women's Meeting that -

"Elizabeth White, daughter of Francis White, hath eloped from her parent's home with a young man and robbed them of money and clothes to a considerable amount. The Overseers are desired to procure information where she is gone, write to her Meeting she may be in the compass of, to treat with her and return amount to next Meeting"

The Minutes of 3rd of the following month record, -

"Wrote to two Friends of Co. Carlow where Elizabeth White was within compass of ... but have not yet received an answer".

Three weeks later the minutes state :-

" At the stop of last First day Meeting, the overseers produced a letter from a Friend of Carlow who had been written to

respecting Elizabeth White setting forth that, three Friends belonging to their Meeting had paid her a visit and endeavoured to lay before her the atrociousness of her guilt which she did not deny, but they could not perceive any sign of repentance in her, or disposition to make restitution to her injured parents"

She was disowned, though she "later showed a dispositoon to acknowledge guilt".

Another aspect frequently mentioned in the Minutes are "visitings". As Quakers would not have had many social contacts in Waterford, there were regular comings and goings between the Meetings in Munster. Clonmel, Cahir, Limerick and Youghal are now mentioned. Also, well known Quakers travelled through England and Ireland visiting Meetings.

For instance, in 1716 Thomas Story, a leading English Quaker, whose brother was Dean of Limerick, came to Waterford and held a public Meeting which was "attended by all kinds of people". William Penn on his way from New Ross to Waterford had trouble about his horse when getting on the boat, as no Quaker was allowed to own a horse valued over £5.

In 1765, the Waterford Meeting was visited by Friends from Ulster, Leinster and Munster, and it is recorded that there were "occasions of complaint in respect to the great degeneracy amongst us". !

If a member felt a religious concern to visit he brought it before his own Meeting, and if the Meeting was in sympathy with it, they gave him a travelling minute or certificate. One woman whose name comes up several times is Susanna Hatton. She had visited Philadelphia, and in 1774 laid a concern before the Meeting to visit Friends "in the Northern part of this Kingdom". Later she and a Quaker, Thomas Lightfoot, who had come from Pennsylvania and settled in Waterford, came before the Meeting to declare their intention of marriage. They got "clearance" for this and were married. Some years later they removed to Pennsylvania.

In 1785 we find two American Quakers from Pennsylvania, Thomas Ross and John Pemberton "on a religious visit to their brethren in profession, the people called Quakers and other inhabitants of this island, respectfully present the Mayor and other Mag strates of the City of Waterford with a booklet printed by Matt Power, Bookseller, Broad Street Waterford of Extracts of Pious Men exposing the evil, pernicious effect of Stage plays and other vain amusements."

Although Quakers were independ nt and kept to their beliefs in spite of persecution and suffering they upheld just laws and Authority. Several times there are records of them sending addresses to visiting Lord Lieutenants. In 1787 Prince William Henry visited Waterford and he is sent a "humble address from the People called Quakers" of welcome and gratitude to himself and his Royal Parents, mentioning the present "mild system of Government". They received the reply:-

" Gentlemen,

I shall have great pleasure in communicating to his Majesty your expressions of Loyalty ,and I hope to meet your good wishes towards me.

William.

(To the Quakers of the City of Waterford, in his own handwriting). "

A coincidence of anniversaries prompts me to offer in the first 1977 issue of DECIES an account of what I believe to be the first scheme of public (street) lighting for Waterford City. This is the Golden Jubilee year of the establishment by the Electricity (Supply) Act 1927 of a National Electricity Board. It is the centenary of the invention of the carbon lamp, soon after superceded by the incandescent lamp, which realised the possibilities of electricity as an illuminant. This story is concerned, however, with 250 years ago. The fuel was oil - rape oil, the same which the Corporation was using in the harbour lights (the establishment of the Harbour Board was still almost a century away).

In January 1727, at the instigation of Aldermen Mason and Newport, the Corporation resolved - that this Board are for having lamps erected and that Mr. Mayor, Ald. Barker, Ald. Aikenhead, Ald. Benj. Morris, Ald. Moore, Ald. John Morris, Ald. Alcock, Ald. Henry Mason, Ald. Congreve, Ald. Weeks, the Sheriffs, Mr. Boyd or any five of them with such other members as will attend do meet this evening to draw up a letter to our Representatives* after what manner the said lamps shall be erected and supported.

(*Parliamentary Representatives)

By 29th October 1729, the Corporation had made a commitment to "join in the expense of obtaining an Act of Parliament for having lamps in this Town"; and in March 1732 a Sub-Committee of ten was appointed to draw up a "proper scheme". For students of things Municipal, perhaps the most interesting facet of the enterprise is the survey of all houses in the City at the time (1732) conducted with a view to levying the cost of the scheme. Arthur Taylor was paid £3 + his assistant William Roch 30/- for carrying out the survey.

On the basis of the survey report, it was decided that

- all houses paying rent under 40/- per annum should be exempt from any tax towards the public(k) lamps
- all houses paying rent from 40/- to £3 per annum should contribute one shilling per house per annum
- all houses paying rent from £3 to £5 per annum should contribute 18 pence per annum and
- all houses paying rent from £5 upwards per annum should contribute two shillings per house per annum.

The application of this assesment was as follows:

208 houses at a shilling	£10. 8. 0
190 houses at 18 pence	14. 5. 0
440 houses at two shillings	44. 0. 0
<hr/>	
838 houses (Cabbins excepted)	£68.13. 0

This sum (£68.13.0d) was reckoned sufficient to sustain 150 lamps; the initial expense of making and erecting the lamps - £75 - was to be borne by the Corporation out of City Revenues.

Peter St. Ledger was appointed to construct the lamps; Thomas Alcock nominated to care for them and see them duly supplied; and the period during which the lamps were to be lighted fixed as between August 20th and May 1st. Within a year (in July 1732), a Sub-Committee of the Corporation found that "there are sixty-eight additional lamps wanting; without allowing any lamps out of the Gates, making in all two hundred and eighteen lamps"; in this case also the cost of making and erecting the extra lamps - £32. 6. 0. - to fall on the City Revenues.

Thomas Alcock was appointed as a "proper person to collect the money due for said lamps within the City the ensuing year, out of which he is to pay for the Oyle and that he be also allowed, thereout £58 for said year for his trouble and for servants wages attending said lamps to light and clean them and that he account upon oath at the year's end for what he receives from the Inhabitants". He was to be allowed interest on his outgoings "till he be reimbursed by this City or out of the lamp money".

It would be nice to finish this account by recording that everything worked smoothly as planned. Not so entirely; in 1733 we find the Corporation having to pay Thomas Alcock £30. 9. 6 "balance due to him for keeping the lamps lighted for the year 1732 many of the inhabitants refusing to pay for the lamps, not being put up according to law which disables his distraining for the same".

Still, the lamps were still lighting in 1740, in testimony whereof fourteen hogsheads of Rape Oyle were bought in that year at the expense of the City Revenue.....

MINING IN SOUTH KILKENNY:

Volume 8 of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland Journal (1886) lists the following minerals as occurring in South Kilkenny: Lead at Dunkitt; lead and silver ("a very ancient mine") at Flood Hall, Knocktopher; Copper near Knocktopher Village; Iron at Grenan, Thomastown; Silver (early Celtic - silver shields made here according to Annals), and lead at Ballygallon, Inistioge.

Can anybody, please, locate these mines, or indicate the extent to which they were worked?

"BLAA "

What is the origin of "blaa"? Are there any Waterford names no longer in use for other types of bread?

ORIGINS OF THE FACTIONS

Outbreaks of fighting at races, fairs, hurling matches and patterns had been quite common in the 18th century. After 1800, however, it became more organised and widespread in the eastern part of Munster especially in Co. Waterford. It is difficult to discover exactly why this should have occurred at this particular time but it seems that it was in some way connected with the competition for land which was intensified by the increasing population and by the subdivision of holdings. Tillage had received a great impetus from Foster's Corn Laws of 1784 and the removal of duties on corn exports to Britain in 1806 had opened up a new market for Irish corn. As a result of the good prices available during the Napoleonic wars tillage on small holdings became a viable proposition. Hence the increasing competition for land. Under such circumstances the old Whiteboy system of terror, which was chiefly directed against landlords and their agents, was not as effective as before, when it came to regulating rents, preventing "grabbing" etc. If a group of people, related or otherwise, were willing to support a person who had broken the Whiteboy "laws", trouble was inevitable.

It was a situation like this at Ardmoyle near Cashel in 1805 that gave us the names Carabhat (Cravat) and Seanbheist (White bainin jacket). A local man who had taken a farm from which a widow had been evicted, was murdered by the Whiteboys. The dead man's relatives informed the authorities and Hanley, the Whiteboy leader, was publically hanged for the crime. Just before his execution he threw his white cravat among his followers shouting defiance to the informer and his relatives. The informer, Paidin Gearr O'Donail, usually wore a white bainin jacket hence the name Seansbheist. Many bitter fights followed between these two groups, one fierce battle in particular at Coolmine Races, Clonmel, in 1810 during which several people were badly injured.

Slowly the factions spread southwards and by 1808 they were firmly established in Co. Waterford. The coast from Tramore to Dungarvan, the Drum Hills south of Dungarvan and the Touraneena area on the main Dungarvan - Clonmel road were Carabhat strongholds. The Seansbheists were mainly concentrated in the area north of Kilmacthomas towards Carrick-on-Suir and Portlaw and in Modeligo and Affane near Cappoquin. The members were usually small farmers and workmen but sometimes big farmers also took part.

THE FACTION FIGHTS:

The faction leader was feared and respected in the locality and many are celebrated in Deise songs, e.g. Tomas O Toghlu from Sliabh gCua and Ruairi O-SeSeasta from Clonea. These leaders could call out up to a hundred followers at short notice.

Fights were nearly always prearranged and took place at fairs or markets. The principal places of combat were Windgap near Carrick-on-Suir, Knockboy near Sliabh gCua, Sleady in the parish of Modeligo, Kilgobnet north of Dungarvan and Ballykerogue near Darrow. Intensive preparations were made for the big day, like cutting ashplants and blackthorn sticks, sharpening scythes and billhooks, and sometimes gentlemen's houses were attacked at nighttime in search of firearms.

On the day of the fight those that lived far away from the fair usually stole horses to carry them. The Sliabh gCua Carabhats arrived at Ballykerogue fair in 1811 on stolen horses followed by cartloads of ashplants and other weapons. As the faction men arrived much shouting of abuse at the opposing group took place, battle cries were raised and the preliminary challenge was given. This was done by the leader who "did a wheel" by trailing his coat along the ground. The other side formally took up the challenge by standing on the coat and a free for all ensued in which bystanders also took part. The women sometimes put stones into their stockings and went in to help their menfolk. The Carabhats being the stronger faction usually won such fights. Both sides more often than not suffered serious injury and sometimes one reads accounts of people being killed.

SONGS OF THE FACTIONS:

A silk cravat and a white band on their hats were the distinctive marks of Carabhats: "Ta cnuta deas im hata agus is Carabhat den sioda daor Hura tres na sceacha libh sen Carabhat a gheobhaidh an chraobh." The Seanabheists or Vesteens as they were popularly known only wore a white flannel waistcoat. The Carabhats of course made no secret of the fact that they considered themselves superior as they were the ones who were carrying on the old traditions of the Whiteboys. A burdun or refrain from the Sliabh gCua area illustrates this point:

"Barra na hUidhre miola ar Sheanabheist
Is iad a naisceadh gach la le grein"

here we see Vesteens considered as men dressed in lice infested flannel.

The factions too live on in music and song "Buachail O Chluain Meala", "Tainse in Chadhladh" and Ruairi Aluinn are all associated with them and the Whiteboy air "Caidhp an Chuil Aird" (High Caul Cap) was also a distinctive faction tune. The Sliabh gCua area especially kept the faction stories alive well into this century. Many of these stories and songs were gathered by Padraigh OMileadha and Labhras OCadhla. This is also true of the Drum Hills perhaps to a lesser extent because many of the older people in this area had stories as late as 1960 of fights at Kieleys Cross and in Old Parish and threatening notices by Carabhats to farmers in Toor, Mountstuart area.

INTIMIDATION BY FACTIONS:

However, it would be unfair to look upon these groups purely as fighting-men because they also took a keen interest in land affairs; bailiffs and "grabbers" were severely punished, rents were regulated and when food was scarce prices were fixed. Houses and crops were sometimes destroyed in an effort to drive "grabbers" off land they had occupied. Those that helped such people were threatened and beaten and warning notices like this one from Ardmore, were posted in public places: "Therefore take your first and last warning. If you or anyone else have any call to Counsellor Feage's land you may be shure of your death. Neither relation nor friends will be able to save you from us. We will come in the day and shute any horse found at work there and beat ye to death". Sometimes these groups went as far as excluding outsiders from areas where work was scarce; Kerry Spailpins in particular often met with a hostile reception because they were willing to work long hours at lower rates than those demanded by the secret societies or factions.

CARABHATS, SHEANABHEISTS AND THE LAW:

The authorities naturally were quite worried by this sudden outbreak

of lawlessness as can be seen from the amount of correspondence which reached the Under-Secretary in Dublin. In those days the law was administered by magistrates who had power to call upon temporary police and on the army to assist them. This system had been reasonably successful in the past against the Whiteboys and on this occasion the magistrates had a much better chance of obtaining information as one group was sometimes willing to inform on the other and furthermore Whiteboyism in its true sense had never been strong in Co. Waterford.

In 1811 there were five regiments of soldiers in Waterford - stationed in the following places: Geneva Barracks, Waterford Annestown, Carrick-on-Suir and Cappoquin. As well as these regiments, there were companies of militia in Galltir, Corraghmore and Mahonbridge. The outlying areas of Sliabh gCua and Ardmore proved to be the most difficult to watch. At one stage a group of Carabhats actually broke into Richard Humble's (the magistrate's) house in Clashmore and forced him to swear an oath to free several of their members whom he had lodged in Waterford Goal.

Other magistrates like H.S. Cole in Annestown, Richard English in Cappoquin and Edward Elliot in Dungarvan were more active. Principally due to their efforts many of the worst offenders were arrested. This, however, often proved quite ineffective as it was virtually impossible to get witnesses willing to testify in court. Because of this other Magistrates offered the faction men a pardon if they took an oath to keep the peace and were willing to give up any offensive weapons. This plan however, only met with limited success as both groups distrusted each other. On other occasions the authorities were left with no choice but to release the prisoners unpunished, although we do read of instances of public whipping through the main streets of a town like that carried out in Dungarvan in 1813.

After three years of almost continuous fighting the efforts of the authorities seemed to be achieving little. The faction fights continued while the prisons were full of people who had been arrested for disturbing the peace of his Majesty's Realm and nobody was willing to give evidence in court against them. While people were satisfied to inform the magistrate secretly it was quite another matter altogether "to swear on the book in court" ("An leabhar do dhearbhu sa chuir"). That, to the peasants, was an unpardonable crime.

The County Grand Jury realised that far more stringent measures were required and they accordingly petitioned the Government for a Special Commission to try those in prison. This was sent to the area in 1811 with the infamous Lord Norbury as the presiding judge. Punishment was meted out without mercy; several prisoners were sentenced to death while others received public whippings and further terms of imprisonment. Two years of comparative peace followed but by 1813 magistrates were again complaining that factions had been reorganised. H. S. Cole the Annestown magistrate wanted the licences withdrawn from public houses in his area because in his opinion they were being used as meeting places for the Carabhats late at night.

THE END OF THE FACTIONS:

This time the Government's reaction to this and other disturbances was much more efficient. Sir Robert Peel established a permanent police force in 1814 and a further Peace Preservation Act was passed in the same year, designed to strengthen the powers of search and arrest given to this new force. The police proved to be very active against the factions, many of

the leaders were arrested some of whom were executed in Dungarvan in 1815.

The priests often felt it was their duty to speak out against the factions despite the risk of being identified with the authorities. Some people realised that the Catholic Clergy could achieve more than the most severe laws: "the priests could do more in quelling the disturbances than all the armies in the Kingdom" one magistrate informed the Government. A few priests went as far as reading the names of troublemakers from the altar. This practice sometimes proved to be more of an advantage to the Carabats than to the law as those mentioned emigrated to America before the police could act. Fr. Walsh P.P. of Ardmore expressed his sorrow at seeing Irishmen fighting each other without any regard for the law of the land or the law of God:

"Tagann osna om chroi nuair a chin na leanann sibh Dli na hEaglaise is
Alsinne mein"

By 1815 the disturbances had subsided somewhat, principally due to the efforts of the new police force. The factions still continued to have occasional skirmishes - on a much lesser scale however, sometimes they assumed different names such as Poil and Gaibhne in the Rathgormack - Clonea area in the 1830's. Michael Doherty mentions them in 1848 and they were still active in the Irish speaking areas in the Drum Hills and in Modeligo much later in the last century. The remaining areas of Co. Waterford did not experience such serious disturbances again. Factions still remained active in other parts of Munster - "Ruskavalla Boys" in Tipperary and "Black Mulvihills" in North Kerry, to mention but a few.

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SUIR: RIVER OF ETERNITY ? :

In the following Irish phrases (all in Dineen's Dictionary), what appears to be the River Suir is used to connote eternity. Is there some legend behind this? "For ever" is expressed as "i gaeitheamh (or le saol) na Suire"; "till Judgement Day" is "Go La (or brathach) na Suire".

Can anybody enlighten ?

The Parish of Kilmacow, just north of the City of Waterford, had, at the start of the 19th century, a total of 11 flour and corn mills plus three linen mills. The best known of these mills is, without doubt, Greenville Mills or "Brown's Mills" as it is better known to generations of neighbouring farmers. It is also the only mill in South Kilkenny which is still working after almost 200 years in continuous use.

This mill was originally a simple 4 storey Flour Mill, built probably about 1790; it was one of nine mills built by Greenes of Greenville, the local landlords. It was driven by a water wheel of 17 feet diameter with 7 ft. wide buckets. The water was drawn from the nearby River Blackwater. The head-race was about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in length, and was about 30 feet lower than the present one. The wheel was breast shot and had a 17 foot fall of water.

The mill had 4 pairs of mill stones, which were 4 ft. 6 ins. wide, and 1 pair of French Burrs. One pair of stones, which can still be seen in the mill, was used up to the late 1920s to grind wheatmeal for farmers. The remainder were incorporated in the laying of the floors of the stables in 1885. The machinery in the original mill consisted of :

- 2 sets of Elevators
- 2 barrel screens
- 2 flour machines
- 1 separator
- 1 winnowing fan

The mill also had a second wheel of 13 feet diameter. This was used occasionally for making woollen rolls four months in the year. Two ten hour shifts were worked daily.

The Greene family leased the mill to a family named Cadogan, who came from Newbawn, Co. Wexford. As well as working Greenville Mill, they also owned a mill at Mullinderry, Clongeen, Co. Wexford.

The Cadogan family during their 70 years here became active in the Parish. Patrick Cadogan is recorded as being Chairman of the Catholic Emancipation branch in Kilmacow. During the famine, the mill was one of the centres from which food was distributed to the needy.

After leaving here in the 1850s, some of the family took over the running of Yaletown Mill, New Ross. Michael and Thomas Cadogan, descendants of the family, are still living in Co. Wexford. Another member of the family, Anthony Cadogan, became Mayor of Waterford in 1893.

As a result of the Famine, John Greene, M.P., the owner, was forced to sell the mill together with 51 acres adjoining, through the Encumbered Estates in 1858, to an Eleanor Forristal of Knockane Cottage, Co. Waterford.

She in turn leased it to a merchant of George's Street, Waterford, named Matthew Devereaux, at a yearly rent of £104-6-2d. p.a. Six years later the mill was bought by a miller named John Brown of Clashanna Mills, Co. Carlow.

John Brown, who served his apprenticeship in the Ballyragget Mill (which was situate on the bank of the River Nore on land now owned by nearby Avonmore Creameries) came to Kilmacow full of ambitious plans for his newly acquired mill.

Heretofore soft wheat was ground between two mill stones. This was known as stone ground and was the only way known since biblical times. However the grinding of wheat by using steel roller mills was commencing in Europe about this time. In 1885, John Brown invested large sums of money installing this new system of grinding flour. This entailed the raising of the existing mill, plus the installation of blending silos, which gave him in turn the ability to blend various varieties of wheat for the manufacture of both bakers and household flour.

To use the water more economically, he installed a water turbine of 110 h.p. with a 110 h.p. with a 41 foot head of water. To supplement the water in summertime, a steam engine was also erected, which incidentally used one ton of coal a day. To get this new increased fall of water, a canal was cut starting a mile further up the river. A large number of local men were employed to dig this headrace with pick and shovel. The headrace emptied itself into a square storage pond, and from there the water was taken by metal aquaduct onto the turbine. This tank, which is still in perfect working order was cast in sections by Ben Graham in his foundry at Waterford. Great stone pillars support the tank which was erected in 1885.

With the increased output of about 144 sacks of flour a day, work force increased dramatically. The mill now worked 3 X 8 hour shifts daily. A work force of 24 horse and carts made deliveries of flour to Waterford and had backloads of wheat from Halls on their return journey. Extra horses were often hired. This large number of horses needed constant care. A blacksmith's forge was built nearby to keep the horses shod and the steel bands on the cart wheels renewed. The advent of power-driven vehicles reduced the horse traffic, until finally it died out completely. The forge which was run by the well-known McGrath family is now in ruins.

John Brown, the owner died about 1900, and two of his sons took over the running of the mill. From an old wages sheet, dated 1905, it can be seen that upwards of 38 men were employed in Brown's Mill. The total wage bill for the mill workers came to £38-7-3½. per six day week. The average wage being about 15/- weekly. Together with steady employment, eight of the workers lived in cottages owned by the owners for which 6d. (2½p) per week was deducted from their wages.

About 1910 business became slack, through the importation of English flour, with dire results for the existing mills. Also, John Brown's sons were not shrewd businessmen like their father. Business slackened and the property had to be auctioned in 1914. It was bought by a consortium of millers - Ardaghs of Pouldrew, Co. Waterford, Going & Smith of Cahir, Mosses of Bennettsbridge and Pilsworths of Thomastown. They never manufactured flour, their aim being to keep out other competitors. However, during the war years (1939/45), farmers' own wheat was manufactured for their own use exclusively.

Three of the partners gradually dropped out, leaving Pilsworths of Thomastown the sole owners. In 1937, the Pileworth family formed a Limited Company and traded as John Brown & Co. Ltd. The continued in business to 1971 when, because of the declining years of the head of the

Company, Mr. Wm. J. Pilsworth, the business was wound up and sold to Kilmacow Co-op. Three years later, the Co-op, together with the mill was absorbed into the Avonmore Creameries Group, and so it stands to-day.

It now manufactures compound feeding stuffs and grinds barley and maize meal. A staff of six are now employed in the mill.

FOLKLORE OF LICKETSTOWN

From the Late Edward Walsh

(Before the visit of the O.W.S. to Licketstown (reported in Decies 3), on 4th July 1976, the late Mr. Edward Walsh had kindly given us this item of folklore from the area which we are now pleased to publish as a tribute to him.)

As the Cromwellian army passed from Waterford to Clonmel they lived off the people, and what they didn't consume they destroyed by a scorched earth policy. So they burnt the crops and slaughtered the cattle.

Now the Powers, who were lords of Waterford at the time, had suffered somewhat and decided to stock-up again by raiding across the Suir into the County Kilkenny. Several times between 1650 and 1660 they crossed near Fiddown and drove all before them to Moonveen where they crossed again. At last the people from Mooncoin to Glengrant decided to oppose them.

The battle started at Ballamore (this means, the big Cow-field), opposite the present Tech. and proceeded through Rathkieran and Portnascully to Ballygorey ("the bloody townland" as it was called after that fight; it used to be 3 townlands called Barrabhaile, Dunabhaile and Culabhaile). From there, Power and his men were driven up the Ballygorey knocks to "little field which is still called Knocknagapall. It was there that Power watered his horses.

From there, the battle proceeded towards Moonveen, but in a field called Bul a coinne ("the last stand") between there and Glen grant Power was defeated. He headed up the Moonveen Knock road and down to the Suir at a place which to this day is called Power-aige-snaah ("where Power swam across"). On his way crossing the river he put up his hand and said "Beidh la eile ag de Paor" - "Power has lived to fight another day", but he never again was seen in South Kilkenny.

THE WALLS AND DEFENCES OF WATERFORD

By J. S. Carroll

FOUNDATION:

It is reasonable to surmise that the marauding Norsemen who founded Waterford in the 9th or early 10th Century were on the lookout for a landing place in sheltered water that could be conveniently defended from the hostile Irish. The site they chose was six miles up a navigable river from a well-protected natural harbour at a point where an extensive area of marshland and a tidal tributary offered protection on the East and South-East sides and where there was a tidal stream or pill on the West. For their immediate needs they chose well. When the first barriers of opposition were broken down and when they began to lead a more settled life they were able to trade with those who dwelt or held sway along the banks of the three great rivers that flow into Waterford Harbour.

Their settlement comprised an area of only about 20 acres and was roughly the shape of an equilateral triangle. It must have been obvious to them from the start that, even in the absence of open hostility, permanent defence works would be essential, since raiding and counter-raiding played so large a part in contemporary Irish life. Their first form of perimeter fence would almost certainly have been of timber but, in the three centuries or so that they were here before the Normans came, they had plenty of time to replace them by something better - perhaps earthworks and palisades. At any rate, there seems to be little doubt that by the time the city was assaulted by the Normans under Strongbow (1170), they had stone walls, and good ones at that, seeing that the attackers were twice repulsed and only succeeded in carrying the assault after cutting down a prop which supported a house which, in collapsing, carried part of the wall with it.

We are told that a tower stood at each apex of the triangle and that those at the East and West ends of the river front were called Reginald's Tower and Turgesius' Tower, respectively. These names, which persisted under the Norman occupation, proclaim their Viking origin. Turgesius (a Latinised corruption of Thorgil) was a prominent leader of those of the Norsemen who sought to colonise the coastal parts of Ireland after having plundered and slain their inhabitants since their first appearance in the year 794. Reginald, (or Ragnaud) appears to have been the local Norse ruler about a century-and-a-half later and the erection, in 1003, of the tower which bears his name is ascribed to him. Geraldus Cambrensis tells us that Strongbow captured and executed Sitric (or Syctarac) in "Turris Reginaldi", a fact which shows that at least there was a tower so-named at the time of the invasion. It may not have been even on the site of the present tower or it may have been on the site but later demolished. Again, it may well be that the lower vertical-walled portion of the present tower is of the Norse period, but it is most unlikely that the upper (battered wall) section is of earlier than 13th Century date.

EXPANSION:

Whatever form the Norse defences may have taken, or whatever their extent, the conquering Normans lost no time in expelling both Norse and Irish inhabitants and in erecting further walls to keep them out. The late 12th and early 13th Century was a period of great building activity throughout Norman-occupied Ireland and Waterford was no exception to this rule. The Norman walls took in a great deal more than the old Norse town which, by then, had probably expanded well beyond its original western boundary. This, the Normans proceeded to take down. They built a new wall along the Quay, and a new one on the East side, both presumably on the lines of the old Norse walls, but they extended the Eastern wall along the edge of the marsh as far as the site of the present Railway Square, then ran it westward to the French Tower and returned it northward to the quay, taking in about 53 acres.

This work was done under the authority of charters granted by King John (1199-1216) and King Henry III (1216-1272). These charters enabled the Mayor to levy a tax on waterborne merchandise for the construction and upkeep of the city walls. Subsequent Plantagenet monarchs also showed similar favours to Waterford.

The city was frequently under attack by the Powers, the Walshs and the O'Driscolls during the first few centuries of Anglo-Norman rule. Following a series of such attacks, Richard II, in 1394, on the occasion of his first visit to Waterford, authorised the strengthening and improvement of the walls.

TOWERS:

Along the line of the walls there were several gates, flanked by defensive towers, and several other towers at strategic points. No one can say with certainty when these were built. The construction of the walls themselves is said to have been begun in 1211. St. John's Gate and St. Patrick's Gate probably date from this time also, since they led to the areas where the dispossessed Norse and Irish had respectively settled, i.e. Ballytruckle and the present-day Ballybricken.

A reconstruction map of 1673 shows no fewer than 23 towers on the line of the walls, apart from other defensive works. This checks with Sir Thomas Phillip's map of 1685 which was one of a series prepared to illustrate a report by Lord Dartmouth "on the state of Irish cities and towns". A map of 1764 shows 14, and at the present day there are 6 of them still standing, namely Reginald's Tower, the Watch Tower in Railway Square, the Castle Street Tower, the French Tower, the Half-Moon Tower and the Beach Tower.

THE QUAY:

The line of the former wall along the Quay is the least known but it is fairly clear from early 18th Century maps that there have been Turgesius' Tower (on site of Bank at East corner of Barronstrand St.) and Reginald's Tower it consisted of three straights. The first of these lined up with the outer face

of Turgesius' Tower and Goose Gate tower, (East side of Henrietta Street), both of which were rectangular. From the rear corner of the Goose Gate Tower the wall continued eastward in a second straight stretch, but in a slightly less southerly direction, as far as the angle at Tritschlers'. From this angle the third straight brought the wall to Reginald's Tower. Thus, while Turgesius' Tower was behind the wall, Goose Gate Tower formed a bastion on it.

The line of the wall along the Quay was some distance back from the present frontage, especially between Barronstrand St. and Conduit Lane and again between Exchange St. and Keyser St. From Henrietta St. eastward it coincided with the frontage. A section of the wall from Greyfriars to the angle at Tritschlers' remained intact until 1834 or possibly later. There were water gates at Conduit Lane and Exchange St. and one in between. There was another at Henrietta St. and a fifth at the foot of Bailey's New Street.

Inside the wall there was a relatively wide street from about Howard's to Henrietta St., where it narrowed to a passage way that ran behind the entire circuit of the walls. At the other end the street turned into Baly's (or Bailey's) Lane, -now Cathedral Lane - the houses facing which had their backs to the city wall.

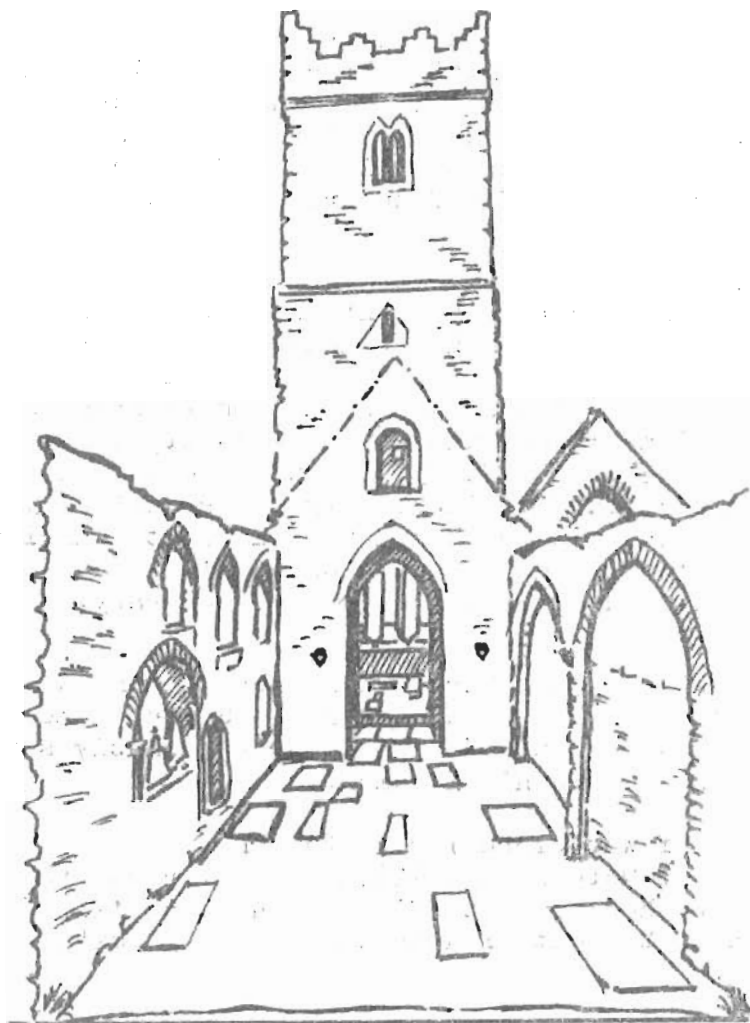
The present Exchange St. did not run right down to the Quay but was a lane, known as The Shambles, that extended only about 100' below High Street, where it opened into an open space about 150' deep and of roughly the same width. This, apparently, was where butchering was originally carried out. Later it became the Corn Market, and, before the middle of the 18th Century it had become the site of two elegant public buildings, namely, the Exchange and the Custom House, as may be seen in the Van der Hagen painting of 1736.

The Ordnance Survey maps show an historic site symbol at the foot of Keyser St. and mark it as "Site of Keyser's Castle". However, I have failed to find any evidence of a tower in such a location on any map - either that of 1673 or Phillip's accurate survey of 1685. A corresponding position at the foot of Henrietta St. would be roughly correct for the tower which, for want of a better name, I have called Goose Gate Tower, since the former name of Henrietta St. was Goose Gate Lane. Incidentally the street now called Keyser St. is a bit of a mystery. The name appears in the Danish towns of Dublin and Wexford also, and is a Norse word meaning, apparently, the street of the ship - wharves. So much for "Keyser's Castle". But in the Civil Survey of 1653 and on the Richards and Scate' map of 1764 it is Kempson's Land. By 1841, when the first Waterford city map by the Ordnance Survey appeared, it had become Keyser's Lane. I cannot offer any explanation either for the mislocation of the castle site or for the street name.

CONTINUED in DECIES 5

Luke Wadding's Record of 1635 :

The following burials are taken from Volume III of "Annals Minorum" by Luke Wadding, 1635)



The interior of the Holy Ghost Friary, commonly called the "French Church", showing burial monuments in original positions

1. "I assume that this Friary contains the burial-place of the blessed John of Waterford, who according to the ancient author Pisanus was noted for great miracles, for at his tomb the sick were cured, many diseases were routed, and (what is even more remarkable) the dead were raised".

2. Nicholas of Waterford: a keen holy man who predicted to the brethren the day of his death.
3. The founder is said to have been the illustrious Sir Hugo Porcellus, and this is plainly confirmed by a fragment of an old manuscript of the convent which says ; " at the right hand side of the high altar is the burial place of Sir Hugo Porcellus, who was the founder of this convent '.

This Sir Hugh Purcell was the son of Walter Purcell, who came to Ireland with the Earl Marshal and died about 1250. He married Beatrix, daughter of Theobald Walter 1. (founder of the Butler family), who brought him as her dowry the lands of Loughmoe, County Tipperary. They were the founders of the Purcells, Barons of Loughmoe.

Presumably the old manuscript referred to by Wadding (also by Mooney) is the list of medieval burials referred to below. Actually this list says that Purcell was buried on the left hand side of the high altar, not the right. I suppose it all depends on which way the writer faces. Anyway, the Gospel side of the high altar was the traditional burial place for founders and that no doubt is where Purcell was buried.

He is certainly not there now. At what stage was he removed? Meehan's "Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries in Ireland" written in 1878 which purports to be a "faithful paraphrase" of Mooney's 1617("De Provincia Hiberniae Sancti Francisci" published Anelecta Hibernica VI) account but is actually no such thing, states that Purcell's "recumbent effigy may still be seen in our much - injured church". This is implicitly contradicted by both Mooney himself and Wadding, who both had to rely on the ancient Manuscript for knowledge of the tomb's whereabouts; if it had been there before their eyes, this would hardly have been necessary.

Wadding also states that Sir Nicholas Walsh, who died two years before Mooney's visit, was buried on the Gospel side of the High Altar, "in the founders tomb". So that presumably settled whatever was left of Purcell and his monument.

Ryland(History of Waterford 1824) ,thought that an effigy found by Smith,(History of Waterford 1746),in a cellar was the tombstone of Purcell;however, he failed to find it,and Egan (1894) correctly points out that the coat of arms described by Smith is not that of Purcell.

There one would have expected the matter to rest(literally), but Canon Power has something extraordinary to say on the subject; Speaking of the pillar at the West end of the Lady Chapel,he says: "About 18ft. from this pillar,measuring from the street,and at the depth of 14ft.beneath the surface of the ground,Mr. Myles Baillie, Builder, states that a few years since,he discovered the tomb of the founder. The Contractor's workmen were excavating at the time for the foundation of the houses which now face the street. So little interest was taken in the discovery that the houses were actually built over the tomb. Mr. Baillie states emphatically that the slab bearing the inscription was massive and very heavy, and that it bore the date 1240 and the name Hugo Purcell in raised Roman Capitals . The inscription , he adds, was in Latin . It is exceedingly to be regretted that, before the

not taken to remove or even examine the tombs unearthed, as another opportunity for doing either will not occur for a century".

If the tomb discovered was indeed a contemporary monument to Sir Hugo Purcell, then it is the oldest dated tombstone in Ireland! How did it get into the Lady Chapel? Whatever the truth of the matter, it seems that the workmen did unearth something, and if ever the Corporation decides to demolish the houses build round the Lady Chapel, I hope they will investigate before erecting any new ones.

4. Another holy man, Brother John Luker, was interred here in secret. His body was originally buried in St. Mary's Church, -"on the site of the present Franciscan Friary, but was exhumed many years later by a member of his Order, together with a devout secular priest and a pious matron, as he himself had requested when on the point of death. This incident happened to interest me when I was a young man, and I heard that the corpse had been found in perfect condition and the clothes and sandals intact".

Other sources tell us that Luker died in 1597, and that he was not buried in the church of his Order because of the religious persecution at the time. A chalice which he caused to be made in 1595 was discovered in an old well, and is now preserved in Braganza House, Carlow, the residence of the Bishops of Hildare and Leighlin.

5. "Here also is the resting-place of Brother Donatus Dalaeus, who in his younger days suffered many tribulations for the Catholic faith. He entered the Franciscan Order and died in 1614, leaving behind him throughout the kingdom a reputation of wonderful integrity, singular wisdom and laudable innocence. Many more things could be said of him".
6. In the main chapel, on the Epistle side, rest the bodies of the most illustrious Lord Richard Poer, Baron of Curraghmore, an ardent supporter of the Catholic faith and of his wife, Catherine de Barry daughter of the Great Barry, Viscount of Butivania".

Richard, 4th Lord Power and Curraghmore, succeeded to the title in 1592 and died 8th August 1607. Notwithstanding Wadding's eulogy of him, he was loyal to the English administration and was instrumental in causing his rebel kinsmen to submit to the Crown. Canon Power rightly says of him: "That Lord Richard acted betimes the role of Vicar of Bray seems clear from the fact that John Davys, Attorney General, writing to Cecil, styles him a 'well - affected Protestant' while Wadding describes him as 'an active defender of the Catholic faith'."

Canon Power also tells us that when Myles Baillie's workmen allegedly discovered the tomb of Sir Hugh Purcell, they also found two other slabs beside it, one of which bore an inscription in English which included the name Richard Power.

7. "On the Gospel side, in the tomb of the founder, was recently buried the most illustrious Sir Nicholas Valesius, Knight, one of the principal judges of the kingdom and chief of the Court of Common Pleas.

Sir Nicholas was born in Waterford and was presumably related to the founder of the Holy Ghost Hospital. He was an ambitious and energetic supporter of the English regime, especially during the Deputy ship of Perrott. He was Speaker of the Irish Parliament in 1585 and later became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and a Knight. He died 12th April 1615. He had the reputation of being the richest commoner in Munster.

Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare did not share Wadding's admiration for Sir Nicholas, of whom he wrote in his "History of the Catholics in Ireland": "Then died Nicholas Walsh, a notable Judge of the heretics in Ireland, who because he was a heretic and behaved savagely towards the Irish, obtained a position of great dignity among the English. Growing old, and fearing the approach of death, he obtained with tears the mercy of the Catholic Church".

Why he had a right to be buried in the founder's tomb is anyone's guess; but with Sir Nicholas Walsh on the Gospel side of the High altar, and Richard Lord Power on the Epistle side, the cross of Christ would appear to have stood once again between two thieves.

8. "In the great chapel of the second church, or Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, are the carved stone sepulchres of the most illustrious lords Barons of Bunile and Kilmedane, founders of the Chapel".

This is confirmed by the Funeral entry in the Genealogical Office of Nicholas Power, Lord of Kilmaiden, which says that he was buried in the "Hospital of Waterford" on 3rd April 1635.

9. "In the middle of the same chapel (i.e. the Lady Chapel), to the right as you enter or on the Epistle side, is erected in a recess in the wall the tomb of the Waddings, in which, I remember, was laid the illustrious Thomas Wadding, my worthy paternal uncle, whose memory is blessed among us and always will be, on account of his great liberality to the poor, his ready and open hospitality to all the devout and to the clergy, and also the duties he fulfilled for the Christian state.

"Next to him lie William my other uncle and Walter my devout father to whom I am indebted not only for my birth but more particularly for his assiduous attention to my Christian training and his very great concern for my proper education. He was divided in death from his loving wife, our mother Anastasia Lambarda, who was carried off by a severe and deadly plague, on account of which she was not allowed to rest with her husband but was buried in the monastery of St. Catarine outside the City...." (on the site of the present Courthouse).

CONTINUED in DECIES 5

by Brian A. Reynolds Ph.D.

REDMOND AND THE TREATY:

In most histories William Redmond's political career rates little more than a footnote. The once great Irish Parliamentary Party was a spent political force. During the turbulent period after 1922 other individuals, and their organizations, emerged into the limelight. Redmond, nevertheless, remains an interesting, if forgotten, figure. It certainly could be argued that he remained the standard bearer of nationalist thought throughout the period 1922 - 1932. Joe Devlin was in the North separated by the border. John Dillon had retired from active politics after his defeat in the 1918 election. And Tim Healy's position as governor-general isolated him from active politics.¹

Redmond's attitude towards the state provides an insight into a change in political allegiance. In fact, during those ten years, he moved from being an interested bystander to leader of the National League, and finally ending as a loyal supporter of the Cumann na nGaedheal party. His actions mirror the trend in Irish politics which has destroyed most third parties and reduced the number of independent deputies to a mere shadow of their former strength. Therefore, this article will attempt to shed some light on why Redmond followed the course he did and what were the reasons behind his conversion to the pro-Treaty Cumann na nGaedheal movement.

A natural starting point for such an essay is the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. This document ushered in what has largely been a two party system. Despite proportional representation no political movement has been able to challenge the strength of the two parties born out of the Treaty and civil war conflict.²

Perhaps it would have been natural for the Irish Parliamentary party to become a contender for the sinews of power. After all, the members of that party had far more experience than either pro or anti Treaty Sinn Fein.³ A standard interpretation of why this threat did not materialise is that the IPP was so badly beaten in 1918 that it no longer was a political force to worry about.⁴ However, Brian Farrell has dispelled this argument by pointing out that the nationalists maintained, if not increased, their support at that election.⁵

Redmond contended that nationalists stood down at the 1922 election in order to allow the people to decide between the two wings of Sinn Fein. He reasoned that the conflict over the Treaty must be settled at the ballot box and the best chance to reach such a decision was to "place no obstacle in its path."⁶ Redmond's attitude is similar to that adopted by the Irish Labour party at the 1918 general election. Of course, such actions are easily criticised. In both the case of Labour and the IPP, standing down at the election may have been the noble thing to do but it allowed Sinn Fein to strengthen its hold on the political system.

Certainly, Redmond's attitude is backed by a look at the candidates that went forward at the 1922 general election. Out of the 173 that went forward only 4 had been former Westminster M.P.'s. Nevertheless, the split between pro and anti Sinn Fein was not closed but widened into a bitter civil war. The events of 1922 and 1923 convinced Redmond, along with other nationalists, that a return to active politics was necessary. Out of the 377 candidates that went forward, there were 10 former M.P.'s. standing however none were affiliated to either wing of Sinn Fein. Almost all of the nationalists ran either as independents or Farmers' candidates.

It is important at this stage to stress that the pro-treaty Cumann na nGaedheal government was made up almost entirely of former Sinn Fein members. This factor largely explains the actions and attitudes adopted by the nationalists, in general, and Redmond in particular. The period 1922 till 1927 is marked by a constant conflict centering not only on the Treaty split but also on Sinn Fein policy. Briefly, Cumann na nGaedheal was assailed both inside and outside the Dail as being anti-republican. The government, quite naturally, resented an attempt to link it with the old Irish Parliamentary Party.

Perhaps the most famous incident of this conflict occurred during the boundary debate in December of 1925. Labour, along with several independents, charged that the government had accomplished less than John Redmond was able to achieve in 1914 and for his troubles he had been "hounded out of public life." William Redmond hotly defended the actions of the IPP but government deputies called him a "Pontius Pilate" and yelled that the nationalists had fostered partition.⁸ In one of the most unruly debates ever seen in the Dail, the Ceann Comhairle, Michael Hayes, had to assure nationalists that "no deputy in this House abused the memory of John Redmond" while warning the government that "I shall not allow anybody to abuse the memory of....

The government's attitude convinced Redmond that an alternative political party was necessary. In September of 1926 Redmond, along with Thomas O'Donnell, formed the National League. It would be difficult to equate the National League as anything but an attempt to re-introduce the Irish Parliamentary Party back into Irish Politics. However, it should be noted that Redmond denied that this was the case.¹⁰ Instead he argued that the new party was aiming at "a very large section of the Irish people that have for the past six years had no voice and have taken no part in the government of the country."¹¹

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE AND THE 1927 ELECTION:

There were two main groups which Redmond sought support from, ex-British servicemen and town tenant associations. Redmond argued that the contributions made by Irish soldiers during the war had played a part in freeing Ireland and their services had been ignored by the government.¹² Moreover, he had, in 1926, led the fight for improved and lasting legislation which would safeguard tenant's rights.¹³ Unfortunately for Redmond both the town tenants and British Ex-servicemen's organisations were split, with groups in Gorey, Tullamore, Dublin and Wicklow in favour of the National League while other sections, such as Kerry opposed.¹⁴

Perhaps Redmond's bravest stand during the election campaign concerned the Irish language. Both wings of Sinn Fein were firmly committed to a compulsory language policy. Redmond argued that although in favour of a revival he was totally opposed to compulsive legislation which would force people to learn Irish.¹⁵ At this time the government's policy was not merely confined to the schools but there were attempts to include language requirements for public sector jobs, as well as both medical and judicial appointments. Redmond's stance made him a marked man by Irish enthusiasts who actively worked against his party.¹⁶

Time and space does not permit a detailed analysis of the election campaign.¹⁷ However, it would be impossible to understand Redmond's later attitude to the Cosgrave government without touching on the election campaign. Cumann na nGaedheal saw Redmond's new party as a threat to its electoral support. With hindsight we know that this challenge failed to materialise. But in 1927, no one really knew how much support a nationalist party led by Redmond would be able to muster. Moreover, the National League was pledged to the Treaty and would take votes from Cumann na nGaedheal rather than Sinn

Fein or Fianna Fail. Therefore the government spent a good deal of the election campaign attacking Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party.

(To be continued in Decies 5)

Sources:

- ¹William O'Brien Papers, letters from Healy to O'Brien tend to stress this point.
- ²The Irish Labour party has survived throughout the period; however, it should be remembered that the party had as many seats in June 1927 as it did in 1965.
- ³Brian A. Reynolds, William T. Cosgrave and the Foundation of the Irish Free State, unpublished master's thesis, 1971
- ⁴The best example of this attitude comes from Dorothy Marcardle, The Irish Republic, p. 266-67
- ⁵Brian Farrell, The Founding of Dail Eireann, pp. 45-50
- ⁶Dail Eireann Debates, xii, 1461, December, 8th 1925
- ⁷Ibid xiii, 1345-46, December, 1925
- ⁸Ibid xiii, 1619-20 December 9, 1925 & 1739-47, December 10th 1925
- ⁹Ibid xiii, 1738-39, December 10th 1925
- ¹⁰Irish News, March 11, 1927
- ¹¹Limerick Echo, March 25, 1927
- ¹²Irish Times, April 6th, 1927
- ¹³Westmeath Examiner, December, 25th, 1926
- ¹⁴Anglo-Celt, April 30, 1927 & Derry Journal, May 2nd, 1927
- ¹⁵Cork Examiner, April 8th, 1927
- ¹⁶See: Midland Tribune, January 1st 1927, (Dublin) Leader, March 12, 1927 or Derry Journal, April 13, 1927
- ¹⁷I have previously covered this question in my address: "William Redmond and Formation of the National League", Old Waterford Society, Nov. 7, 1975; much of this talk was reprinted in the Munster Express Nov. 14 - 21, 1975.

CASTLES OF WATERFORD:

Does anybody know whether there is a list available of castles in County Waterford? Can anybody, for instance clarify whether there were two castles in Tourin, in Ballyheny, and maybe in Butlerstown? What about the castle of Mountain Castle indicated in Smith's map? The historian of the O'Briens, tracing the Comeragh Branch, mentions "Pierce O'Brien, living in 1887 at Ballyeighteragh Castle, County Waterford". There's not even a ruin on this townland now - what happened the castle?

In 1876 a total of 814 people owned all the land in the County, of these, 214 owned holdings of less than one acre in extent. The remaining 99,186 inhabitants owned neither rod, pole nor perch of their native soil. The "top twenty" landowners owned over half the County. These were, in descending order of size, as follows: -

The Marquess of Waterford, of Curraghmore	:	39,883 Acres	(over 60 sq. Miles)
Lord Stuart de Decies of Dromana	.	30,822 "	(Nearly 50 sq. miles)
The Duke of Devonshire, of Lismore Castle	:	27,483 "	(over 40 Sq. Miles)
Richard A. Chearnley of Salterbridge	:	18,165 "	
E. de la Poer of Gurteen	:	13,448 "	
J. Palliser of Comragh	:	9,825 "	
Lord Ashtown of Woodlawn, Co. Galway	:	9,435 "	
Sir J. H. Keane of Cappoquin	:	8,909 "	
Sir R. J. Musgrave of Tourin	:	8,282 "	
Earl of Dartrey of Monaghan	.	7,985 "	
Hon. C. W. M. Smyth of Ballinatrav	:	7,124 "	
Capt. J. Barry of Mg Collop Castle	:	6,955 "	
Sir C. E. B. Kennedy of Johnstown, Co. Dublin	:	6,680 "	
Viscount Doneraile of Doneraile Co. Cork	:	6,584 "	
Earl of Huntingdon of Gaultier cottage	:	6,450 "	
Sir J. N. Humble of Cloncoskeran	:	6,435 "	
C. J. Osborne's Trustees	.	6,410 "	
Sir H. P. T. Barron, Barroncourt	:	6,281 "	
Ms. C. I. Osborne, Newtown Anner	.	5,832 "	
Ms. M. H. Quinn, Shanakill, Carrick	:	5,686 "	

The Duke of Devonshire owned as many acres again in Co. Cork; in fact he owned land in 14 different counties in these islands, to a total of 198,572 acres in all. Even so, he was not in the same league as the Duke of Sutherland, who owned nearly a million and a half acres - more than 2,000 square miles - mostly in the Scottish Highlands.

SOURCES:

H.M. Command Paper "Landowners in Ireland" 1876.

"Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland" J. Bateman 1876.

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

SPRING PROGRAMME 1977

FRIDAY 11th March: "Richard II in Ireland".
A Lecture by Mrs. Margaret Phelan.
In CENTRAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE
Parnell St., at 8.00 p.m.

FRIDAY 1st April: Annual General Meeting.
TEACHERS CENTRE at 8.00 p.m.

FRIDAY 22nd April: Georgian Waterford.
Lecture by Mr. George Gossip.
In TEACHERS CENTRE 8.00 p.m.

MAY: Publication of DECIES 5. This will include part II of the following:-

Waterford Quaker Community (Quaker education and King St. Meeting House)

The Walls and Defences of Waterford (will include map of the entire defences and description of walls looping south from the river)

Notes on Burials on the French Church (Sources in Wyse Papers and existing monuments from 16th Century)

William Redmond and the Irish Free State (Aftermath of 1927 election; Redmond joins Fianna Fail and then Cumann na nGael)

ALSO: Songs of the Decies. (A Newfoundland ballad and The Fenor Mollie)

Notes on some lost field names in Dunabrattin