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BÁRDAS PHORT LAIRGE

WATERFORD CORPORATION

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EDITORIAL

AS the year 1995 draws to a close, there can surely be nobody in this country left unaware that this is the one hundred and fiftieth year since the outbreak of the Great Famine. The scale of commemoration has been impressive, both nationally and locally – the public has been deluged with books, articles, radio and television programmes, lectures, seminars, interpretative centres, exhibitions, religious services, outings and unveilings of monuments. The purpose of such commemoration is twofold. Firstly, to increase understanding of this most calamitous event in our history. Secondly, to create an awareness of the experience of famine, so that Ireland's contribution to the relief of hunger and disease in today's world – already impressive as it is – may be enhanced.

The experience of county Waterford in the years 1845-1850 was variable. Some parts were sorely stricken, others left virtually untouched. The amount of commemoration has been proportionately uneven. In the Dungarvan area, which was the hardest hit, the indefatigable Dungarvan Museum Society's programme for the year has had the Famine as its theme. There has also been much activity in Kilmacthomas and Kilrossanty. Books on the famine experience in both these areas are expected to appear shortly. The county's major publication on the subject has certainly been *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850: Teacht na bPrátaí Dubha*, edited by Des Cowman with Donald Brady and published by Geography Publications in association with Waterford County Council. It comprises thirteen articles by different contributors totalling 344 pages. It is one of the most significant works ever to appear on Waterford history, and a contribution to the Famine commemoration of which any county could be proud. A review is to appear in the next issue of *Decies*; meanwhile, any members of this Society who do not already possess a copy should be ashamed of themselves and go out and buy one immediately.

Waterford Corporation, as part of its programme for commemorating the Famine, initiated the idea of a Famine edition of *Decies* and has sponsored the production costs. For this our Society is extremely grateful. It has not been easy to supplement the work already underway elsewhere in the city and county, and much credit is owed to our contributors for their valuable work. The Corporation also sponsored art and poetry competitions on the theme of the Famine in our secondary schools, and we have pleasure in publishing the winning entries.

The close of 1995 will see the retirement of Mr Michael Doody as our City Manager. Mr Doody's career has been spent entirely in the service of Waterford Corporation, which he joined as clerical officer in 1948, and has been city manager since 1972. He has thus been at the helm of Waterford's affairs for twenty-three years. Our world has seen dramatic changes during that time, and Mr Doody has always been a man who sought to guide such changes rather than merely to let them happen. Most significantly from the point of view of our Society, he has given a high priority to the matter of conserving our city's past and making our rich heritage in history and buildings more accessible to the public.

Waterford is unquestionably a more interesting place to live in or to visit than it was a quarter of a century ago. Our principal buildings are spectacularly floodlit; two fine eighteenth century buildings have been restored by Waterford Corporation, City Hall and the Bishop's Palace (now the engineering department of Waterford Corporation); some of our older streets are pedestrianised; a sizeable proportion of the medieval city has been excavated; a heritage centre has been established in Greyfriars; Reginald's Tower is currently undergoing major restoration; and a daring heritage development plan has been launched, which includes the establishment of a flagship tourist attraction in the old granary.

Mr Doody has also initiated a series of historical publications under the aegis of the Corporation. These include books on Waterford housing and the city's royal charters as well as *Born of Fire*, a video on the history of glass making in Waterford. *The History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th-20th Century*, was published on the 16 Nov. 1995. This is a limited edition of eight hundred copies to commemorate eight centuries of civic government in Waterford and is a major addition to the historical works on our city. The publication of a full report on the archaeological work done in the city is also forthcoming, and it will be of international significance.

The overall thrust of recent developments is to heighten people's awareness of the importance and interest of our past. Our Society has much cause to appreciate the valuable initiatives taken in this regard by Mr Doody. We wish him a happy retirement and commend his record to his successor.



As we go to press we have received the sad news of the sudden death of Noel Cassidy. Noel was a member of our Society for many years, and few have played a more active part in it. He was one of the creators of *Decies*, he was a former chairman of the Society; and the community as a whole is greatly in his debt for his courageous stand in leading the campaign to secure the preservation of the medieval St Martin's Gate when it was threatened with demolition. We hope to include an appreciation of Noel in our next issue, and meanwhile we extend our deepest sympathy to his family.



In recent years there has been much change in the format of *Decies*. The aim is to make it a more professional journal, not only in content but in production as well, so that it may compare worthily with the journals of our neighbouring county societies. This year we have tried a new format, which we hope our readers will approve. It is intended that *Decies* should be a full-length annual production, and that it will be supplemented by newsletters as is the practice of most historical societies. This year's *Decies* has been very much a team effort, and as Editor I should like to extend my warmest thanks to my fellow members of the editorial committee – as also, of course, to our contributors, without whom there would have been no journal at all.

Julian C. Walton, Hon. Editor

Eamonn McEaney, Associate Editor, History advisor, Waterford Corporation

FAMINE

*Beside me they walk,
Some never pass me by.
A muffled fall.
Another life, slumped
A heap
Upon the earth.*

*Tears
Don't fill my eyes anymore.
They have run dry
Like the soil.*

*Turning I see
Haggard
Emaciated
Faces.*

*Appearances
Drawn and sunken.
Bones
Tearing through flesh.*

*Along the dirt road
We walk.
Before us
The workhouse.
Stark.
Grey.*

The Famine and Religious Controversy in Waterford, 1847-1850

By Eugene Broderick

Introduction

THE Famine produced many demon figures in the Irish folk memory. These include landlords, land agents, and gombeenmen. One figure in particular is an object of special revulsion – ‘the souper’. This person was described as one “who traffics in religion by inducing starving creatures to abandon a creed which they believe for one which in their hearts they reprobate, and this for some temporal consideration, be that meal, or money, or soup, or possession of a house and land”.¹ The accusation of souperism was directed against some of the clergy of the Church of Ireland. Consequently, the reputation of this church at a time of national crisis was tarnished. This essay examines the truth or otherwise of these allegations as they related to Waterford, and the nature of the response of the Established Church clergy to the Great Famine.²

Background

It was the deeply held conviction of many evangelical Protestants³ in Ireland and England that the main source of Irish economic, social, and political problems was the Catholic religion.⁴ The *Mail*, the organ of Waterford Protestantism, articulated this view when in 1826 it declared that “Popery was the root of all the evils which afflict this country”.⁵ Roman Catholicism was seen by ardent evangelicals as a pernicious faith, based on superstition and heresies; these being perpetuated by a

1. For this description of what constituted a ‘souper’ see Irene Whelan, “The Stigma of Souperism”, in Cathal Poirteir, ed., *The Great Famine* (Cork, 1995), p. 273, footnote no. 15.
2. While this essay concentrates on the activities (both ‘souper’ and charitable) of the clergy, those of the laity of the Church of Ireland must also be acknowledged.
3. For the purpose of this essay the term Protestant refers to the Church of Ireland, unless otherwise stated. The theology of evangelicalism is beyond the remit of this article. The essential beliefs of the evangelical may be simply stated thus: A complete and total reliance on the Bible as the authentic guide for the true Christian and a belief in a personal religious relationship with God based on the acceptance of Jesus Christ as a personal saviour.
4. Whelan, “Stigma of Souperism”, p. 136.
5. *Waterford Mail*, 30 Dec. 1826. (Hereafter WM).

priesthood steeped in ignorance and obscurantism, the members of which held a tyrannical sway over their congregations, reducing them (the congregations) to a state of servile thralldom.⁶

Following the Act of Union, it became the firm belief of many evangelical Protestants that if the Catholic Irish could be converted to the reformed faith, a transformation of the country could be effected.⁷ It became "their religious duty to free Irish Catholics from 'Popish superstition' and the authority of the Anti-Christ in Rome".⁸ Accordingly, a number of evangelically inspired agencies were established in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. These included: the Hibernian Bible Society; the Religious Tract Society for Ireland; the Sunday School Society for Ireland; and the Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish through the Medium of their own Language.⁹ A central activity of many of these bodies was the dissemination of the Bible among the Catholic peasantry, reflecting the evangelical view that exposure to the truths of Scripture would achieve a spiritual enlightenment of the peasants, by revealing the absence of a scriptural basis for many of the teachings of the Roman Church. Consequently, there would be a rejection of heresy and an embracing of the pure light of true religion. In effect, through the endeavours of these agencies – endeavours which have been termed the 'New' or 'Second Reformation' – evangelicals were determined to succeed where the earlier Reformation had failed.

The 1820s witnessed a more concerted and aggressive phase of the missionary campaign. Its beginning is conveniently dated to the episcopal charge of William Magee, Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin in October 1822.¹⁰ For the next decade or so a religious war was fought. The weapons of the evangelicals were preaching, the distribution of tracts and Bibles, and engaging in controversial meetings with Catholic priests at which the teachings of the respective faiths were debated.¹¹ The result of all these activities was to engender great bitterness and suspicion between Catholics and Protestants:

6. For an example of such attitudes see P. Dixon Hardy, *The Holy Wells of Ireland* (London, 1836). In this short publication he sought to describe the "superstitious and degrading practices" at the country's many holy wells (p. iv). The devotions at St. Declan's Well at Ardmore were denounced (pp. 58-63). Catholic priests were accused of using the beliefs in holy wells "as part and portion of the machinery with which they maintain their dominion over the minds of the ignorant and uninformed" (p. v).
7. Whelan, 'The Stigma of Souperism', pp. 136-7.
8. Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70: A Study of Catholic-Protestant Relations Between the Act of Union and Disestablishment* (Dublin and Montreal, 1978), p. xii.
9. For a discussion of evangelical agencies see Donald Akenson, *The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885* (Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 132-142.
10. In his charge Archbishop Magee called on the clergy of the Church of Ireland to consider themselves the true parish priests. They were not "merely to afford spiritual aid where it may be demanded, but vigilant to discover where it may be applied, and prompt to bestow it where it will be received" (See Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 89). This sounded to most Catholics as a clarion call to proselytism. Moreover, it was Magee who was responsible for the term 'Second Reformation'. Addressing a Parliamentary Commission in 1825, he stated: "In truth, with respect to Ireland, the Reformation may, strictly speaking, be said only now to have begun".
11. See Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 83-123.

The controversial excitement through the country was actually frightful. The Protestants were taught to look on the religion of the Catholics as a grand magazine of immorality, infidelity and rebellion, while the Catholics, in their turn, regarded their enthusiastic assailants as the victims of a spiritual insanity derived from an infernal source, and as disastrous in its social results as it was bizarre in its exhibition. The kindly charities of friendship were annihilated; ancient intimacies were broken up; hatred was mitigated only by a sentiment of scornful compassion.¹²

Waterford did not escape the religious convulsions disturbing the country. The *Mail*, for a time, was an enthusiastic supporter of the 'Second Reformation', declaring that "never did so bright an era of moral and political regeneration dawn upon Ireland".¹³ In the spring of 1827 a series of sermons was preached in Christ Church Cathedral to expose the errors of Catholic doctrines.¹⁴ In November of the same year a branch was formed in the city of the British Society for Promoting the Principles of the Reformation.¹⁵

By the mid-1830s the prospect for a national reformation was lost.¹⁶ However, the Famine presented evangelicals with a new opportunity.

Famine

The failure of the potato crop was regarded by many evangelicals as a punishment sent by God on a sinful people.¹⁷ The Famine was also seen as a sign of God's providence; the visitation of disease being sent with a purpose. It presented an opportunity to spread the truths of the reformed religion and to rescue the Irish peasantry from the errors of Catholicism. The Reverend David Alfred Doudney, the Church of Ireland curate of Monksland (a parish which included Bunmahon and Knockmahon), hailed the potato failure as "among the greatest benefits that could have befallen Ireland". He regarded it as a providential act because "it placed Protestantism before the peasant in a light in which he was never wont to regard it".¹⁸

What Doudney had in mind were the renewed efforts of evangelical missionaries to achieve the conversion of Ireland. Reports of the Famine were of special interest to English evangelicals. Before the advent of the blight, they had displayed a particular concern for the country on account of the Maynooth Grant, under which additional state funding had been allocated to the national Catholic seminary.¹⁹ This action had

12. William O'Neill Daunt, *Eighty-Five Years of Irish History, 1880-1885*, 2 vols. (London, 1886). Quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 9.
13. WM, 10 March 1827.
14. See *ibid.*, 7 Feb.; 11 Feb.; 21 Feb.; 28 Feb.; 10 Mar.; 17 Mar. 1827.
15. *ibid.*, 14 Nov. 1827.
16. Whelan, 'The Stigma of Souperism', pp. 137-8.
17. *ibid.*, p. 144. The *Mail* of 6 December 1845, editorialising on the first appearance of blight, attributed it to the national sin of violent crime.
18. David Doudney, *A Pictorial Outline of the Rise and Progress of the Bunmahon Industrial, Infant, and Agricultural Schools* (Bunmahon, 1851), p. 9.
19. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 199-200; Whelan, 'Stigma of Souperism', p. 144.

offended the sensibilities of many Protestants and increased the determination of some to eradicate Catholicism as the religion of the majority of Ireland's population. The Famine afforded the occasion whereby to achieve this. Money was raised to finance missionary activities. It was believed that misfortune would make the peasantry more receptive to hearing the teachings of true religion and more responsive to those rendering assistance. In the words of an evangelical activist:

The present sufferings have greatly contributed to break down barriers ... against Divine truth ... The Gospel is now more readily than heretofore received from hands which have willingly administered relief to their temporal necessities.²⁰

A very significant feature of the campaign was the extent of support from England, both in terms of finance and personnel. The leader of the crusade was the Reverend Alexander Dallas, for many years rector of Wonston, Hampshire, and founder of the organisation which played a central role, the Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics.²¹ The Reverend Alfred Doudney, who has been mentioned earlier, was born in Portsmouth.²²

The missionary endeavours were concentrated in the west of Ireland, that part of the country worst hit by the Famine.²³ Soon allegations were being made that starving Catholics were being offered inducements to change their faith. Aid, it was charged, was linked to a willingness to transfer denominational allegiance and food, usually soup, was given on condition that peasants converted to Protestantism.²⁴

Charges of aggressive proselytism, and more especially those of 'souperism', had a profoundly adverse impact on relations between Catholics and Protestants. The *Waterford Chronicle* fulminated:

O'Connell has given an appropriate title to the fellows who, under the cover of Famine, plague, and death, would steal in and wrench the faith from the bosom of the dying wretch, snatch from him his unprotected family, like treacherous kidnappers, and roam through this desolate island, devastating honour, religion, hope, and planting meanness, infidelity and despair in the afflicted bosom of our weeping land. He has called them fiends.

The assistance rendered by soupers it described as "the charity of Hell".²⁵ A few

20. Quoted in Thomas O'Neill, "Sidelights on Souperism", *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1949), p. 51.
21. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 208-224.
22. Thomas Power, "Rev. David Alfred Doudney and Educational Establishments at Bunmahon, Co. Waterford 1847-8", *Decies*, 10 (January, 1979), p. 6.
23. Whelan, 'Stigma of Souperism', pp. 145-153. See also Desmond Bowen, *Souperism: Myth or Reality* (Cork, 1970).
24. Such allegations had also been made in the 1820s and 1830s. The term 'souper' first entered popular usage in Dingle in the 1830s. It was said to have originated when a soup kitchen was set up by evangelical activists and the local priest forbade his parishioners to have anything to do with it. He called the dispensers of the relief 'soupers'. (See Whelan, 'Stigma of Souperism', p. 140).
25. *Chronicle*, 16 Jan. 1847 (Hereafter WC).

months later it declared that "the 'fiends' are alive and active in Ireland at present".²⁶

Allegations of Aggressive Proselytism and 'Souperism' in Waterford

Waterford was not immune to the poison of religious divisions. The *Chronicle* printed allegations of 'souper' activities in the county. In early January 1847 it reported:

In our own neighbourhood, a few miles west of this city, we hear of a lady who is actually buying children from their parents to send them to distant perverting schools. Our informant describes the weeping and wretchedness of a poor woman, a widow, who said she should be compelled to yield to the temptation of giving up her young children into bondage, banishment, and perversion to obtain the means of living.²⁷

A letter of the Rev. Garret Prendergast, the parish priest of Ardmore, was published in May 1847, in which he accused the local church of Ireland curate, the Rev. Arthur Leech, of 'souperism'. The Protestant clergyman, the letter stated, was in receipt of money from various societies in England to make proselytes.

In order the more effectually to succeed in this unholy work, he established a soup kitchen in the immediate vicinity of the school to lure the Famine-stricken children from their duty to their legitimate pastors; this soup is bountifully given to all who frequent the school, and also their respective parents, who are starving in their miserable cabins. By these means they have succeeded in kidnapping many of my unfortunate children.²⁸

A year later the *Chronicle* asserted that "in no other part of Ireland does the religious enmity – the cant of disappointed proselytism make its periodical appearance with so much regularity as in this city". It commented briefly on the activities of a Rev. Foley, a convert from the Catholic Church, who was "vomiting forth his religious venom into people's ears". He was reported as being active in Tramore and Lismore.²⁹ In March 1849 another editorial observed:

For some weeks past a wicked disposition to pervert the poor Catholics of this diocese has been virulently displayed in some of those districts where the pressures of the times is most keenly felt where the stalwart labourer is unemployed and the hapless orphans piteously cry out for food. Stripped as are the poor of all earthly comfort, the stipendiariated emissaries of the Protestant Church seek to complete their destruction by leading them to the flesh-pots which reward apostasy, which rob conscience of its sting, and make the test of Christian belief a full belly.

26. *ibid.*, 12 May 1847.

27. *ibid.*, 16 Jan. 1847.

28. *ibid.*, 12 May 1847.

29. *ibid.*, 22 Mar. 1848.

Catholics in Lismore, in particular, had experienced "great annoyance from these itinerant preachers and they carried their insolence as far as to have affixed to the gate of the chapel several placards amongst which was one inviting the Catholics of the town and neighbourhood to attend at the cathedral to hear a lecture on the mass".³⁰

Bishop Robert Daly

The Church of Ireland Bishop of Cashel and Waterford, the Rt. Rev. Robert Daly³¹ was subjected to vigorous, almost vitriolic attacks in the pages of the *Chronicle*, being accused of incitement to 'souperism'. Bishop of the diocese since 1843, he was an avowed evangelical. Appointed rector of Powerscourt, Co. Wicklow, in 1814, he was active in the proselytism campaign of the 1820s. He established himself as a significant figure in the world of Irish evangelicalism, and became "not only *primus inter pares* among the evangelical clergy, but ultimately assumed the position and bearing of a Protestant Pope".³² According to the *Chronicle*, Daly

came into Waterford an avowed enemy to our faith, a faith that has been the very living soul of Ireland during centuries of horrible, and unimaginable persecutions. He came here determined to effect by fraud what the sword, the faggot, the halter, the hulk, and all manner of tribulations had failed to establish.

In the light of what was regarded as his unrelenting anti-Catholicism, the newspaper declared its intention to "keep a look out after the doings of the Rt. Rev. Perverter".³³

In December 1847 it was reported that a campaign of proselytism had commenced in the area of Fourmilewater. A Rev. Fry was the clergyman responsible, and he was acting under the guidance of "our ranting bishop". Fry had begun "by thrusting meal down the throats of the unsuspecting people, who were unacquainted with the man's mission".³⁴ Proselytisers active in the Lismore area were being aided, in the words of the *Chronicle*, by "the bigoted Protestant Bishop of Cashel, the rancorous Bob Daly". This prelate

had well instructed his clergy in the devices that should be resorted to at this crisis, and, in the excess of his bigotry, and the overflow of his zeal, he thinks if the poor of the Catholic Church cannot be reasoned into the adoption of Protestant principles their poverty must be availed of, and their conversion secured by the Scriptural agency of pecuniary aid.³⁵

Increasing Religious Tensions

Thus amidst the devastation of Famine religious tensions were increasing, which resulted in confrontation between Catholics and Protestants. In February 1848 the

30. *ibid.*, 10 Mar. 1849.

31. This account of Bishop Daly's life is based on Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 74-6.

32. *ibid.*, p. 75.

33. WC, 21 Apr. 1847.

34. *ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1847.

35. *ibid.*, 10 March 1849.

Rev. Mr. Foley, the convert excoriated by *The Chronicle* (see above), encountered hostility in Dungarvan. He preached to a congregation in the parochial school room. The majority of those present were Roman Catholics. Returning to the residence of the Rev. Stephen Dickson, the local rector, Foley was followed by a large crowd, which kept hooting and yelling at him. He required the presence of a police escort. The *Mail* reported that on the 20th of the same month a Protestant man from Comeragh made enquiries in Dungarvan for the residence of the Rev. Morgan Crofton, the Church of Ireland curate. He was verbally abused by some drunken Catholics, who accused him of being a 'souper' going to sell his religion, and was kicked in the abdomen by one of the drunkards. The newspaper commented angrily:

Is the messenger of a dying Protestant to be thus obstructed, nay cuffed and kicked, without any provocation?³⁶

The deterioration in relations manifested itself in the workhouses.³⁷ At a meeting of the Board of Guardians of the Lismore Union, the Catholic chaplain, Rev. Dr. Fogarty, complained that the Church of Ireland Archdeacon of Lismore had led a Catholic inmate of the workhouse, John Medcalf, from his faith. Medcalf insisted, on being questioned, that he had converted voluntarily. The following week Dr. Fogarty was complaining that Medcalf "was distributing controversial Tracts among the inmates and even among the children".³⁸ A month later the Union Minute Book recorded that Anne and William Donovan demanded that their two children be enrolled and educated as members of the Church of Ireland. In November 1849 an inmate named Joanna Neal converted. This conversion seems to have caused bitterness, because at a meeting of the Guardians on 20 March 1850 the Protestant chaplain complained that "Mary Nugent, a Roman Catholic inmate, used offensive language to Joanna Neal and struck her".

Assessment of Allegations

The issue of proselytism is always a sensitive one. What one religious group regards as legitimate, even praiseworthy, missionary activity, is perceived by the opposing one as utterly immoral and reprehensible.³⁹ The charge that bribery was employed to induce people to change religion is even more sensitive, and is very difficult to prove. However, there is evidence to suggest that some evangelicals did engage in the practice of offering bribes to starving people to become Protestants. This happened mainly in the west of Ireland. The Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Richard Whately, stated that

36. WM, 20 Feb. 1848.

37. This account of religious tensions in the Lismore workhouse is based on Tom Nolan, "The Lismore Poor Law Union and the famine", in Des Cowman, Donald Brady eds., *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 115-6.

38. An account, if somewhat prolix, of these events in the Lismore workhouse appeared in the *Chronicle* of 29 March 1848.

39. For a consideration of this point see Donal Kerr, *A Nation of Beggars?: Priests, People, and Politics in Famine Ireland 1846-1852* (Oxford, 1994), p. 205.

attempts were made in some instances to induce persons to carry on a system of covert proselytism by holding out relief to bodily wants and sufferings as a kind of bribe for conversion.⁴⁰

He censured the Rev. Alexander Dallas for the tactics used by his agents.⁴¹

Evidence regarding the situation in Waterford is sketchy, but there are indications of some instances of aggressive proselytism and 'souperism'. The *Chronicle's* allegations of such activities in Lismore are corroborated somewhat by the minutes of the Union Guardians. Both the *Mail* and the *Chronicle* record something of Rev. Mr. Foley's proselytising endeavours. Moreover, the episcopal presence of Robert Daly may be of some significance in assessing the veracity or otherwise of the allegations. To quote Professor Desmond Bowen:

After Daly became Bishop of Cashel in 1843 his evangelical militancy in no way lessened, and until his death in 1872 he represented the uncompromising anti-Catholic party in the Established Church which considered itself at war with a religious and cultural world of superstition and ignorance, protected and nurtured by the Anti-Christ in Rome.⁴²

During his episcopate, Daly used his position to support those clergy who were dedicated to the cause of proselytism.⁴³ Accordingly, during the Famine, he may have created a religious climate conducive to missionary efforts, an activity a misguided zealot could easily transmute into 'souperism'.

However, 'souperism' and aggressive proselytism do not appear to have been widespread in Waterford. The strongest indicator of this fact is the absence of substantial reportage in the *Chronicle*. This journal was an avowed enemy of the Established Church. Throughout the 1830s, for example, its editorials attacked it as "a heap of corruption" which was spreading "plague and pestilence throughout the land".⁴⁴ The church was "an active agent of plunder"⁴⁵ and its clergy termed "fat and lazy drones", enjoying all the luxuries that immoderate wealth could bestow.⁴⁶ Given its record of enmity towards the Church of Ireland, this newspaper would not have hesitated at publishing reports of 'souperism' which would have discredited the institution and undermined its position as the state church. Its failure to do so suggest that incidents did not exist on a widescale.

Not only did it not publish such matter, on the contrary the *Chronicle* claimed there was a dearth of support for aggressive proselytising methods among local Protestants:

We are quite sure that no liberal candid Protestant approves of the reckless, heartless, unchristian conduct of the wandering herd who are

40. Quoted in O'Neill, 'Sidelights on Souperism', p. 56.

41. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 295.

42. *ibid.*, p. 76.

43. *ibid.*, p. 75.

44. WC, 22 Jan. 1833.

45. *ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1833.

46. *ibid.*, 16 Mar. 1833.

now spewing out their bilious wrath against the religion of their Catholic fellow countrymen.⁴⁷

Regarding Mr. Foley as he traversed from Tramore to Lismore, “not even one Protestant clergyman had the temerity to allow him into his church in the intermediate space”.⁴⁸ The actions of Bishop Daly were repudiated by “intelligent, impartial Protestants”⁴⁹ and his support of proselytism did not endear him to “the good and tolerant of his church”.⁵⁰ According to the journal, most Protestants looked upon Daly “as the promoter of religious discord”,⁵¹ and held him responsible for “provoking contention and engendering rancorous feelings among the people”.⁵²

Trauma of Conversion

It was because most Protestants realised that a campaign of proselytism and more especially widespread ‘souperism’ would incur intense Catholic hostility that they disavowed such activities. Most Catholics believed that nobody conformed to the Established Church except for financial gain. It was this belief, in particular, that caused disharmony when any attempt was made to encourage conversions:

The universal conviction on the minds of the lower orders of Catholics was that nobody ‘turned’, as they called it, except for lucre, and that an enormous fund existed under the control of the Protestant leaders, for buying up the religious beliefs of all Papists who were willing to conform.⁵³

Nothing caused such profound divisions between Catholics and Protestants on the parish level as the question of where the ultimate religious loyalty of a person lay. In the words of Professor Bowen: “No act could have greater or more immediate local consequences, social and cultural as well as religious, than rejection of the traditional faith of the people”.⁵⁴ Conversion to the Established Church traumatised the local Catholic community. Converts were often ostracised and persecuted.⁵⁵ One Protestant clergyman recorded what a convert could expect to experience:

Those who know the wild country parishes of Ireland can form a conception of what any convert has to suffer who becomes a Protestant. Denounced from the altar by the priest, the superstitious peasantry are

47. *ibid.*, 10 Mar. 1849.

48. *ibid.*, 22 Mar. 1848.

49. *ibid.*

50. *ibid.*, 10 Mar. 1849.

51. *ibid.*, 22 Mar. 1848.

52. *ibid.*, 10 Mar. 1849.

53. O'Neill Daunt, *Eighty-Five Years of Irish History*. Quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 155-6. For a detailed discussion of the impact of conversions on Catholic-Protestant relations see Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 143-156.

54. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 156.

55. In response to the harassment of converts a Society for the Protection of the Rights of Conscience in Ireland was established.

commanded not to buy or sell with him. Neither bread nor meal or milk will be sold to him, even in some of the minor shops. Women cross themselves as they see his shadow approaching, men curse him as they behold him. He is ostracised from all – a leper in the sight of the people. Too often the members of his new faith look coldly upon him. Refused work or employment, he lives in daily danger of his life.⁵⁶

Converts were looked upon “coldly” by some Protestants because of the adverse impact of the act of conversion on their relations with Catholics. Most Protestants did not want to have to suffer the consequences of the religious war which inevitably ensued from a campaign of proselytism. They were happy to preserve the *status quo* in religion, the alternative being so unpalatable. In 1827 Rev. Richard Ryland, historian and curate of Christ Church Cathedral, recounted the response of a Protestant clergyman to the desire of a Catholic to join the Church of Ireland:

The son of a respectable Roman Catholic gentleman residing not many miles from this city, not long since applied to a neighbouring Protestant clergyman for advice on the all-important subject of religion. He confessed his doubts of the system in which he had been educated, and solicited advice. But what think ye did this Protestant clergyman say to him? “Friend, let me apprise you, that you are undertaking a most painful task; consider what a serious thing it would be to displease your relatives and friends; stay as you are; be satisfied with the religion in which you were brought up, and think no more of the matter”.⁵⁷

The clergyman in Ryland’s anecdote articulated the concern of most Protestant clerics (and lay people) throughout the nineteenth century – the desire to avoid confrontation with Roman Catholics over the matter of conversion.

Response to the Privations of the Famine

The majority of Protestant clergy did not exploit the miseries visited on their Catholic neighbours during the Famine to achieve conversions. Rather, they responded in Christian charity to alleviate their sufferings. Archbishop Whately of Dublin said of his clerical colleagues during these years:

The Protestant clergy literally shared their bread, or rather their meal, with their parishioners without the least sectarian distinction, they devoted all their time, all their energy, all their health and all that the Poor Law left them of their small revenues to those who were starving around them. Their wives and daughters passed their days in soup kitchens and meal rations.⁵⁸

56. Duncan Craig, *Real Pictures of Clerical Life in Ireland* (London, 1900), p. 160.

57. *Report of the Proceedings at a Public Meeting held in the City of Waterford on Friday, Nov. 1827 for the Purpose of Establishing an Auxiliary to the British Society for Promoting the Principles of the Reformation* (Waterford, 1827), p. 16. Ryland recounted this anecdote by way of rebuking the timorous attitude of some of his fellow clergymen.

58. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 293.

At the height of the Famine the priests were so busy performing religious duties that they often had no time for the administration of relief. In the Dungarvan area, for example, by the last week of February 1847 Catholic clergy were giving the last rites to no less than fifteen to eighteen persons daily.⁵⁹ Starving people turned to the Protestant clergy in their hour of need. Therefore, at local level there was often an effective division of labour among clergymen: the priests responded to spiritual needs, and the parsons to temporal ones. The latter were all the more able to discharge their role because they had the assistance of wives and daughters.

The public response of Protestant clergymen was also evident in their membership of local relief committees, which played such a crucial role in the organisation of measures to relieve destitution and starvation. The committee for the Barony of Gaultier in 1846, for example, contained at least five clergymen,⁶⁰ while that for the city had a similar number.⁶¹ The Rev. William Mackesy, vicar of Clashmore, was a member of the Central Relief Committee for the Barony of Decies – within – Drum.⁶² When new relief committees were formed in 1847 the Established Church clergy again figured prominently.⁶³

Membership of these committees was taken seriously by most clerics. On the evidence of newspaper reports they were regular in their attendance at meetings. Some made, moreover, important and interesting contributions to the deliberations. An example of such an occasion was a meeting of the city committee in October 1846 at which Rev. Richard Ryland argued that the committee should confine its actions to such measures as would lower the price of provisions and give employment to the people. Another minister denounced food profiteers and declared his hope to see “those heartless men who would traffic on the destitution of the people fall from the pinnacle of their shameful avarice”.⁶⁴ Earlier in the year, a deputation was sent to make representations to the Corporation. Two of its three members were clergymen – Dean Lee and Rev. Hardcastle.⁶⁵

Most acts of kindness and charity went unrecorded; they were done by nameless Protestant clergy on behalf of nameless Catholics. For that reason the memorial to the Rev. James Alcock, vicar of Ring, is unusual. It is a public testimony of a community’s appreciation of a man

who for 60 years was the faithful and zealous Vicar of this Parish. For the above period during the scourge of Famine and cholera he proved himself the generous friend, the wise guide and councillor of the sick, distressed and afflicted of all classes and creeds.⁶⁶

59. Eugene Broderick, “The Famine in Waterford as reported in the local newspapers”, in Brady and Cowman eds., *The Famine in Waterford*, p. 160.
60. WM, 11 Apr. 1846. The clergymen were: Revs. Fleury (Kill St. Nicholas); Cooke, Bolton, Lymbery; Fleury (Killea).
61. *ibid.*, 2 May 1846. The clergymen were: Revs. Lee (Dean); Hardcastle; Hobson; Sargent; Lawson.
62. *Waterford Freeman*, 3 Sept., 1846.
63. See WM, 14 Apr. 1847.
64. *ibid.*, 7 Oct., 1846.
65. *ibid.*, 3 July 1846. Rev. Hardcastle was a Dissenting minister.
66. Quoted in Joan Johnson, “The Quaker Relief effort in Waterford”, in Brady and Cowman eds., *The Famine in Waterford*, p. 234.

One person who played a significant role in Famine relief, especially in the city, was Bishop Robert Daly.⁶⁷ He was actively involved in the labours of the clergy in the relief of the starving population. The city was divided into districts, the bishop taking one, and he went around from house to house with tickets for coal, soup, or clothing. He made contact with many influential people in England of like mind, allocating to each of them a particular parish or town in his diocese, which they might 'adopt' as a special care. Carrick-on-Suir became the special concern of Blackheath, near London. Large collections were made in the English church every Sunday, averaging from £30 to £40, and sent the following day to the vicar of Carrick. Daly himself received large sums of money from England and he proved himself a 'judicious almoner'.

Of the bishop's activities during these dreadful times, a contemporary associate, Rev. Thomas Gimlette, has written:

In Waterford, at this period, it was most remarkable the confidence reposed in him by the poor. Whenever the poor felt that an injustice was done to them, they crowded round his door and demanded an audience, in order that he might get them justice.⁶⁸

More recently, Professor Desmond Bowen has commented:

Robert Daly was a conservative in religion and in politics, and was understandably hated by many of his Catholic clerical counterparts. Yet he laboured heroically on behalf of the starving people during the Famine.⁶⁹

That this praise was not misplaced and undeserved is to be seen from the fact that when a new relief committee was being formed in the city in March 1847 Daly was proposed for the chair by a Catholic priest, Rev. John Sheehan. A newspaper reported the proceedings thus:

The Rev. J. Sheehan said that from the great zeal and attention displayed by the Lord Bishop of Cashel for the interests of the poor, while acting on the late borough relief committee, he conceived that he would not be doing justice to his own feelings if he did not avail himself of that opportunity to propose his lordship to be appointed chairman of that committee. He would therefore move that the Lord Bishop of Cashel be appointed chairman of the new relief committee.⁷⁰

Vulnerability of the Protestant Clergy

Yet within a month of this encomium the *Chronicle* was calling the bishop a 'Perverter'. This was indicative of the increasing religious tensions between

67. This account of Bishop Daly's response to the Famine is based on Mrs. Hamilton Madden, *Memoir of the late Right Rev. Robert Daly, D.D., Lord Bishop of Cashel* (London, 1875), pp. 274-77.

68. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 276.

69. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 181. Dr. Daly experienced at first hand the horrors of the Famine when his brother, Lord Dunsandle, died in 1846 of fever contracted while visiting people in the workhouse.

70. *Waterford Freeman*, 24 Mar. 1847. Mrs. Hamilton Madden refers to this incident in her account of the bishop's life. See *Memoir*, p. 277.

Catholics and Protestants described earlier in the essay. Church of Ireland clergy were especially vulnerable in such a climate of denominational strife. They played a pivotal role in the administration and distribution of relief because of the fact that they enjoyed the status of gentleman in their various localities. Often, they were the only resident gentry in an area. The *Mail* had observed in the 1820s:

No body of men was ever placed in a more arduous situation than the Protestant clergy of Ireland. Independent altogether of their religious functions, in a country deserted by its aristocracy, they form by their number, their education, their wealth, their constant residence, and their dispersion through all parts, the only body that can supply the place of a respectable gentry.⁷¹

With this status came obligations, which the clergy accepted as gentleman status was important to them. In times of distress people turned to the Established Church for assistance, which was expected to be given unconditionally and without denominational distinction. Speaking in 1825 the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Lawrence, commented:

They (Catholics) seem sensible that the residence of the Protestant clergyman is an advantage to them. In the last time of scarcity, the assistance received in various parishes from the Protestant clergy was essential to the existence of the people.⁷²

During the Famine people flocked to the Church of Ireland clergy for help. Soon the rectors, vicars, and curates were overwhelmed. Such was the scale of the disaster that local responses were usually inadequate. This was not the fault of the clergy, but because of their association with the relief measures in their quasi-official role, they shared in the opprobrium. It has been observed that

If the priests had been the principal administrators of Famine relief rather than the parsons during the great Famine, many of them would have found themselves charged with unworthy motives when they were obliged, by scarcity of relief supplies, to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor.⁷³

The increasingly hostile religious environment made their task even more difficult. The actions of fanatical evangelicals impugned the motives and actions of the majority of clergy. Yet this majority had no choice but to assume, and to continue discharging, the duties which traditionally went with their office.

An appreciation of the dichotomous nature of the role of the Protestant clergyman may help us understand more clearly the contemporary perception of him. He was both cleric and gentleman. In times of disaster he was approached in his capacity as gentleman, who by virtue of his religious profession was likely to be inclined to charitableness. The vast majority of parsons so approached responded as they were expected to respond – as gentlemen. The response of a minority of

71. WM, 17 Feb. 1827.

72. Quoted in *Protestant Crusade*, p. 180.

73. *ibid.*, p. 183.

evangelical zealots, however, was dictated by concerns of conversion and proselytism. The most active of these came from England, such as Alexander Dallas. They failed to bring to the crisis that most important attribute – that of the resident gentleman. Hence, they became figures of division and controversy. Evidence would suggest that Robert Daly brought elements of both the evangelicals and the gentry. Accordingly, he was praised and reviled. The gentlemen parsons were infused with a spirit of Christian love and social duty. The overly zealous evangelicals were motivated by a narrow denominational fanaticism. Their actions obliterated very often the memory of the good deeds of ministers who laboured selflessly to render what aid they could to people belonging for the most part to another church. The not infrequent reward of contemporaries was vilification of the motives of even the most conscientious clergyman; the consequence of the actions of zealous, even bigoted, colleagues of the cloth.

Conclusion

The activities of evangelical extremists during the Famine represented a renewal of a campaign of proselytism which had been pursued with some ferocity in the 1820s. Motivated by a detestation of the Church of Rome and a belief in its heretical nature, they sought to convert Irish Catholics to the reformed faith. Waterford did not escape unscathed from the religious bitterness which engulfed the country during the years of the Great Hunger. There is evidence of proselytism and 'souperism'. The presence of a strongly evangelical bishop made the city and county a likely location for such activities. However, only a minority of clergy engaged in such practices. The majority sought to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow citizens, either by acts of private charity or through involvement in relief committees. As gentlemen they were expected to assist in the administration of official relief. Such an obligation became a veritable millstone at a time of inadequate official responses and increasing religious tensions. The clergymen of the Established Church became targets for misrepresentations and accusations of 'souperism' due to the actions of a fanatical minority. In spite of a hostile climate the majority continued to do their duty as they saw it – a duty which devolved on them as gentlemen and Christian ministers. Historical circumstances denied them the gratitude and recognition of contemporaries. One hundred and fifty years later the descendants of the victims and survivors of the Great Famine can gratefully acknowledge those clergymen of the Church of Ireland who laboured to respond in Christian charity to the sufferings of their fellow human beings.

Quaker Relief in Waterford during the Famine

By Joan Johnson

IN Autumn 1846 Waterford Quakers established a local Relief Committee "to alleviate the destitution which the poor are now suffering and are likely to suffer in the approaching Winter".

This Waterford Auxiliary Committee formed part of a national effort by the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland (Quakers) and had the following members who were well-known Quaker merchants in Waterford at that time:

Richard Allen

Thomas White Jacob

Joseph S. Richardson

Joshua Wm. Strangman

Thomas Hancock Strangman

James Walpole

George White

Samuel White

Thomas Robert White

Joshua Wm. Strangman (28/9/1796-31/3/1874)

Joshua Wm. was the son of William Strangman (28/11/1770-17/11/1801) and Elizabeth Strangman (11/6/1776-31/3/1854) nee Wakefield. There were two sisters, Isabella and Elizabeth and one brother Thomas Hancock. Joshua Wm. Strangman served as Secretary to the Waterford Auxiliary Committee writing and receiving a huge amount of correspondence during the Famine. Strangman was also a member of the Waterford Chamber of Commerce (of which he served as President on more than one occasion during the 1830s and 1840s), the Waterford Harbour Board and the Waterford Fever Hospital Management Committee.

Emergency Relief

The Waterford Auxiliary Committee working on behalf of the 250 Quakers in Waterford at that time, initially raised money to finance their own relief work providing food and establishing soup kitchens.

The Cork Examiner (13/11/46) reports thus:

"The Society of Friends in Waterford have raised subscriptions among themselves for the purpose of supplying the poor of that city with broth

four days during each week. They have made an engagement with a Mr. Thompson who is to furnish them with 1,792 lbs of beef each week which will be reduced into broth and served out indiscriminately to the destitute poor of that city."

By January 1847 Quaker women had visited 900 people in the city and a litre of soup and ½ lb of bread each were being served to 580 destitute citizens four times weekly. Thousands of gallons of soup were prepared and served and by February over 650 servings five times weekly were being provided.

Money and provisions were supplied to other groups in the City and County to establish soup kitchens and feed the starving. A total of 154 tons of food and 33 famine boilers were distributed in Waterford City and County with an additional 85 tons of food and 22 boilers in Wexford and Kilkenny. During the summer of 1847 they distributed the cargo from two American ships the "Minerva" and the "William and Sarah" and they pioneered the distribution of fresh seed for both root and green vegetables with 384 acres being sown mainly in the counties Wexford, Kilkenny and Tipperary.

Permanent Relief – The Ring Fisheries

It soon became evident to the Quaker Committee that Relief was not just about feeding the starving people; they had to be able to try to support themselves. Such a development began in Ring near Dungarvan, Co. Waterford. The Rev. James Alcock (a Church of Ireland Clergyman in Ring) and Joshua Strangman collaborated to encourage a permanent fishing industry in Ring with the local Fishermen.

Initially small grants and loans were made available by the Waterford Quakers; these loans helped the Fishermen repair their boats, retrieve their pawned fishing gear and return to fishing with success. Later, new and more effective methods were introduced; relaxation of the restrictive fishing laws relating to the use of Trammel Nets was sought; special clothing, nets and two newly designed boats were provided to help the development of the Ring fishermen.

It was out of this background that the following two letters emerged, being discovered during research for "The Famine in Waterford" (edited by Cowman & Brady), and are examples of Strangman's extreme depth of concern as well as giving valuable insights to the attitudes prevailing at that time.

One is the letter to the "Times" dated 15/12/1848 from Strangman, relating to the unfair attitudes and discriminatory restrictions imposed by the laws of the time on the Irish fisherman who should "at least first have the shackles removed that fetter his exertions . . ."

The second letter was from Strangman to William Todhunter, member of the Central Relief Committee with special responsibility for Fisheries, dated 18/12/1848, relating to a public hearing in Dungarvan on the Trammel net issue. Strangman refers to himself as a "silent but not inattentive spectator" during the hearing, which he described as "... more than ludicrous, it is absolutely a burlesque" after the three Commissioners in charge of the hearing suggested that "... if the regulations laid down be infringed . . . no Magistrate would inflict the penalty." Nevertheless he expresses satisfaction that:– "We have fairly inserted the small end of the wedge and it is only a matter of time as to its further progress."

It should be realised that these are only two letters of that time relating to a section of local relief effort. During the famine over 37,000 letters, documents and reports were written by Quakers in Ireland, concerning the on-going relief work.

The final report of the Relief Committee was published as a 500 page book in 1852 "Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland in 1846 and 1847." This book contains valuable and detailed reports, with contemporary descriptions of conditions at the time of Relief work being undertaken and of Irish/American correspondence resulting in enormous aid. It also gives insights to their advanced and pioneering concepts of relief and development, many of which have carried forward to this day, "being accepted world-wide as the appropriate method of assisting in relief development." Their work was not restricted by religion or gender or by political or economic considerations; rather it was driven by a deep concern towards "enabling the strong more effectively to help the weak". They hoped that "their willing labours may be so directed as to effect the largest amount of good with the means at their disposal" assisting destitute farmers and fishermen ". . . thus making them producers of food instead of mere consumers of it."

"Transactions" is a rare and unique book; only a handful of copies exist today. With the current commemoration of the Irish Famine in progress, a unique opportunity awaits discovery were "Transactions" to be republished. Its legacy of Quaker work in Ireland during the Famine could be shared both at home and internationally by Scholars, Researchers and the wider public were it to be republished.

Ref: Letter to the "Times":

Friends Historical Library
MSS BOX 59
Hodgkin Correspondence
Folder 5 No. 276

Letter from Strangman to Todhunter:

National Archives
Society of Friends
Relief and Distress Report 2/506/41

All other references:

The Famine in Waterford (1995)
see Des Cowman & Donal Brady,

Thanks to: Friends' Historical Library, Swanbrooke House, Dublin 4.
National Archives, Bishop Street, Dublin 2.
Roger and Craig Johnson.

Respected Friend,

My attention having been directed to an article on the Irish Fisheries in the Times of the 4th inst. I take the liberty of offering a few observations upon it. I would first premise that before pronouncing wholesale condemnation of the Irish fishermen as utterly incorrigible it would seem to me to be the more correct course to examine into existing causes and endeavour to discover a suitable remedy.

That numerous efforts made within the last two years by benevolent individuals to benefit Irish fishermen have been unsuccessful is unhappily too true, but whether this failure has been occasioned by the intractable character of the persons whose condition it was sought to ameliorate or by the unskilful application of the means to effect that object, the following case appears to me to afford an apt illustration. During the famine year of 1847 – the neighbourhood in which I reside was placed under the supervision of the Waterford Auxiliary Relief Committee of the Society of Friends and they being anxious to encourage industrial employment at an early period directed their attention to the promotion of the coast fishery. With that object a sum of money was placed in the hands of a gentleman then residing at Ballinacourty at the Eastern side of the entrance of the bay of Dungarvan to assist the fishermen of that locality – He was a very benevolent person and considering the poorest and most destitute man stood the most need of aid, he made his selection from among that class – thus practically holding out an inducement to every applicant to appear as wretched and as miserable as possible – The result was similar to what it has been in many other places – after a few months trial he pronounced them to be indolent, lazy and ungrateful and that further efforts would be unavailing and he therefore returned the balance remaining in his hands. On the opposite side of the same bay at a distance of about two miles is the Ring District and the wretched condition of its inhabitants, a hardy race of fishermen, was at the same period brought under the notice of the Committee by the Vicar of the Parish James Alcock – He stated that their boats were out of repair, their oars had been burned as fuel, their clothing furniture and fishing gear had been pledged for food and in one village alone *one hundred families* were daily receiving public relief. Besides a supply of twenty barrels of meal – the sum of £20 (subsequently increased to £57) was forwarded to him, to try what could be *effected* by means of small loans to enable the fishermen to

repair their boats and resume their usual occupation; thus making them producers of food instead of mere consumers of it. The judicious Vicar who possesses the talent – a qualification much needed in Ireland – of being able to assist persons without making them dependent and also of teaching them to rely upon their own exertions – made his selection *solely* from among the well conducted – sober and industrious – those who were anxious and willing to help themselves and truly important have been the results of his valuable exertions.

In company with another member of our Committee I visited the District during the present week and gratifying indeed was it to find that the boats were repaired and in active operation, clothing furniture and fishing gear had all been released from the Pawn Office. Many of the dwellings had been newly thatched – Smiling countenances met us on every side and we were informed that not a single individual was receiving Public Relief – Here then are two districts peopled by the same Celtic race – their dwellings separated only by a narrow bay. Benevolent efforts are made in each and observe the striking contrast in the results.

Is it the character of the inhabitants – or the system of management that has produced so remarkable a difference? But further, one of the first objects that attracts the notice of our inquirer when investigating the fishery question is the singular difference between the English and Irish fishery laws. For example the Trammel Net, a most effective engine – cheap in its construction – inexpensive in its working and most productive in the quantity of fish it captures is allowed to be freely used by day as well as night in Great Britain, but by an act of the Imperial Legislature in 1842 it is decreed that this valuable instrument, essentially the poor man's Net, be set on the Irish Coast before sunset or if it is suffered (except in very stormy weather) to remain in the water after the sun has risen above the horizon the poor fisherman so offending incurs the forfeiture of the net, and a penalty of £5 for each offence!

The extreme hardship of this singular enactment having been represented to the government, a clause was introduced into the fishing act of 1845 empowering the Irish Fishery Board to relax or wholly remove the unpolitic daylight restriction. But although more than three years have elapsed since the Act received the Royal Assent and repeated remonstrations have been made to the Board I find by a recent communication from Dublin that up to the end of last month in no one instance had the slightest relaxation been granted and thus the relief clause of 1845 has been virtually a dead letter.

Of the vast importance of this net to the Irish fishermen I shall give just one example. On our recent visit to the Ring district we entered some of the cottages and saw in them considerable quantities of salted fish which the fishermen had cured and were (owing to their improved circumstances) keeping in store for sale until the season called Lent. A careful inventory of each man's stock was made for us and on calculating the whole at the market price we found much to our surprise and gratification that the value of it amounted to £1,500!! (Fifteen hundred pounds)

This be it observed was in addition to what was sold in a fresh state for the current family expenses, it had all been caught within the last 3 months by the Trammel Nets supplied to twenty one boats and the fishermen assured us and we have no reason to doubt their assertion that but for the absurd daylight restriction they would have captured nearly double the quantity of fish and that thrice the number of boats would have eagerly embarked in the same lucrative employment.

Much - very much - more might be written on this interesting subject but the foregoing will doubtless suffice to show - First that if aid be given to persons merely because they are wretched and destitute it cannot excite surprise that such efforts, however well intentioned, prove unsuccessful and secondly that before the Irish fisherman is pronounced to be "an imbecile" he should at least first have the shackles removed that fetter his exertions and be allowed the same measure of freedom from restriction that is enjoyed by his fellow craftsmen in England.

My experience and observation on fishing operations warrant me in saying that if Paddy is but put in the right path and enabled to discover the sweets of good wages he will proceed with a degree of persevering energy fully equal to his Saxon brethren. Like the un-reclaimed and half tilled land upon which he lives the soil is good and by the exercise of skill and judicious management may be made to yield a rich and abundant harvest.

I am respectfully,

Joshua Wm Strangman

Dear William

From the warm interest thou takes on the fishery question, and the valuable aid thou hast afforded us, I feel it due to give thee a sketch of my visit to the Ring district last week, as well as an account of the meeting in Dungarvan. My Cousin I. L. Richardson accompanied me, and we reached the village of Ballinagoul this day week about 11 o'clock. Here we received a warm welcome from our worthy J. Alcock, and the assembled fishermen. Several of the latter had on the Guernsey shirts, given as rewards last year; others displayed with much apparent satisfaction, some of the jackets, of a light blue colour, which thou kindly sent us last spring, and which were given as premiums to the most enterprising and deserving; these garments they call their "Coats of Merit".

The pier at Ballinagoul is proceeding satisfactorily, very excellent stone has been found in the immediate neighbourhood, and the superintendent of the works gave us a gratifying account of the honesty and industry of the men employed, about 60 in number; the only regret that he had was that he had received orders to lower their wages from 1/- to 10d. p. diem. We entered some of the cottages and were pleased to find the people comfortably off as regards both clothing and furniture – several of the houses have been newly thatched, and the whole place wears a thriving aspect – we observed that many of the fishermen have a considerable quantity of salted fish, cured by the female members. This they are keeping over for sale, till the time called Lent, and being anxious to know how much there might be, an inventory was taken for us of each man's stock, and greatly to our surprise and gratification, we found on calculating it at the usual market price, that the value of the whole exceeded £1,500!! This large quantity is in addition to what was sold in a fresh state to meet the current family expenses, and the whole of it was taken by the Trammel nets supplied through the medium of our loans to the crews of 21 boats. The fishermen assured us, and their statements were corroborated by other parties, that only for the absurd daylight restriction, and the consequent aggressions of the line men carrying out the Law, they would have captured double the quantity – and also that 3 times as many boats, would have engaged in the same gainful employment.

For want of proper storage their bedrooms are in some cases nearly filled with fish, allowing barely room to creep to

their beds. We conversed with them respecting the unwholesomeness as well as discomfort of this state of things, but they said they were only too happy at having it at all. Besides what could they do, they had no other place to store it. On the following day I had a conversation with Sir Charles Shaw, agent to Lord Stuart De Decies, on this matter. He at once entered warmly into the subject, and said he would have a building erected as a public storehouse, with suitable compartments for the accommodation of the Fishermen. We also visited the curing house at Helvick and found the 2 Scotchmen, Edwards and Lister, to be shrewd intelligent men. The two model boats we are building there, are in a forward state, and are expected to be launched early in next month; if they prove as successful as is anticipated it will effect a great change in the craft on this coast. Some of the men who have saved so much fish, expressed their intention as soon as they should see their success to embark their gains in the building of new boats on the same plan. It being of much importance that these boats should be skilfully managed especially at the outset, we spoke to the Scotchmen about getting suitably qualified men to act as skippers – this they said they could readily do, as numbers of their countrymen were very anxious to come over and follow the fishing here, being certain of doing well. Is it not strange that our own people should be fleeing in such multitudes across the Atlantic from the misery that surrounds them here, and yet the ‘Canny Scot’ prefers Ireland to America for acquiring wealth and independence?

I was not a little amused at the state of mental agony in which Edwards and Lister described themselves to be for some weeks, during the autumn, when from the lofty cliffs of Helvick, they could see large shoals of Herrings passing along from half a mile to a mile from the shore and yet no means in their power for securing a portion of the wealth which thus tantalized them – however they console themselves by making increased exertions for future operations.

The meeting was held at Dungarvan on the 12th and 3 of the Commissioners – Mulrany, Barry and Fennell – attended it. Before the day of meeting some apprehension was felt that there would be “a row” and an additional Police force was assembled – but their services were not required as the whole passed off in a quiet orderly manner on the part of the fishermen, of whom considerable numbers attended. There were also several Magistrates, among the number Lord Stuart, Richard Musgrave, Sir Charles Shaw —. As it was announced in the advertisement that 6 witnesses would be examined at each side, both parties came prepared with

counsel. We had engaged the professional services of Counsellor Alcock, brother to our worthy co-labourer James Alcock – and the Duke of Devonshire's agent brought Counsellor Scannell from Cork and an attorney named Brown from Youghal to guard the interests of the line men.

Mulrany opened the proceedings by adverting to "certain printed statements" from reports upon which he freely commented and then proceeded to read copious extracts from the printed reports of the Fishery Board in vindication of the course that they had pursued. He then briefly alluded to the objects for which the meeting was called – hoped good order and good feeling would be preserved and concluded by saying they were ready to hear evidence. Our Counsel then enquired how it was intended to take the evidence. Were the witnesses to be produced alternately, one from each side, or was one party to go through the whole of the testimony they had to offer first and how was the cross examination to be conducted.

These preliminary enquiries with the view of regularly conducting the business seemed rather to disconcert the Commissioners. Mulrany said he hoped there would be no cross examination; that going at much length into evidence might only have the effect of engendering ill feeling and that the Commissioners would prefer if both parties would agree to a compromise. Our Counsel said we came prepared with some valuable and important information which he wished to lay before the public but Mulrany said the Commissioners were already fully informed on the subject that they in fact knew more than we did ourselves and they therefore wished for a compromise. He then adverted to a passage in one of James Alcock's reports respecting an extension of time for taking up the nets, and wished both parties should consider that subject and come to an agreement upon it. Our Counsel in reply said that we still were most anxious to let our case be generally made known and to prove that we were not seeking for anything unreasonable, that we were willing to agree that no nets should be set at the entrance of Dungarvan Bay, which some persons fancied prevented the free ingress of the fish and also that no Trammel should be set within a certain distance of any Hooker actually engaged in line fishing. These propositions were eagerly caught at by the opposite Counsel who afterwards admitted they had actually no case and a map was produced and examined to define the "Entrance of the Bay". Whilst the parties were conferring upon it Counsellor Alcock read from the appendix to the evidence published by the Fishery Board in 1836, a very important document, a report on Trammel net fishing in Norway in 1805

– similar objections having been felt to its use at its first introduction in that quarter, but which gradually gave way as experience testified its great value. When he concluded reading it the opposite Counsel made a counter proposition which however was quite inadmissible and our Counsel again urged that evidence should be heard but this the Commissioners *now* positively declined, and said that an extension of the time for taking up the nets would they were sure be abundantly sufficient, and after some discussion to and fro Mulrany announced that what they would recommend to the Board in Dublin was an extension to 7 o'clock a.m. in summer and 9 o'clock a.m. in winter but that the time for putting them out must still be after sunset – on this one of the witnesses he intended to produce pointed out the ill effects of such a regulation – that most of the Trammel men were also Herring fishers, that if they could set their Trammels early in the afternoon they would be able to return to the shore for their Herring nets, and get out again to sea and fish with them during the night. These remarks carried so much weight with them, and seemed so new to the Commissioners who had previously said that they knew more than he did – that they seemed nonplussed, when Barry stood up and said they could make no change from the time they had previously stated at sunset – but that if any fisherman set his net half an hour or even an hour before that time he was sure that no Magistrate would inflict the penalty – what sapient legislators!! Mulrany then again repeated the morning hours – wished if any person had any suggestion to offer on any other point, it might be done and then mentioning one by name – said the Commissioners had never received the application respecting Trammel nets that I had stated to the government – up to this period I had taken no part in the proceedings, being seated in a corner a silent but not inattentive spectator, of what was going forward – I then stood up but as any vindication of myself would have led away from the main subject, I declined doing so but confined my observations to suggestions for the benefit of the fisheries, such as an examination that all boats had their registered letter and number in legible characters. I then pointed out the injurious effects of the sunset restriction and said that the bane of this Country is that the laws are neither obeyed nor respected and I submitted for their serious consideration whether it was consistent with sound legislation to make a regulation and in the same breath to state that if it was transgressed no Magistrate should inflict the penalty.

I then related my visit to Ring the large quantity of salted fish in the hands of the fishermen there, and the great

advantage it would prove to the community at large that the only rivalry should be in trying who could capture the most fish. This statement of the value of the fish, seemed to take most if not all parties present by surprise and it evidently had a good effect – but I had scarcely resumed my seat, when Barry who I fancy felt annoyed at my observation on their mode of legislation – stood up and professed he was delighted at my statement; he hoped however the account was correct, and trusted that proper care had been taken in curing the fish. He then pronounced a glowing eulogy on the Commissioners for their exertions in forming Curing Establishments on the Western Coast – praised the excellent quality of the fish cured at them & expatiated on the great estimation in which it was held and the high price it brought in the public market. The different Commissioners then expressed their satisfaction at the orderly manner in which the proceedings had been conducted and the meeting separated.

In reflecting on this meeting although we shall not I fear get all we want yet it is evident the restrictive system cannot be much longer upheld – we have fairly inserted the small end of the wedge and it is only a question of time as to its further progress. But what shall we say of the 3 Commissioners, who summon a Meeting to receive evidence and when asked as to the course to be pursued in giving it, become alarmed at the possible results, and propose a compromise when pressed to hear what with experience and labour had been prepared for their enlightenment, allege they already know it all, and more than we do, insist on a compromise without allowing the parties to hear what each had to urge. Then decline hearing any evidence whatever on the ground that it might engender unpleasant feeling. And finally decide on a particular course and when a part of it is objected to for reasons they could not gainsay, one of them stands up and tells the people and Magistrates assembled, and his colleagues concur with him, that if the regulation laid down infringed upon by half an hour or even an hour he is sure no Magistrate would inflict the penalty. Only that such strange things are done in unhappy Ireland I should be disposed to say this was more than ludicrous, it is absolutely a burlesque.

We stopped a day after the meeting in Dungarvan. This afforded us an opportunity of seeing and conversing with some of the opponents of Trammels, and the information we were able to give convinced some and considerably mollified others. I expect therefore that much good will be likely to result especially if the Model Boats prove successful. We also called upon some of our Relief Correspondents, and found

that there is now very little sickness – but in reply to our enquiries about their poor neighbours, we found that most of the old people were gone to their long homes.

The greater portion of the men had emigrated to England or America – whilst the remainder with the women and children, had sought refuge in the workhouse, no labourers are now to be had except those living as servants in the farmers houses, and fears were expressed that there were not enough left to till the land – if so wages must advance.

I hope I have not tired thee with my lengthened narrative, but I trust thou wilt excuse it – as the talent for condensation does not rank among the qualifications of thy affectionate friend

signed J. Wm. Strangman.

Agricultural Prices and Living Costs* during the Famine Years in Waterford 1844-1848

By John M. Hearne

Section A

THE construction of a cost of living index for Waterford during the famine years was facilitated by the liberal reportage of agricultural price changes for a wide range of agricultural produce for the above years in the Waterford newspaper media during the famine years. Thus, the prices, prices indices and graphs pertaining to these statistics have been constructed from the Waterford Market Reports recorded thrice weekly in the *Waterford Newsletter*, and twice weekly in the *Waterford Mail*, *Waterford Chronicle*, and *Waterford Chronicle and Munster Advertiser* between 1844 and 1849. Furthermore, the trade statistics documented in these newspapers refer to years beginning on 1 May and ending on 30 April, thus corresponding more accurately to the sales year for farmers than did the normal calendar year.¹ On the production side cereals, fodder and butter prices have been selected, while the range of food prices covers most of the daily diet in the locality at the time. There is, however, one exception. Bread, a commodity of more importance than potatoes in the local diet, was not quoted on the Waterford Market until the latter months of the 1848 agricultural year. As such its omission is unfortunate but unavoidable. In its place flour prices have been substituted for the years in question. Bread prices have, however, been included in the Subsistence Food Basket analysis. Offal has been included because of its peculiar importance in the city – being the main, or only meat content in the diet of the poorer classes. This was a characteristic of areas with large bacon industries such as Waterford and Limerick.

In general, the prices derived are simple averages of the highest and lowest prices quoted as near as possible to the beginning of each month and then averaged

1. This has also been accepted by Peter Solar in 'The Agricultural Trade of the Port of Waterford, 1809-1909' in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (Eds.), *Waterford History and Society*, Geography Publications, Dublin, 1992.

• The structure of this article is based on John B. O'Brien's 'Agricultural Prices and Living Costs in pre-Famine Cork', in the *Journal* of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, Vol. LXXXII, No. 235, 1977.

• My thanks to Mr. Charlie Spillane for providing the graphics for this article.

for the year. In the absence of sales figures little more was possible; and the failure to record production or sales figures for the commodities chronicled made the construction of a composite or weighted price index impossible. While the simple price index does not highlight the importance of each commodity in the individual's food basket, it does nonetheless facilitate instant comparisons and makes price trends more evident.

In selecting butter prices for this study, the prices of first quality butter, which was destined mainly for the export market, are used, while fresh butter refers to the price of butter for home consumption – thus encompassing a wide range of butter prices.

Table 1 deals with the principal agricultural commodities, excluding animal products, bought and sold on the Waterford Market during the famine years. Table 2 illustrates a series of index figures based on these figures. These statistics do not, however, represent a comparative analysis between Waterford and any other region. They refer specifically to Waterford and the prices pertaining therein.

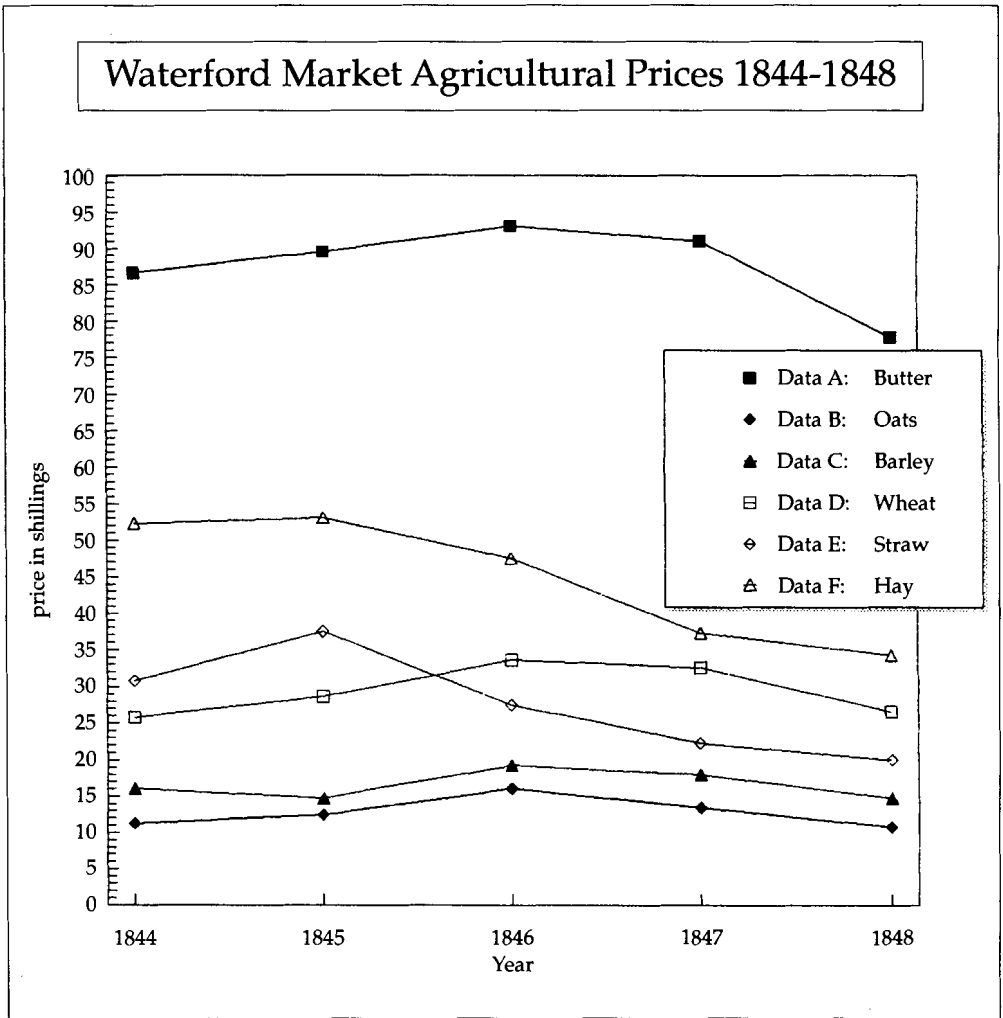
TABLE 1
Waterford Market Agricultural Prices 1844-1848

Year	Wheat Barrel of 20 Stone	Barley Barrel of 16 Stone	Oats Barrel of 14 Stone	Hay (Ton)	Straw (Ton)	Butter (Cwt)
1844	25/9	16/-	11/3	52/3	30/9	86/9
1845	28/6	14/9	12/6	53/-	37/4	89/3
1846	33/6	19/3	16/-	47/6	27/6	93/-
1847	32/6	18/-	13/6	37/3	22/3	91/-
1848	26/6	14/9	10/9	34/3	20/-	77/9

TABLE 2
Index Numbers of Waterford Market Agricultural Prices 1844-1848
(Base 1844 = 100)

Year	Wheat Barrel of 20 Stone	Barley Barrel of 16 Stone	Oats Barrel of 14 Stone	Hay (Ton)	Straw (Ton)	Butter (Cwt)
1844	25/9	16/-	11/3	52/3	30/9	86/9
1845	28/6	14/9	12/6	53/-	37/4	89/3
1846	33/6	19/3	16/-	47/6	27/6	93/-
1847	32/6	18/-	13/6	37/3	22/3	91/-
1848	26/6	14/9	10/9	34/3	20/-	77/9

Figure 1



Year	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848
Butter (cwt 1st quality)	86/9	89/3	93/-	91/-	77/9
Straw (ton)	30/9	37/4	27/6	22/3	20/-
Hay (ton)	52/3	53/-	47/6	37/3	34/3
Oats (barrel of 14 stone)	11/3	12/6	16/-	13/6	10/9
Barley (barrel of 16 stone)	16/-	14/9	19/3	18/-	14/9
Wheat (barrel of 20 stone)	25/9	28/6	33/6	32/6	26/6

(PRICE IN SHILLINGS)

Section B

Tables 3 and 4 provide a clear picture of changing food prices in Waterford between 1844 and 1848. The most notable feature is the dramatic (unsurprisingly) increase in the price of potatoes. The diagram in Table 3 pertaining to potatoes reflects a highest yearly average price of 13½d for 1847. However, the highest price recorded for potatoes on the Waterford market was 1½d per lb. or 21d per stone during the first week of September 1847. This price precluded all but the wealthy from access to potatoes, which, though scarce, were still available. Oatmeal was also becoming expensive, but the arrival of Indian corn and meal witnessed it quickly falling from a high of 2d a lb. in 1846 to its 1844 level by 1848. Alone of all the meats on the Waterford market, offal was perhaps the only one within reach (price wise) of the labouring classes. However, the shortage of pigs pushed its price beyond the reach of the poorer sections of the community by 1847. This is also reflected in the sharp price increase of pork. While the omission of bread prices is regrettable, if one uses flour prices as an indicator of bread prices, then the 30% increase over 1844 prices by 1846 would have put serious constraints on the poorer classes, especially given that the other staples in the local diet had also shown dramatic price increases. Thus, by 1847, as will be shown hereunder, obtaining food was becoming, especially for the day labourers, a precarious occupation.

As already stated, this study does not purport to be a comparative analysis, it is a local study which uses local food prices and most importantly local wage rates. Given the paucity of information on wage rates in general in pre-famine Ireland, the fact that such data is available, albeit in limited form, for the famine years in Waterford, is of major significance. These are contained in extracts from the household ledger belonging to the Pope family – prominent merchants and entrepreneurs in Waterford during the nineteenth century. Illustrated clearly therein are daily and weekly wage rates for labourers and artisans in the employ of the above mentioned family, thus accommodating an analysis of the effects of food price movements on the local populace, in particular on the poorer classes.

Extract from the Household Ledger Belonging to the Pope Family²

1846		£	s	d
Mar. 6	Six hundredwt. coals		6	0
Mar. 14	Martin Corcoran & Tom Duggan		12	0
	One load straw		12	0
Mar. 21	Martin Corcoran & Tom Duggan		12	0
Mar. 23	J. Murphy for barrel of water in garden		10	4

- The Popes were for the greater part of the 19th century one of the most influential commercial families in Waterford, monopolising the movement of shipping in the Harbour and also holding the agency for Lloyds. The whereabouts of this particular ledger is unknown, but copies of the extracts within are in possession of Waterford Municipal Library in a miscellaneous collection of paper cuttings belonging to Canon Power. My thanks to Mr. Bill Irish for a copy of same.

Extract from the Household Ledger Belonging to the Pope Family *contd.*

1846		£	s	d
Mar. 21	Jas. Walsh – carpenter – two days		5	0
	Sweeping 7 chimneys in houses		5	0
	One lock and latch for house		1	5
Mar. 24	Six hundredwt. coals		6	0
Mar. 28	Martin Corcoran & Tom Duggan		12	0
	Jas. Walsh – carpenter – six days		15	0
Mar. 31	Forristal – car-hire to Waterford Abbey Church		16	6
Apr. 1	Bridge for horse and car			11
Apr. 2	Nairns Tayler's bill	5	15	0
	John Kelly for bridge		1	0
Apr. 4	Martin Corcoran		6	0
	Jas. Walsh – carpenter – five days		12	6
	John Walsh – labourer – five days		5	0
	Stamps 2/-, Interest 6/6, Note for £20 at 3 months		8	6
	John Kelly on account of wages	1	5	0
Apr. 6	John Walsh – carpenter – one day		2	6
		C/F	£14	9
				8

1847		£	s	d
	Brought Over	1250	12	5½
Dec. 13	Repairing one mouthing chain		1	0
Dec. 21	Ml. Morrisy salting meat		2	0
Dec. 22	2 stones white salt at 3			7
	Bridge for three cars hay		2	6
	Weighing 3 do.		1	0
Dec. 23	Mangling clothes			3
	2 lbs. fresh butter at 1/6d. pd.		3	0
	Eggs		1	0
	Bridge for mule car and man		1	0
	Do. for 3 cars hay		2	6
	Weighing 3 do.		1	0
	11 stones potatoes at 1/- st.		11	0
	One doz. porter		2	6
	3 pounds ginger cakes at 10d pod.		2	6
Dec. 24	Martin Corcoran's wages		6	0
	One man 6 days at 1/- day		6	0
	John & James Glanull, tailors, for clothes		19	6
	James Supple, gloves		5	6
	Laffan, hairdresser, cutting hair		5	0
		£1254	10	3½

Extract from the Household Ledger Belonging to the Pope Family *contd.*

1848		£	s	d
Dec. 13	Johanna Hackett for beer		1	0
	Two loads wheaten straw		15	0
Dec. 14	One hundred envelopes			6
Dec. 15	Two quarts cockles		1	0
	One pound fresh butter		1	2
	Eggs		1	0
Dec. 16	Martin Corcoran – wages		6	0
	One man, six days at 1/1		6	0
	Two pounds fresh butter at 1/1		2	2
	Philip Ryan – Carpenter – 3½ days at 1/6 a day		5	10
Dec. 18	Catherine Power – weekly money		1	6
	Patrick Power – do.		1	6
Dec. 19	Michael Power, clipping grey mare		10	0
	One load wheaten straw		7	6
Dec. 20	Two loads wheaten straw		15	0
	Fees for clerk at auction		5	0
	Posting bill for do.			6
Dec. 21	Three horses and cars for one day at 3/- each		9	0
	Two tons at 30/- ton	3	0	0
	Mrs. Power's dairy maid	1	0	0

Some liberties have however been taken with regard to some commodity prices. Given that bread prices were not quoted for most of the years in question, and the fact that it was of major importance in the local diet, bread prices pertaining to the 1830s³ have been used for 1844 and 1846, while the bread prices quoted for the latter months of the 1848 agricultural year have been used for 1847. In the absence of milk prices, butter price movements have been used and a conversion factor of one pound of butter equal to twenty pints of milk has been adopted.⁴ As already observed in Section A, weighting was not possible. Despite these limitations this study attempts to present some indications of the movements in living costs in Waterford during the famine years.

Thus, using the data regarding wage rates in the "Pope Ledger", e.g. 1/- per day for the labourer and 2/6 per day for the carpenter (which seems somewhat low) it is not too difficult to construct a subsistence food basket based on the food prices in Waterford as illustrated in Table 3. Of most interest is the impact of rising food prices on the purchasing power of the labourer. Although his wage rate of 1/- per

3. Bread prices in Waterford are readily available for the 1820s and 1830s. However, they are only intermittently quoted during the early 1840s. During the 1830s bread prices in Waterford averaged 4d per household loaf of 2lbs. 2ozs., thus giving a conversion rate of 1 ozs. = .118 old pence.
4. This is the conversion factor used by O'Brien in his analysis of Living Costs in pre-Famine Cork, already quoted.

TABLE 3
Waterford Market Food Prices 1844-1848

	Beef (lb)	Mutton (lb)	Veal (lb)	Pork (lb)	Potatoes Stone of 14 lbs.	Oat Meal (Cwt)	Fresh Butter (lb)	Offal (Cwt)	Flour (Cwt)	Whiskey (Gall)
1844	6d	5½d	5¾d	3¾d	3¾d	12/-	13d	21/9	37/3	7/4
1845	5d	5½d	5¾d	4d	4¾d	14/-	13d	23/3	42/-	7/6
1846	5d	5¾d	6d	5¾d	9¾d	19/-	13½d	26/4	50/-	8/6
1847	6¾d	6½d	6½d	5¾d	13½d	15/9	14¾d	32/6	47/-	8/9
1848	5¾d	5¾d	5d	5½d	9¾d	12/3	11d	31/-	42/-	7/-

TABLE 4
Index Numbers of Waterford Food Prices 1844-1848
(Base 1844 = 100)

	Beef	Mutton	Veal	Pork	Potatoes	Oat Meal	Fresh Butter	Offal	Flour	Whiskey
1844	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1845	83	104	100	107	113	117	100	107	113	102
1846	83	100	104	140	247	158	104	121	134	116
1847	104	124	113	153	360	131	113	149	126	119
1848	87	110	87	147	260	102	85	143	113	95

day remained unchanged during the famine years, the purchasing power of this wage was more than halved between 1844 and 1847. Thus in attempting to analyse the impact of rising prices on the labourer, 6d a day had been allowed for food.

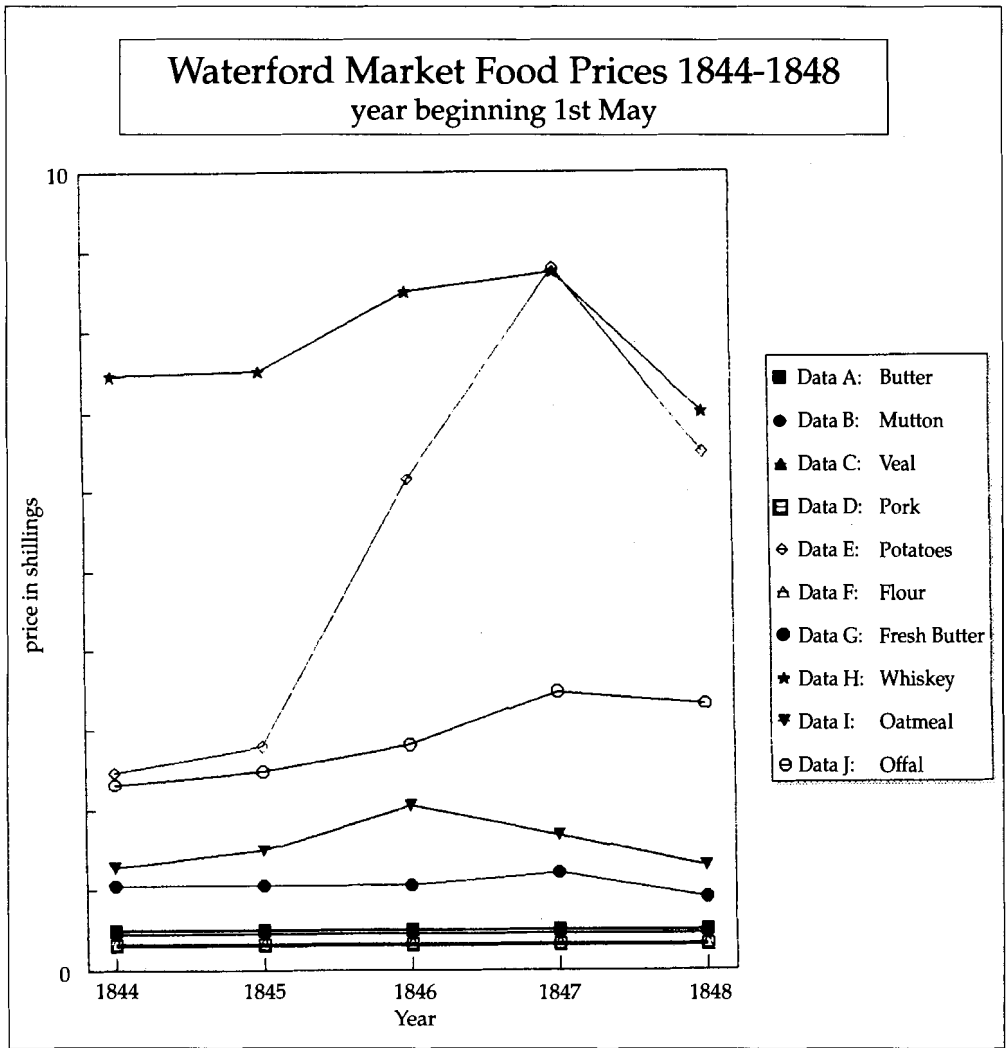
SUBSISTENCE COST OF LIVING, AND FOOD BASKET OF A LABOURER 1844

(Labourer's wage = 1/- and allowing 6d for food)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Cost</i>
Bread	1 lb. 1 oz.	2d
Potatoes	4 lbs.	1d
Milk	3 pints	2d
Oatmeal	1 lb.	1d
		6d

In 1846 the same basket of food costs 8½d, an increase of 40% on 1844 prices, or utilising almost 71% of his daily wage. By 1847 the food basket had risen to 9½d

Figure 2



increasing 60% above 1844 prices, and utilising almost 80% of his 1/-. For the labourer, therefore, even with the luxury of employment, a subsistence diet was proving elusive. Indeed if the labourer spent his money on food alone he could, with some difficulty, have maintained a subsistence lifestyle. However, this assumption is subject to some qualifications. Firstly, one must assume that the labourer had constant employment: this was unlikely in the first half of the nineteenth century and more so during the famine years; secondly, that he remained healthy and did not require medical care; and thirdly, that he did not engage in excessive drinking. This latter point was of some relevance even during the famine years. There are many reports in the Waterford Newspapers even after Fr. Mathew's temperance campaign of the early years of the 1840s, of excessive

drinking in the city.⁵ Indeed in Clonmel, in 1846, part of the daily wage was made up of "whiskey money".⁶ Given this prominence of whiskey consumption and its relative cheapness, it is likely that even during the famine years whiskey was consumed at the expense of food, thus undermining the ability to maintain a subsistence food diet. Indeed if one compares the Waterford subsistence food basket of 1846 with that of Cork for the same year, one can see many comparisons.

CORK SUBSISTENCE COST OF LIVING AND FOOD BASKET 1844⁷

(Labourer's wage = 1/- and allowing 6d for food)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Cost</i>
Bread	1½ lb.	} 6d
Potatoes	5 lbs.	
Milk	4 pints	
Oatmeal	2/3 lbs.	

While excessive whiskey drinking was perhaps more common amongst tradesmen, nonetheless labourers earning 1/- a day on the eve of the famine did not starve. Indeed if they were to spend 1d extra on food the labourer could have procured either a ½ lb. of oatmeal or ⅓ lb. of offal in 1846. However, it must be admitted that by 1846 and certainly by 1847, potatoes were too expensive to purchase if indeed they could be purchased at all, and offal was also beyond the reach of the poor by 1847. Indeed, while wage levels may have been adequate in pre-famine years, by late 1846 and 1847 escalating food prices, especially of those items that were significant in the staple diet, potatoes and offal, made them look insignificant. This has been illustrated in the various tables used in this article. To quote Fr Mathew,

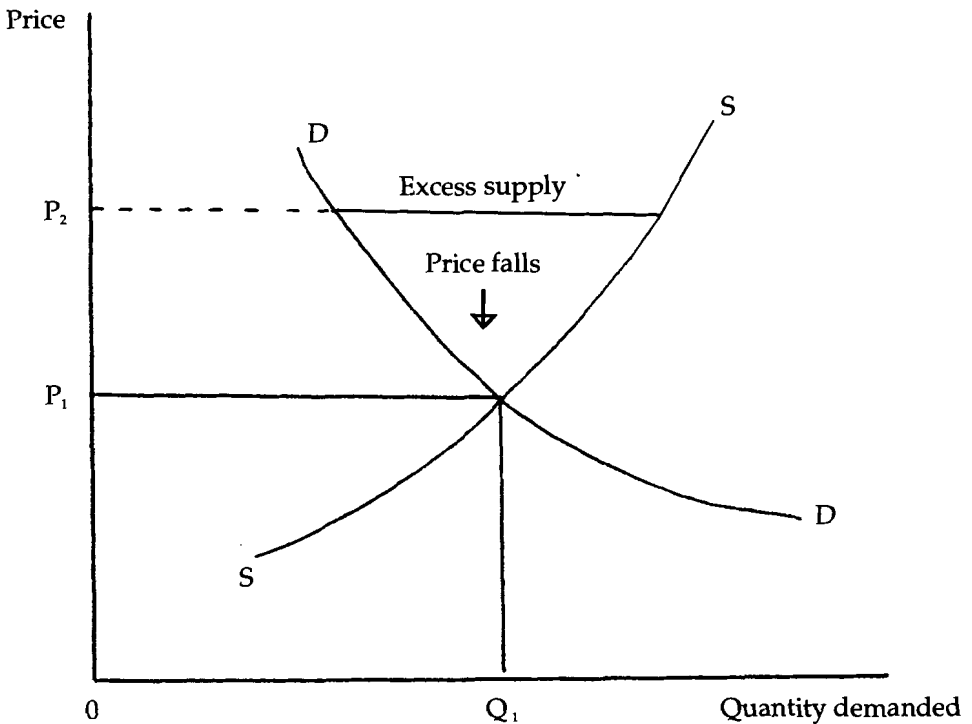
"a shilling a day or even 1/6 is nothing to a poor man with a large family if he has to pay 2d a lb. for Indian meal".⁸

And in a letter to Peel, the British Prime Minister, the Waterford Chamber of Commerce asserted that

"the labouring population of this city are now for the most part in a state of deplorable destitution ... while the heavy pressure on the poor is aggravated by the general deficiency of employment".⁹

5. Many of the Waterford newspapers carried editorials condemning the widespread abuse of drink in the city. A more accurate analysis of the extent of drunkenness in the city can be found in the Stipendary Magistrates Diary of J. Kelly for 1844, wherein the majority of cases tried by him were for drunkenness.
6. British Parliamentary papers, Famine Ireland 5 1846/47 p. 135. In a letter to Trevelyan 12/5/1846, Dobree, the Commissioner in Waterford, stated that the corn porters in Clonmel were receiving 2/6 a day, with 4d for whiskey.
7. J. B. O'Brien *op. cit.* p. 9.
8. B.P.P. Famine Ireland 6 p. 75.
Letter from Fr Mathew to Trevelyan concerning the inadequacy of the prevailing wage rate in the face of escalating prices 30/9/1846.
Chamber of Commerce, Directors Minutes 1824-1901 Box 2.
The letter is dated 17/4/1846 and at a directors' meeting of the same date a committee was set up to see what works could be undertaken to increase employment and relieve distress.

The above quotations emphasise the impoverishment of the labouring class during the famine years. However, because of rising prices their disposable income on non-food items was reduced by 30% by 1847; the net effect being reduced demand for goods such as clothing, shoes and other such items. As these commodities were mainly produced by tradesmen such as tailors, shoemakers etc., their incomes must also have been seriously affected. But as the Pope Ledger shows, these tradesmen did not depend entirely on the labouring class. Their commodities were also in demand by the higher social classes. How much this custom compensated for the loss of 30% of labourers' demand is another question which has yet to be addressed. But one thing is certain; with these tradesmen's services now dependent almost entirely on the demand of the upper classes, the supply of these services would tend to be greater than the demand for them. In these circumstances prices would be forced down to a lower equilibrium, as shown in the diagram below.



DD = demand curve

SS = supply curve

P_2 = original price

P_1 = new lower price forced down by excess supply

Q_1 = quantity demanded at P_1

And as the Pope Ledger shows, the wage rate which could be commanded in this situation was also much lower than previously.¹⁰

In conclusion, this article has attempted to quantify the impact of rising prices on living costs in Waterford during the famine years. It has shown that these rising prices impacted severely on the lives of the labourer, pushing most of his staple diet beyond his reach. As a result of the labourers' impoverishment, the economic viability of tradesmen was also put at risk. How severe this destitution was in a comparative context awaits serious analysis. In this respect it is hoped that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the economic realities confronting some of the social classes in Waterford during the famine, and provide a useful source for future analysis of the economic climate in Waterford during these years.

10. 'Pope Ledger' *op. cit.* Note that by 1848 the daily wage for a carpenter had fallen by 1/0; from 2/6 to 1/6.

IMPROVED
STEAM COMMUNICATION
TO LIVERPOOL.

The Powerful, First-Class Steamer,



DEVONSHIRE,

JOHN MOPPETT, Commander,

Or some other suitable First-Class Steamer, will leave Waterford every FRIDAY, and Liverpool every TUESDAY.

JOHN P. CHAMBERS, Waterford.

H. A. FLETCHER,

Railway Company, Kilkenny.
GLOVER & THORP,

Water-street, Liverpool.

WM. P. CHAMBERS,

10, Johnson-street, Clonmel.

EMIGRATION.

FOR QUEBEC,
THE BARQUE "LADY CAMPBELL,"

Of Waterford, Burthen 600 Tons,

JOHN HODGE, Commander,

TO SAIL ON THE 4TH OF AUGUST,
(Wind and Weather permitting.)

This Vessel will be amply provided with Provisions, Water, and Fuel.

Capt. HODGE is a most experienced seaman, and will pay every attention to the comfort of his passengers.

For further particulars apply to

BENJAMIN MOORE and SONS,
25 QUAY,

OR TO

JOHN SPARROW, and Co.,
Beresford-street

**British and Irish Steam Packet
Company.**

DIRECT COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN

Waterford and London,

AT VERY REDUCED RATES.

ONE of the Undermentioned fine Screw-Steaming, is intended to leave the Ports of WATERFORD and LONDON respectively, every SATURDAY, full or not full, via:—

Emerald.

Diamond.

Rose.

Shamrock.

The Provision Merchants are respectfully informed that the above Screw Boats discharge the Waterford Goods alongside Scovells Wharf.

Goods for Waterford should be sent to the Dublin Steam Wharf, 95, Lower East Smithfield, London, One Day previous to Sailing.

For further particulars of Freight or Passage, apply to

MICHAEL DOWNEY,

Quay, Waterford; and to

JAMES HARTLEY,

137, Leadenhall street London.

Waterford, 8th February, 1850

FOR NEW ORLEANS, FROM
WATERFORD DIRECT.

THE REGULAR PACKET SHIP

LARNE,



Of Liverpool, Burthen 1100 Tons, George Nickels, Commander. To Sail on or about MONDAY 10TH DECEMBER.

AFFORDING the Finest opportunity ever presented to Emigrants of proceedings direct from WATERFORD to NEW ORLEANS. This Splendid and Favourite Vessel, established as a Regular Trader between LIVERPOOL and NEW ORLEANS, has accommodations for Passengers of the First-rate description, and her superior sailing qualities, with the well known attention of her experienced Commander, to the comfort of his Passengers always secure for her a most decided preference. Provisions will be found of the very best description in abundance, and Passengers will have all the advantages of a direct embarkation.

For Passage apply to

JOSIAH WILLIAMS,

And to M. COGHLAN, 73, Quay, Waterford,

November 25th, 1849.

A List of Passenger Shipping From Waterford Port to America and Canada, 1845-1850

*Compiled by Tommy Deegan**

Introduction

Between 1845 and 1850, as emigration was becoming the means of escape from hunger and oppression, people flocked in their thousands to the main ports of Ireland, including Waterford. In the early years of the Famine there was no significant increase in the number of sailings to Canada and America. In 1845 there were thirteen to Canada, the most popular ports of destination being Quebec, St. John's (New Brunswick) and St. John's (Newfoundland). Sailings in 1846 numbered fourteen to the Canadian ports, with one to New York.

1847 saw a significant increase in the number of emigrant ships leaving Waterford, with forty-three in all. The next year only six ships departed the harbour for the New World. However, this figure relates to direct sailings. Many emigrants travelled to Liverpool on board the weekly steamers, and thence to Canada and America. Therefore, Waterford was not only an important port for direct passage across the Atlantic, but was also a staging port for those who emigrated via Liverpool.

In 1848 thirty-four ships left Waterford for America and Canada. The following year saw a similar number of direct sailings. By this time about one thousand people were emigrating weekly.

* The author wishes to express his appreciation to Mr. Bill Irish, Mr. Richard Fennessy, and Mr. Tony Brett.

BRITISH AND IRISH STEAM PACKET COMPANY.

VERY REDUCED FREIGHTS & FARES BETWEEN WATERFORD AND LIVERPOOL.

THE NEW FIRST-CLASS IRON STEAM-SHIP

"FOYLE."

800 Tons Burthen. 400 Horse Power.

ROBERT KEMPSTON, Commander,

WILL Continue to play regularly between the above-mentioned Ports, leaving LIVERPOOL every TUESDAY, and WATERFORD every FRIDAY.

Further particulars may be had on application to

J. P. CHAMBERS, Quay, Waterford.

And M'CLUNE & TAMPLIN, Brunswick-Street, Liverpool.

Waterford Ships

Some of the ships serving America and Canada from Waterford were owned by Waterford merchants.

Name of Ship

Oronoco
Laurence Forristal
Victory
Countess of Durham

Owner

Mr. Laurence Forristal
 Mr. Laurence Forristal
 Cllr. George Alcock
 John Sparrow & Thomas Strangman

Name of Ship

Mars
William Penn
Thistle
Lady Campbell
Ann Kenny

Owner

Waterford Steam Navigation Company
 Waterford Steam Navigation Company
 Jacob Penrose
 John Sparrow
 Daniel Corrigan

Shipping Agents

The main shipping agents in Waterford between 1845 and 1850 were:

Robertson & Sayers
 Conduit Lane,
 Waterford.

William White & Sons,
 Thomas Street,
 Waterford.

Benjamin Moore & Sons
 25 Quay,
 Waterford.

Michael Coghlan,
 73 Quay,
 Waterford.

John Sparrow & Co.
 Beresford Street,
 Waterford.

British & Irish Steam Packet Co.
 J. P. Chambers (Agent),
 Quay,
 Waterford.

Michael Downey,
 Quay,
 Waterford.

EMIGRATION FROM WATERFORD TO HALIFAX, AND ST. JOHN'S, NEW BRUNSWICK.

The
 Well-known



and East-sailing
 Vessel,

" SOPHIA, "

JOHN BELLORD, Commander,

Will Sail from Waterford on or about The 10th APRIL Next.

THIS Superior First-class, Copper-fastened Vessel, whose Berths are being fitted up in the most spacious and commodious manner, for the comfort of Cabin and Steerage Passengers; the acknowledged ability of the Commander as an experienced seaman and Emigrant Captain; together with having a plentiful supply of good Provisions and Fuel for the Voyage, present strong inducements to persons about proceeding to the above Ports.

Persons desirous of proceeding to the United States will also have a good opportunity by this conveyance, as Steamers leave twice a week for Boston, at a Few Shillings each person.

Parties at a distance can secure Berths by remitting a deposit of £1 each.

For Freight or Passage apply at

MICHAEL COGHLAN'S, Emigration Office, 73 Quay.

PIERCE COX, Quay, Waterford.

Or to Capt. BELLORD, on Board.

5th March, 1850.

List of Emigrant Ships Leaving Waterford in 1845:

Departure

Date:	Ship:	Captain:	Destination:
Apr. 4	Abeona	Black	Quebec
Apr. 11	Rifleman	Hull	Quebec
Apr. 11	Thistle	Thomas	Quebec
Apr. 11	Margaret Parker	Reddy	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 15	Mary & Harriet	Shaxon	Quebec
Apr. 16	Dispatch	Walsh	Quebec
Apr. 20	Eliza	Bellord	St. John's (New Brunswick)
Apr. 20	Velocity	M'Grath	St. John's (New Brunswick)
Apr. 28	John	M'Grath	St. John's (New Brunswick)
Apr. 28	Aurora	Harris	Llanelly
Apr. 28	Cleveland	Boutcher	Cardiff
Apr. 28	Jim	Keogh	Swansea
Apr. 28	Intrepid	Harris	Llanelly
Aug. 13	W.S. Hamilton	Black	Quebec
Aug. 18	Margaret	Queen	Quebec
Aug. 19	Ratchford	Flavin	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Sept. 23	Michael A. Fleming	Fitzgerald	St. John's (Newfoundland)

List of Emigrant Ships Leaving Waterford in 1846:

Departure

Date:	Ship:	Captain:	Destination:
Apr. 7	Lady Mary Fox	Dalton	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 8	Margaret Parker	Culliton	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 15	Velocity	M'Grath	St. John's (New Brunswick)
Apr. 15	Boliver	White	Quebec
Apr. 15	John Bell	Joyce	Quebec
Apr. 15	President	Grandy	Quebec
Apr. 18	Rose Macroom	Power	St. John's (New Brunswick)
Apr. 19	Lady Bagot	Williams	Quebec
Apr. 22	Lavinia	Ryan	Miramichi
Apr. 25	Ratchford	Flavin	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 27	John	Connors	Halifax (Nova Scotia)
Apr. 28	Erin	M'Donald	Quebec
Apr. 28	Louisa	Mills	New York
May 6	Dunbrody	Baldwin	Quebec
June 10	Lord Brougham and Vaux	Walker	Quebec

List of Emigrant Ships Leaving Waterford in 1847:

Departure Date:	Ship:	Captain:	Destination:
Mar. 10	Sophia	Bellord	New York
Apr. 1	Downes	Doody	New York
Apr. 3	Chonometer	Farse	New York
Apr. 12	Bolivar	White	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 12	Medina	Burke	New Orleans
Apr. 12	Friends	Byrne	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 12	Harmony	Knox	New York
Apr. 13	Erin	M'Donald	Quebec
Apr. 13	Hibernia	Ryan	New York
Apr. 17	Trade	Plewes	Quebec
Apr. 17	Thistle	Thomas	Quebec
Apr. 22	Eliza	Cheasty	Halifax (Nova Scotia)
Apr. 22	Dispatch	Walsh	Quebec
Apr. 23	Rose Macroon	Power	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 28	Leveret	Sommers	New York
Apr. 30	Grace Darling	M'Lea	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 30	Velocity	M'Grath	St. John's (Newfoundland)
May 2	Florence	Feles	Philadelphia
May 5	Pacific	Welsh	Quebec
May 5	Herebel	Eales	New York
May 8	Eagle	Gregg	Boston
May 8	Hannah Thornton	Choate	New York
May 17	Progress	Abel	Quebec
May 20	Junior	Hamilton	New York
May 20	Margaret	Black	Quebec
May 20	John Bell	Carroll	Quebec
May 20	Margaret	Hardcastle	Quebec
May 20	Agent	Mills	Quebec
May 20	William Hamilton	Joyce	Quebec
May 27	Aberfoyle	Williams	Quebec
May 27	Emily	Hollowell	Boston
May 27	Solway	M'Lennan	Quebec
May 31	Admiral	Buchanan	Quebec
May 31	Lady Bagot	Anderson	St. John's (New Brunswick)
June 4	Alert	Loughlin	Quebec
June 10	Pandora	White	Quebec
June 17	Susan Green	Rothero	New York
June 20	Curraghmore	Ball	Quebec
July 9	Dromo	Steele	New York
July 13	Colonist	Sinnott	New York
July 16	Catherine	Herbert	New York
July 24	George Ramsay	Flavin	Quebec
Aug. 5	Michael A. Fleming	Walsh	St. John's (Newfoundland)

List of Emigrant Ships Leaving Waterford in 1848:

Departure Date:	Ship:	Captain:	Destination:
Mar. 5	Erin	Walsh	Quebec
May 8	Medina	M'Grath	Quebec
May 18	Jessie	Olivar	Quebec
Sept. 30	John Bell	Carroll	Quebec
Dec. 5	Chenango	Snow	Baltimore
Dec. 30	Charlotte	Stafford	New York

List of Emigrant Ships Leaving Waterford in 1849:

Departure Date:	Ship:	Captain:	Destination:
Mar. 8	Lady Constable	Lyons	New York
Apr. 2	May Flower		Boston
Apr. 2	John Bell	Joyce	Baltimore
Apr. 2	Aberfoyle	Herbert	Quebec
Apr. 7	Dunbrody	Williams	New York
Apr. 7	Oronoco	Flaherty	Quebec
Apr. 7	Laurel	Maher	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 10	Amazon	Hayes	Quebec
Apr. 11	Harmony	Davis	Boston
Apr. 12	Velocity	White	New York
Apr. 13	Juno		Quebec
Apr. 13	Empire		Quebec
Apr. 13	Erin of Ross	Walsh	Quebec
Apr. 18	John Francis	Davis	Quebec
Apr. 19	Eliza	Brothers	New York
Apr. 20	Dispatch	Walsh	Quebec
Apr. 23	Laurence Forristal	Toole	New York
Apr. 26	Bridgewater	Mills	Quebec
Apr. 26	Countess of Durham	Rowlands	Quebec
May 2	Ann-Carr		New York
May 2	Lavina	Walsh	Quebec
May 3	Coromandel		Quebec
May 6	Thistle	Thomas	Quebec
May 7	Juliet	Hayden	New York
May	Victoria		New York
May 20	Swan		Quebec
June 15	Ann Kenny		Quebec
June 21	Alert	Baldwin	Quebec
June 30	Robert Nelson		Quebec
July 12	Laurel	Potts	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Aug. 17	Lady Campbell	Hodge	Quebec
Aug. 17	Velocity	White	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Aug. 25	Countess of Durham	Rowlands	Quebec
Dec. 30	Larne	Nickles	New Orleans

List of Emigrant Ships Leaving Waterford in 1848:

Departure Date:	Ship:	Captain:	Destination:
Mar. 5	Erin	Walsh	Quebec
May 8	Medina	M'Grath	Quebec
May 18	Jessie	Olivar	Quebec
Sept. 30	John Bell	Carroll	Quebec
Dec. 5	Chenango	Snow	Baltimore
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Apr. 2	Aberfoyle	Herbert	Quebec
Apr. 7	Dunbrody	Williams	New York
Apr. 7	Oronoco	Flaherty	Quebec
Apr. 7	Laurel	Maher	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Apr. 10	Amazon	Hayes	Quebec
Apr. 11	Harmony	Davis	Boston
Apr. 12	Velocity	White	New York
Apr. 13	Juno		Quebec
Apr. 13	Empire		Quebec
Apr. 13	Erin of Ross	Walsh	Quebec
Apr. 18	John Francis	Davis	Quebec
Apr. 19	Eliza	Brothers	New York
Apr. 20	Dispatch	Walsh	Quebec
Apr. 23	Laurence Forristal	Toole	New York
Apr. 26	Bridgewater	Mills	Quebec
Apr. 26	Countess of Durham	Rowlands	Quebec
May 2	Ann-Carr		New York
May 2	Lavina	Walsh	Quebec
May 3	Coromandel		Quebec
May 6	Thistle	Thomas	Quebec
May 7	Juliet	Hayden	New York
May	Victoria		New York
May 20	Swan		Quebec
June 15	Ann Kenny		Quebec
June 21	Alert	Baldwin	Quebec
June 30	Robert Nelson		Quebec
July 12	Laurel	Potts	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Aug. 17	Lady Campbell	Hodge	Quebec
Aug. 17	Velocity	White	St. John's (Newfoundland)
Aug. 25	Countess of Durham	Rowlands	Quebec
Dec. 30	Larne	Nickles	New Orleans

List of Emigrant Ships Leaving Waterford in 1850:

Departure Date:	Ship:	Captain:	Destination:
Mar. 20	Downes	Doody	New York
Mar. 23	Oronoco	Flaherty	New York
Apr. 11	Eliza	Brothers	New York
Apr. 12	Countess of Durham	Rowlands	Quebec
Apr. 13	Medina	Knox	Quebec
Apr. 13	Thistle	Thomas	Quebec
Apr. 16	George Ramsay	Grogan	Quebec
Apr. 16	Alert	Baldwin	New York
Apr. 16	Sophia	Bellord	Halifax (Nova Scotia)
Apr. 16	Lady Campbell	Hodge	Quebec
Apr. 18	W.S. Hamilton	Black	Baltimore
Apr. 18	India		Baltimore
Apr. 21	Amazon	Hayes	Quebec
Apr. 21	John Bell	Carroll	Baltimore
Apr. 25	Aberfoyle	Herbert	Quebec
Apr. 26	Laurence Forristal	Burke	New York
Apr. 29	Audromache	Tate	Quebec
Apr. 29	Erin	M'Donald	Baltimore
May 5	James	Reilly	Quebec
May 8	Medina	M'Grath	Quebec
May 12	Velocity	White	Quebec
May 12	Harmony	Davis	Quebec
May 18	Jessie	Olivar	Quebec
May 21	Belle	Boucher	Quebec
June 11	Eliza Jane	Power	Quebec
June 15	Sky Lark	Black	Quebec
Aug. 13	John Bell	Clark	Quebec
Aug. 15	Amazon	Hayes	New York
Aug. 22	Sophia	Bellord	St. John's (New Brunswick)
Aug. 29	Lady Campbell	Hodge	Quebec
Aug. 31	Jenny Lind	Powder	Quebec
Sept. 21	Ellen	Foran	New York
Sept. 30	John Bell	Carroll	Quebec
Dec. 5	Chenango	Snow	Baltimore

A NOTE ON SOURCES:

The main sources of information for this list were the *Waterford Mail* and the *Waterford Chronicle* of 1845 to 1850.

DIRECT
Emigration from Waterford
 TO AMERICA.

THE FIRST SPRING SHIPS.

The First Class &



Splendid Ships,

	<i>Tons Burthen.</i>
ORONOCO	700
ALERT	600
LAURENCE FORRISTAL	350
LAVINA	350

WILL be the **FIRST PASSENGER SHIPS** to leave this port in the Spring for **NEW YORK** and **QUEBEC**.
 One of the above Ships will Sail on the 25th March, and the others will sail in regular succession immediately afterwards.

It is needless to mentioned the advantage to Passengers of sailing out of their own Port in place of going to Liverpool and other English Ports (many miles out of their way) where they too frequently are duped and deceived.

The above Vessels are of a Superior Class, and some of the swiftest that cross the Atlantic. Last Spring the *Oronoco* and *Alert* made their passages to New York, all their passengers in good health, in the unusually short space of 20 days.

They are commanded by good and experienced Captains, who are remarkable for their kindness to Passengers. Each Ship will be supplied with plenty of good water and the usual quantity of the very best Provisions, according to law.

For further particulars apply to the Owner,

ALD. L. FORRISTAL, Ferrybank;

Or to

MICHAEL DOWNEY, Ship Agent,
 Quay, Waterford.

FIRST SPRING SHIP.

FROM WATERFORD DIRECT TO

NEW YORK,

The Superior Regular Packet, the

"DOWNES,"

DAVID DOODY, Commander,

To Sail on the 17th MARCH Inst.,

BEING only her Fourth Voyage since she was built. She has already made quick and successful Passages to new York, in Twenty-two Days, and landed her Passengers all in good Health, without a Single case of Sickness on board, owing to the care and attention of the Captain in command.

An ample supply, gratis, of MEAT, BREAD, FLOUR, OATMEAL, TEA and SUGAR, TOBACCO and WATER — also, MEDICINE and FUEL, during the Voyage.

☛ For Passage, immediate Application to be made to

M. COGHLAN'S EMIGRATION OFFICE,
 73, Quay;

Messrs. J. and M. WALSH, 17, Graving Bank,
 Or to the CAPTAIN on board.

N.B. — Vessels every week for Quebec, Boston, New Orleans, Philadelphia, &c.
 Waterford, Feb. 27, 1850.

Public Works in Waterford 1846-47

By Dermot Power

IT can be generally said that the common perception today of public works during the Famine is that the roads which were then built led nowhere, and that this was a direct result of government policy. However, the evidence does not support this perception and, indeed, had most of the proposed works been carried out, they would have radically changed the faces of many cities in addition to the road system throughout the country. It's not that these roads purposely led nowhere, rather they were left unfinished due to insufficient funding. In this article, I endeavour to demonstrate the development of Famine relief through public works carried out in Waterford city and to list many of those that were proposed at the various extraordinary Presentment Sessions.

'A treasury minute dated 21 July 1846, directed that all public works in Ireland should close',¹ the government perceiving them as a failure. A new scheme was to be devised by Charles Trevelyan, the assistant secretary to the treasury. He prepared a memorandum dated 1 August 1846 detailing the previous season's relief schemes and the reasons why they had failed, and outlined a new plan to meet the coming crisis.² The new relief scheme fell under two main headings: The first dealt with public works. The British government would no longer, as it had done the previous year, bear half the cost of these public works. The whole expense was to be borne by the district in which the works were carried out. The 'basic thesis [of this scheme] was that Irish poverty was to be supported by Irish property'.³

However, in October 1846, a correspondent to the *Waterford Chronicle* calculated the cost of 'employing the destitute tenants on the estate of Arthur Usher of Ballysaggart, Lismore, and also the tenants of Captain Barry'. According to this correspondent, it would have been necessary to spend '£3,999 14s. to feed and employ Mr. Usher's tenants at the rate of 1 shilling per day from this until the 1st of March next. It would require £17,000 to supply with food and employment Captain Barry's tenants and other tenants in the Ballyduff district, to 1st of March next These figures terrify us and make us nearly hopeless of curing the horrid condition

1. Cecil Woodham-Smith (1962). *The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845-1849* (London), p. 110.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
3. J.C. Beckett (1966). *The making of modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London & Boston), p. 331.

of the people'.⁴ Presentment Session (meetings of ratepayers at which works were proposed) were to be held. Instead of being voluntary meetings, they were to be summoned by the Lord-Lieutenant, at his discretion. Public works were to be approved and executed by the Board of Works. The cost was to be met by advances from the treasury, repayable in entirety over a period of ten years at 3.5 percent interest, and the money for repayment was to be levied on all poor-rate payers in their locality. This part of the procedure was to be embodied in an Act 'to facilitate the employment of the Labouring Poor for a limited period in distressed districts in Ireland'. This act was known as the 'Labour Rate Act' and received the Royal Assent on 28 August 1846. The Presentment Sessions under the Act began on 4 September and applications poured into the Board of Works.

The effect of the reorganisation of the public works system was to centralise control of the system. This had the effect of causing delays in the undertaking of new works. Despite the protests of the Lord Lieutenant these new works were not in operation until October 1846'.⁵

Labourers were to be paid by task work, which it was thought, would ensure the maximum amount of work would be done. The rate of wages was to be fixed to enable those who worked at a moderate rate to earn 10d. to 1s. per day.⁶ Those who worked hard could earn between 1s. 4d. and 1s. 6d. per day. In Dungarvan, 'labourers agreed to work for 6d. per day provided that this amount would provide food for themselves and their families'.⁷ However, what seems to have been forgotten by the authorities was that most of those applying for employment were already half-starved and were incapable of working to the degree envisaged by the authorities. After a presentment meeting in Youghal on Monday 21 September, the following was reported in the *Waterford Chronicle*:

It would be impossible to convey any idea of the alarming state of this town since yesterday's meeting. The people were dissatisfied at the proceedings, except the last, which was proposed by Mr. Barry, was [sic] at all capable of being carried into effect for a month or six weeks, while the people are at this moment driven to frenzy and desperation for food. Like men maddened with hunger they rushed through the streets – they rushed into bread shops and flung the loaves amongst the famishing crowd On this morning, an immense number of people from the adjoining parishes came in with hunger depicted on their faces. The unfortunate people are, at this moment, in hundreds tearing the bread out of the shops.⁸

The winter of 1846 was the worst in living memory, yet the labourer had to present himself for the obligatory roll-call and make his way, often trudging through snow and sleet, an emaciated figure dressed in rags, and already half

4. *Waterford Chronicle*, 3 Oct. 1846.

5. Thomas P. O'Neill (1956). 'The organisation and administration of relief 1845-1852', in R.D. Edwards and T.D. Williams (eds). *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish history, 1845-52* (London), pp. 223-259 (p. 228).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

7. *Waterford Chronicle*, 3 Oct. 1846.

8. *Waterford Chronicle*, 26 Sept. 1846.

starved. Yet he was expected to do work in conditions that an able bodied person would find difficult, work that had to be done if he was to support his family. It was not uncommon to see whole families – men, women and children – work in the most atrocious conditions. If the father/husband was sick or incapable of doing the work, his place was taken by his wife, or if she was dead, by one of the children. One such case in Bonmahon was reported in the *Waterford Chronicle*. It told the

tragic tale of an old man, the father of eight children, who was endeavouring to support his motherless family by working on the public works. However, for want of a sufficiency of food, [he] fell sick, and his eldest daughter was obliged to take his place on the works, in order to get a morsel for such a large family The whole family were living for the last fourteen days on Three Stones of Indian meal – that is three pounds a day of Indian meal for nine persons!!! The poor man's daughter was at last obliged to leave the breaking-stones-work to watch her dying father, who expired last Tuesday leaving eight helpless and starving children. His name was John Kennedy of Bonmahon A report has reached us to-day of three hundred and fifty who have been thrown out of employment in Bonmahon during the week. Oh God! How long – how long?"

There were also persons who sought to make a profit out of the misfortune of those on the public works. This is borne out in a letter to the *Waterford Chronicle*. It gives us a valuable insight of the workings on the public works in a given district, it reads:

Sir,

May I expect a corner of your publication to state a few facts relative to the condition of the destitute poor and the means of relief now offered them. In consequence of the total failure of the potato crop in this locality the vast population of this relief district comprising the parishes of Kill, Newtown and Ballylaneen (including Bonmahon and the mining population) – must depend entirely for support on public works There were works passed at the Kilmacthomas Extraordinary Presentment Sessions equal to the sum of £6,000 by the landlords, Magistrates and the ratepayers of the Barony, to their great credit for the relief of the destitute poor There is first the County engineer, there is Captain Hay, and the assistant engineer to aid Captain Hay, there is also Mr. Gelligot located in Kilmacthomas to help the assistant engineer. Then comes a host of well paid underlings to aid these gentlemen, for instance the head steward, the overseer of four roads, the steward of twenty men, then the check and pay clerk, all well paid; but, the poor man, with six or seven in [his] family is allowed only 10d. per day for the support of his whole family, when Indian meal is 2s. 6d. per stone; he can purchase two stone of meal for his week's wages to meet the wants of his family for the whole week. The two stones of meal will only support his family for two days. The priests here are about to resign their places on the relief committees I have known an overseer on the roads who is a very

comfortable man, having £1 per week on the works himself – to employ two of his own horses on the public works not in his own name but the names of his drivers. There is £2 10s. per week for one man who does not want it, and only 10d. per day for the man with six or eight in [his] family – is that just, is it right?¹⁰

On 28 September 1846, a meeting was held by the Waterford Relief Committee, in the Council Room of City Hall, Waterford. The meeting was held for the 'purpose of devising works of advantage and utility to the city, to be presented at the Extraordinary Presentment Sessions under the 9th and 10th Vic. to be held in this city on the 6th October (1846)'.¹¹ The mayor informed the meeting that he had a memorial bearing over '700 signatures of the most respectable citizens, requesting the taking down of Little Barronstrand Street and those other lanes which create such a disfigurement in the City'.¹² After much discussion the following resolutions were carried:

- (1) That we deem it an object of paramount importance to provide an ample and gratuitous supply of water, for the use of the city indiscriminately.
- (2) A resolution urging the widening of some lanes exclusive of Barronstrand St.
- (3) That a committee of gentlemen be appointed to consider the necessity of erecting a public cemetery.¹³

The Extraordinary Presentments for the City of Waterford were held in the Court House on 6 October 1846. The Mayor addressed the assembly and explained that 'only the cess-payers who answered their names and the magistrates had a right to vote, every other person might address the court but none could vote except those who answered their names'.¹⁴ One of the Magistrates, Mr Samuel King, said 'that he believed £100 on every 200 families would afford means to keep the people in employment until February'.¹⁵ A discussion ensued regarding the opening of Barronstrand Street. However, it was felt that the object of the Labour Act was to give employment to the poor and that the improvement of private property was contrary to section 17 of this Act. Mr Gallwey handed a presentment for the opening of Barronstrand Street – estimated at £4,000, which after some discussion was rejected. Other Presentments passed were to

reforming and levelling the market place at Ballybricken, £250. A footpath at the west side of Catherine Street from the end of Beresford Street to Carrigan's Deal Yard, £50. To change the course of the Pill between Hardy's Bridge and Canada Place by making a new cut, £500. A

10. *Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Nov. 1846.

11. *Waterford Chronicle*, 30 Sept. 1846.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.* The last proposal was adopted and resulted in the construction of what was to become the present St Otteran's Cemetery, at Ballynaneeshagh.

14. *Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Oct. 1846.

15. *Ibid.*

new line of road to connect Canada Place with Hardy's Bridge, £100. Making a new line of road commencing at the end of Bolton Street to go in front of the intended new Courthouse to the end of Colbeck Street, £100. To making 36 perches of road between the Manor Road at the entrance of the old brewery and St John's Bridge by the Mendicity [Asylum/Poorhouse]. To make a new sewer 18 perches in length with paved channels, £40. To reform and repave and make a flag sewer with footpaths, all in Parliament Street. Towards supplying the city with water, £1000. To open New Street by cutting off the angle to St John's Church Yard, £50. To making a footpath and channel at the south side of Morgan's Road, 50 perches, £20. To sinking a pump on Ballybricken £53. To sinking a pump on John's Hill, £60. To making a footpath and channel at each side of Mayor's Walk, 40 perches, £40. To building a sewer through the Manor, 75 perches, £150. To making a sewer at Barrack Street, £80. To making a sewer, footpath and forming a road at Hanover Street, Thomas Hill, £60. For repairing a road at Millers Marsh, £10. Forming a road and footpath at Convent Hill, £30. For making a footpath at the west side of Wilkins Street, £15. For cutting down and improving the Manor Hill, £100. To widening College Street, £100. For erecting a quay at Ferrybank, £200. For cutting the hill between Hardy's Bridge, called the South Parade and filling the hollow between that and Hardy's Bridge, £100. To erecting a public walk in Lombard Marsh or elsewhere, £700. Total sum presented £3,970. The court having adopted presentments to the amount of £3,970, £2,000 of which can be in short time distributed on the many works presented for.¹⁶

At the extraordinary presentments sessions for the Barony of Middlethird some of the following were presented. 'To repair 41 perches of footpath on the road from Dungarvan to Waterford between the Artillery Barracks and the [Presentation] convent at Lisduggan. To repair 36 perches of Blake's Lane between Hennessy's Road and Barrack Street. To make a new line of road from Slievekeale Road between McDonald's and Keily's through Lisduggan to a point midway between Skibbereen Bridge and Rossmore Bridge, 150 perches. To make a road to the Borough bounds or Mary Street to Lower Gracedieu Road by the river. The sum to be presented is to be £400 and the remaining £280 to be contributed by the Corporation'.¹⁷

In mid November 1846, there were 10,000 employed in the County on public works.¹⁸ By January 1847, funds were almost exhausted. At a meeting of the Employment Relief Committee on Friday 8 January 1847, the Chairman informed the meeting that 'three of the officers of the Board of Works had intimated to him that the funds placed at his disposal for several works were almost exhausted and that it would be necessary to prevent the works from being stopped and people thrown out of employment to have another extraordinary presentment sessions

16. *Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Oct. 1846.

17. *Waterford Mail*, 7 Nov. 1846.

18. *Waterford Mail*, 14 Nov. 1846.

called'.¹⁹ The Chairman said that in consequence of funds falling short 'the men employed on the works in Ballybricken were obliged to be dismissed'.²⁰ It appears the number of men dismissed was 36 and it was hoped that these men could be re-employed on other works. A discussion then ensued on the necessity of the Board to make some compensation to the families of such persons that take ill or receive injuries on the public works and Alderman Meagher proposed the following resolution:

it having come to the knowledge of the committee that cases of fever having recently occurred amongst the Labourers on the public works and whose families are left in consequence in great distress, that an application be made to the Board of Public Works to have the week's wages continued to such persons for the support of the families while they are patients in the Fever Hospital and until able to resume their work.²¹

This proposal was carried. On Monday 18 January 1847, an Extraordinary Presentment Session was held in the Court House for the Borough of Waterford to have works passed in order to keep some of the people employed. However, this meeting degenerated into a very acrimonious affair and was adjourned. Some presentments however were passed, to the amount of £700.²²

In the meantime, the situation in the Workhouse was becoming critical, so much so, that a meeting of the Board of Guardians found it necessary to pass resolutions appealing to landlords and farmers to employ the destitute people in their areas. One resolution ran thus:

Resolved – Considering the daily increase of applicants for admission into this house, which is already crowded to a dangerous excess, And sickness prevailing to an alarming extent among the inmates, we feel it our peculiar province as Guardians of the Poor, to impress on all Landed Proprietors and Farmers throughout the Union the absolute necessity of their adopting every means of giving employment to the destitute Poor on their several estates, by a general system of reproductive and profitable work, under the provision of the Drainage Acts, or otherwise within their power.²³

The adjourned meeting of the Extraordinary Presentment Sessions resumed on Monday 25 January 1847. The Chairman briefly stated that 'they had assembled on that day for the purpose of passing those presentments for public works which the bench and cess-payers would deem most conducive to the city and likely to give employment for the ensuing two months'.²⁴ Presentments were passed to complete many of the works which had started pursuant to the presentments passed at the

19. *Waterford Chronicle*, 9 Jan. 1847.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Waterford Chronicle*, 9 Jan. 1847.

22. *Waterford Chronicle*, 20 Jan. 1847.

23. *Waterford Chronicle*, 16 Jan. 1847.

24. *Waterford Chronicle*, 27 Jan. 1847.

October sessions. These included the opening of New Street, during the discussion of which it emerged that much of the money passed at the previous presentment was spent on removing the bodies from the churchyard. This, I believe, refers to the bodies buried in St Stephen's Churchyard. Another interesting presentment was passed for the erection of a pleasure ground at Bilberry, though this was never built. Lombard Marsh was also mentioned as a possible location for a pleasure walk but this was rejected. However, the present day People's Park was eventually built on Lombard Marsh and opened in 1857.

Indeed, many of the proposed works were never started or completed. One of the busiest thoroughfares in Waterford city today was, I believe, constructed during the Public Works of 1846-47. I refer to Browne's Road, or as it was known to the older generation, Paddy Browne's Long Road. It was referred to at the Presentment Sessions of Middlethird Barony in October 1846 and again at the Extraordinary Presentments held at Callaghane on 4 January 1847 where the intention was expressed 'to complete the road through Lisduggan to Sleakeale Road, so as to meet the new Cork road, near Bryan's new house'.²⁵ This is an obvious reference to the building of Browne's Road as it is the only road that cuts through the townland of Lisduggan. Having examined the 1841 Ordnance Survey 6 inch map for the area, I could not discover any road of considerable size there that was mentioned in the presentments. I then consulted Griffith's Valuation map of the area (1850) and found that a road now known as Browne's Road had been sketched on that map. This evidence leads me to conclude that Browne's Road is a Famine road. It would be an interesting exercise to examine similar presentments to determine if other works were concluded or not.

On Monday 25 January, Lord Russell disclosed his measures to relieve the country in a two hour speech in the House of Commons. He proposed to let the public works die away, so that 'this ruinous system [could] be replaced cautiously, but as fast as possible by a plan for giving relief in food, through local committees. Without exacting work in return'.²⁶ The public relief works had cost £4,848, £235 2s. 6d. – all of which was to be paid out of local rates. It was decided to reduce the numbers employed on public works by 20 percent on March 20, and the schemes were to be shut down completely by May 1.²⁷

It would appear that the rate payers and magistrates of Waterford city were deeply touched by the hunger and want around them, and indeed were caring people with a genuine desire to alleviate the great hunger and distress caused by the Famine in Waterford city. The improvements they recommended to the Extraordinary Presentments, had they been adopted, would have made a significant difference to the improvement of the slum areas of the city and would have reshaped the city centre, as was done in later years. But, unfortunately, these proposed improvements were contrary to the meaning of the Labour Rate Act.

I conclude with a poem written by one J.P.L. that was published in the *Waterford Chronicle* on 13 January 1847.

25. *Waterford Mail*, 16 Jan. 1846.

26. *Waterford Chronicle*, 30 Jan. 1847.

27. O'Neill, op. cit., p. 234.

The Starving Irish
'The Irish Labourers' Pater Noster'

Give us this day our daily bread
Father in mercy hear our prayer
All hope in human aid has fled
We sink in deep despair.

Our little ones scream out in pain
And clamour to be fed
Father, they cry to us in pain
Give us our daily bread

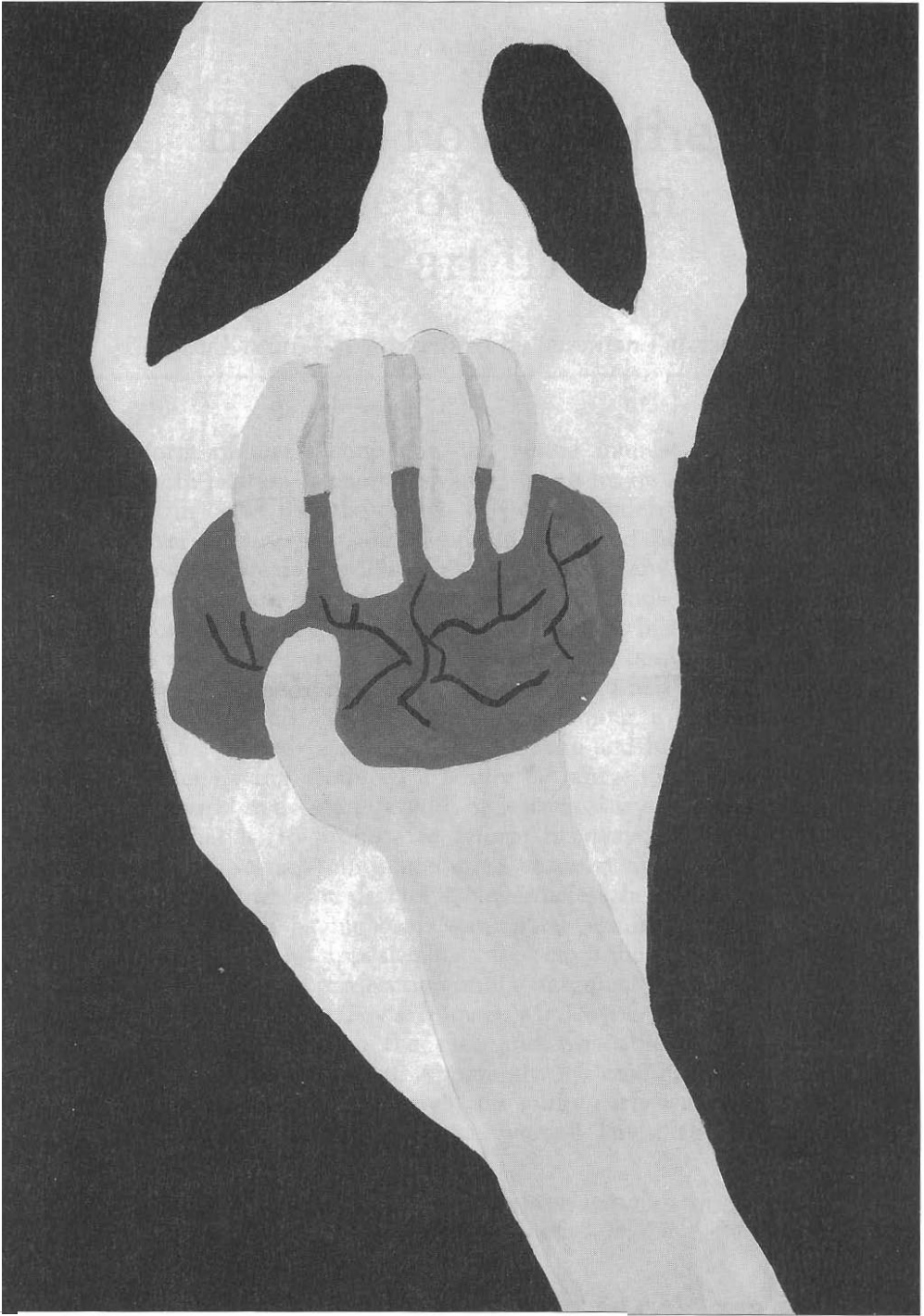
O'r the gaunt infant at the breast
The mother bows her head
The fount is dry, in vain 'tis prest
Give us this day our daily bread

Our eldest born with hollow eye
And eager stealthily tread
Would take the food we cannot buy
Give us this day our daily bread

We must not beg – he shall not steal
Though stores before us spread
But we will work with earnest zeal
Give us this day our daily bread

Famine hath laid her withering hand
Upon each little head
O Christ is this a Christian land
Give us this day our daily bread

Thy will be done – Father receive
Our souls when we are dead
In Heaven we shall not pine and grieve
Or want our daily bread



Famine by Catherine Reid, Our Lady of Mercy Secondary School, Waterford. Winner of schools' art competition sponsored by Waterford Corporation.

Bishop Foy and the Cause of Reform (Part II)

By Declan Grogan (edited by Jeremiah Falvey)

TO the reform-minded Bishop Foy, the vested interest of the ruling class, particularly in relation to church revenue, was a major obstacle. Coupled with this was his firm belief that the church was being undermined from within the ranks of the clergy. He testily complained to his friend Bishop William King of Derry, 'We ourselves are as unwilling to be reformed as any other persons are that we should'.¹ Any attempt towards a solution of those problems was not helped by the weakness of the ecclesiastical courts. These courts, as Bishop Anthony Dopping of Meath observed, were open to common contempt because defendants could successfully appeal to the civil courts.² Foy himself had had a recent experience of this problem in Waterford. He had caused a Mr Young, a well-known adulterer, who had lived for twelve years with both his wife and his mistress in the same house – the latter having produced a family by him – to be brought before the [ecclesiastical] court.³ In accordance with ecclesiastical law, Young was required to purge himself, that is, to promise to reform his ways. However, on the day appointed for his hearing, Young attempted to assert his innocence by bringing fourteen or fifteen witnesses to declare it. Nevertheless, he was judged guilty when the witnesses withdrew, having been warned by Foy of the gravity of perjury. Young went to Dublin, and appealed his case before the common law court. Foy was ordered to refrain from prosecution until a judgment would be forthcoming. It was only due to the skill of Foy's counsel, Mr Doyne,⁴ and the inefficiency of Young's, that the bishop won the case and was able to proceed with his excommunication of the defendant. Apparently, the case had hinged around the ecclesiastical practice of *purging*, whereby the guilty party was required to declare his firm purpose of amendment. Doyne warned Foy that, whereas this was

1. Nathaniel Foy to William King, 10 Oct. 1693 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 301).
2. J. Brady, 'Remedies proposed for the Church of Ireland, 1697' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 22 (1959), 172.
3. Foy to King, 20 Sep. 1694 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 381).
4. There was a 'Francis Dynne' listed on the Chancery Bill Book, 1660-67. For a detailed account of the contemporary legal profession and of the courts, see T.C. Barnard, 'Lawyers and the law in later seventeenth-century Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 28, no. 111 (May, 1993). – Ed.

provided for by canon law, it was illegal in civil law, and could provide cause for appeal in common law. This case showed up the weakness of the ecclesiastical court – a weakness which might also be shown when bishops had not proceeded effectively against those who refused to pay tithes because of the freedom of the latter to appeal.

Foy's confrontations with his two deans, Wallis of Waterford and Jephson of Lismore,⁵ only renewed his already profound conviction of the necessity for a reform of the clergy. Indeed, his major preoccupation between 1692 and 1694 was with the quality of the clergy, whom he believed to have little care for the spiritual welfare of men's souls.⁶ In Foy's mind, the key to any reform of this deplorable situation would be concerted and unified action among the bishops themselves. He believed, and correctly so, that the bishops as a unit could carry sufficient weight with the government to achieve a resolution to many of the serious problems besetting the church. He attempted one such practical move with Bishop King in 1693, by suggesting that when a clergyman was transferring from one diocese to another, both the bishops concerned should consult with one another. His suspicions of Ezekiel Simpson, the incumbent of the parishes of Cappagh and Langfield in the diocese of Derry, who had applied for preferment in Waterford, were allayed when he received an account of him from King.⁷ Simpson was subsequently preferred by Foy to the curacies of the parishes of Mothel and of Stradbally.⁸ However, things did not always work out so smoothly for Foy and King. In 1691 King had deprived a Derry clergyman, a Mr Clenehan, for notorious conduct – a move which had the full support of Foy. Two years later, however, the clergyman was instituted to a living in the diocese of Ferns by Bishop Bartholomew Vigors. Foy was furious and advised King that he should demand an explanation from Vigors.⁹ Nothing came of this because the appointment was supported by Archbishop Michael Boyle, the Primate.¹⁰

Yet it was during this period that Foy and the reforming bishops won a major coup vis-à-vis ecclesiastical appointments, when, against all the odds, they prevented the appointment of Dean Samuel Synge to the see of Killaloe. Synge had actually been nominated to the see, but a commission of six bishops, including Foy, was set up on the orders of Queen Mary to investigate rumours that the dean was not a suitable candidate. Foy obviously relished the part, commenting to King that he was 'the great instrument of laying Dean Synge aside from being a bishop'.¹¹ Synge made two further attempts to reach the Episcopal Bench, but failed.¹² This

5. See Part I of this article in *Decies*, no. 50 (Autumn, 1994).

6. Foy to King, 10 Oct. 1693 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 301).

7. Same to same, 8 Feb. 1693 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 255).

8. W.H. Rennison, *Succession list of the bishops, cathedral and parochial clergy of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore* (Waterford, 1920), 194, 197.

9. Foy to King, 8 Sep. 1693 (TCD MSS 1995-2008), 293).

10. Vigors, who died in 1721, was a family relation of the Boyles, and was actually buried in the Boyle vault in St Patrick's Cathedral. Once again, Foy had been outsmarted by the Boyle interest. – Ed.

11. Foy to King, 26 Nov. 1697 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 559).

12. Synge, who was attainted by James II in 1689, was appointed as Dean of Kildare on 17 Apr. 1679, and as Prebendary of Geashill (Kildare) in 1696. He held the prebend *in commendam* with the deanery until his death on 30 Nov. 1708. – Ed.

success of Foy and his reforming 'brothers' did not endear him to some of his fellow-bishops and peers in the House of Lords, as the future was to show. The Syngge incident brought Foy to the threshold of a great episcopal career, one which would in all probability, result in his translation to a more important see in the Irish church. He had clearly demonstrated his firmness of principle and, whilst this had won him a number of enemies, it had brought him favour in the royal court in London – the place where episcopal appointments were made. Thus things looked well for the bishop when the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Capel, convened parliament in August 1695. However the introduction of the 'Bill for the Union and Division of Parishes'¹³ on 5 December was really the beginning of the end for him.

The purpose of this bill was to deal with the problems of non-residence, pluralities, and unequal distribution of ecclesiastical preferments. Because of the inability of some parishes to maintain a clergyman due to the sparseness of the Protestant population, many of the reformers, including Foy, were keen advocates of the union of parishes. The division of parishes, on the other hand, meant the breaking up of extensive and/or wealthy parishes into smaller economic units which would obviously provide for more clergymen. The bill also insisted that rectors should reside in their parishes, and that where three or more parishes had been united as one, the incumbent of the new union was liable only for the payment of one institution fee. The question of bishops' proxies was also tackled. When a bishop made his annual visitation, his expenses, while in the parish, were partly covered by a parochial subvention called a proxy. Now that the bishop concerned would have to make his visitation to only one parish instead of several, it was decided that only one proxy would be remitted to him. The bishops had submitted the measure to the Irish Privy Council¹⁴ which approved of it, but before sending it to the English Privy Council for examination, they had added some further amendments dealing with proxies and institution fees. As was the practice under Poyning's Law, the bill was transmitted back to the Irish Parliament for its consent.¹⁵ All the bishops, except Narcissus Marsh of Dublin, Anthony Dopping of Meath, King and Foy, opposed the amended bill as it would lead to a reduction in episcopal revenue. Despite a stern defence by King and Foy, the bill was rejected on its first reading. When the vote was actually taken, Dopping dealt a further blow to Foy by voting with the majority. It was evident that even Marsh was turning lukewarm because only King and Foy requested permission to enter their protest against the rejection of the bill in the Journals of the House of Lords. The request was initially granted but two days later, on December 7, the lords demanded that the two bishops withdraw their protest. They refused and were requested to withdraw from the House. A resolution was passed that their protestation was an infringement of the privilege and a reflection on the honour of the House.¹⁶ Both

13. 'An Act for reviving a Statute for the real Union and Division of Parishes', *Journal of the House of Lords of the Kingdom of Ireland 1634-1800* (8 vols., Dublin, 1779-1800), i, 567.

14. See Footnote 12 in Part I of this article. – Ed.

15. Foy to King, ? Dec. 1695 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 2327); A returned bill had either to be approved or rejected – it could not be further amended. – Ed.

16. For an examination of parliamentary privilege, see J. Falvey, 'Pierce Butler of Coogy: an early eighteenth-century Clare breach of privilege case' in *The Other Clare*, vol. 18 (1994), 33-9.

bishops were in an adjoining room during this vote, and were pressed upon by both the spiritual and temporal lords to withdraw their protest or face imprisonment. King capitulated; Foy did not. He was taken into custody by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod,¹⁷ and lodged in Dublin Castle having refused an offer of the Gentleman Usher to be at liberty as long as he promised to be available.

Foy's period of imprisonment had all the marks of a gentlemanly charade. Having arrived at his comfortable quarters at Dublin Castle, he sent his servant to Lord Lieutenant Capel to pay his compliments. Capel looked after his guest very well, and, according to Foy, ordered his own servants 'to pay constant attendance upon me and see that my table should be well covered'.¹⁸ Finally, two days later, on December 9, Capel persuaded Foy to sign a petition begging the pardon of the house, and withdrawing his protestation. He was released on the same day, and took his seat in the House on the morrow without reprimand – the process having been arranged by Capel.¹⁹ Foy saw his surrender in a glorious light. He wrote to King, 'All that I will say is that whatever I have suffered as to my liberty, reputation or fortune, 'tis for the discharge of a good conscience and my tender regard to the Church of God and my brethren the inferior clergy'.²⁰ The foregoing events revealed King as the far more level-headed of the two bishops. Foy, though it was obvious he would have to concede, insisted on carrying his opposition to ridiculous lengths. He revealed a highly idealistic character, untempered by the limitations of real events, and whilst admirable in itself, it did not indicate the prudence necessary to one of his station. In the context of the ecclesiastical climate of the time, he had undoubtedly made a mistake, damaged his reputation, and excited a more determined opposition to himself.

Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, a keen advocate of reform and a supporter of both Foy and King, died on 25 April 1697.²¹ Foy had been aware of Dopping's impending death, and had written to King on the matter of a successor, 'I need not remonstrate to your Lordship of what importance it is he should be succeeded by a person of worth; wherefore let me beg of you to make use of that trust and confidence his Grace of Canterbury²² reposes in you, to recommend a fit person to

17. This state official was responsible for the maintenance of order in the administration of business in the House of Lords, and held, as a symbol, a black rod. – Ed.
18. Foy to King, ? Dec. 1695 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 2327).
19. 'There has happened in the House of Lords a commitment of the Bishop of Waterford for some passages in his protest against a Bill (thrown out, for the uniting of parishes) which the Lords conceived reflected upon the honour of the House. It was difficult to prevail with him to submit to the pleasure of the House, but the Lords have been pleased to allow me so much credit as, bearing with his temper (and in respect to his coat), to admit him this day to his place again without going to the Bar or reprimanding him in his place'. Capel to Lord Shrewsbury, 10 Dec. 1695, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the MSS of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury* (London, 1903), ii (Part 1), 276.
20. Foy to King, ? Dec. 1695 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 2327).
21. Dopping had been consecrated to the see of Kildare on 2 Feb. 1679, and had been translated to Meath on 11 Feb. 1682. His son, Anthony, became bishop of Ossory in 1741. – Ed.
22. Thomas Tenison (1636-1715) had been Archbishop of Canterbury since 1695. His kinsman, Richard Tenison, Bishop of Clogher since 1691, actually succeeded Dopping. The archbishop's nephew Edward Tenison later became bishop of Ossory in 1731 – an appointment which did not appeal to Swift, who dubbed the new prelate 'The baboon of

him, and God direct you in the choice'.²³ No doubt, Foy was thinking that he himself would be a worthy successor to the important diocese of Meath, whose bishop always sat on the Irish Privy Council. He would then have a platform from which to further the cause of reform in a practical, legislative sense. King wrote to Sir Robert Southwell²⁴ and to Gilbert Burnet,²⁵ Bishop of Salisbury, in support of Foy. He emphasised to the former, 'The Church interest at the Council table depends on the fit choice of a person to fill the bishopric of Meath', and, more to the point, 'These [the problems in the diocese of Meath] need an active, vigorous and active person to put them in order such as the bishop of Waterford'.²⁶ In the event, Foy withdrew from the contest at the eleventh hour, declaring to King, 'For 'tis not only in vain... [the bishop of] Clogher having been recommended for Meath'.²⁷ That this was a major disappointment to Foy was shown when he absented himself from Parliament for the remainder of the 1697 session. It was his weariness at the treatment which he had received which resulted in his voluntary exile from parliamentary life. He was absent on a notable day when 'The Act for confirming the Articles of Limerick' was passed by only one vote in the House of Lords on September 23. Seven bishops (including King) and seven temporal lords formally protested that the Act was not in accordance with the original articles of the Treaty of Limerick. King was very annoyed that Foy's parliamentary proxy had been used by Narcissus Marsh of Dublin in voting for the bill. 'I must confess', King wrote, 'I do not know how you'll answer it to God'.²⁸ King had presumed that Foy would have opposed the bill, but this time Foy would have taken a different course by admitting that, 'Had I been in the House I should have been both for the public faith and the King's honour: and to support which I believe I should have advised an address for a supplemental bill'.²⁹ Perhaps the course of events might have been altered had Foy been present in the House for the confirmation of the Articles. Foy had now been replaced by King as the guiding star of the reforming group in

Kilkenny'. On his death on 29 Nov. 1735, Sir John Percival, the Earl of Egmont, wrote in his diary, 'Died also the 29th of last month Dr Edward Tenison, Bishop of Ossory and Kilkenny [sic]. He was nephew to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and had this preferment for his zeal in election of members of Parliament on the side of the ministry. He being heir to the late archbishop, the present archbishop [William Wake] sued him for dilapidations and obliged him make repairs to the archiepiscopal seat at Lambeth, for which he wrote a scurrilous pamphlet on this good prelate'. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *MSS of the Earl of Egmont, Diary* (vol. ii, 1734-1738, London, 1923), 214. – Ed.

23. Foy to King, 24 Apr. 1697 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 524).
24. Sir Robert Southwell (1635-1702) of Kinsale, Co. Cork, was Secretary of State for Ireland from 1690 until his death, when he was succeeded in this post by his son, Edward.
25. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), who was born in Edinburgh, played a crucial part in the accession of William and Mary in the Glorious Revolution. He was immediately raised to the see of Salisbury in 1689. His influence was enormous up to the early years of the reign of Queen Anne.
26. King to Sir Robert Southwell, 29 Apr. 1697, cited in R. Mant, *The History of the Church of Ireland from the reformation to the union of the churches of England and Ireland* (2 vols., London, 1840), ii, 91-2.
27. Foy to King, 1 May 1697 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 527).
28. King to Foy, 28 Sep. 1697 (TCD MSS, 750/1/91).
29. Foy to King, 10 Nov. 1697 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 553).

Dublin. The twilight years were now approaching, and a note of despondency was creeping in; he wrote to King in 1698, 'Truly I think, we differ but little as to our thoughts of the present or future church, or the proper remedies to prevent its impending ruin'.³⁰

Yet Foy's resilience again shone forth. In the parliamentary session of 27 Sep. 1698 to 26 Jan. 1699 he attended on forty out of sixty-eight sittings. His return to grace among his fellow peers was indicated, by an invitation to preach the prestigious sermon before the House of Lords at Christ Church Cathedral on 23 Oct. 1698.³¹ The next Irish Parliament was not to sit until 1703, and by then Queen Anne was on the throne. But in the interim, Foy was to play a significant role in a matter of great importance to the church. In late 1699 a bill was being prepared for the English Parliament concerning the resumption of William III's grants of forfeited Jacobite estates in Ireland. When this bill was passed in England, the Irish bishops were anxious that the profits from forfeited rectories and inappropriate tithes should be vested in the church in the interim period. This revenue would be used for the repairing and rebuilding of churches – at that time an urgent necessity. It was decided that Foy and Bishop Thomas Lindsay of Killaloe should represent the case in England on behalf of their brother bishops. It was an extremely delicate matter, particularly because William III had refused similar applications in the past.³² Against the advice of some of the English bishops, they succeeded in getting an appropriate clause inserted in the Act of Resumption, which provided that, for a period of twenty years, those revenues were allowed to be expended on the repairing and rebuilding of churches.³³ Unfortunately for Foy, it was Lindsay who got most of the credit for the securing of the clause, and this despite the fact of Foy's superior experience in ecclesiastical affairs and seniority on the Irish Episcopal Bench. He suffered further when the monies were allocated by a meeting of bishops in his absence. Both Lindsay's diocese of Killaloe and Foy's diocese of Waterford were not allocated sums which would be relative to the efforts of their respective prelates in procuring the money. Foy was represented at the meeting by the Dean of Waterford, John Eeles. He complained to King about Eeles's treatment, but King replied that the dean had increased his original demands to such an extent that they were rejected.³⁴ Foy would not accept this argument, and eventually King admitted that Waterford had fared badly, but that he was not to blame for this – 'I had no view but the good of the church, and as to you, had a particular regard to you as a friend and absent brother and according to my skill voting for you having a full

30. Foy to King, 9 Feb. 1698 (*ibid.*, 595).

31. N. Foy, *A sermon preached in Christ Church, Dublin, on the 23rd October 1698, being the anniversary of thanksgiving for putting an end to the Irish Rebellion, which broke out that day 1641, before the house of Lords* (Dublin, 1698); For an analysis of the significance of the October 23 sermons, see T.C. Barnard, 'The Uses of 23 October, 1641 and Irish Protestant celebrations' in *English Historical Review*, vol. cvi., no. 421 (October, 1991); See also J.R. Hill, 'National Festivals, the State and "Protestant Ascendancy" in Ireland, 1790-1829' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiv (1984-5). – Ed.

32. Foy to King, 5 Jan. 1703 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 977).

33. The Bishop of Killaloe's Bill, 25 May 1702, in Historical Manuscripts Commission *House of Lords MSS.*, v, 49-50. – Ed.

34. King to Foy, 16 Jan. 1703 (TCD MSS 1489/2/142-3).

portion according to your demands and the exigencies of your dioceses. And if anything has happened otherwise, as I hope there has not, I pray you to believe it proceeded from ignorance or mistake'.³⁵

Foy had long been in indifferent health, but after 1700 his declining health limited his involvement in national affairs. During the early months of 1703 his letters to King show a noticeable deterioration in his penmanship, a fact of which he was extremely conscious: 'You see what a sad shrift I have made to write to you with my own hand'.³⁶ His parliamentary attendance also declined, probably on account of his disillusionment with political life, and particularly on account of the failure to advance ecclesiastical reform.³⁷ As well, the recurrence of the same old problems in his diocese must have brought home the futility of so many of his exertions and schemes in the cause of reform over the preceding decade. He admitted of his growing weariness to King – 'For my own part I am wearied out and know not what to do'.³⁸ It was no wonder then, that in these early years of the eighteenth century, he concentrated almost exclusively on his own diocese, where at least he could achieve something of value. In 1704, a scandalous event occurred at one of his visitations when a clergyman appeared before him in a drunken state, while the man's fellow-clerics opposed any corrective action by the bishop.³⁹ Foy summoned the offending cleric to his ecclesiastical court and imposed a penance upon him, which he allowed him to do in his own episcopal residence with other clergy present, so as to prevent scandal.⁴⁰

On the positive side, an event of some significance in Waterford city during Foy's episcopacy was the building of apartments for the widows of clergymen in 1702, known to this day as The Widows' Apartments. Bishop Hugh Gore, Foy's predecessor, had bequeathed £1,200 towards the project, but had been tricked into making another will which did not include the bequest. John Mason, one of Gore's executors and a prominent citizen of Waterford, engaged in a long and expensive lawsuit to ensure that the bishop's original wishes were carried out. He was successful and subsequently purchased the chief rents of the lands of Newpark as income for the ten widows.⁴¹ The Dean and Chapter of Waterford granted a site for the apartments in Cathedral Close, opposite Christ Church Cathedral, and they were built, with six rooms for each widow, in 1702. Gore had stipulated that the bishop and dean were to be responsible for the admission and placing of the ten widows. True to form, Foy took a direct interest in the scheme, and laid down extremely strict admission rules, demanding that the widows should be armed with certificates proving that they had been the wives of clerics. His legalistic attention to detail even led him to lay down a certain standard of dress – 'They will not be received unless they come very well appparelled, I mean not gaudily but decently and in some measure plentifully . . . If they be not well rigged out at first they will

35. King to Foy, 20 Feb. 1703 (TCD MSS 1489/2/159-160).

36. Foy to King, 6 Feb. 1703 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 986).

37. For a full record of Foy's eighteenth-century attendance at Parliament, see Footnote 41 of Part I of this article. – Ed.

38. Foy to King, 20 May 1704 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 1083).

39. *Ibid.*

40. Foy to King, 2 July 1704 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 1099).

41. Bishop Gore's Will, 13 Oct. 1690, Rennison MSS, RCB Library MS 40, no. 2.

be but a constant disgrace to the place, their husbands' order, and the clergy here'.⁴² Foy's harshness was maintained when he insisted that widows with children should dispose of them elsewhere before admission would be allowed.

Foy's most lasting contribution to the Protestant community of Waterford, and one which carried his name into the late twentieth century, was his establishment of a Free School to teach the children of the poor. Whilst it was intended as a means of educating poor Protestant boys to be apprentices to various trades, its primary purpose was the religious instruction of the students.⁴³ In October 1704 he applied to Waterford Corporation for a grant of land for that purpose on the east side of Barronstrand Street.⁴⁴ Two months later the Corporation decreed that the city courthouse, due to its dangerous condition, should be demolished, and that he be given a suitable building on the site for his proposed school.⁴⁵ In the meantime, Foy established the school on a temporary basis, and placed a clergyman, George Lackey, in charge as schoolmaster. Thus the school was in operation when the bishop died on 31 Dec. 1707. Even in his will, he expressed a passion for detail, ensuring that his conception of the correct approach to catechetics would be practised – '... examine the children whether they retain their catechism on memory, and afterwards to instruct them in the meaning and sense thereof after such plain and familiar and interrogatory manner as is suitable to the capacity of the children, and that so shortly and briefly that the whole catechism might be gone through twice every year causing the said children to give their sense and meaning of each question and answer in their own words and according to their own apprehensions after such time as they have been duly instructed by him'.⁴⁶

His declining health over the years must have increased his awareness of the proximity of death. In 1706 he had written to King of his decision to burn his papers – a likely indication of his growing sense of the transience of life. Yet, in the end, death must have come relatively suddenly, for he was present in the House of Lords on the last day of the third eighteenth-century parliamentary session, 30 Oct. 1707. Two months later he died in Waterford. Despite his seemingly arrogant self-righteousness, Foy had been a man of deep spirituality and personal simplicity. He had instructed Thomas France, Precentor of Waterford,⁴⁷ to preach his funeral sermon, for which he bequeathed him £5, 'on condition he spoke nothing of his person, good or ill, only signifying to the auditory it was his express will it should be so; and he ordered that the charge of his funeral should no way exceed thirty pounds'.⁴⁸

42. Foy to King, 2 July 1704 (TCD MSS 1995-2008, 1099).

43. *Twelfth report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland* (1812), 321.

44. Minutes of the proceedings of the City Assembly of Waterford, 7 Oct. 1704, cited in M. Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 71 (1966), 102-22.

45. *Ibid.*, 16 Dec. 1704.

46. Bishop Foy's Will, 1707, Rennison MSS, RCB Library MS 40, no. 2.

47. Rennison, *Succession List*, 40.

48. C.S. King (ed.), *A great archbishop of Dublin: William King, DD, 1650-1729, his autobiography, family, and a selection from his correspondence* (London, 1906), 118.

Discovery Series 75: A new map of North/Central Waterford

By Thomas Gregory Fewer

DISCOVERY SERIES/SRAITH EOLAS 75 (covering part of county: Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford/Cill Chainnigh, Tiobraid Árann, Port Láirge). 1:50,000 scale map published by the Ordnance Survey of Ireland/Suirbhéireacht Ordanáis na hÉireann. Dublin, preliminary edition, 1993, £4.10.

This map is one of the first to be brought out as part of a new series of metric maps that supersede those using the old imperial system of measurement. Instead of examining the half inch to one mile (1:126,720 scale) and one inch to one mile maps (1:63,360), we can now begin using one centimetre to one half kilometre (1:50,000) ones. All topographical relief is represented metrically from spot heights to contours which are in two grades – 10m and 50m. While Ireland officially adopted the metric system in 1971, it may be that the establishment of the European Union in 1992 has added impetus to bringing out a series of maps using the metric system. There certainly is a heavier emphasis on tourism in the new series and, indeed, Bord Fáilte is credited with providing the tourist information. The number of symbols used on the *Discovery* map exceeds those on its predecessors and many would be of importance to tourists such as those representing picnic sites, car parks, caravan parks (these were included on the old ½" map¹), boating activities, post offices, lifeboat and lifeguard stations, and telephone kiosks. Bord Telecom provided data on the locations of the telephone kiosks, but this is already out of date since, for example, the public phones opposite the Cork Road (N25) entrance to Waterford Regional Technical College and the one recently erected near the R675 entrance to Tramore Heights² (National Grid Reference S 574 007) are omitted. Other new kinds of information are presented including the locations of garda and fire stations, and electricity transmission lines (based on data supplied by the Electricity Supply Board). While the amount of information represented by such a range of symbols is unprecedented in large area Ordnance Survey maps, there are a few errors or omissions. The symbol of a bird bordered by a box and inside an area

1. The *Discovery* map under review is compared with Sheet 23 of the ½" series (revised edition, 1986).
2. This housing estate is not named on the map.

delineated by a red line around Fiddown Island (465 195) presumably represents a bird sanctuary or reserve, though no explanation is provided on the map's key. There is no mention of Celtworld (Tramore), though this visitor centre was opened in the year prior to the map's publication. More understandable is the omission of the neighbouring Splashworld amenity which only opened in the summer of 1993. Also, the stretch of the River Suir flowing through Carrick-on-Suir is erroneously coloured in with the grey shading used to indicate the built-up part of the town.

Inevitably, one is tempted to make closer comparisons between the *Discovery* map and its 1" and ½" predecessors. The *Discovery* map takes in an area from the downtown parts of Clonmel in the west to Waterford in the east, and from the slopes of Slievenamon (Co. Tipperary) and the Walsh Mountains (Co. Kilkenny) in the north to Lemybrien and Tramore in the south. In order to get the same coverage from the earlier maps, it would be necessary to obtain six 1" maps (Nos 166, 167, 168, 177, 178 and 179) or three ½" maps (Nos 18, 22 and 23).³ For the first time then, it is possible to trace a route from, say, Clonmel to Waterford or from Tramore to Carrick-on-Suir without having to purchase more than one map, or having to resort to using a low-detail road map.

By comparing two of the 1" maps⁴ covering east Waterford and south Kilkenny (compiled in the early 1890s) with the *Discovery* map, it is possible to note certain changes in the landscape, both physical and cultural. The Waterford, Dungarvan and Lismore Railway which might be considered both a cultural and a topographical feature is now delineated by a dashed line and described as a 'Disused Railway'. The same can be said for the Waterford and Tramore Railway. Both railways were strikingly marked out on the 1" maps. Woodland around Knockhouse Upper (N.G.R. 563 124) in 1893 is no longer present one hundred years later. Nor is the woodland (564 088) that once stood east of Butlerstown Castle. However, new coniferous plantations are recorded in Ballydermodybog (525 024) and the neighbouring Ballyscanlon Hills, both to the west of Tramore.⁵ Also new is Carrickavantry reservoir (550 025), but a former lake that existed to the north of it in 1893 is no longer marked.

Two features not recorded on the map, but which also represent recent topographical (as well as environmental) changes, are the rubbish dumps at Kilbarry and Tramore (although the growing headland [595 013] formed by the latter within the Back Strand is shown). The ½" map, on the other hand, shows an area of the Back Strand reclaimed in the last century but breached early in this one as an extent of land rather than as the expanse of tidal estuarine deposits it is today.

Toponymy is supplied in good detail, including the names of townlands (but not their boundaries⁶) and of cross-roads (supplied in fewer cases by the ½" map). For

3. Though, of course, the combination of all the 1" maps or of all the ½" maps mentioned would cover a wider area than that in the *Discovery* map.
4. *Ireland Hill Map. One inch to one mile 1855-1900* (Sheet Nos 168 [1893] and 179 [1890]). Republished by Phoenix Maps (Dublin), 1989.
5. Forestry data was supplied for the *Discovery* map by Coillte Teoranta and was further updated from 1990 aerial photography.
6. The boundaries of civil parishes (marked on most 1" maps), Roman Catholic parishes, baronies and urban district council areas are similarly omitted, as is that between Waterford County Borough and Waterford County – a more serious omission since the boundaries separating counties Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary are shown.

example, Ballynaclogh on the ½" map is given as Ballynaclogh North (554 048) and Ballynaclogh South (553 040) on the *Discovery* sheet. Examples of cross-roads not named on the ½" map but given by the *Discovery* one include Clancy's Cross Roads (537 007) near Fennor and Munmahoge Cross Roads (572 057).

In contrast to this kind of detail, the names of many estate houses or mansions are not provided by the *Discovery* map, such as those at Kilbride (577 053), Crobally⁷ (589 017), Killoteran (557 108) and Ballyduff (513 097). The extents of the houses' associated demesnes are also no longer shown. For no clear reason, a number of south Kilkenny houses *are* indicated, including Fiddown House (469 198), Graigavine House (492 197) and Silverspring House (509 187)! Despite its historical significance as the seat of the earls of Bessborough, Bessborough House near Piltown in County Kilkenny is no longer named, though this may be justified by the building's current status as the central part of Kildalton Horticultural⁸ College.

Although the ½" map gives both Gaelic and English (or anglicised) names of cities, towns and villages, the *Discovery* map extends this bilingual system of toponymy to many rivers, bays and mountains. Some of the minor rivers and hills are, on the other hand, named in only one language, such as Whelanbridge River (510 085) and the Ballyscanlon Hills. Most lakes are not named bilingually except for a few of the larger or more well known ones, for example, Coumshingaun Lough/Loch Chom Seangán (325 109) and Crotty's Lough [sic]/Lough Coumgaurha (326 125).

Both the Munster (285 210) and Leinster (510 225) ways are named, but perversely, their exact routes are not marked – not very useful for the foreign tourist or Irish rambler! Indeed, tourists might well wonder whether these 'ways' might in fact be some grandly-named motorway instead!

Finally, on the matter of archaeological and historical sites. To the local historian or archaeologist, the *Discovery* series of maps will be a joy to behold, for most of the sites (excepting estate houses) listed in the various county Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) have been included. It is now possible not only to locate many sites in County Waterford and neighbouring areas, but also to make studies of, for example, their distribution, their degree of inter-visibility and their possible associations with each other. Many sites listed in the SMR are strangely omitted, from estate houses to the prehistoric rhyolite quarry at Monvoy (just north of Tramore).⁹ Sites not listed in the Waterford SMR, such as the standing stone at Gibbethill¹⁰ or the 'Mother Brown' carved stone at Clonegam,¹¹ are of course, not mentioned, but other sites are curiously omitted for no apparent reason. These include the former Roman Catholic 'chapel' (506 163) at Mooncoin recorded in 1893,¹² of which the graveyard is still in use and so could itself, at least, have been designated. Reference to the remnant of the old church at Carrigeen (535 135), in

7. The townland name, however, is misspelled Corbally.

8. Misspelled Hortacultural on the map.

9. For Monvoy, see Stanton W. Green and Marek Zvelebil (1990), 'The Mesolithic colonization and agricultural transition of south-east Ireland', in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56, pp. 57-88 (68-70).

10. See M. N. Cassidy (1992), 'A standing stone at Gibbet Hill, Waterford', in *Decies* 45, p. 12.

11. See Fiona Veale (1992), 'The 'Mother Brown' stone at Clonegam', in *Decies* 46, pp. 2-4.

12. Though the more modern church (located elsewhere in the village) is shown.

Aglish (Co. Kilkenny), is similarly omitted, while the now-disused Anglican church at Bishopshall in the same county (593 182) is almost completely intact though the *Discovery* map states that only the site of a church exists there. Though the 1921 edition of the 6" map (Sheet 8) indicates that Clonegam church stands on the site of an earlier one, no such reference appears on the *Discovery* map. Most archaeological or historical sites are recorded in red ink, though some are presented in black lettering, such as the churches '(in ruins)' at Piltown (462 218) and Emil (487 194) – both in Co. Kilkenny – and the 'Castle (in ruins)' at 554 090 (Butlerstown Castle).

There are many archaeological sites that have been added to the map, such as the megalithic tombs at Carriglong (592 051) and to the south of Dunhill (505 022), the cairn on Tory Hill in Co. Kilkenny (596 223), the Whitfield standing stone (540 083) and a holy well just west of The Sweep (522 087). Other sites have disappeared since the earlier maps were published or revised, including the circular enclosure at Knockeen (567 071) or that near Ullid, Co. Kilkenny (551 198), both recorded in 1893. A 'cave' (539 014) located near Fennor on the ½" map is no longer marked. This was actually a souterrain inside an earthen-banked enclosure that was filled in a few years ago by the landowner to prevent his livestock from falling into it.¹³ The enclosure still exists and is recorded on the *Discovery* map. Another change, this time in descriptive conventions, means that the 'Cromlech' of 1893 at Gaulstown (540 063) is now designated a 'Megalithic Tomb', while a red dot and the description 'Star-Shaped Fort' near Duagh (589 077) replaces the 1" map's depiction of the fort's plan.

Overall, the *Discovery* series of maps (which is not due to be completed for many other parts of the country, let alone the county, before 1997 or 1998) are excellent value for money, providing much detailed information of interest to tourists, ramblers, hill walkers, orienteering buffs, teachers, students, and (of course) archaeologists and historians (both amateurs and professionals alike). Since only a 'preliminary edition' has been published, it is hoped that errors and omissions such as those mentioned above will be corrected, particularly the inclusion of additional archaeological and historical sites.¹⁴

13. Personal knowledge.

14. Since a symbol already exists for battlefields, Irish battle sites of the 'Troubles' could be mentioned such as that of the failed ambush at Pickardstown (591 030) near Tramore. For an account of this ambush, see Seán and Síle Murphy [n.d.] *The Comeraghs – refuge of rebels* (Clonmel, privately printed).

Local Government in County Waterford in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

By Ciaran Parker

Part II. The Sheriffs of Waterford in the Early Fourteenth Century 1304–1350

AS the thirteenth century drew to a close many areas of the lordship of Ireland were ravaged by violence and disorders. Whereas the first century of the interventions of the English in Ireland had been accompanied by conflict with the Gaelic Irish, the disturbances of the 1290s were mostly characterised by feuds amongst the English themselves in which Gaelic Irish elements often participated, but in a subsidiary and auxiliary role.

One factor which above all others exacerbated the situation was the growth of baronial and gentry lineages or *surnames*. These can be thought of in terms of extended families serving the political and social needs of members of the lordship's political and social élite. They included the younger brothers of these magnates, their cousins and the heads of collateral branches of the family who safe-guarded the interests of the leaders of the lineage at local level, frequently through their involvement in local administration. Much more important (and destructive) was the existence of large numbers of relatives (or self-styled relatives) of lesser social standing who pursued the frequently violent aspects associated with the maintenance of baronial control. Their cohesiveness owed much to the succour and patronage they received from the leaders of the lineage who used their influence over the mechanisms of justice to protect their lesser relatives from legal redress, or failing that, when the course of law was compelled to run its course, to extract pardons on their behalf.

The lineage of the *le Poers*

The most numerous of these lineages in Waterford was that of the *le Poers*. At its apex stood not one, but two leadership figures, the baron of Donoil, whose landholdings were concentrated along the Waterford coast at Dunhill and Islandkane, and the head of the *le Poers* whose lands lay in southern Kilkenny at Gracecastle and in the north-east of Waterford. There were other collateral segments, such as the *le Poers* of Fenoagh and Ballydurne, as well as the *le Poers* of Kilmeadan who were to play an important role in Waterford politics in the later middle ages.

The origins of the lineage of the *le Poers*, in common with most other baronial

lineages of the lordship of Ireland, are lost in the early and middle years of the thirteenth century, from which little local evidence has survived. To that extent, these lineages appeared complete and ready-made in the historical arena in the later thirteenth century. In 1268 Matthew le Poer, described as a youth of the le Poers, kidnapped the bishop of Lismore.¹ The paternalistic dynamic of their lineage was vividly demonstrated in the late 1280s when Robert le Poer was indicted of indulging in private warfare against the Aylwards of Faithlegg, thus provoking Robert's brother, the influential Eustace, to challenge sheriff Walter de la Haye to arrest him and all of his other brothers instead of Robert. With such powerful friends who could suborn the admittedly hamstrung and ineffective forces of law and order, it was hardly surprising that the activities of the lineage of the le Poers should have continued and increased in volume. In 1301 one Walter le Poer was described by the Kilkenny annalist, James Grace, as having devastated a great part of Munster,² whilst his father, Andrew le Poer, was hanged as a brigand in Ross at some time before 1305.³

The appointment of baron John le Poer as sheriff

The response of the government to this problem was hampered by their reliance on local support for peace-keeping. The last decade of the thirteenth century saw the development of the office of the *custodes pacis* whose terms of reference included the assistance of the sheriff in his peace-keeping duties, and the *custodes* appointed in county Waterford were all local men.⁴ The utilisation of local structures went one stage further in August 1305 when the twenty-four-year-old baron of Donoil, John fitz Peter le Poer, was appointed sheriff by the justiciar, John Wogan, during a visit to Waterford.⁵ He was described as being 'best able to chastise those of his lineage who run up and down the country'. In effect, the government was attempting to harness the paternalistic mechanism of the lineage to the maintenance of order. However, looking at it from a more cynical, though sadly more realistic perspective, the leader of the lineage was receiving official sanction for his role as *Paterfamilias*.

The appointment of John le Poer was a watershed; it marked a significant devolution of peace-keeping functions to the local baronage, a phenomenon which it was impossible to reverse. The ability of the government to supervise events in the lordship as a whole was severely restricted, not only by geographical considerations, but also by its virtual bankruptcy. It was also significant as a transition (in theory, at least) to a much more active form of local government. The statement accompanying his appointment left no room for doubt that baron John le Poer was expected to emphasise the policing aspects of the post of sheriff (though not to the detriment of the other administrative duties of the office). His appointment had been made more urgent by the illness of his predecessor, Maurice

1. Aquilla Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, pp. 14-15 in *Tracts Relating to Ireland* (Dublin, 1842). This event is also mentioned in the *Annals of Inisfallen* under 1269, where Matthew le Poer is described as 'gilla óg' (S. Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1952), pp. 366-7.
2. Butler (ed.), *Grace, Annals*, p. 46.
3. National Archives of Ireland (N.A.I.), R.C. 7/10, pp. 554-5.
4. *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 38*, p. 64; N.L.I. Ms. 761, pp. 232-3.
5. *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls, Ireland, II*, p. 119.

Russel, a man who had extensive administrative experience, both in Waterford and further afield in Munster. The nature of Russel's illness was not elucidated, but it was certainly serious for he died before the end of the year.⁶

The consequences of localisation

Such localisation ignored the nature of local society and would have been dependent for its success on the impartiality and probity of local officials. It must have become clear that le Poer intended to utilise his position not for the benefit of law and order, but for the aggrandisement of his own position and prestige within Waterford. He also showed himself adept at manipulating the confusion and incompetence of the lordship's exchequer: in 1306 he was ordered to distrain the goods of some Waterford landholders for debts, including those owed by John fitz Peter le Poer, i.e. himself. He reported that the aforementioned

John le Poer of Donoil had no goods to distrain, and it was only then that his duplicity was discovered.⁷ In the event, John le Poer lasted less than six months in the office, but his removal did not augur a reversal of government policy. His successor as sheriff was Richard *blakeman* le Poer of Islandkane. Apart from being a relative, Richard le Poer may also have been a tenant of the baron who was himself reappointed for another term in January, 1312.⁸

The local men who were appointed sheriffs were products of their environment and so they brought with them a considerable baggage of personal and family grievances. Compared to somebody like de la Haye, the kindest thing that may be said of them is that they were uncouth and little-versed in abstract theories about the separation of public office from private interest. In 1310 the justiciar and the council of the lordship voiced their concerns about the calibre of local office holders, not only with regard to Waterford, and the extent to which these people were 'little learned in the office of sheriff (in which they should be learned)'.⁹

Fortune has smiled on the historians of the early fourteenth century in Ireland insofar as calendars of a high standard were made of the rolls of the itinerant court of the lordship' justiciar prior to the destruction of the originals in the fire at the Four Courts in 1922. These frequently turn up unsavoury details about the characters of some of the sheriffs of this period, two of whom I propose to profile in more detail.

John le Botiller

John fitz William le Botiller belonged to a cadet branch of the more powerful Botillers of Ormond that held the manors of Dunmore and Dysert in east Waterford. He was appointed by the exchequer in November 1312, and his appointment was probably due to his connections with the le Poers, for he had been named as a member of Eustace le Poer's retinue ten years earlier.¹⁰ Like the le Poers, these Waterford le

6. N.A.I. Ex. 2/1, p. 142.

7. *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, II, p. 161.

8. *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 45*, p. 24.

9. H.F. Berry (ed.), *Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Irish Parliament, King John to Henry V* (Dublin, 1907), pp. 276-7.

10. N.A.I. KB. 2/5, p. 117.

Botillers constituted a lineage, numbering some violent and disreputable individuals in its ranks, not least of whom must be listed its leader, John le Botiller, who already had something of a 'record' for violent behaviour prior to his appointment.

In 1304 a dispute had broken out between Thomas le Bret, an inhabitant of Waterford city, and the Roches of the Rower in southern Kilkenny. The latter received the help of John le Botiller in the violent prosecution of their grudge, which left the unfortunate Bret seriously wounded.¹¹ Two years later le Botiller was indicted for abducting the heiress of Thomas de Northampton, a minor landholder in Waterford.¹² However, it was in 1308 that one of his most dramatic actions occurred when he lay in wait with his brothers for Bartholomew de Kerdif in Waterford city.¹³ The surviving accounts from the justiciar's court, so full of detail in many respects, are usually silent as to the wellspring from which such disputes emerged. The sheriff of Waterford, who was sensitive to the hostility that existed between le Botiller and de Kerdif, had to rely on the very medieval expedient of a 'day of love', which was an opportunity for both parties to meet and patch up their differences through arbitration, or at least to draw back from outright violence. Unfortunately, the *rendezvous* between the two sets of protagonists turned sour when one side started throwing stones at the other, leading to an indiscriminate *melée*.

Philip Christopher

An even more colourful figure, and more outrageous as an agent of order than le Botiller, was Philip Christopher. The family's lands lay in west Waterford in the vicinity of Ballykerogue, and its members' deeds and misdeeds had featured prominently in the rolls of the justiciar's court. Philip, as the *paterfamilias* of this brood, had a startling *curriculum vitae* of criminal activity prior to his appointment as sheriff in the final weeks of 1314. In 1295 he was implicated in the robbery and murder of John de Valle and in assisting the perpetrators to escape from county Waterford.¹⁴ He had also participated in the abduction of an heiress who was a descendant of Raymond le Gros.¹⁵ In 1311 he had been accused of being a robber wandering through the countryside accompanied by his many brothers, violently breaking houses and human limbs.¹⁶

The government had tried to harness his considerable influence amongst his family for their own use, by granting him a licence to arrest and detain law-breaking relatives.¹⁷ This was a powerful weapon for stamping his authority on his lineage and consolidating its inherent paternalistic control-mechanism, although this occasioned resentment and resistance in some quarters. Philip's brother Geoffrey, for instance, claimed that Philip had used the power of detention granted to him to pursue a private grievance against him. The quarrel between Philip and

11. *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, II, p. 153.

12. N.A.I. R.C. 7/11, p. 476.

13. *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, III, p. 140.

14. *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, I, pp. 32-3.

15. N.A.I. R.C. 7/2, pp. 310-2.

16. *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, III, p. 189.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-2.

Geoffrey was a relatively trivial one, for two years later Philip sent him to the exchequer at Dublin to complain about the behaviour of the sheriff. Geoffrey was impatient in the face of bureaucratic temporising and when he was denied entry to the exchequer's court he broke down its door.¹⁸

Whereas John le Botiller had been able to restrain his recidivist tendencies whilst sheriff, the same could not be said of Christopher. Geoffrey Christopher had given the citizens of Dublin reason to anticipate with dread the arrival of his family in the city. In 1315 Philip's presence was required at a case before one of the courts, but when he returned to Waterford he did so with the wife of a Dublin merchant whom he had kidnapped, supposedly on the pretext of a debt owed to him and whom he intended to detain at his manor in Waterford pending the payment of this sum.¹⁹

The violence of the 1320s

It goes without saying that Waterford, in common with many parts of the lordship, was a violent place, yet the 1320s were to witness an even greater level of disorder as the area became a theatre of armed conflict between rival baronial groups.

The Geraldines of Desmond had inherited the lion's share of the grant to Thomas fitz Anthony of 1215, including the rich and extensive honour of Dungarvan in county Waterford; however, they had never shown great interest in Waterford. This changed with the advent of Maurice fitz Thomas, the great-grandson of John fitz Thomas who had died at the battle of Callan. Fitz Thomas sought to expand his influence throughout Munster and indeed the lordship as a whole, but his ambitions were impeded by Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, who was far from being a friend of the Geraldines. Armed conflict between the latter and the followers of the de Burghs had broken out in the mid 1260s and 1290s, although their impact on Waterford was indirect. De Burgh's ascendancy in Ireland was dealt a serious blow by the Bruce invasion, and although the earl was able to recover most of his lands in Ulster he never regained the same position of primacy in the lordship. This was also a reflection of his growing infirmity and in 1326 he died at Athassel in county Tipperary, leaving his grandson, still a minor, as his heir. Amongst de Burgh's allies in the lordship were the le Poers.

In the 1290s the earl had described Robert le Poer as 'soen cousyn' although the exact familial relationship is unclear, while both Arnold and baron John le Poer had joined de Burgh's army against the Scots in Ulster. De Burgh's decline and death thus robbed the le Poers of an important and powerful ally.

One issue which was of contention between fitz Thomas and the le Poers was the lordship of the manor of Kilmeadan. In a previous paper I mentioned the grant of this lucrative holding with its thriving vill first to justiciar Robert de Ufford and then to sheriff Walter de la Haye.²⁰ Following the latter's death without male heirs the lands eventually passed to John fitz Benedict le Poer, a cousin of Eustace. Fitz Thomas held the opinion that the manor had been royal land at the time of the grant

18. N.A.I. Ex. 2/2, no. 515.

19. N.A.I. KB. 2/8, p. 13.

20. See *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, II, p. 2.

of 1259 to his ancestor John fitz Thomas and as such came within the terms of this charter.²¹ In 1326 skirmishes between the two groups occurred, and in the following year these escalated into open war in which the le Poers' manors in Waterford and Kilkenny were attacked.²² It is noteworthy that whilst fitz Thomas was engaged in such violent activities he was also prosecuting his claim to the manor of Kilmeadan through the more pacific means of a suit in the exchequer's court.²³ John fitz Benedict le Poer was killed, along with the baron of Donoil's son; the baron himself was forced to seek refuge in Waterford city where he died in 1328.²⁴

The negative impact of these events on the normal functioning of medieval local government is understandable. Not alone did it make the levying of the king's debts a rather dangerous activity but it led to a total paralysis of the office of sheriff. In 1333 it was stated that during the shrievalty of Richard Dandon (1328-9) none of the normal shrieval duties could be executed in Waterford 'owing to the war between Maurice fitz Thomas and his adherents and Arnold le Poer and others of his family'.²⁵

The appointment of Maurice fitz Thomas and its aftermath

In consort with fitz Thomas's attempts to exert his position in Munster by means of physical force went a growing success in cultivating the friendship of powerful figures both within Ireland and further afield. One of these was Roger Mortimer, earl of March, whose military exploits had done so much to assist in expelling Edward Bruce and the Scottish invaders a decade earlier. He had been instrumental in the overthrow of King Edward II in 1327 and consequently played a pivotal role in the early years of the minority of Edward's son and heir, Edward III. In July 1329 fitz Thomas was granted the title of earl of Desmond. Far more important to our discussion was the inclusion with this elevation of a resurrection of the grant to John fitz Thomas of 1259 of the shrievalties of Waterford and Cork.²⁶

Little evidence survives of his involvement in local administration, other than a rather expeditious reluctance to countenance any attempts by less senior local officials to punish members of his retinue. In 1330 William fitz Nicholas, a coroner of the county, attempted to arrest one of fitz Thomas's followers, a member of the Mac Carthaigh sept. Fitz Thomas naturally supported his ally and the unfortunate fitz Nicholas was blinded for his troubles.²⁷ Fitz Thomas also attempted to institute some unorthodox legal procedures whereby individuals were forced to appear before the seigneurial court at Dungarvan, where they were frequently found guilty on the word of a jury comprising the vill's fishermen and subsequently imprisoned until they had handed over all their money to the earl and the constable of his castle

21. An inquisition of 1282 into the lands held by John fitz Thomas at his death listed the manor of Kilmeadan, while also mentioning that the manor had subsequently been granted to Robert de Ufford (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, II, p. 253).
22. *Clyn, Annals*, p. 19; *Grace, Annals*, pp. 102-5.
23. N.A.I. R.C. 8/15, p. 157.
24. *Clyn, Annals*, p. 20.
25. *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 44*, p. 27.
26. *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1327-1337*, p. 153.
27. G.O. Sayles (ed.), 'Legal Proceedings against the First Earl of Desmond' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 23 (1966), p. 9.

of Dungarvan.²⁸ However, these complaints referred to fitz Thomas's manorial court at Dungarvan and not to his activities as sheriff of the county.

Maurice fitz Thomas's ambivalence to powers theoretically greater than himself ultimately led to his downfall. Roger Mortimer had been deposed and executed in 1330 and in the following year fitz Thomas failed to attend a summons to parliament at Dublin. In August 1331 he was arrested and imprisoned by the new justiciar, Anthony Lucy, and he forfeited the shrievalties of the Munster counties, as well as his lands in Dungarvan. His successors as sheriffs were faced with the results of a social and political explosion as the le Poer leadership structure had disappeared with the deaths of its leaders: Baron John had died almost a refugee from his lands in Waterford city whilst Arnold had passed the final, unhappy months of his life languishing as a prisoner in Dublin castle.²⁹ The more turbulent elements of the lineage were now out of control and in 1333 an expedition which had been ostensibly dispatched to chastise the Ui Bhriain of Thomond was compelled to deal with violent activity by a segment of the le Poers.³⁰

The sheriffs who served in the period immediately after fitz Thomas's eclipse were all local men, and they were drawn from both the middle ranks of the le Poer lineage and from important gentry families. For example, John de Stapilton was a son of Robert de Stapilton whose actions had been denounced in the late 1280s. None of them were allies of fitz Thomas and Richard le Waleis claimed to hold his land of Glenahiry in west Waterford directly of the king and not of the holder of the honour of Dungarvan.³¹ They all appear to have been relatively conscientious in the performance of their duties. As the most important source for their activities was the now destroyed memoranda rolls of the Irish exchequer, at which they accounted regularly, we know little of their day-to-day activities in Waterford and the extent, if any, of their administrative misdemeanours.

Maurice fitz Thomas resurgens

Fitz Thomas did not remain for long in the political wilderness, but while he was regranted his title and lands in Waterford in 1333, the shrievalties of Cork and Waterford were withheld. In the later 1330s, however, he succeeded in bypassing this omission through the appointment of his political allies from both Waterford and further afield. This commenced in 1337 with sheriff Geoffrey Gascoin whose father Hamo had been the keeper of the manor of Dungarvan in 1313.³² David Christopher and David Russell (sheriff, 1340-43) were described by an unidentified Waterford writer of the late 1330s as being 'friends' of the earl.³³ Russell was a son of Maurice Russell, the former sheriff and Geraldine ally, and was thus related by marriage to fitz Thomas, while David Christopher, a son of Philip, had taken part in fitz Thomas' attack on Arnold le Poer's lands in 1327.³⁴ Thomas Engleis (sheriff,

28. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

29. *Clyn, Annals*, p. 20; *Chart. St. Mary's Dublin*, p. 369; *Grace, Annals*, pp. 110-1.

30. *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 43*, pp. 56-7.

31. *P.R.O. E.101/233/6*, H. Sweetman (ed.), *Cal. Doc. Ire.*, IV p. 26.

32. *N.A.I. R.C. 85*, pp. 258-60; *R.C. 8/6*, pp. 311-2.

33. *N.A.I. M. 2649*, p. 17.

34. *'Legal proceedings'*, p. 7.

1338-40) was a Geraldine ally and landholder from county Limerick.³⁵

Christopher and Russell were also less dedicated to the pursuit of the government's bidding and they demonstrated a reluctance to present their proffers at the exchequer and account for the sums collected by them. Christopher never proffered an account and in 1347 and 1348 attempts were made to pursue him for the amounts due from him.³⁶ It is, indeed, impossible to say when he served, as no record of his appointment survives and it is possible that it was made by fitz Thomas acting on his own initiative, although in the late 1330s he had some friends at the centre of power in the lordship, including the chancellor, bishop Thomas Charlton.

One of the events which precipitated the showdown between the government of the lordship and fitz Thomas was the appointment by the former of Richard de la Rokelle as sheriff of Waterford in May, 1343.³⁷ De la Rokelle, who was a descendent of a sheriff of the mid-thirteenth century, was no friend of fitz Thomas: in 1331 he was one of the jurors of Kilkenny who were not hesitant in describing the violent activities of fitz Thomas and his followers against Arnold le Poer's lands four years earlier.³⁸

The revolt of Maurice fitz Thomas

The appointment of de la Rokelle was but one of the causes which led inexorably to the outbreak of revolt in Munster. On this occasion, fitz Thomas was able to count on a much wider sample of support from the political élite of Waterford than had been the case in his previous *contretemps* with authority, and some of those who flocked to his cause demonstrated a great capacity to forget, if not forgive, fitz Thomas for his past actions. He was joined in Waterford by Eustace, son of Arnold le Poer, for whose fall from power and subsequent death fitz Thomas had been largely responsible. Eustace was accompanied by other important members of the le Poer lineage, including the baron of Donoil, John fitz Peter le Poer, the grandson of his namesake.

Waterford saw little of the violence accompanying this episode, and most of the fighting took place in Tipperary, north Cork and Kerry. The rebellion was extinguished by a strong royal army led by the justiciar, Ralph Ufford, and the earl was eventually run to ground and captured at his manor of Castleisland. He was briefly imprisoned and then sent into a form of exile amongst the royal forces fighting in France. Eustace le Poer was less fortunate as he was executed soon after his capture. His killing was significant, insofar as it demonstrated that Eustace, in spite of his social and political pre-eminence, was considered by the government to be expendable and his utility as a figure with the capacity to constrain the worst excesses of his relatives to be exhausted.

So many prominent Waterford landholders had joined fitz Thomas in his revolt that finding suitable personnel for local government was difficult. There was some reluctance to be associated with the government and to undertake an office which involved dealing with the residue of a failed revolt, with all of its associated

35. Engleis's lands were subsequently forfeited or his involvement in fitz Thomas's rebellion of 1345 (N.A.I. M. 2649, p. 94).

36. N.A.I. R.C. 8/24, pp. 132-3, 179.

37. N.A.I. R.C. 8/22, p. 483.

38. 'Legal proceedings', p. 6.

antagonisms and frustrations. In July 1345 the exchequer appointed Nicholas le Brun as sheriff but seven years later, when he was asked to account for sums collected during his term, he denied all knowledge of any commission of the office having been addressed to him.³⁹

In an attempt to maintain some form of continuity the aforementioned baron John fitz Peter le Poer, notwithstanding his involvement in fitz Thomas's revolt, became sheriff in the early part of 1346. His effectiveness was minimal and he failed to appear at the exchequer when summoned.⁴⁰ His successor was something of a novelty amongst the sheriffs of fourteenth-century Waterford, in that he was an outsider with no discernible ties, of either a territorial or clientelist nature, with Waterford. Thomas de Bentham was a native of Drogheda and his career had hitherto taken place within the sphere of the lordship's administration, and in 1338 he had been the marshal of the exchequer.⁴¹ He had taken part in Ralph de Ufford's campaign against fitz Thomas, and he probably owed his appointment to his links with the former.⁴² De Bentham appears to have been a good sheriff, both in ethical and administrative terms, but the prospect of a reversal of the developments of over four decades, and a return to the curial sheriffs of the late thirteenth century, was clearly impractical, so that the remainder of the 1340s witnessed a resumption of the post by local men, like Richard fitz Thomas le Botiller and Matthew le Poer of Fenoagh.

The social and geographical backgrounds of the sheriffs of the early fourteenth century

As has been stated, the year 1305 marked the beginning of the localisation of the office of sheriff whereby the holders of the position were largely, though not exclusively, natives of the Waterford area or held large amounts of land there. Maurice fitz Thomas belonged to the first tier of the nobility of the Irish lordship and the bestowal of the title of earl of Desmond in 1329 was no more than a titular recognition of this pre-eminence.

The leaders of the le Poer lineage were also unquestionably members of the lordship's baronage, but not of its highest level. Their lands, whilst extensive, were largely concentrated in the south-east. At no time were they ever entrusted with the justiciarship, even on a temporary level, nor did they ever lead a royal army. Their importance was regional, rather than national, and even this declined to a dramatic extent in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. However, they were well represented amongst the sheriffs of county Waterford, especially through members of the cadet branches of the lineage, such as Richard le Poer of Islandkane (1306-8), Theobald le Poer of Fenoagh (1316-18, 1320-26), and Adam le Poer of Ballydurne (1335-36). The le Poers of Shangarry, whose large county Waterford estate included the whole parish of Newcastle, provided three sheriffs: John fitz John (1309-11); Roger fitz John (1318-19); and George fitz John (1332-33).

39. N.A.I. R.C. 8/25, pp. 558-60.

40. N.A.I. R.C. 8/25, p. 581.

41. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1334-1338*, p. 544; *Ibid.*, 1338-1340, p. 12.

42. R.F. Franks, 'The Justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: Warfare and Politics in fourteenth century Ireland' in *Studia Hibernica*, 13 (1973), p. 47.

The le Botillers of Waterford constituted an extended family whose membership in Waterford may not have been as numerous as that of the le Poers but was certainly as prone to violent behaviour. In addition to John fitz William, whose career has been summarised, his nephew, Richard fitz Thomas, was sheriff in 1343 whilst William fitz Richard le Botiller, a member of another segment of the le Botiller lineage from southern Tipperary, held the post in 1327, at a time when the le Botillers had joined Maurice fitz Thomas in his feud with the le Poers.

On a level below the nobility existed those families possessing no titular distinctions who may be thought of as the gentry of the county. They were never able to constitute themselves a distinct sociopolitical party in opposition to or competition with the nobility, being dependent to a greater or lesser degree on the latter. They thus constituted the tools through which the baronage emphasised its growing control at local level. For example, the shrievalties of Geoffrey Gascoin and David Russell were a symptom of the resuscitation of Desmond Geraldine influence in Waterford.

Although these men did not hold any noble titles they were influential in their own right. Richard le Waleis, for example, held the extensive manor of Glenahiry in west Waterford. Furthermore, nearly all of them were styled knights or *milites*, implying an income from their lands in excess of £40 per annum. There was one exception, namely Geoffrey fitz William fitz David (sheriff, 1336-37), who held a relatively small parcel of land in east Waterford along the river Suir. However, its geographical location had been turned to considerable use by his family, who operated a ferry across the river to the liberty of Kilkenny.⁴³ As the latter constituted a separate jurisdiction from County Waterford, this transport link was popular with the carriers and handlers of stolen goods in both Waterford and Kilkenny who had only to cross the river to escape pursuit and capture.

Sheriffs from outside county Waterford were usually the recipients of powerful patronage, such as Thomas le Engleis and Richard Dandon, both Limerick landholders and in the case of the former at least, close associates of Maurice fitz Thomas. Adam de Barry (sheriff, 1347-49) belonged to a segment of the Cork lineage which had pursued its grievances with the main line of the family through both judicial and physical means.⁴⁴ The Barrys held a small amount of land at Mocollop in west Waterford, but this was held by David fitz David de Barry, the man with whom Adam de Barry was in conflict.⁴⁵ His appointment may be explained as a continuation of a policy of appointing outsiders, like Thomas de Bentham, to the shrievalty, although de Barry had demonstrated his unsuitability for the post with his involvement in private warfare.

In spite of the fact that the le Poer lineage contained sufficient heads of collateral segments, the le Poers' patronage with regard to the office of sheriff occasionally spread beyond the family. John de Stanes, appointed in 1319, was a Kilkenny landholder, but this was probably due to the friendship of Arnold le Poer, as four years earlier he had received a grant of land from him.⁴⁶ Robert de Marreis of

43. *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, III, p. 183.

44. For a brief discussion of this conflict see K.W. Nicholls, 'The Development of Lordship in County Cork, 1300-1600' in P. O'Flanagan and C.G. Buttimer (eds.), *Cork, History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1993), p. 176.

45. N.A.I. R.C. 8/23, p. 833.

46. *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1307-1319*, p. 398; *Cal.Orm. Deeds*, I, p. 200, no. 502.

county Tipperary, who was sheriff in 1317, was related by marriage to baron John fitz Peter le Poer, since his mother had married Robert's father John de Marreis after the death of baron Peter le Poer at sea in 1284.⁴⁷

Finally, some mention must be made of those Waterford men who served in local administration elsewhere in the lordship. Baron John fitz Peter le Poer was appointed seneschal of the liberty of Kilkenny in February 1318.⁴⁸ He succeeded David Brun, a former sub-sheriff of Waterford and the father of Nicholas Brun who became sheriff (allegedly without his cognisance) in 1345.⁴⁹ Baron John le Poer's successor as sheriff, Richard *blakeman* le Poer, was appointed sheriff of Tipperary in 1311,⁵⁰ while Roger fitz John le Poer was named sheriff of Cork late in 1325 and held the position until the grant to Maurice fitz Thomas four years later.⁵¹ It is nonetheless significant that all these examples were provided by members of the le Poer lineage, and that no members of the gentry served in administrative positions outside the county.

Conclusions

In conclusion it is clear that the office of sheriff underwent many changes in the early fourteenth century. Perhaps one of the most important alterations was in the calibre of the officeholders. While it is unfair and no doubt incorrect to consider that all or even some of the sheriffs of the thirteenth century attained the level of professionalism of Walter de la Haye, his successors in the early fourteenth century were incapable of discriminating between the pursuit of the public good and private politics. The post offered its holders an opportunity for enrichment and the abuse of legal procedures for the benefit of one's self, one's family and one's patron. Unfortunately we do not know how far individuals actively canvassed for the position.

The post did have its disadvantages. In theory, the sheriff was supposed to render his account at the exchequer on a twice-yearly basis, and the clerks of this institution, ever eager to extract every last penny for the cash-starved government of the lordship, examined such proffers with excruciating precision and attention to detail. Furthermore, sheriffs were personally liable for any debts that they had not succeeded in collecting, even after their term in office had expired.

By the mid-fourteenth century Waterford, in common with many other parts of Ireland, had undergone significant changes. The le Poers' prestige had been reduced and no figure amongst them held any commanding influence or respect. The power of the Desmond Geraldines had increased enormously and the restoration of the first earl to his lands, titles and pre-eminence in December 1349 was a recognition that only such a strong figure could maintain order in Munster, even though this would be on the earl's terms, and not those of the government. However, the Geraldines' position in Waterford was not to go unchallenged in the later fourteenth century as the le Botillers of Ormond filled some of the vacuum left by the eclipse of the le Poers.

47. N.A.I. M. 2646, p. 71; *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, I, pp. 4 52-3.

48. *R.P.H.*, p. 24, no. 89.

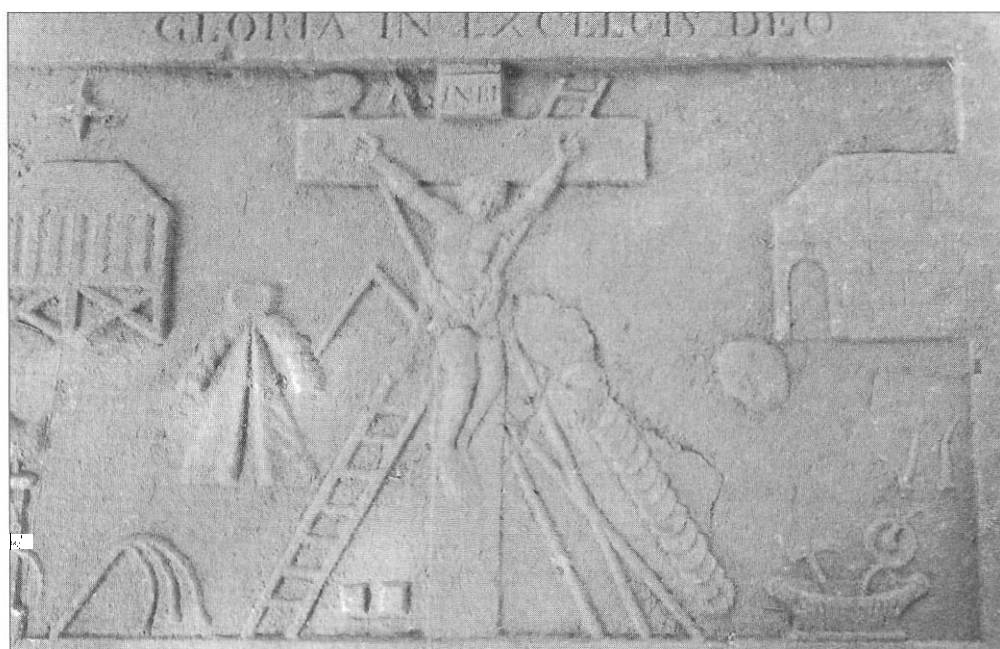
49. *Ibid.*, p. 23, no. 76.

50. N.A.I. R.C. 8/14, p. 832; *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 42*, p. 13.

51. N.A.I. R.C. 8/14, p. 603; R.C. 8/22, p. 231.



Monument of the Denny family (No. 81).



Passion symbols on the monument of Captain William Foran, 1811 (No. 99).

Monumental Inscriptions at the Abbey, Kilculliheen, Ferrybank, Waterford

Transcribed by Michael O'Sullivan

Part III. Nos 166-251 (letters K to P)

166. **KEARY:** In memory of Mary, the beloved wife of Thomas Keary, John's Hill, Waterford, who fell asleep in Jesus on the 5th of May 1862 aged 46 years. In memory of Thomas Keary died December 9th 1872 aged 62 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 9 May 1862, p.2, c.5. On Monday 5th at Johns Hill, Mary wife of Mr Thomas Keary.

Wat. News, Fri. 13 Dec. 1872, p.2, c.7. December 9th at his residence Johns Hill in this city, Mr Thomas S. Keary, for more than a quarter of a century clerk and store keeper of the Waterford Lunatic Asylum.

167. **KEHOE:** Here lieth the body of Thomas Kehoe Esquire of the city of Waterford who departed this life on the 4th day of February 1825 aged 44 years. Also the bodies of three of his infant children. Eliza Kehoe 21st February 1854. His widow Mrs Frances Kehoe aged 82 died 24th February 1864, and her sister Miss Mary Fitzgerald aged 76 died 15th June 1860.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 25 Feb. 1854, p.2, c.3. February 21st at her mother's residence Eldon Terrace, Eliza daughter of the late Thomas Kehoe Esq., M.D. of this city.

Wat. News, Fri. 4 March 1864, p.2, c.5. February 25th at her residence, South Parade, at an advanced age, the relict of Dr George Kehoe, formerly of the Quay, Waterford.

Wat. News, Fri. 22 June 1860, p.2, c.2. On 15th June at the residence of her sister, Mrs Kehoe, Eldon Terrace, Waterford, Mary second daughter of the late John Fitzgerald Esq., of Dollyville Queens County.

KELLY: See Short.

168. **KELLY:** This stone was erected by James Kelly, cord winder of the city of Waterford, to be the burial place of his posterity. Also the above James Kelly who died December 15th 1824 aged 74 years. And Bernard McDermott son in law to James Kelly died January 9th 1847 aged 38 years. Andrew McDermott grandson to J. Kelly died March 12 1847 aged 16.

169. **KENEDY:** Here lieth the body of Robert Kenedy, a child of William Kenedy,

who died March 21st 1780 aged 1 year. Here lies the body of Catherine Kenedy alias Ryan, wife of William Kenedy, who died January 27th 1781 aged 30 years.

170. **KENEDY:** Here lies the body of Ralph Kenedy who departed this life May 20th 1792 aged 10 years. Also the bodies of five children died young. Likewise the body of my beloved John who departed this life October 1st 1796 aged 10 years. Children of William Kenedy sadler. Also the body of Catherine Kenedy alias Donnelly wife of William Kenedy who departed this life September 20th 1796 aged 42 years.

Clonmel Gazette, Sat. 20 Oct. 1792. Mrs Ralph Kennedy.

171. **KENNEDY:** Sacred to the memory of Mrs Letitia Kennedy, relict of the late Reverend John Kennedy rector of Fethard, County Wexford, and daughter of Thomas Carew Esquire of Ballinamona, County Waterford, who died on the 29th of August 1847 aged 84 years.

Clonmel Advertiser, Sat. 20 Feb. 1819. Married on Monday morning at the Cathedral, Waterford, Shapland Carew Morris of Harbour View, County Waterford, Captain in the 66 Regt. of Foot, to Letitia, 3rd daughter of the late Rev. J. Kennedy Rector of Fethard, County Wexford.

KENNEDY: See Kenedy.

172. **KERRIDOK:** Sacred to the memory of Mr John Kerridok of Lyme, Dorset who departed this life the 27th of November 1823 aged 27 years.

Wat. Mirror, Sat. 29 Nov. 1823, p.3, c.4. On Thursday morning after a short illness, Mr John Kerridge, master of the smack *Hero* of Lyme.

173. **KEYS:** Sacred to the memory of Reverend William Keys, Wesleyan minister, who departed this life January 2nd 1861 aged 87 years.

174. **KINGSTON:** Sacred to the memory of Isaac and Mary Kingston. The former died March 23rd 1841 aged 83 years. The latter March 16th 1821 aged 57 years. This monument has been erected by their son Colonel George Kingston.

Wat. Mirror, 24 March 1841, p.3, c.4. Yesterday at a very advanced age Isaac Kingston Esq. *Wat Mirror*, Sat. 10 Mar. 1821. Died on Wednesday morning after a short illness, Mrs Kingston wife of Isaac Kingston Esq.

175. **KIRWAN:** In loving memory of Susan, widow of the very Reverend Anthony Latouche Kirwan dean of Limerick, who entered into her rest May 17th 1908.

Wat. News, 22 May 1908, p.5, c.6. Mrs Susan Kirwan, who was the widow of the late very Rev. Anthony La Touche Kirwan Dean of Limerick, passed away on Sunday last at Gracedieu House, the residence of her son-in-law Mr T.W. Anderson J.P.

176. **KIZBEY:** William Kizbey died on the 9th of March 1868 aged 79 years. Mary Alice Kizbey died 3rd March 1922 aged 79 years. Anna the younger daughter

of William Kizbey died on the 3rd of February 1866 aged 20 years. Anna Isabella the beloved wife of William Kizbey died on the 15th of December 1859 aged 44 years. To the memory of William Edward Kizbey, son of William Kizbey, aged 43 years who departed this life May 17th 1851.

Wat. News, Fri. 9 Feb. 1866, p.2, c.4. On Monday morning at her father's residence, Quay, Annie the youngest daughter of William Kizbey Esq., after a protracted illness of three months.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 23 May 1851, p.3, c.5. On Tuesday last William only son of Mr William Kizbey, boot and shoemaker, Parade.

177. **KNOX:** Here lieth the remains of Catharine Anne Knox, daughter of the late John Knox Esquire of Dominick Street Dublin and Catharine his wife, who departed this life at Dunmore October 6th 1823 aged 3 years.
178. **KOVY:** In memory of Eliza Frances Kovy alias Beresford. Erected by her most devoted husband Captain Albert Kovy. She was born 1822. She died as a true believer in Christ on the 29th of December 1859.
179. **LAMBERT:** Sacred to the memory of Colour Sergeant John Lambert of the 55th Regiment of Foot, who departed this life at Waterford, January 5th 1851. This tablet is erected by his brother sergeants to perpetuate the memory of an old and good comrade.
180. **LAWRENCE:** In loving memory of Charles Lawrence who entered into rest 21st February 1925 aged 87 years. Also Annie Benfield Scriven his wife, died 12th October 1929 aged 86 years. Also their daughter Annie Read Craig, died 15th February 1955 in her 86th year.

Wat. News, 27 Feb. 1925, p.1, c.1. The death occurred on 21st February at 6 St Andrews Terrace, Newtown, Waterford of Mr Christopher Lawrence aged 87. As a young man he worked with the firm of Simmons White and Co., predecessors of Messrs George White and Co., O'Connell St. In 1881 he entered business on his own account, and was later joined in the enterprise by his son-in-law Mr T.W. Fudger, The Quay.

Wat. News, 18 Oct. 1929, p.1, c.1. October 12th at 6 St Andrews Terrace, Anne Benfield Scriven, widow of the late Christopher Lawrence.

Wat. News, 18 Feb. 1955, p.1, c.1. On February 15th 1955 in a Dun Laoghaire hospital Mrs Anne Read Craig, widow of Mr Hugh W. Craig, a former agent in Waterford of the Clyde Shipping Company, and who was president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1894. Mrs Craig was the last surviving daughter of the late Mr and Mrs C. Lawrence, St Andrews Terrace, Newtown, and had resided in Blackrock, Co. Dublin, for the past 25 years. She was aunt of Mr C.L. and Miss Fudger, Belvedere, and of Mr W.E. Fudger, London.

181. **LAWSON:** Here lies the body of William Lawson of Waterford who departed this life on the 4th of September 1817 aged 37 years. Adelaide Helena, daughter of Reverend James Lawson and grand-daughter of the above William Lawson, died March 29th 1845 aged 14 years. Ellen relict of the above W. Lawson Esq. died December 18th 1845 aged 64 years. Joseph Ambrose Lawson M. D. Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals H.P. died February 11th 1864 aged 57 years. Maria Helena wife of Reverend J. Lawson died May 10th 1880 aged 74 years.

Wat. Mirror, 6 Sept. 1817, p.3, c.3. On Thursday morning Mr William Lawson, Parade.
Wat. News, Fri. 19 Feb. 1864, p.2, c.5. February 11th at his residence 14 Horbury Crescent, Nottingham, London, Joseph Ambrose Lawson M.D. Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals, and brother to the Rev. James Lawson of this city.
Wat. News, 14 May 1880, p.2, c.7. On the 10th aged 74 at Piltown, Co. Kilkenny of paralysis, Maria Helena wife of the Rev. James Lawson formerly Rector of Kill St Nicholas, Passage East.

- 182. LECKIE:** In memory of Lizzie Leckie second daughter of Peter and Emily Leckie died January 14th 1873 aged 16 years. Also of Robert Lindsay Leckie their second son died November 30th 1873 aged 16 years.

Wat. News 17 Jan. 1873, p.2, c.4. At Georges Street, Waterford, on the 14th, Lizzie eldest daughter of Peter Leckie Esq.
Wat. News, 5 Dec. 1873, p.2, c.7. On the 29th at 5 Great Georges Street, Robert second son of Peter Leckie Esq., aged 18 years.

- 183. LECKIE:** In affectionate remembrance of Kate Leckie, the dearly beloved wife of David Leckie of Waterford, who died 25th April 1876 aged 47 years. Also of Mary Kathleen Leckie daughter of James and Emma Leckie who died 21st July 1883.

Wat. News, 27 Oct. 1876, p.2, c.6. On Tuesday morning, at his residence, Exchange Street, Waterford, David Leckie Esq.
Wat. News, 21 July 1883, p.2, c.5. On 21st at Knockaveelish Cottage, Woodstown, Mary Kathleen, infant daughter of James and Emma Leckie.

- 184. LECKY:** In memory of Henrietta the beloved wife of Charles Boyd Lecky who departed this life 11th of January 1860. Also Henrietta Caroline her daughter who died in her infancy.

Wat. News, Fri. 13 Jan. 1860, p.2, c.3. On Wednesday evening Mrs Charles Leckie, at her residence, Newrath.

- 185. LILLIE:** Sacred to the memory of Mr. William Lillie late commander of the snow *Sir John Cameron* of Port William, Scotland, who departed this life on the [] March 1819 aged [] years. James McAlpine of Corpack Esquire has caused this stone to be placed here in testimony of the esteem in which he held the deceased.

Limerick Chronicle, Wed. 24 Feb. 1819. Died in Waterford Capt. Lilly of the brig. *Sir John Cameron*.

- 186. LINDSAY:** In memory of John Jacob Lindsay, eldest child of James and Mary Lindsay, died January 21 1873 aged 71/2 years. Also of their son Charles Gordon Lindsay who died April 27th 1879 aged 5 months, and their daughter Martha Lindsay who died November 11th 1886 aged 19 years. Also of the above James Lindsay who died September 13th 1881 aged 45 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 24 Jan. 1873, p.2, c.5. On Wednesday, John son of James Lindsay Esq., Bridge Street.
Wat. News, 16 Sept. 1881, p.2, c.5. September 13 at his residence after a short illness Mr James Lindsay Commission Agent, leaves a widow and 6 young children.

- 187. LINDSAY:** Underneath are deposited the mortal remains of John Lindsay, a native of Hamilton, Scotland, who died in Waterford 1 October 1854 in his 68th year. Upright and honourable he lived and departed a sincere christian.

Beneath also rest the ashes of John Lindsay his eldest son who died on the 10th of October 1854 aged 28 years. He possessed great talent and integrity and his amiable disposition won the affectionate esteem of all who knew him. This tomb was erected by Rebecca Lindsay in memory of her husband and son. Beneath are also laid the mortal remains of Rebecca Lindsay wife of the above first named John Lindsay, who died March 6th 1873 aged 77 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 6 Oct. 1854, p.3, c.4. On the 1st at Anne Street, Mr John Lindsay, feather merchant, aged 68.

Wat. News, Fri. 13 Oct. 1854, p.3, c.6. On Tuesday in Anne Street Mr John Lindsay aged 27. It is but a week since we announced his father's death, attending whose funeral he brought on a virulent fever. The deceased was book keeper in the firm of Messrs Graves, New Ross.

Wat. News, 14 March 1873, p.2, c.4. At her residence, Anne Street, in this city, Mrs Lindsay.

188. **LLOYD:** Henry Jesse Lloyd eldest son of William and Catherine Lloyd died 22nd of November 1844 aged 11 years. Also Madge the wife of John Harris of the city of Waterford, merchant, died March 9th 1849 aged 73 years. Also the above named John Harris died 28th April 1850 aged 71 years. Also Emma Elizabeth eldest daughter of the above William and Catherine Lloyd who died 20th August 1853 aged 7 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 3 May 1850, p.2, c.6. At Newtown, John Harris Esq., merchant.

189. **LLOYD:** William Lloyd died January 19th 1886 aged 77 years. Catherine wife of William Lloyd died June 4th 1892 aged 79 years. Also their daughter Madge E.M. Elliott, widow of J.C. Elliott, died 19th July 1922 aged 73 years, and their daughter Catherine Gertrude Strangman, wife of John Strangman, died 14th of December 1927 aged 75 years.

Wat. News, 22 Jan. 1886, p.2, c.7. January 19th at Newtown, William last surviving son of the late Henry Jessie Lloyd of Lloyds Boro, Co. Tipperary, aged 77.

Wat. News, 11 June 1892, p.5, c.1. At her residence, Newtown, on June 4, Catherine widow of the late William Lloyd, aged 79.

Wat. News, 16 Dec. 1927, p.1, c.1. The death occurred on Wednesday evening the 14th at her residence, Summerlands, Waterford, after a long illness, of Catherine Gertrude wife of John Strangman and daughter of the late William Lloyd, Newtown. The late Mrs Strangman was a great benefactor to many charities. She caused the Y.W.C.A. in Lady Lane to be erected (now Messrs Howletts). She was mother of Mr Hubert Strangman, Killoteran, and aunt of Mrs Jephson and Miss Elliott, Passage Road.

190. **LOHOAR:** Underneath are deposited the mortal remains of Alexander Lohoar, a native of the parish of Hamilton, Lanarkshire, but for some years a merchant in Waterford. He died 1st March 1853 in the 30th year of his age. His infant son Robert Lohoar aged 10 months who died on the 16 October 1852 is also interred here.

Wat. News, Fri. 18 March 1853, p.3, c.6. At his residence, Broad Street, of typhus fever, Mr Alexander Lohore, merchant, aged 30 years.

191. **LONGMIRE:** Sacred to the memory of John Longmire of Kendal, Westmoreland, of her Majesty's Inland Revenue, died October 19th 1862 aged 52 years. Also Alice Longmire, relict of deceased, died March 4th 1878 aged 71

years. Here lieth also their dearly loved son James who departed this life May 5th 1897 aged 53, with his son James David who fell asleep November 28th 1902 aged 16. Susan wife of the said James Longmire died April 22 1923 aged 72. Thomas Atherton son of James and Susan Longmire died 22 September 1927. Alice Parker nee Longmire died 23rd July 1956.

Wat. News, Fri. 18 March 1853, p.3, c.7. Mr John Longmire of the inland revenue office died suddenly, it is supposed from a fit of apoplexy Sunday evening.

Wat. News, 8 March 1878, p.2, c.7. On the 4th, Alice aged 70, widow of the late Mr John Longmire of H.M.S. inland revenue.

Wat. News, 8 May 1897, p.7, c.3. Mr James Longmire, the Superintending Travelling Agent of the Waterford Steamship Company, died on Tuesday at his residence Daisy Terrace, after a brief illness. In his earlier days Mr Longmire was connected proprietorially with the *Waterford Mirror*, but he exchanged his editorial duties for the position he occupied up to the time of his last illness.

Munster Express, Sat 6 Dec. 1902, p.5, c.7. At Daisy Terrace aged 16 years, James David Longmire, son of the late Mr James Longmire. While at school he was seized with a virulent attack of illness, which terminated fatally at 3 o'clock on Friday morning.

Evening News, 23 April 1923, p.3, c.3. Yesterday at 29 Summerhill, Waterford, Susan wife of the late James Longmire and second daughter of the late Thomas Atherton.

Wat. News, 23 Sept. 1927, p.1, c.1. Yesterday at 29 Summerhill, Mr Thomas Atherton eldest son of the late James and Susan Longmire, aged 53 years. The late Mr Longmire entered the service of the Clyde Shipping Company at the age of 15. By a strange coincidence, he was born on the spot which in later years was chosen for the Head Offices of the Clyde on the Quay. His father, the late Mr James Longmire, was a printer and became associated in the firm of Ward and Longmire, publishers of the *Waterford Mirror* and *Waterford Chronicle* now defunct. At the time of his death he occupied the position of chief clerk at Waterford.

Wat. News, Fri. 27 July 1956, p.3, c.2. The death occurred on Monday at her residence Daisy Terrace of Mrs Alice Parker. The late Mrs Parker was sister of the late Mr Thomas Longmire. Her husband was a member of the jewellery and watchmaking firm of Parkers on the Quay.

192. LOVEZEE: Here lyeth ye body of Winifred Lovezee wife of Mr William Lovezee who departed this life ye 5th of January, 1744/5 aged 55 years.

193. LUNHAM: Erected by Mrs Euphemia Lunham of the Mall, Waterford, in memory of her affectionate husband John Lunham who died on the 21st of July 1849 aged 40 years. Also her mother-in-law Mrs Marion Lunham who died on the 26th of October 1846 aged 72 years, Euphemia Lunham departed this life at Youghal on 6th November 1886 aged 76 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 27 July 1849, p.3, c.4. On Sunday morning, on the Mall, Mr John Lunham.

Wat. News, 12 Nov. 1886, p.2, c.5. November 6th at Clifton Terrace, Youghal, Mrs Euphemia Lunham of Blenheim, Waterford, aged 75 years.

194. LUSCOMBE: Sacred to the memory of Nicholas Luscombe Esquire, late landing surveyor of the customs Waterford, who died 22 September 1840 aged 55 years.

Wat. Mirror, 23 Sept. 1840, p.3, c.4. Yesterday, Nicholas Luscombe Esq., landing surveyor of this port.

195. LYMBERY: In loving remembrance of Elizabeth Lymbery who died March 9th 1902 aged 90 years.

McALPINE: See Lillie.

McCANCE: See Carlisle.

196. **McCLELLAND:** Sacred to the memory of Rhoda Maria youngest daughter of Robert McClelland of Waterford, who died 13(?) May 1848 aged 21 years.

McCORMICK: See Wilson.

197. **McCOY:** James Abernethy McCoy died 12 September 1931 aged 66 years. Also his wife Ethel Elizabeth McCoy died 18th May 1947.

Wat. News, 18 Sept. 1931, p.1, c.1. On Friday of last week, while walking along the Quay, the late Mr McCoy had a sudden seizure. He was removed to the Infirmary and he left for his residence, Roanmore, on Thursday, but about 10.30 a.m. on Saturday he suffered a fatal heart attack. After serving an apprenticeship with his brother Mr Archibald McCoy, then a member of Messrs Dobbyn, Tandy & McCoy solicitors, the deceased was admitted a solicitor in 1888. The late Mr McCoy married Miss Peet daughter of the late Mr Peet of Pickardstown, and of the marriage there were 5 children, 3 sons and 2 daughters. 2 of these sons are in the British Navy. One of them, Commander James A. McCoy, is in command of H.M.S. *Shamrock*, while another, John Wentworth, holds the rank of Lieut-Commander. The third son, Samuel Vallis, is a second Lieut. in the 2nd Lancers, and is stationed in India. The daughters, the Misses Nancy and Ursula McCoy, have been for the last 2 years conducting the Riviera Cafe at Tramore. 2 sisters of the deceased, Mrs Ross, wife of Mr Thomas Ross of Prospect Lodge, Gracedieu, and Miss Jeanette McCoy are now resident in London. The funeral took place on Tuesday to the Abbey. The inscription on the coffin read, James Abernethy McCoy born 26th September 1864, died 12 September 1931.

Wat. News, 23 May 1947, p.1, c.1. The death occurred on Sunday 18th at her residence, Roanmore, of Mrs Ethel E. McCoy widow of Mr James A. McCoy solicitor.

198. **McCULLAGH:** In loving memory of Henrietta Jane McCullagh died 27th September 1949 aged 73. And of her husband John Charles of Abbey House and of Rye, Sussex, died in London 4th August 1932 aged 60 and is buried in East Finchley, London. And of their daughter Irene Kathleen died 27th June 1989 aged 86.

Wat. News, 30 Sept. 1949, p.1, c.1. The death occurred on Tuesday 27th at her residence, Grange Park, of Mrs Henrietta Jane McCullagh, widow of J. Charles McCullagh late of Abbey House, Ferrybank, aged 74. She was Chairman of the Board of Messrs McCullagh's Ltd., coal importers and hardware merchants, the Quay. The deceased was mother of Miss Irene McCullagh, Grange Park, Miss Dorris McCullagh, Dublin, Mr Ronald C. McCullagh, "Ryecroft", Johns Hill, Managing Director of Messrs McCullagh Ltd., Mr Norman McCullagh, Gloucester, England, and was sister of Mrs William Whyte, Isle of Man, and Mr H. Thompson, Victoria, Columbia.

Wat. News, 5 Aug. 1932, p.5, c.2. The death occurred last night in a London nursing home of Mr J.C. McCullagh, son of the late Mr John McCullagh a Dun Laoghaire business man. The deceased came to Waterford in 1904, having previous to that year conducted a coal business under the name of Wallace and McCullagh. The firm took over the trade of the late Mr Alexander Nelson. For some years he sat on the Waterford Harbour Board and was also a member of the Chamber of Commerce.

McDERMOTT: See Kelly.

MacEVOY: See Cain.

199. **McGHEE:** This stone was erected by William and Ellinor McGhee of the city of Waterford the year 1771. Here lies buried three of their children John McGhee aged two years and Margaret McGhee aged two years. Henry McGhee aged two years.
200. **MacKENZIE:** Basil MacKenzie Esquire of Kirkeudbright, Scotland, manager of the Waterford branch of the Provincial Bank of Ireland. By his upright conduct and conciliatory manner he gained the respect and esteem of the public. Died 2nd May 1847 aged 42 years.
201. **MADDEN:** Leonora Madden obit 20th June A.D. 1854 etat 50. Firm and uncompromising yet gentle cheerful & unselfish she lived and died a Christian.
202. **MAGRATH:** Here lyeth the body of Honner Magrath wife of Edward Magrath who departed this life the 16th of September 1760 aged 36 years.
203. **MANLY:** Beneath this stone are the remains of Mrs Lucy Manly who died at Waterford 18th July 1846 aged 56 years.
204. **MANNING:** This tablet was erected by his friends to the memory of George F. Manning, B.A., assistant commissioner, Nyasaland, who was killed in action at Karonga, Lake Nyasa on the 9th September 1914. He was the eldest son of Reverend T. White Manning, rector of this parish. (Brass tablet inside church).
205. **MANNING:** In loving memory of Thomas White Manning, for 33 years rector of Kilmacow. Died 6th August 1923. Erected by the members of his family. (Brass tablet inside church).
Evening News, 7 Aug. 1923, p.3, c.3. August 6th in the Adelaide Hospital, Dublin, Thomas White Manning rector of Kilmacow, aged 75.
206. **MANNING:** Erected by Reverend T.W. and Mrs Manning in loving memory of their sons George Frederick, B.A., T.C.D. who was killed at Karonga 9th September 1914 while serving with the King's African Rifles. And Thomas Edward Ffrench (Pippin) M.B., T.C.D. Captain, Natal Medical Corps who died at Kilmacow Rectory Easter Sunday 1918. (Brass tablet inside church).
207. **MARCHANT:** Here lies the body of James Marchant, departed this life 5th of May 1806 aged 70 years. Also the body of Eliza Marchant departed this life 8th of August 1811 aged 80 years.
208. **MARSHALL:** Here lieth the body of William Marshall who departed this life April 15th 1786 aged 53 years. Also the body of his wife Rosanna Marshall alias Hamill who departed this life January 15th 1790 aged 70 years.

Limerick Chronicle, Thurs. 20 April 1786. Waterford 18th last Sunday died at Ferryslip Mr William Marshall.

Freeman's Journal, Sat. 23 Jan. 1790. Died at Waterford, the relict of Mr William Marshall.

MASTERSON: See Flanagan.

209. **MATHUEN:** Sacred to the memory of Richard Mathuen of Manchester, who died February 3rd 1840 aged 22 years.

210. **MILLER:** Sacred to the memory of Captain Jacob Miller a native of Port, who departed this life 17th January 1831, in the 28th year of his age. Also to the memory of Susan Miller Pavey, niece of the above, who departed this life August 14th 1831 aged [] months.

Wat. Chronicle, Thurs. 20 Jan. 1831, p.3, c.4. Monday at his house in King Street after a short illness Captain Jacob Miller, of the schooner *Fame* of London.

MILLER: See Brown.

MORGAN: See John.

211. **MORRIS:** From this stone to 24 feet fronting is the burying ground of William Morris of Belle Lake, County Waterford. (Stone tablet on exterior wall of church).

212. **MORRIS:** Richard Wall Morris taken to rest 4th June 1870 aged 70 years. Eliza wife of Richard Wall Morris died February 16th 1899 aged 79 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 10 June 1870, p3, c.4. The death took place on Saturday afternoon the 4th, in his 60th year, at his residence at Rockenham of Mr Richard Wall Morris Esq. The deceased had for some time past been afflicted with a painful illness of the heart. He had been a Poor Law Guardian and Magistrate for some years.

Munster Express, Sat. 25 Feb. 1899, p.6, c.4. The death occurred at her residence, Cleedagh, Dunmore East, on Thursday of Mrs Wall Morris. She was the widow of the late Richard Wall Morris Esq., of Rockenham, now in the occupation of Mr A.E. Graves. She was daughter of the late Edward Roberts Esq., Weston, Newtown, who for many years was agent to the Waterford Estates, and her brother, Samuel Ussher Roberts Esq., is well known by his connection with the Board of Control, under whom he has served as the architect over the County Asylums in Ireland.

MORRIS: See Tandy.

213. **MORRIS:** Sacred to the memory of George Morris who died July 27th 1893 aged 49.

MORRIS: See Burkitt.

214. **MORRIS:** Here resteth till the day break the body of Anna Mary wife of William Morris of Belle Lake and daughter of Captain Izod Tulloh R.N. of Lakeview, died November 4th 1901 aged 85.

Evening News, 6 Nov. 1901, p.3, c.1. November 4th at her residence Belle Lake, County Waterford, Anna Mary, widow of the late William Morris and second daughter of the late Captain Izod Tulloh, R.N., Lake View, County Waterford, aged 85.

215. **MORRIS:** Sacred to the memory of Agnes Morris daughter of Jordan Roche, late of Ballymountain in the County of Kilkenny Esquire, and wife of William Morris of Newtown in the city of Waterford, Esquire, who departed this life May 6th 1828 aged 72 years. Also to the memory of the above named William Morris aged 82 years, who on the 14th of January 1834 (after a separation of years with a cheerful hope of immortality) rejoined underneath this stone his dearly beloved companion, having lived together in peace and love for 53 years. And of their grandson William Morris of Belle Lake, died February 18th 1854 aged 38 and of his children William Roche Morris died March 27th 1862 aged 17. Anna Mary Morris died May 24th 1868 aged 15, Charles Munroe Morris died August 3rd 1878 aged 24.

Wat. Mirror, 15 Jan. 1834, p.3, c.4. Yesterday at his house at Newtown, Waterford, at an advanced age, William Morris Esq.

Wat. News, 24 Feb. 1854, p.3, c.6. On Saturday the 18th at his residence Belle Lake House, William Morris Jun. Esq., aged 38.

Wat. Chronicle, Fri. 28 Mar. 1862, p.2, c.6. Yesterday, William Morris, only son of the late William Morris Esq., was drowned by the capsizing of his boat whilst fishing on Belle Lake.

Wat. News, Fri. 29 May 1868, p.2, c.6. May 24th at Park View, Carrick on Suir, Anna Mary, youngest daughter of the late William Morris Esq. of Belle Lake, County Waterford, aged 15.

Wat. News, 9 Aug. 1878, p.2, c.6. August 3rd at his mother's residence, Belle Lake House, after a protracted illness, of rapid decline, Charles Munroe, youngest son of the late William Morris J.P. aged 24 years. The deceased held an appointment in the Provincial Bank in this city.

216. **MORRIS:** Frances Morris aged 5 years 1785.

217. **MORRIS:** 1798. This stone was laid by William Morris of the city of Waterford in memory of eight of his children whose bodies are returned to the earth from whence they came and their souls to God who gave them. Also the body of his youngest daughter Agnes, who died the 23rd of February 1818 aged 21 years. Also an infant grandson. Underneath also lies the body of William Morris of Newtown Esquire, son to the above, who departed this life on the 22nd of March 1854 aged 76 years. He was a magistrate for the county and city of Waterford for many years. Also the remains of Frances wife of the above William Morris who departed this life December 30th 1862 aged 78 years.

Wat. Mirror, 25 Feb. 1818, p.3, c.4. On the 23rd at her father's house at Newtown, Waterford, aged 21, Agnes youngest daughter of William Morris Esq.

Wat. News, 24 March 1854, p.3, c.5. On Tuesday at his residence, Upper Newtown, William Morris Esq., J.P., at an advanced age.

218. **MORRIS:** In loving memory of Richard Wall Morris of Rockenham, taken to his rest June 4, 1870. Erected by his wife in loving memory. Eliza, wife of Richard Wall Morris, died Feb. 16th 1899 aged 79 years. (Tablet inside church).

219. **MORTIMER:** Sacred to the memory of Michael Mortimer of Rockshire, who

died on the 27th of February 1854 aged 65 years. A kind husband, a loving father, an affectionate brother and a faithful friend. His only hope of salvation was in the blood of Christ. Also in loving memory of Cassandra, wife of the above, who died at Hastings February 11th 1877 aged 73.

Wat. News, Fri. 3 March 1854, p.3, c.6. At his residence, Rockshire, near the city, on Monday last, Michael Mortimer Esq., secretary to the County Grand Jury.

Wat. News, Fri. 23 Feb. 1877, p.2, c.7. On the 11th February, at Robertson Terrace, Hastings, Cassandra, widow of the late Michael Mortimer Esq. of Rockshire House, and daughter of the late Major Samuel Madden, 15th Regiment, aged 73.

220. **MOSLEY:** Sacred to the memory of William Mosley, late of the city of Dublin, who departed this life first of September 1834 aged 63 years.

If virtuous deeds and friendship most sincere
May claim the tribute of a parting tear
'Tis thine who while on earth did fondly prove
The peace attendant on domestic love.
Who was a father dear, a husband kind
A heart of goodness and exalted mind.
In heaven I trust thy soul is soaring high
In hallowing joys that never never die.

This tomb was erected by his affectionate wife Bridget Mosley. Also Bridget, relict of the said William Mosley, who departed this life June 29th 1849 aged 62 years.

Wat. Mirror, 3 Sept. 1834, p.3, c.4. On Monday Mr William Moseley, Quay, formerly of Dublin.

Wat. News, Friday July 6th 1849. On Friday last on the Quay, Mrs B. Mosley, relict of the late William Mosley.

221. **MUCKELROY:** James Muckelroy aged 87 years, and departed this life in the year 1751. Also his wife Catherine Muckelroy in the year 1763.

222. **MUIR:** In memory of Mary Anderson Muir, daughter of Alexander and Marion Muir, who died 14th February 1859 aged 5 years. Also their daughter Agnes who died 3rd May 1859 aged 17 days. Also their son Matthew who died 2nd October 1861 aged 4 months. Also their son James who died 26th April 1864 aged 1 year and 8 months. Also Walter who died 25th October 1867 aged 25 days. Also James who died 28th February 1868 aged 1 year and 6 months.

Wat. News, Fri. 29 April 1864, p.2, c.5. On the 26th at the residence of his father, Newtown, James son of Alexander Muir, aged one year and eight months.

223. **MULCAHY:** See Price.

224. **MURPHY:** Erected by Edward Murphy of Graigue in memory of his son Dennis who departed this life May the 12th 1832 aged 38 years.

Wat. Mirror, Mon. 14 May 1832, p.3, c.3. Denis Murphy, the Graig boatman, whose illness caused much agitation last week, died in his boat at an advanced hour of Saturday evening.

Respecting the nature of his complaint, we conceive opinion to have lost little or nothing of its diversity.

- 225. NASH:** To the memory of the late lamented Joseph Nash Esquire of Causeway Meadow, Worcestershire, and many years resident in Waterford. Died on the 15th of July 1837 aged 49.

Wat. Chronicle, Tues. 18 July 1837, p.3, c.4. On Saturday the 15th, at Tramore, suddenly after recovering from a previous illness, Joseph Nash of Bridge Street, Waterford, Esq., a gentleman.

- 226. NEWPORT:** In memory of Robert Newport who died February 9th 1864 aged 47 years. Also of Mary Newport wife of the above, who died Sept. 14th 1864 aged 45 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 12 Feb. 1864, p.2, c.4. On Tuesday at his residence, Dunkitt, Co. Kilkenny, Robert Newport Esq., formerly of this city.

Wat. News, Fri. 16 Sept. 1864, p.2, c.6. On Tuesday at Tramore, Mrs Newport, wife of the late Robert Newport Esq.

- 227. NEWPORT:** In loving memory of Francis Robert Newport who died July 1st 1910 aged 59, and of Adelaide Rose his wife, nee Ardagh, who departed this life November 22nd 1921.

Wat. News, 8 Aug. 1910, p.8, c.7. The death occurred in Kingstown (Dun Leary) on Thursday evening, after a brief illness, of Mr Francis Robert Newport, Larkfield, Waterford.

Wat. News, 25 Nov. 1921, p.5, c.3. The death occurred on Tuesday evening at Newtown Villas of Mrs Adelaide Rose Newport. She was the widow of the late Mr Francis R. Newport, and fourth surviving daughter of the late Mr Robert R. Ardagh, Pouldrew.

- 228. NEWPORT:** In memory of William Milward Newport of Mullinabro, Co. Kilkenny, who died 6th April 1937 aged 88 years.

- 229. NICHOLLS:** Erected to the memory of John and Elizabeth Nicholls. Elizabeth Nicholls wife of John Nicholls master mariner of this port died on the 26th of April 1855 in the 39th year of her age. John Nicholls died at Parabia, Brazil, on the 25th March 1857 in his 43rd year. Also Sarah Verdon Nicholls their infant who died on the 18th May 1851 aged 1 year and 7 months and buried in St. James Churchyard, Bermondsey, London.

Wat. News, Fri. 27 April 1855, p.3, c.6. On yesterday Mrs Captain Nicholls.

- 230. NORRIS:** To the memory of David George Norris, M.A., precentor of St Canice's Cathedral and beloved rector of this parish 1927-42, who died on September 26th 1942. Erected by friends and parishioners.

Wat. News, 2 Oct. 1942, p.5, c.5. On Saturday at Kilmacow Rectory, Rev. David George Norris M.A. precentor of Ossory, Canon of Leighlin, aged 83. He had been chaplain in Mary Borough Prison, and was rural Dean of St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny from 1924-1927.

- 231. NUTTALL:** Here lieth the body of Joseph Nuttall Esquire, late surveyor of

Glasshouse, who departed this life 7th of October 1784 aged 62 years. Also his son Thomas Nuttall who departed this life May 4th 1784 aged 4 years.

232. **ODLUM:** In loving memory of Nora Gwendoline Odlum, Sion Hill, Ferrybank, who died on January 12th 1950 aged 65 years. Also her husband Richard Rossmore Odlum who died on December 23rd 1961 aged 78 years.

Wat. News, 13 Jan. 1950, p.1, c.1. January 12th at Sion Hill, Waterford, Nora Gwendolene Odlum, wife of Ross Odlum. She was the second daughter of the late Mr Richard Bull, Rockview, Maryboro, a former sub sheriff of Offaly & Leix. She resided at St Mullins, Graigue, for 16 years and came to live at Sion Hill in 1926. She was wife of Mr Ross Odlum of the flour milling company of Messrs W.P. & R. Odlum Ltd., St. Mullins, and mother of Mr Douglas Odlum, St. Mullins, Mrs Thomas, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia, and Miss Elizabeth Odlum, Sion Hill. She was sister of Mrs Williams, Tullamore, Miss Muriel Bull, Tunbridge Wells, Mrs Parker, Surrey, and Mr Frederick Bull, Dublin.

Wat. News & Star, 29 Dec. 1961, p.7, c.6. The death occurred in Ardkeen Hospital, Waterford, of Mr Richard Rossmore Odlum, Sion Hill, Waterford. He was director of W.P. & R. Odlum Ltd., Millers, Portlaoise and St Mullins, Co. Kilkenny. He is survived by his son Mr Douglas Odlum, St Mullins, two daughters, Miss Elizabeth Odlum, Essex, and Mrs Davy Thomas, Adelaide, Australia, and by a brother Mr Harold Odlum, Canada.

233. **PADDON:** A native of Dartmouth, Richard Chant Paddon died 28th January 1814 aged 30 years.

234. **PALMER:** Erected to the memory of William Palmer who died August 15th 1845 aged 54 years. Also his son James who died September 28th 1839 aged 1 year. Also his grandson Henry George Coveney who died July 20th 1863 aged 6 years. Also Sarah wife of the above William Palmer who died January 30th 1870 aged 70 years. Also Sarah Lawson Coveney who died in London May 30th 1875 aged 42 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 24 July 1863, p.2, c.4. On the 20th at Ozier Bank, Ballytruckle, Henry George, aged 6 years, fourth child of Captain J.W. Coveney, Manor Street, Waterford.

Wat. News, Fri. 4 Feb. 1870, p.2, c.4. At her residence, Osier Bank, Waterford, January 30th, aged 70 years, Sarah, relict of the late William Palmer Esquire.

Wat. News, Fri. 4 June 1875, p.3, c.1. May 30th at Dalston, London, Sarah, wife of Captain William Coveney, and daughter of the late William Palmer Esquire, of Osier Bank, Waterford.

PARKER: See Longmire.

PAVEY: See Miller.

235. **PEARSON:** Sacred to the memory of William Pearson Esquire of Birmingham, Warwickshire, who departed this life June 23rd 1848 aged 78 years. Erected by his affectionate daughters.

236. **PENISTON:** Beneath this lies the remains of Mr Michael Peniston who died the 7th January 1815 aged 58 years. Also his wife Catherine Peniston alias Carrol, who died the 27th of April 1850 aged 78 years. Also their daughter Catherine who died the 8th of December 1833 aged 31 years. And their granddaughter Catherine Hayes who died the 10th of January 1827 aged 5 years.

Clonmel Advertiser, Wed. 11 Jan. 1815. Died on Saturday last in Waterford, Mr Michael Peniston, earthenware dealer, the Quay.

Wat. News, Fri. 3 May 1850, p.2, c.6. April 27th, Mrs Catherine Penniston, relict of the late Michael Penniston Esquire.

237. PENISTON: Erected to the memory of Joseph Peniston who departed this life September 8th 1849 aged 20 years.

238. PENROSE: In loving memory of Robert W.H. Penrose, born Sept. 27th 1827, taken to rest August 22nd 1911. Also of his dear son Arthur John Penrose, born at Riverview September 2nd 1875, taken home June 30th 1892. Also of his youngest and dearly loved son John Samuel Sandford Penrose, Lieut-Commander R.N., lost in the sinking of H.M.S. *Bulwark* in Sheerness Harbour, November 26th 1914. Also in loving memory of Frances Alice, wife of R.W.H. Penrose, taken to rest 23rd September 1921.

Wat. News, 25 Aug. 1911, p.5, c.4 & 8. The death occurred at his residence, Riverview, Waterford, on the morning of Tuesday 22nd after an illness of more than 3 years duration, of Mr Robert W.H. Penrose. He was the eldest and only surviving son of Jacob Penrose of the Adelphi, Waterford, and Seaville, Tramore, who held a commission as captain in the 33rd Regiment, Waterford Light Infantry Militia. Jacob Penrose on accepting his commission severed his connection with the Society of Friends. In 1872 he married Frances Alice, daughter of Rev. William Sandford, M.A., T.C.D., formerly rector of Tramore and of Clonmel, and chancellor of Lismore and canon of Rosssduff. Mrs Penrose's brother is De Sandford, the celebrated eye specialist of Cork. The late Mr Penrose's brother Mr Jacob Penrose was a solicitor practising in Waterford.

Evening News, 24 Sept. 1921, p.3, c.4. Died yesterday, the widow of the late Mr Robert W.H. Penrose of Riverview, Waterford.

239. PERCEVAL: Sacred to the memory of Jane Perceval died 16th of August 1866 aged 75 years. Also Catherine Perceval her sister died 3rd January 1876 aged 89 years.

Wat News, Fri. 24 Aug. 1866, p.2, c.4. August 16th at Prospect, County Kilkenny, the residence of her nephew P.C. Anderson Esq., Jane Perceval aged 76, youngest daughter of the late Captain W. Percival.

240. PERKINS: Beneath this tomb lies the remains of Eliza, fifth daughter of the late John and Henrietta Perkins, whose gentle spirit departed this life at Cove, Co. Cork, on the 20th of February 1836 aged 24 years. Also the remains of Susanna H. Mason Perkins, youngest daughter of the above named John and Henrietta, who died at Waterford on the 10th of August 1840 aged 23 years.

Wat. Mirror, 12 Aug. 1840, p.3, c.4. Monday, at her lodgings on the Mall, Miss Susan Perkins, youngest daughter of the late John Perkins, formerly of Waterford.

PERRY: See Sage.

241. PERRY: Sacred to the memory of James Perry, late commander of the ship *Success of London*, who departed this life April 24th 1820 aged 63 years.

Wat. Mirror, Fri. 12 May 1843, p.3, c.3. On Monday of erysipelus, Captain James Perry of the ship *Success of London*.

- 242. PIERR:** Here lies the body of Henry Pierr who departed this life June 12th 1796 aged 34 years. Also his daughter Jane who died young.
- 243. PLEYSIER:** Joan Pleysier, born October 1st 1861, entered into rest April 20th 1931.
- 244. POOLE:** Matthew Poole Esquire, M.D., died 9th May 1843 aged 72 years. Also Frances, wife of Matthew Poole, who departed this life April 12th 1857 aged 82 years. William, son of Matthew and Frances Poole, died 19th February 1818 aged 20 years.
- Wat. Mirror*, Fri. 12 May 1843, p.3, c.4. On the 8th, in his 73rd year, Matthew Poole Esq., M.D. and J.P.
- Wat. News*, Fri. 17 April 1857, p.2, c.2. On the 12th at Dunkitt Glebe, aged 83, Frances, widow of the late Matthew Poole Esq., M.D. of this city.
- Wat. Mirror*, 21st Feb. 1818, p.3, c.3. At his father's house on the 19th, aged 21, William Poole Esq., eldest son of Dr. Poole of this city. He was a pensioner of Trinity College, and an apprentice to Mr Crampton, Surgeon General.

POPE: See Froste.

- 245. POPE:** Sacred to the memory of Richard Coleman Pope Esq., late of Sion Hill, who died on the 3rd of May 1850 aged 47 years. Not lost but gone before. Richarda his youngest daughter died April 18th 1853 aged 2 years and 8 months. Also Sarah Georgianna his third daughter who died November 6th 1856 aged 12 years. Also Elizabeth his fourth daughter who died May 11th 1860 aged 13 years. Also Augustus his only son who died June 28th 1866 aged 18 years. Also Sarah his wife who died December 27th 1891 aged 87 years. In memory of Martha Richard Pope, second daughter of Richard Pope of Sion Hill, died on the 30th July 1915 aged 72 years.
- Wat. News*, Fri. 10 May 1850, p.2, c.2. On Friday evening the 3rd, of disease of the heart, at his residence, Sion Hill near this city, Richard Coleman Pope Esq.
- Wat. News*, Fri. 14 Nov. 1856, p.2, c.2. At Tramore, on Thursday morning, November 6th, of gastric fever, Sarah Georgina, daughter of the late Richard C. Pope Esq. of Sion Hill, aged 13 years.
- Wat. News*, Fri. 18 May 1860, p.2, c.5. At Sion Hill on the 11th, of water on the brain, in convalescence from scarletina, Elizabeth daughter of the late Richard C. Pope Esquire, aged 14 years.
- 246. POPE:** In memory of Alexander Thomas Pope, the beloved and only son of Thomas and Sarah Pope, died March 31st 1862 aged 20 years
- Wat. News*, Fri. 4 April 1862, p.2, c.6. At South Parade, on 31st March, aged 17, Alexander Thomas, son of Thomas Pope Esquire.
- 247. POPE:** Sacred to the memory of Thomas Pope who departed this life July 11th 1866 aged 53 years. Also Sarah, his wife, who died March 21st 1900 aged 85 years.
- Wat. News*, Fri. 13 July 1866, p.2, c.5. At Kingstown (Dun Leary) on Wednesday, of heart disease, Thomas Pope Esquire.

POPE: See Tivy.

- 248. POPE:** The burial place of Richard Pope of the city of Waterford. Here lieth the body of Martha Pope, wife of the above Richard Pope, who departed this life on the 25th day of January 1830 in the 57th year of her age. Also the body of Richard Pope Esquire who departed this life on the 1st of March 1846 in the 78th year of his age. Here also lieth the bodies of Alexander Richard Pope (eldest son of the above Richard and Martha) and his daughter Jane, who both departed this life on the 20th day of January 1848, the former aged 53 years, the latter 10 years. Also Richard Hargreaves Pope, grandson of the above Richard and Martha Pope, who died May 16th 1858 aged 25 years. Also Josiah Pope, son of the above Richard Pope, died December 30th 1879 aged 81 years. Also Martha Froste, daughter of the above Richard Pope and wife of Thomas Froste, died May 3rd 1880 aged 70 years. Also Eliza, widow of the above Alexander Richard Pope, died 29th May 1884 aged 76 years. Martha G. Pope, daughter of Alexander R. Pope, died January 2nd 1889. Emily A. Pope, daughter of Alexander R. Pope, died December 7th 1910. Frederick A. Pope, son of Alexander R. Pope, died March 23rd 1911.

Wat. Mirror, 27 Jan. 1830. On Monday evening at Sion Hill, Martha, wife of Richard Pope Esquire.

The Nation, 14 March 1846, p.350. At Rockshire, aged 78 years, Richard Pope Esquire, died at Rockshire, as the result of a cataract operation undertaken when he was too weak to bear it.

The Nation, 29 Jan. 1848, p.79, c.2. On the 20th, in Waterford, Richard Pope Esquire.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 22 May 1858, p.3, c.1. On Sunday last Mr R.H. Pope Esquire, cashier in the Provincial Bank of Ireland, and two other gentlemen, lost their lives in a boating accident, the sail boat belonged to a man named Connor. Subsequent information detailed the distressing fact that the boat foundered after passing Creden Head. The oars of the boat were found floating near the spot where the boat was last seen. The sea was very rough at the time, and it is thought that the boat carried too much sail, and capsized. And *Wat. Chronicle* Sat. 12 June 1858, p.2, c.5. On Monday the body of Mr R.H. Pope was found at Creden by a girl picking dillisk.

Wat. News. Fri. 9 Jan. 1880, p.2, c.6. December 30th at his residence, Mountain View, Ferrybank, Josiah Pope aged 81 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 7 May 1880, p.2, c.7. On the 4th, Margaret, widow of Thomas Froste Esquire of Liverpool, and daughter of the late Richard Pope Esquire of Waterford.

Wat. News, Sat. 12 Jan. 1889, p.2, c.5. January 2nd at Pembroke Road, Dublin, Martha Coleman, daughter of the late Alexander Richard Pope Esq., of Waterford.

Wat. News, 16 Dec. 1910, p.2, c.7. Miss Emily Alexandrina Pope, daughter of the late Alexander R. Pope, Sion Hill, Waterford, and sister of the late Mrs Garraway, died December 7th in Dublin. The late Alexander R. Pope was the most important ship owner and merchant living in Waterford in the first half of the last century. He resided for many years in what is now the Adelphi Hotel. The remains were interred at the Abbey churchyard on Saturday. The coffin bore the following inscription: 'Emily Alexandrina Pope died on the 7th December 1916 aged 67 years'.

Munster Express, 1 April 1911, p.3, c.2. The death at Matlock is mentioned of Dr Frederick A. Pope, who was 3rd son of the late Mr Alexander Pope of Waterford.

- 249. PORTER:** In loving memory of Ernest Lees Porter, M.R.C.V.S., Dunkitt House, County Kilkenny, who died 15th February 1967 aged 81 years. His wife, Edith Alice, who died 22nd April 1983 aged 93 years. Her nephew Aubrey Boulger, South Ruislip, London, who died 11th March 1986 aged 65 years.

250. **POUNDER:** Erected to the memory of Mr George Pounder of Waterford, died August 18th 1828, by his affectionate widow Mrs Hannah Pounder, whose remains are also interred here, died November 11th 1845. P. Bergin, Johns Bridge, Waterford. This vault opens at the other end.

Wat. Mirror, 23 Aug. 1828, p.3, c.3. Tuesday night, at his house in Stephen Street, Mr George Pounder.

POWER: See Gleeson.

251. **PRICE:** In memory of Eliza Price, died 27th January 1897 aged 80 years, widow of Reverend William Price. Also her father J. Alcock, her brothers Captain A. Alcock, 5th Bombay N.L.I. George Alcock. Her sister E. Mulcahy.

TO BE CONTINUED.



Armorial decoration on monument of Robert Timpson, 1793.



Passion symbols on the McGrath monument, 1760 (No. 202).



Teresa Deevy, Playwright (1894-1963).

Teresa Deevy, Playwright (1894-1963)

By Martina Ann O'Doherty

THE deaf playwright, Teresa Deevy, was born on 21 January 1894 at her family home, Landscape, Passage Road, Waterford. She was the youngest of thirteen children born to Edward Deevy and Mary Feehan Deevy. Edward Deevy hailed from a rural background in Co. Kilkenny. He eschewed farming as a means of making his livelihood and in 1867 established a drapery in partnership with a Mr Upton at High Street, Kilkenny. In 1874 he married a twenty-two-year-old Kilkenny girl, Mary Feehan, daughter of the city's former mayor, John Feehan. Two years later, Deevy & Upton relocated to central Waterford. Edward, his wife and young family moved to a modest dwelling in the city which was situated at 3 Eldon Terrace. After Upton's death, Edward formed Edward Deevy & Co. Ltd. and decided to seek a home befitting a prosperous family well known in the commercial life of the district. In the select area of suburban Passage Road he purchased an imposing one-hundred-year-old residence, full of gracious elegance overlooking the city and the Suir and providing a lovely prospect of the rolling Kilkenny hills from its upper windows. Inspired by such picturesque surroundings he christened the house 'Landscape' and the Deevys came to live there in 1881. Portraits of Edward and Mary still hang in the main diningroom while the family's desire that Landscape would remain in their possession has been dutifully obeyed. It is now home to the third generation, Jack Deevy, an accountant in Waterford; his wife, Noeleen; and their three children. Teresa Deevy's relatives would agree that her most successful plays were written here.

Edward Deevy died in 1896 at the age of fifty-six, and was succeeded in business by his eldest son, Eddie. The two-year-old Teresa was reared exclusively by her mother and seven sisters. An exceptionally close relationship developed between Mary Feehan Deevy and her youngest daughter. She encouraged her to invent and draft short stories about daily events at Landscape and by doing so imbued her with the desire to become a writer. She also passed on to her a deep sense of Catholic piety which is reflected in several of Deevy's plays. Mary Feehan Deevy's brother, Fr Thomas, was a Land League activist who was censured by his bishop and incarcerated in Maryborough Jail during the 1882 wave of coercion. His intense nationalism figured strongly in Deevy's adult life and in her writing.

Deevy attended the local Ursuline school as a boarder. She enjoyed school life

and her niece, Miriam Deevy Clarke, recalls that many of the books which were included in her aunt's well-stocked library were awarded to her for exemplary behaviour. The school magazine, *St Ursula's Annual 1911-12*, contains her very first publications in addition to references to her achievements in piano-playing, choral-singing, and sport. She had ambitions to become a teacher and in 1913 entered University College, Dublin to study for a B.A. degree. In 1914, the onset of Ménière's disease forced her to transfer to University College, Cork where she would be close to her family and could attend the Cork Eye, Ear, and Throat Hospital.

Growing deafness prevented her from obtaining her degree, and shortly after her departure from college in late 1914 her family sent her to learn lipreading in London as it was not taught to adults in Ireland at that time. While there, she frequently visited the theatres and attended plays by many different playwrights – most notably Ibsen, Chekhov, and Shaw. She read the scripts before performances whenever possible and then watched the action on stage, reading the actors' lips as they delivered their lines. She was impressed by the manner in which Ibsen, Chekhov, and Shaw reflected prevailing societal issues in their drama and attempted to do likewise in her early dramatic pieces which she penned in London under the pseudonym of D.V. Goode.

In 1919 she left London and returned to Landscape. Her tremendous admiration for Constance Markievicz inspired her to join the Waterford branch of Cumann na mBan, and she visited Republican prisoners in the local Ballybricken Jail, much to the consternation of her family. She contributed several short stories and articles to the local and national press, and completed a short novel which was never published.

In 1925 she began to submit plays to the Abbey Theatre. Her early work was rejected by the Reading Committee but one of its members, Lennox Robinson – who became her lifelong friend and mentor – encouraged her to persist. This she did, and on 18 March 1930 her three-act play, *Reapers*, opened at the Abbey. It was followed in 1931 by the one-act play, *A Disciple* which was originally entitled *The Enthusiast* and later *In Search of Valour*. The same year, her three-act *Temporal Powers* shared first prize with Paul Vincent Carroll's *Things That Are Caesar's* at an Abbey talent-spotting competition. It premiered at the national theatre in 1932. *The King of Spain's Daughter* (1935); *Katie Roche* (1936); and *The Wild Goose* (1936) were also produced at the Abbey.

In these plays, Deevy addressed issues as diverse as land, politics, and religion; the plight of women in the repressive sociological and political climate of early twentieth-century Ireland, and the intricacies of relationships between men and women. However, as her playwriting career progressed, she focused primarily on the latter. She received encouragement from her audiences and noteworthy theatre critics, dramatists, and novelists such as Andrew E. Malone, David Sears, Dr. A. J. Leventhal, St John Ervine, Brinsley MacNamara, and Frank O'Connor. A substantial proportion of her dramatic work was published in well-known literary magazines such as *The Dublin Magazine* and *Irish Writing* in Ireland, and the *One Act Play Magazine* and *Theatre Arts* in America. *Katie Roche* was included in Victor Gollancz's prestigious volume of *Famous Plays 1935-6*, and two collections of her plays were published by Macmillan's of London and New Frontiers Press, Dublin.

By now, Deevy was spending most of her time in Dublin with her sister, Nell. They rented a beautiful flat at 16 Waterloo Road which was their pied-à-terre until Nell's death. Of the two sisters Teresa commanded the most attention, being a playwright and totally deaf. Her warm, friendly personality and genuine interest in even the smallest details of people's lives attracted a large circle of friends and acquaintances drawn from the theatrical, literary, artistic, and musical sections of Dublin society, as well as those totally removed from any involvement in the arts. Amongst her closest friends were Lennox Robinson and his wife, Dolly, who was also deaf; the playwrights, Denis Johnston and M.J. Molloy; some cast members of her Abbey plays, Cyril Cusack, Shelagh Richards, May Craig, and Ria Mooney; the writers R.M. Fox and his wife, Patricia Lynch, Kate O'Brien, Seán O Faolain, and David Marcus; the artists, Patrick Hennessy and Jack B. Yeats, and finally, the Radio Éireann violinist, William Shanahan and his Waterford-born wife, Margaret. Many of these were regular visitors to the flat and Deevy derived tremendous enjoyment from their conversations in spite of her deafness. According to Margaret Shanahan,

She could lip-read, especially Nell, and all else failing we had to resort to writing. She did not like this and her impatience with her limitations was a little in evidence. Nell was indispensable as an interpreter and endeavoured to clarify any misunderstandings that arose. She repeated what had been said – her head turned slightly sideways, mouthing the words slowly and exaggeratedly. Together they were one person – Nell the ears and Teresa the voice.

Margaret Shanahan also recollects the hospitality extended to the Deevys by the Robinsons and Seán O Faolain who invited them to stay at their homes in Dalkey and Killiney respectively when they went on their annual holidays. On one occasion, the sisters accidentally broke their host's milk jug, and were so embarrassed by the incident that it nearly spoiled their vacation!

During their years in Dublin they were regular theatre goers and the Shanahans often accompanied them to performances of plays by various playwrights – O'Casey, Lennox Robinson, Eugene O'Neill, and Teresa's own compositions. To vary their entertainment, the quartet occasionally visited the cinema, especially if there happened to be an interesting subtitled foreign film showing. However, Deevy was very alert and could follow most non-subtitled films also. She continued to read fiction as voraciously as she had done during her schooldays. She often exchanged books with Margaret Shanahan who still remembers reading and thoroughly enjoying one of Deevy's favourites, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*.

Deevy's late nephew, Kyle, maintained close contact with her while she was in Dublin. Some years before his death, he told me that she was a daily communicant and embarked on pilgrimages to Lisieux, Lourdes, Fatima, Assisi, San Giovanni, and Rome where she had an audience with the Pope. She often undertook these trips singlehandedly and relied only on her fluency in written French and Italian. She was an active member of the Legion of Mary in Dublin and her charity and godliness extended to the city's most destitute inhabitants whom she visited regularly as part of her duties.

In 1942, her association with the Abbey Theatre formally ended. At that time the theatre was under the management of Ernest Blythe, who pursued what many

Abbey commentators described as a shamelessly conservative and commercial artistic policy. He rejected Deevy's three-act *Wife to James Whelan* on the grounds that some of its characters resembled those in *Katie Roche*, and consequently it would not be commercially viable. He also clearly stated that he had no further use for any of her work,

Deevy was thus forced to exploit radio and television – dramatic media which had attracted her attention since the mid-1930s – to their full potential. Six of her ten original radio scripts, in addition to her adaptation of Chekhov's *Polinka*, and a selection of her fourteen stage plays were broadcast by either Northern Ireland or Radio Éireann during the period 1936-58. In 1939, Denis Johnston produced *The King of Spain's Daughter* and *In Search of Valour* for pioneering B.B.C. television, and *Katie Roche* would have been added to this repertoire but for the intervention of the war.

From the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s Deevy proved her versatility by writing a number of literary reviews for *The Bell* and a small collection of short stories, many of which remain unpublished. She wrote a stunning ballet called *Possession* which was based on the *Táin*, and in 1945 co-produced a children's book, *Lisheen at the Valley Farm and Other Stories*, with Patricia Lynch and Helen Staunton. In 1948, Deevy's one-act play, *Light Falling* opened at the Peacock Theatre, and the following year Ria Mooney directed an eleven-week revival of *Katie Roche*. Her contribution to Irish drama was formally recognised in 1954 when she was elected to the prestigious Irish Academy of Letters.

She never ceased to explore possible venues for *Wife to James Whelan*, and in 1956 it eventually received its first stage production by Madame Daisy Bannard Cogley at her Studio Theatre Club, Upper Mount Street, Dublin. The majority of the critics were unanimous in their praise of it, regarding it as 'original, sensitive, and written with deep understanding of human nature'. In 1957, her chronicle-play on the life of Fr Luke Wadding, *Supreme Dominion*, achieved tremendous success when it was produced in Dublin during the friar's centenary celebrations and later broadcast by Radio Éireann.

Deevy's enjoyment of this success was marred by Nell's death in 1954. She eventually returned to Landscape where she lived with her only surviving sister, Frances, who was also completely deaf. She never succeeded in recapturing the happiness which characterised so much of her Dublin hey-day. She was removed from her theatrical friends, and Frances did not share her interest in the arts. Nevertheless, she remained quite active and was a familiar sight on the streets of Waterford as she cycled on an old-fashioned bicycle to and from relatives and friends. She was an avid theatre and cinema goer. Her companion, Phyllis Doolan, remembers how she used to explain difficult film dialogue to Deevy on scraps of paper which she would read by the light of a match, or else the couple would stop under street lamps on their way home and Deevy would read Doolan's lips by lamplight. She also became involved with a local amateur writers' group, and provided invaluable assistance and moral support to the then budding Waterford playwright, James Cheasty.

Deevy's health had now begun to deteriorate. She became increasingly feeble as a consequence of the recurring vertigo that was part of her disease and seldom ventured out of doors. She spent her final days in Maypark Nursing Home,

Waterford, where she died alone on 19 January 1963. She was buried in the Deevy family plot at Ballygunner cemetery on the outskirts of the city.

For many years after Deevy's death her plays virtually disappeared from the stage and radio. Recently, however, they have been the subject of theses and literary conferences; they have been included in drama anthologies, and in April 1994 *Katie Roche* opened at the Abbey Theatre under the direction of Judy Friel. This revival ensures that Deevy's work will be assured of a place in the canon of Irish dramatic masterpieces and in Waterford's cultural heritage.

Sources

This article is based on interviews conducted with members of the Deevy family, Margaret Shanahan, Phyllis Doolan, James Cheasty, and archivists at R.T.E. and B.B.C. for her thesis, 'The Representation of Women in the Plays of Teresa Deevy (1894-1963)', which was presented in 1992 to the National University of Ireland for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Modern English.

The Down Survey Maps of Co. Waterford Part Four

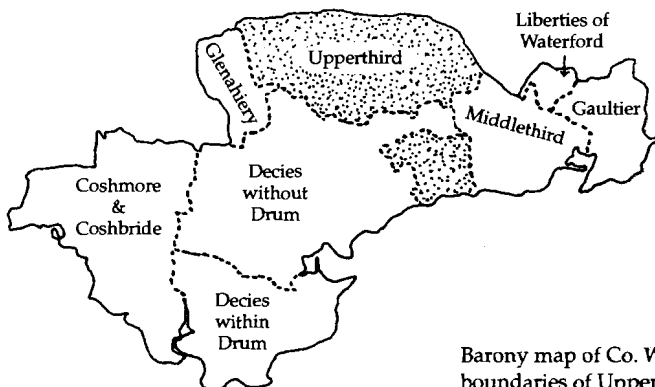
The baronies of Upperthird (ii) and Glenahieri

IN Part I (*Decies* no. 44, 1991, pp 23-28) we presented a brief introduction to the Down Survey, together with the maps and terriers (i.e. descriptions) of the parishes of the barony of Gaultier. Those of Middlethird were published in Part II (*Decies* no. 47, Spring 1993, pp 29-41). We now present the maps and terriers of the rest of Upperthird and of the small barony of Glenahieri. Once again we thank the Trustees of the National Library of Ireland for permission to reproduce them; also Michael Moore, Archaeologist with the Office of Public Works, for obtaining the copies we have used.

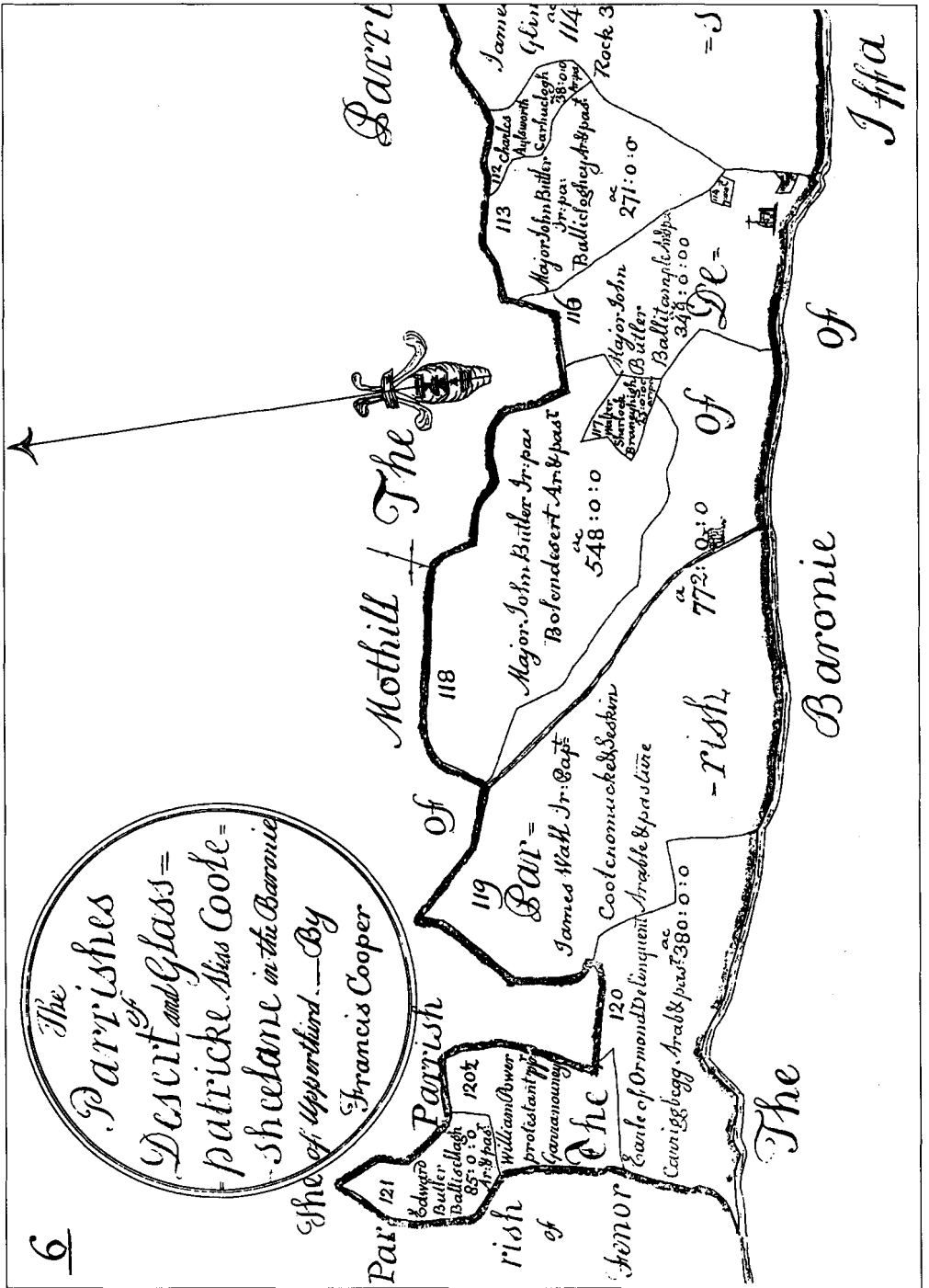
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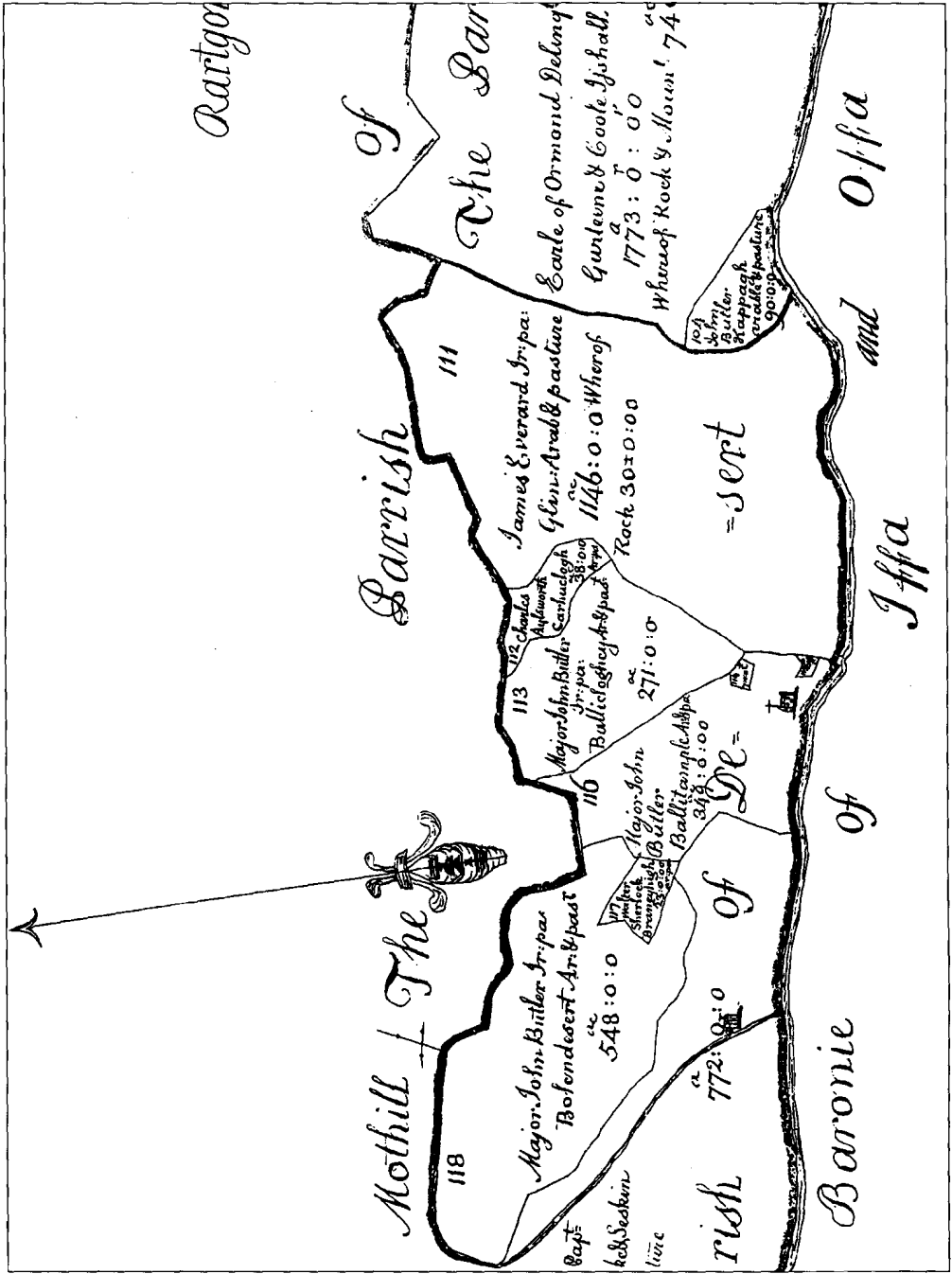
6. Dysert, comprising the civil parishes of Dysert, Killaloe (part), Kilmoleran and Kilsheelan (part).
7. Clonegam, comprising the civil parishes of Clonegam and Fenough.
8. Coolfinn, comprising the civil parishes of Guilcagh and Kilmeaden (part).
9. Glenahieri.
1. Abbey Slunagh (Inislounaght).
2. Kilronan.

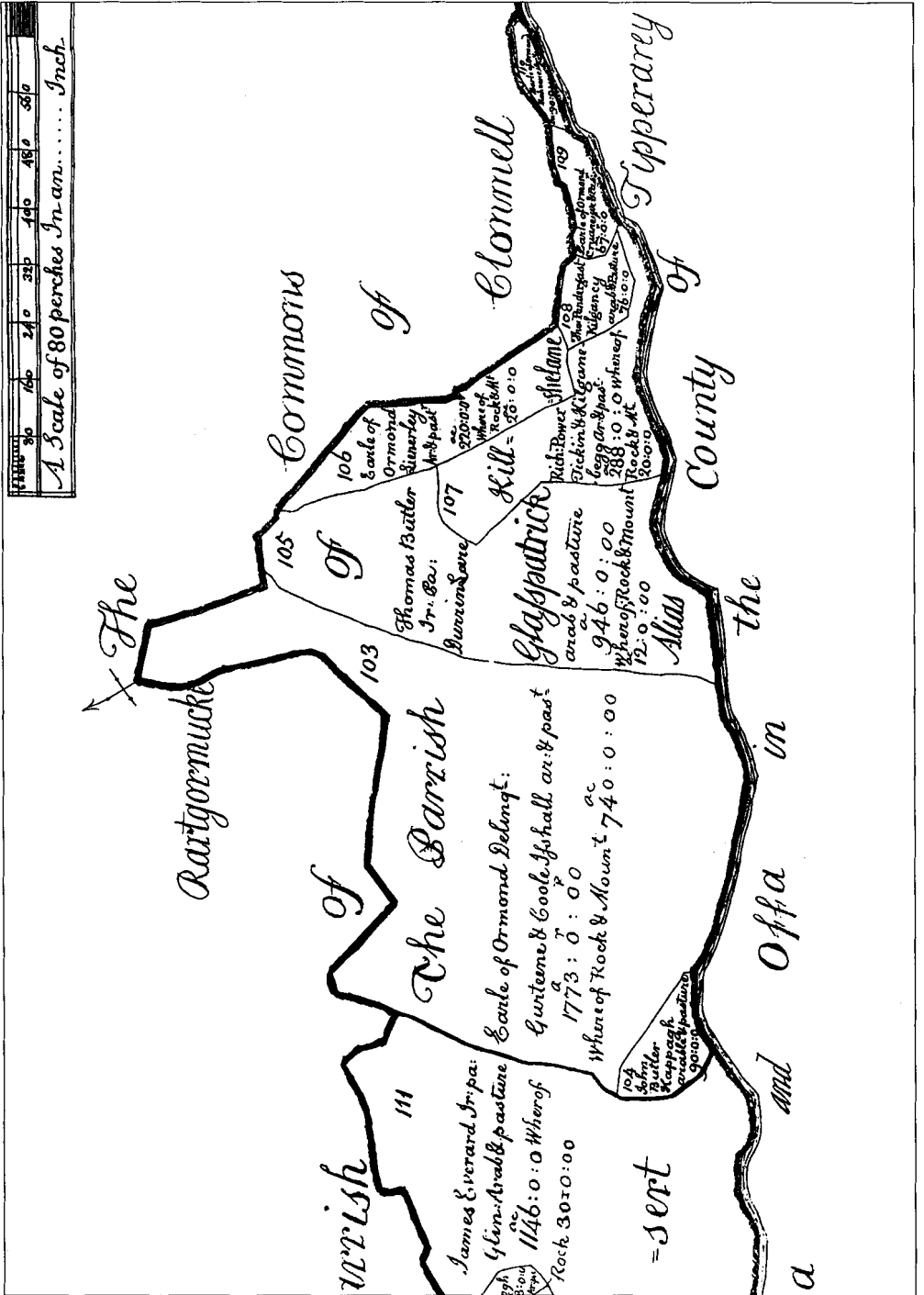
For the layout of the baronies of Co. Waterford in the seventeenth century, refer to the sketch – map below.



Barony map of Co. Waterford, showing 17th-century boundaries of Upperthird.







The Parrish of Glaspatrickias Kilsheehane

Is bounded on the North with the Barony of Iffa and off as on the East with the Parish of Desere, On the South with the Parish of Ralte, on the West with the Commons of Clonmel.

The Boyle is generally of wattle and Chasture with some Mr profitable Rocks and Mountains

51 Barrenes in it the Enclosing Towne Bonds 1655 Justice and Court is at all Killybegh, Dromine, Limerly, Ticken Cor and Killybegh

There is a little wattle and Chasture and some Mr profitable Cabbins, There is a little wattle and Chasture and some Mr profitable Hall of a large House (never made up) and Cabbins there is at Ticken Cor and Killybegh a slate House in Repair with other Chimney Houses and some Cabbins and also there is at Killybegh the walls of a decayed Castle and hath no other In Provoent Thuron

The Parrish of Desere

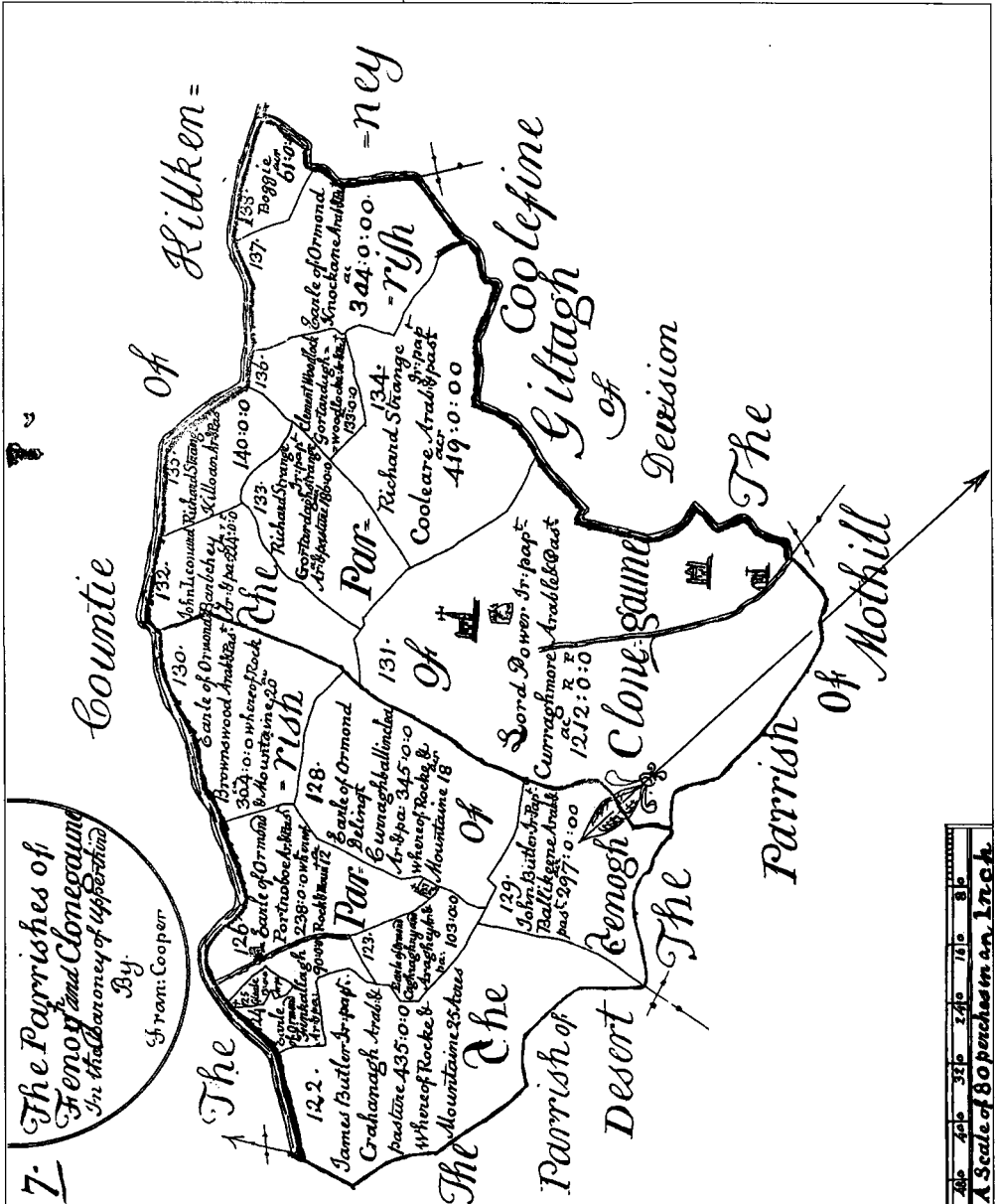
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The Boyle is generally of wattle and Chasture with some Mr profitable Rocks and Mountains

51 Barrenes in it the Enclosing Towne Bonds 1655 Justice and Court is at all Killybegh, Dromine, Limerly, Ticken Cor and Killybegh

There is a little wattle and Chasture and some Mr profitable Cabbins, There is a little wattle and Chasture and some Mr profitable Hall of a large House (never made up) and Cabbins there is at Ticken Cor and Killybegh a slate House in Repair with other Chimney Houses and some Cabbins and also there is at Killybegh the walls of a decayed Castle and hath no other In Provoent Thuron

Value in the Field	Proprietors Name	Dimensions of Bonds by Admeasurement	Scarcity profitable	Unprofitable
103	Earle of Ormond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
104	John Butler	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
105	The Duke of Devonshire	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
106	Earle of Ormond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
107	Richard Boyle	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
108	James Butler	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
109	Earle of Ormond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
110	The Same	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
The total of the Estate Bonds is 3550:0:00				
111	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
112	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
113	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
114	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
115	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
116	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
117	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
118	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
119	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
120	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
121	James Bond	1773:0:00	1773:0:00	1773:0:00
The total of the Estate Bonds is 3550:0:00				



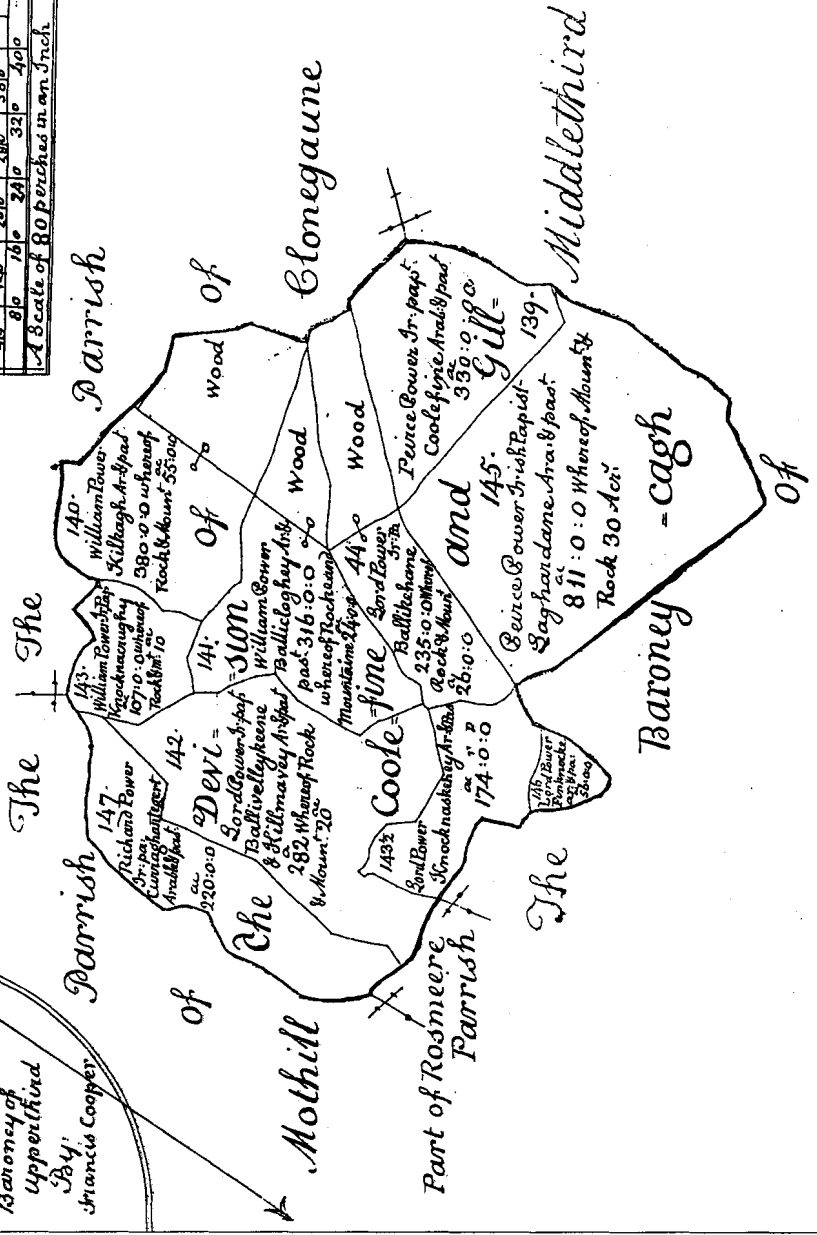
Number of the Town	Proprietor's Name of Land	Dimensions of Land	Number of Acres by Assessment	Land's profit table	Improvements
The Parrish of Fenogh.					
As bounded on the North with the County of Kilkenny on the West East with the River Shure in the County of Tipperary on the West with the parish of Boveriball on the East with the parish of Clongane and on the South with the parish of Mithill Clongane & its appurtenances.					
121	James Lutton & S ^r		435:0:0	1/2 same 435:0:0	1/2 same 435:0:0
123	Earle of Ormond		103:0:0	1/2 same 103:0:0	1/2 same 103:0:0
124	The Same		092:0:0	1/2 same 092:0:0	1/2 same 092:0:0
125	Shuzick Land		913:0:0	1/2 same 913:0:0	1/2 same 913:0:0
126	Earle of Ormond		238:0:0	1/2 same 238:0:0	1/2 same 238:0:0
127	Earle of Ormond		092:0:0	1/2 same 092:0:0	1/2 same 092:0:0
128	Earle of Ormond		045:0:0	1/2 same 045:0:0	1/2 same 045:0:0
129	John Butler		297:0:0	1/2 same 297:0:0	1/2 same 297:0:0
130	Earle of Ormond		304:0:0	1/2 same 304:0:0	1/2 same 304:0:0
The total of Confuted Land is 1837:0:00					
The total of Confuted Land is 15:0:00					
The total of Confuted Land is 8:0:00					
The Parrish of Clongane					
Is bounded on the North and North East with the County of Kilkenny, on the South East with the Division of Gilcagh and Coolshone, on the West with the parish of Fenogh and on the South with the parish of Mithill.					
131	Lord Bruce of Ailesbury		212:0:00	1/2 same 212:0:00	1/2 same 212:0:00
132	Thomas de Marle		0224:0:00	1/2 same 0224:0:00	1/2 same 0224:0:00
133	Richard Strange		0186:0:00	1/2 same 0186:0:00	1/2 same 0186:0:00
136	John Woodcock		0193:0:00	1/2 same 0193:0:00	1/2 same 0193:0:00
134	Rich Strange		0419:0:00	1/2 same 0419:0:00	1/2 same 0419:0:00
135	The Same		0140:0:00	1/2 same 0140:0:00	1/2 same 0140:0:00
137	Earle of Ormond		0204:0:00	1/2 same 0204:0:00	1/2 same 0204:0:00
138	By Improvements this half year		0061:0:00	1/2 same 0061:0:00	1/2 same 0061:0:00
The total of Confuted Land is 2679:0:00					
The total of Confuted Land is 8:0:00					
The total of Confuted Land is 1:2:00					

8.

The Devition
of Coofefine and
Gilcagh in the
Barony of
Upperland
By:
Francis Cooper

36	72	210	280	360
80	160	240	320	400

A Scale of 80 Perches in an Inch



Number in the Plot	Proprietors Names	Penonimacs of Sandes	Members Mens by Admeasmt	Sandes Profitable	Mans of table
139	Baron of Down	Coolferne	330 : 0 : 00	As before 330 : 0 : 0	
140	William Down	Jasp Kilkagh	380 : 0 : 0	As same 325 : 0 : 0	mount by work 55 : 0 : 0
141	The same	Ballyloghy	316 : 0 : 0	As same 292 : 0 : 0	As same 24 : 0 : 0
142	Lord Bourne	Ballywellkeamb	282 : 0 : 0	As same 262 : 0 : 0	As same 20 : 0 : 0
143	William Down	Kilmaree	107 : 0 : 0	As same 97 : 0 : 0	As same 10 : 0 : 0
144	The same	Knocknaskehy	174 : 0 : 0	As same 174 : 0 : 0	
145	The same	Ballykithane	235 : 0 : 0	As same 209 : 0 : 0	As same 26 : 0 : 0
146	The same	Saghardane	811 : 0 : 0	As same 781 : 0 : 0	As same 30 : 0 : 0
147	Richard Town	Finknock	056 : 0 : 0	As same 056 : 0 : 0	
148	Richard Town	Carraghantegort	220 : 0 : 0	As same 220 : 0 : 0	
149	William Down	200			
	The total of Copied Sandes is		2911 : 0 : 0	2746 : 0 : 0	165 : 0 : 0

The Devision of Coolferne and Kilgagh

It is bounded on the South East with the Barony of Middlethurd, on the North and North East with the Parish of Clonge on the West with the Parish of Keshill, and South with the Parish of Rosmeere, and Barony of Middlethurd. Acres of The Soyle is generally Arable and Pasture some unprofitable Rocks & Mountains.

It contains in it these Ensueng Towns Sandes viz Coolferne Kilkagh, Ballyloghy Ballyvellybere and Kiltmavey, Kiltmavey, Knocknaskehy, Ballykithane, Saghardane Finknock, Cloonegane as Carraghantegort.

There is at Coolferne a Chimney House and a Chappell in repair and some Cablins; A Chimney House and some Cablins at Kilkagh; there is at Ballyloghy a Chimney House in repair and some Cablins; at Ballykithane some Cablins and no other Improvement.

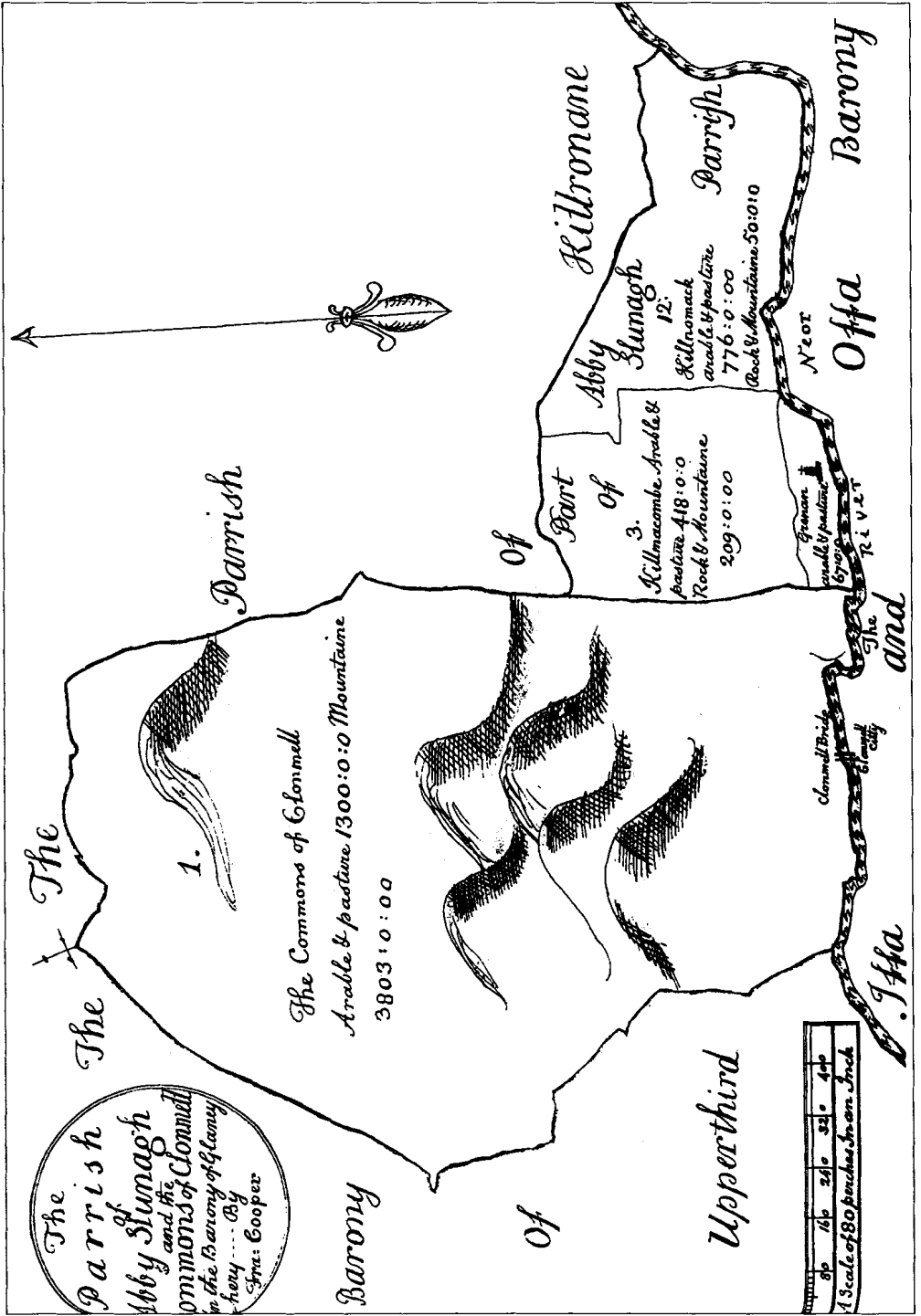
The Barony of Glenahery

In the County of Waterford:

As bounded on the North and West to the Baronyes of Uppertird & Decus, on the East with the County of Tipperary, and of Barony of Ahe and Offe, on the South the Seale is Arable and Scedize with some Mountains towards the North parts thereof.

It is very conveniently Watered all along the East Side, with the River Neor, there are severall other Rivers in the Barony which are very Commodious to the Inhabitants. — It Contains in it the Enourous parishes of Kilmoneeffoch, and Ofe of Sluagh, and of Commons of Clomell, there are many Improvements in this Barony and the City of Clomell is Situated on the North side thereof. What other remarkable Improvements especially Resolv'd in the severall parishes hereunto Annexed

An Index of Proppriety Names with Pages where to find them	An Index of Parrishes and the quantity of Acres Contained in Each of them
B. 2	
James Butler 2	1 Bante of Mully Sluagh 1529:0:0 1270:0:0 0259:0:0
B. 12	
Bate Gough 12	1 Commons of Clomell 5103:0:0 1300:0:0 03803:0:0
B. 2	
Bate Sluagh 2	2 Kilmoneane 9897:0:0 09491:0:0 00406:0:0
B. 2	
Bate Sluagh 2	Total in the Barony 16529:0:0 19261:0:0 4468:0:0
B. 2	
Bate Sluagh 2	Whereof above 3803:0:0
B. 2	
Bate Sluagh 2	Observations in
B. 2	
Bate Sluagh 2	Castles in 2
B. 2	
Bate Sluagh 2	Houses in 2
B. 2	
Bate Sluagh 2	Fleats in 2

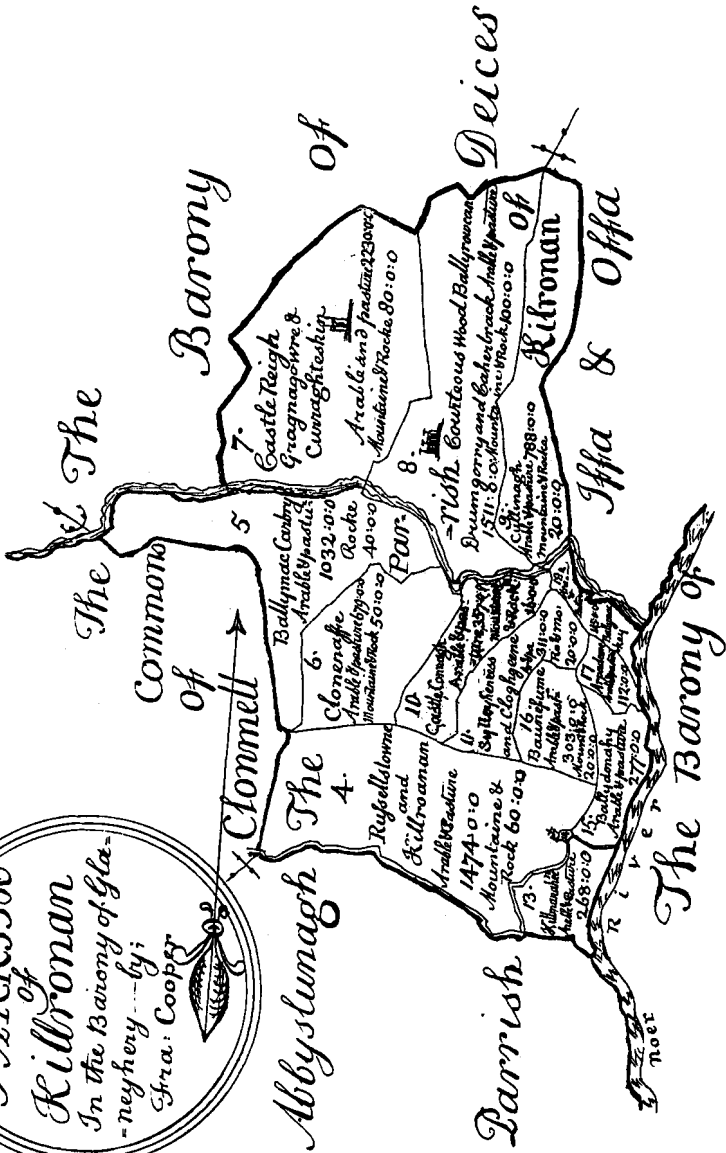


Number in the Table	Proprietary Names	Denominations of Land	Number of Acres... by Measure	Landes profitable	Unprofitable
2	Bateyough	Grenane	076:0:0	16:14:076:0:0	1151
3	The Same	Kilmacombe	627:0:0	04:00:418:0:0	209:0:0
12	The Same	Kilmacke	826:0:0	14:84:076:0:0	09:50:0:0
The	total of	Corrupted Landes	1529:0:0	1270:0:0	259:0:0
1.	The	Commons of	Clonmell	5103:0:0	1900:0:0
The	total of	Corrupted Landes	5103:0:0	1300:0:0	3803:0:0

<p>Parte of Abby Slumagh Parrish Is bounded on the North with the Commons of Clonmell on the West and Northwest with the County of Tipperary on the West and Northwest with the Parish of Kilmacome on the South. The Soyle is Arable and Pasture and Conteynes the Ensuuing Townlands Vizt Grenan, Kilmacome and Kilmacke.</p>	<p>The Commons of Clonmell Is bounded on the North East with the Barony of Uppertird, on the South with the Parish of Kilmacome on the South west with the Parish of Abby Slumagh on the North with the County of Tipperary. The Soyle is Arable & Pasture there is noe building thereon.</p>
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2.

The
PARRISH
 of
Killronan
 In the Barony of Glaneyhery—by—
 Fra. Cooper

0	20	40	60	80	100
A Scale of 160 perches In a Inch.					

Number in 4 Plot	Proprietor's Names	Denominations of Lands	Number of Acres by Admesion Provestable	Sunder Provestable	101 p. 10 p. 10 p.
4	David White, J. p. pa	Ruffseltowne	1534 : 0 : 00	18 p. 1474 : 0 : 00	17 p. 10 p. 10 p.
5	Pat. Magrath, J. p. pa	BallymacCarbrey	1072 : 0 : 00	18 p. 1032 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
6	General St. Leger, J. p. pa	Clonne Maffe	729 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 679 : 0 : 00	11 p. 10 p. 10 p.
7	John Bowyer, J. p. pa	Castleleigh	2310 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 2230 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
8	Roger Magrath, J. p. pa	Courteenwood	1611 : 0 : 00	18 p. 1571 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
9	Do. Magrath, J. p. pa	Culleragh	988 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 988 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
10	Tho. Lee, J. p. pa	Castle Cornagh	9373 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 9357 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
11	Do. Magrath, J. p. pa	Sillyheene	2331 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 2311 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
12	Do. Magrath, J. p. pa	Kilmanacheme	2268 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 2268 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
13	Do. Magrath, J. p. pa	Arable	2004 : 0 : 00	Arable 2004 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
14	Do. Magrath, J. p. pa	Ballydonohy	4277 : 0 : 00	18 p. 4277 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
15	James Magrath, J. p. pa	Bauneshume	4323 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 4303 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
16	Do. Magrath, J. p. pa	Arpadecore	2112 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 2112 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
17	Do. Magrath, J. p. pa	Ballymackey	2145 : 0 : 00	4 p. same 2145 : 0 : 00	10 p. 10 p. 10 p.
The total of Confuted Sunders is 9997 : 0 : 00					406 : 0 : 00
Whose of Glebe is 4 : 0 : 00					8 p.

The Parrish of Kilonane

Is bounded on the North with the Parrish of Abb. Slange & Comons of Connell, on the East with the Barrony of Decis on the South with the Barrony of Jffa & Offa on the West with the County of Tipperary and the Barrony of Jffa and Offa Aforesaid.

The Soyle is Arable and Pasture some Mountaine and Rocks: It Conteynes in it the Ensuing Townlands Viz: — Ruffseltowne BallymacCarbrey Clonne Maffe Culleragh, Gragnagore and Curraghteskin Courteenwood, Cullymagh, Castle Cornagh, Sillyheene, & Claghenee Kilmanacheme Ballydonohy Bauneshume, Arpadecore, and Ballymackey,

There is at Ruffseltowne a Castle and a Church in Repair a Thatch Chimney House and some Cabbins at Castleleigh an Old Castle and some Cabbins at Courteenwood Chimney House. At Castlebomagh a Castle in Repair and Seaverall Chimney Houses at Sillyheene a Chimney House, at Kilmanacheme a Castle and Seaverall Chimney Houses at Ballydonohy and Ballymackey are Seaverall Chimney Houses in Repair.

Book Review

Paddy Vaughan. *The last forge in Lismore*. Dublin, The Poddle Press, 1994. ISBN 0 9524260 0 5. £6. xi, 98pp.

It is said that one can never tell a book by its cover. The back cover of this book tells us that 'the author is the last practising member of a family of hereditary blacksmiths and farriers in Lismore, County Waterford. In this book he describes his trade, his time in the forge, and the town where he has lived and worked all his life'. This information is placed under a small black and white photo of the author, who poses with folded arms and mouth open as if in conversation. The front cover of *The last forge in Lismore* is a detail from an engraving (1746) of Lismore by Anthony Chearnley, on which an outline of a man shoeing a horse, both back to back and inseparable, is superimposed. The red inks, the grey overlaid outline and the black lettering draw one into the book.

As is now obvious, what struck me initially about this book is its impressive production. It is widely researched and well illustrated. Thirty-two illustrations are listed, including copies of a variety of prints, drawings and photographs, some of which document the author's craft and show the tools of his trade. There are six chapters, Trades and Industries, Farrier, Forge and Fair, The Blacksmith's Work, Around the Town, Work and Play and Ar Sráid Leasa Móir. the production of this book was made possible by financial assistance from *The Irish Field*, Bord na Gaeilge and Waterford Stanley Ltd.

Paddy Vaughan set out to record life in Lismore in the earlier part of this century, his family trade of blacksmith and farrier and life in the forge. The trade of blacksmith and farrier was handed down from father to son, blacksmiths working in iron and farriers shoeing horses.

Work as a blacksmith involved making and repairing farm implements and farm machinery. I had forgotten the number of things that a forge could have produced and I had not known how many of them were crafted and produced. Paddy Vaughan's work included making wheel bands, carts and traps, electric welding from 1949, ploughs, harrows, chisels, crowbars, quarry drills, punches, hammers, carpenters' chisels, plane blades, scythes, turf spades, clamps for whitening twigs for basketmaking, chute brackets, wall brads, hinges, iron grave-crosses, sheep brands and boot-tips.

Shoeing took precedence over iron-work. Farriering involved stripping the work shoes off the horse, paring and rasping the horse's foot in preparation for fitting of the shoe and then finishing off the new shoes. The fitting of shoes to race-horses, hunters and jumpers required additional work, as did the fitting of frost nails to road horses. Shoes were made also to try not to exacerbate the pain and discomfort caused by laminitis and navicular disease and to lessen the damage caused by brushing (clinch of one shoe striking the inside of the fetlock of the other leg) and winding (hind legs). Farriers knew individual horses and their temperaments. Shoes were made also to take into account a horse's injury and/or infirmity.

Paddy Vaughan's forge was particularly busy on fair days, special market days (17 March and 8 December) and at times of political rallies. In this sense, the forge was an observation post for all the comings and goings of Lismore, and its window ledge in summer and hearth in winter were focal points also for casual callers and for the swapping of news.

This book is rich in details relating to the area surrounding Lismore and its topography, customs, beliefs and fishing, the Black and Tans, the railway, sports, past-times and games, the Church of Ireland, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist churches, St Declan's pattern day, funerals, the workhouse (opened in 1841) and the fever hospital (demolished about 1940), local cures for burns, ringworm, shingles, thrush, warts and chilblains and the farrier's cures for lampers, thrush and sandcrack.

'It is no wonder that the town enjoys a modest reputation as a source of artistic inspiration' (p. 89). Paddy Vaughan lists in this category Dervla Murphy, Pat O'Connor and George O'Brien. He mentions Julia M. Crotchie and Temple Lane (Mary Isabel Leslie), now traceable probably only in libraries with older collections. Equally overlooked and apparently unknown to Paddy Vaughan is Ethel Penrose. Ethel Penrose, née Coghill, was born in Castletownshend, Co. Cork, and on marriage moved to Lismore. There she wrote the popular *The Fairy Cobbler's Gold* (London, Nelson & Sons, 1890 and 1902), *Darby and Joan: being the adventures of two children* (London, Blackie & Son, 1894) and *Clear as the noon day* (London, Jarrold & Sons, 1893) which was illustrated by her cousin, Edith OE. Somerville. In the Irish language, Edward Walsh worked as poet (in English) and translator and Fr Seán O Briain as a poet, while Lismore was the setting for many well-known love songs in Irish.

The last forge in Lismore is not a sentimental recording of one man's work, life and times. Paddy Vaughan, in his preface, states that he set out to record an ancient trade and many other local trades and craftsmen, to record ordinary people and their way of life and to record the town in which they lived. I think he has succeeded very well in his objectives.

E.M. Kirwan

Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society Membership

as of October 1995

Abbeyside Reference Archive, 6 Park Lane Drive, Abbeyside, Dungarvan,
Co. Waterford.

Ahearne, Miss S., 8 Sweetbriar Park, Waterford.

Allen County Public Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, Fort Wayne,
IN46801-2270, U.S.A.

Aylward, Rev. Fr J., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Aylward, Mr J., Wander Inn, Johnstown, Waterford.

Barrett, Miss B., 5 Tyrone Avenue, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.

Barron, Mr H. C. N., 3 Ravenscourt Square, London W6 OTW, England.

Barry, Mr J., Glencairn, Co. Waterford.

Brazil, Mr D., "Killard", John's Hill, Waterford. (Hon.)

Brennan, Mr J., Main Street, Mooncoin, via Waterford.

Brereton, Miss J., 42 Grange Lawn, Waterford.

Broderick, Mr E., 1 Pheasant Avenue, Collins Avenue, Waterford.

Brophy, Mr & Mrs A., "Bushe Lodge", Catherine Street, Waterford.

Burns, Mrs G. W., 99 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester LE11 24D, England.

Burtchaell, Mr J., Gyles's Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.

Byrne, Mr N., "Auburn", John's Hill, Waterford.

Byrne, Mrs R., Ballyscanlon, Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Campion, Bro., Mount Sion, Barrack Street, Waterford.

Caldwell, Miss D., 5 South Parade, Waterford.

Carroll, Mr W., 8 Lismore Park, Waterford.

Carroll, Mr P., "Greenmount", Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.

Carroll, Mrs S., "Ardaun", Newtown, Waterford. (Hon.)

Cherry, Mrs N., Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.

Clark, Mrs W., Jarratt's Cottage, Gog Magog Hills, Babraham, Cambridge, England.

Clarke, Mr F., 9 Leoville, Dunmore Road, Waterford.

Coady, Mr M., 29 Clairin, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.

Cody, Mr P., Portroe, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.

Coffey, Ms M.A., Ballylaneen, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.

Colclough, Mr B., 9 Pearse Park, Waterford.
Condon, Rev. Fr E., P.P., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Condon, Mr S., 19 Beau Street, Waterford.
Cooney, Mr T., 145 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Coulter, Mr & Mrs D., "Selby", 46 Lower Newtown, Waterford.
Cowman, Mr D., Knockane, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
Cranley, Mrs J., 6 Parnell Street, Waterford.
Croke, Mrs N., Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.
Crowley, Mrs M., "Fern Hill", Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Crowley, Miss N., 45 Orchard Drive, Ursuline Court, Waterford.
Cunningham, Mrs C., "Great Oaks", Dooneen, Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
Curham, Mr L., 19 The Folly, Waterford.
Curran, Mr C., 20 Friarsland Road, Goatstown, Co. Dublin.

Dalton, Mr P., 92 Calderwood Road, Dublin 9.
De la Poer, Mr N. K., Le Poer Lodge, Kilsheelan, Co. Tipperary.
De Paor, Mr G., 72 Temple Road, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
Denn, Mrs T., Newrath, Waterford.
Dillon, Mr F., "Trespan", The Folly, Waterford.
Doolan, Miss B., 25 John's Hill, Waterford.
Dowling, Mr D., Glenmore, via Waterford.
Doyle, Mr L., "Gant's Hill", Faithlegge, Co. Waterford.
Duggan, Mrs B., Tirconnel Close, Comeragh Heights, Waterford.
Dunne, Mrs B., Faithlegge, Co. Waterford.
Dunphy, Mrs M., Ballycashin, Waterford.

Eachthigheirn, Mr L., Dún-an-Óir, Newrath, Waterford.
Enright, Canon J. L., 8 Seafield, Newtown Hill, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Fanning, Mr & Mrs E., 50 St Herblain Place, Waterford.
Fanning, Miss P., 1 Railway Square, Waterford.
Farrell, Mr I., "Summerville House", Newtown, Waterford.
Farrell, Mrs M., "Trade Winds", John's Hill, Waterford.
Fay, Miss E. & Mr G., 4 Lismore Park, Waterford.
Fewer, Mr G., "Les Revenants", Corballymore, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Fewer, Mr M., 15 Glendoher Road, Rathfarnham, Dublin.
Fewer, Mr T. N., "Chestnut Lodge", Callaghan, Woodstown, Co. Waterford.
Field, Ms J., Corluddy, Carrigeen, Co. Waterford.
Finn, Mrs I., 23 Beech Park, Viewmount, Waterford.
Finney, Miss J., Apt 24, Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.
Fitzgerald, Mr J. E., 81 Taranova Road, Newfoundland, Canada.
Fitzgerald, Mr P., 34 Skibbereen Road, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.
Flood, Mr P., 58 Terenure Road West, Dublin 6W.
Flynn, Mr N., White Meadows, Baunfune, Butlerstown, Co. Waterford.
Flynn, Mrs M., 6 Bellevue Terrace, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Flynn, Ms J. Carrowntassona, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
Forristal, Mr. B., 7 Glen Terrace, Waterford.

Fraher, Mr W., 10 Ringnasilloge Avenue, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Gallagher, Mr & Mrs D., 1 Hillview Drive, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.

Gallagher, Mr G., 53 Upper Beechwood Avenue, Ranelagh, Dublin 6.

Gallagher, Mrs L., 17 William Street, Waterford.

Gallagher, Mr L., 42 Dunluce Road, Clontarf, Dublin 3.

Garbett, Mrs R., Benvoy, Annestown, Co. Waterford.

Gorwill, Mrs Carolyn, 81 Seaforth Road, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7M 1E1.

Gossip, Mrs P., Ballinakill, Waterford.

Grace, Mr L., 5 Mulberry Close, Viewmount Park, Waterford.

Grant, Mrs E., 9 St John's Villas, Waterford.

Greenwood, Ms C., 123 Catharine Street, Cambridge, England.

Griffith, Mr C., Newrath, Waterford.

Grogan, Mrs M., 10 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.

Grogan, Mr P., Summerville Avenue, Waterford.

Harkness, Mrs A., "Derg Valley", Rathmoylan, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Harney, Miss C., Ballymacarbery, via Clonmel, Co. Waterford.

Halligan, Mrs B., Apartment 9, Grantstown House, Earlscourt, Waterford.

Hayes, Miss K., Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.

Healy, Mr P., 31 Lismore Park, Waterford.

Hearne, Mrs E., "Mossleigh", Summerville Avenue, Waterford.

Hearne, Miss M., 12 Spring Garden, Waterford.

Heffernan, Mr P. J., 7 Roswood Drive, Mount Pleasant, Waterford.

Henderson, Bishop C. J., Park House, 6A Cresswell Park, London SE3 9RD, England.

Hennessy, Mr C., Berkeley Court, Maypark, Waterford.

Hennessy, Mr C., 84 John's Park, Waterford.

Hennessy, Mr J., P.O. Box 58, Riddells Creek, Victoria, Australia.

Hennessy, Mr T., 17 St Joseph's Road, Stoneybatter, Dublin 7.

Heylin, Mr F., Duagh, Tramore Road, Waterford. (Hon.)

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THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

formerly: The Old Waterford Society

The Society aims to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general, with particular reference to Waterford and the adjoining counties, and to promote research into same.

Lectures on appropriate subjects are arranged for the autumn, winter and spring details of which are advised to members or can be obtained by contacting the Hon. Secretary, Mr Eddie Synnott, Kilbride, Glenmore, Co. Kilkenny.

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