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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorial.....	vii
Maria Montessori: Her links with Waterford: <i>Sr M. Redemptoris Cummins, Sr M. Josepha Phelan</i>	1
Bristol Irish news in the 1750s: <i>Jack Burtchaell</i>	13
From Anglo-Norman demesne to modern luxury hotel: The story of Little Island, Co. Waterford: <i>Tom Dooley</i>	39
The temperance movements in Waterford, 1839 to 1841: <i>Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin</i>	57
Local government in county Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Part III: The office of sheriff, 1355-1420: <i>Ciaran Parker</i>	93
Shadows from the past. No. 1	103
Rope-making in Waterford: <i>Patrick Kavanagh</i>	107
A history of the People's Park: <i>Dermot Power</i>	113
The Bóithrín Móna Ruadh: <i>Richard Fennessy</i>	145
The ruined church of Killea: A consideration of its date and foundation: <i>Thomas Gregory Fewer</i>	151
Monumental inscriptions at the Abbey, Kilculliheen, Ferrybank, Waterford. Part IV (R to W): <i>Michael O'Sullivan</i>	169
Obituaries	181
The Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society membership	185
The Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society	191

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1996/97

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EDITORIAL

The Irish local historical society is a very special kind of institution. Its members often differ widely in politics, religion, age and social background. What brings them together is a common interest in the history of their locality. There is a tacit recognition of their differences and a conscious effort to avoid areas of contention. The process of meeting and working together to further the aims of the society creates a firm bond and enriches the lives of its members. A perusal of the membership lists of our illustrious predecessor, the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, confirms this point. For a quarter of a century these people worked together, despite their differences and the turbulence of the times, till separated by death, migration or changed political circumstances.

Such a society is 'amateur' in the true sense of the word – its members do what they do because they enjoy it, not because it is their profession. This element of enjoyment is vital to a society such as ours. It is all too easy to become bogged down by the routine of administration, bored by the excessive gravity of others, or obsessed by the tensions that inevitably arise between people who feel strongly about certain issues. But unless our society is fun to belong to, there is something wrong and that something needs to be addressed.

There must, of course, be standards. Chaotic administration, poorly presented lectures, aimless outings, an incomprehensible journal – these will only lead to dissatisfaction and ultimately to the demise of the society. 'Amateurishness' in the pejorative sense is the enemy of self-respect. During the forty-odd years of our society's existence we have generally maintained a high rate of efficiency. Hard work and dedication have been the hallmark of our officers. But 'professionalism' is not an aim in itself; we are not a statutory academic body but a group of enthusiasts. Efficiency is merely the tool that will help us enjoy a richer understanding of our heritage.

Thirdly, a society such as ours must have a sense of mission. We are all the product of our past, and the better we understand that past the better we will understand ourselves. It is therefore our duty to study it, to interpret it, and to interest the community at large in our findings. Our past belongs to us all and must not be allowed to become the property of a particular faction. Its visual remnants need intelligent conservation. Documents, artefacts and buildings are under continual threat from vandalism, theft, commercial greed, blind ignorance, and environmental pollution. If we are the people who claim to be most aware of their importance, it is up to us to ensure their protection.

With every year that passes we become more conscious of the bewildering speed at which our world is changing. As we head towards 1997, I commend to the members of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society three key words that might govern our plans and actions for the forthcoming year: enjoyment, standards, and mission.



This year, 1996, we celebrate a number of anniversaries. It is the 250th year since the appearance of our first county history, that of Charles Smith, in 1746. Despite his shortcomings, Smith's achievement is impressive, and his work remains the base on which later historians of Waterford have built. Smith was a native of Dungarvan, where he worked as a doctor and apothecary. The contribution of Dungarvan men to our historiography is remarkable. Of our four pre-1900 county historians, three were from Dungarvan: Smith, Ryland and Hansard (the fourth, Egan, was a Kilkenny man). The anniversary of the publication of Smith's history will be marked by a lecture given by his fellow-townsmen and historian William Fraher.

This is also the ninth centenary of the establishment of Waterford Diocese. In 1096 the Norse inhabitants petitioned to have Malchus, an Irish monk of Winchester, as their bishop, and he was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral by Archbishop Anselm. Nine centuries of the history of our diocese will be marked by a series of events during the weekend of 27 October (the feast of our patron, St. Otteran). They will include a special Mass in the Catholic Cathedral and a series of lectures in St. John's College.

By coincidence, 1996 is also the bicentenary of the opening of the Catholic Cathedral and of the death of its architect and builder, John Roberts. The Cathedral has been described as the most important forgotten eighteenth-century building in Ireland. It has a unique character, and Waterford is unique also in that its two cathedrals are the work of the same architect. Christ Church Cathedral is arguably the most impressive classical church in this country. John Roberts also completed the Bishop's Palace and was the creator of our City Hall, Chamber of Commerce building (originally the town house of William Morris) and Infirmary. He built the magnificent courtyard of Curraghmore and houses for many of the local gentry. He was born, lived, worked and died in Waterford. For too long he has been virtually forgotten in his native city. It is time his memory was held in greater esteem, and as a means towards this end our Society held a lecture on his career and family and visited the buildings in the city centre with which he is associated.

This is also the bicentenary of the foundation of another diocese, that of Newfoundland, the Canadian province with which we have such close historical links. For many years Irish Catholics living there were free to worship as they pleased – but they were allowed no priests. By the end of the eighteenth century a more formal organisation was possible, and this was symbolised by the appointment of the island's first bishop in 1796. James Louis O'Donnell, O.F.M., was a native of Knocklofty near Clonmel. During his eleven years in Newfoundland his prestige as bishop was enormous. He eventually retired to Waterford and died here in 1811. He is commemorated by a plaque in our Cathedral.

Three years ago a distinguished London author compiling a book on Ireland dismissed Waterford with the remark that it was a rather dismal place to be on a rainy day. He should return. In my experience, overseas visitors are continually commenting what an interesting place Waterford is. Undoubtedly much progress

has been made in recent years. In this regard the main achievement of 1996 has undoubtedly been the restoration of the Beach Tower. For many years this building had been the Cinderella among our six surviving medieval mural towers. The walls had been greatly altered in the 18th and 19th centuries, the interior was filled with rubbish, the top surmounted with a massive concrete slab on which stood a large red cast-iron water tank.

Yet its gloomy appearance masked a building of unusual interest. It was erected towards the end of the fifteenth century, a period of transition in Irish siege warfare owing to the introduction of artillery and hand-guns. Its walls are pierced by both arrow loops and gun loops. Its setting against the sheer face of a rock escarpment overlooking the river Suir is remarkable. Its special features and deplorable condition caused it to be targeted for the first high-profile project undertaken by Waterford Civic Trust.

The result is spectacular. Following a thorough survey, external and internal accretions were removed, the masonry restored to its original condition, and the 'stepped' fifteenth-century crenellations and watch-tower recreated. Whether viewed from Carrigeen Park or the Jenkin's Lane car park, the Beach Tower now looks magnificent.

The restored Beach Tower was formally opened by President Robinson on 26 April 1996. It is a credit to all concerned with the work – in particular, the courage and initiative of Waterford Civic Trust; the help and encouragement of Waterford Corporation; the assistance of sponsors and funding agencies; and the expertise of the consultant archaeologist Ben Murtagh, Ms. Aighleann Ní Shaughneasa of the O.P.W., and the builders David Flynn Ltd. May it prove an inspiring example to others and the forerunner of similar projects in the Waterford area.

Julian C. Walton, Hon. Editor

List of Contributors

Jack Burtchaell is a native of Ferrybank and took his degree in History and Geography from U.C.D. after which he spent a period as Junior Research Fellow in Queen's University, Belfast. He has been a contributor to *Waterford: History and Society*; *Kilkenny History and Society*; *Teacht na bPrátaí Dubha: The Famine in Waterford* as well as contributing to *Decies*.

Sr M. Redemptoris Cummins is a member of the Mercy Community in Waterford and a former principal of Our Lady of Mercy Secondary School, Waterford.

Thomas P. Dooley whose parents were both from Waterford is the author of *Irish Men or English Soldiers* and has published papers on army recruitment in Waterford city in *The Irish Sword*.

Richard Fennessy graduated in Mathematics and Languages from U.C.D. He is the City Librarian for Waterford and has worked in the public library service for the past 20 years. His particular interests are the Irish language, Irish place-names, Folklore and Astronomy.

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Patrick Kavanagh worked on the rope-walk on the Cork Road in Waterford, 1944-45. He then joined the staff of George White's, where he was an employee for over forty years.

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DECIES 53

Articles are invited for *Decies* 53 which will be published in 1997.

The closing date for receipt of articles is 30 April 1997.

Intending contributors should obtain a copy of *Guidelines for Contributors* from the Editor.

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The Society's periodical publication, *Decies*, is issued free to all members. Back numbers of issues, when available, may be obtained from Waterford Heritage Survey, Jenkin's Lane, Waterford.



Maria Montessori outside the Mercy Convent, June 1937.

Maria Montessori

– Her links with Waterford

By Sr. M. Redemptoris Cummins and Sr. M. Josepha Phelan

MARIA Montessori is one of the great educational thinkers and pioneers. Her name is well known and her methods of education practised in many countries. What is less well known is her association with Waterford and the important role played by one city school in the history of the Montessori movement in Ireland.

Early Life and Career

Maria Montessori¹ was born at Chiaravalla, near Ancona, Italy, in 1870. She was a “progressive” from early youth, shocking her contemporaries in Rome by dispensing with a chaperone and being something of a mathematical prodigy. She obtained her MD degree at the University of Rome in 1894 and was Italy’s first woman doctor. At the beginning of her medical career she was involved in the care of mentally handicapped children, and her experiences in this work convinced her that the normal child would develop quickly if allowed a great deal of freedom in the classroom.

Ideas on Education

Montessori became famous for a system of education established by her in Italy, and called after her. This new method was based on the principle that children are essentially serious-minded and will easily advance in education if given the proper inspiration and guidance. Children were to be given freedom to proceed at their own rate, and were to be regarded as different from, not just smaller editions of adults. Montessori emphasised the importance of the environment in which learning took place. It was her contention that children took pleasure in learning to

1. Information relating to Maria Montessori’s life and ideas is based on A.E. Doherty, “The Impact of Montessori Education in Ireland”, B. Ed. IV Special Project Dissertation (University of Dublin), 1989; and K. Fanning, “The Development of the Montessori Movement in Ireland, 1912-1940”, Academic Paper submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master in Education (University of Dublin), 1989.

master their environment, and that the imposition of immobility and silence was a hindrance to educational progress. She was repelled by the sight of children kept immobile behind their desks, "like butterflies transfixed with a pin". This, Montessori held, "annihilated" the children instead of disciplining and educating them. Accordingly, she introduced small comfortable tables and chairs, and low windows from which the children could see the world outside. The technique of the Montessori Method, as it follows the guidance of the natural, physiological and physical development of the child may be divided into:

- i) motor education, provided through the classroom environment;
- ii) sensory and language education, provided through didactic material.

Maria Montessori began establishing schools called "Children's Homes" to put her theories into practice. Her ideas proved such a success that she was made a Governor Inspector of Italian Schools. Other countries, such as America and Britain, became interested in the Montessori system. In 1919 she travelled to London to establish a teacher training course on her method.

Montessori and Waterford City

During the 1920s the London training course was attended by two people from Waterford City: Mrs. Eleanora Gibbon, Rathcullaheen House, Ferrybank, and Sister Gertrude Allman, of the Convent of Mercy. The siting of Ireland's first "casa dei bambini" in Waterford was due to the interest and influence of the Superior of the Mercy Convent, Mother de Sales Lowry. She was described by all who knew her as being a woman of vision, a great educator and innovator, whose commitment to providing the best education possible for the pupils of her schools led to her initial interest in the Montessori Method. Eleanora Gibbon was a friend of Mother de Sales and encouraged her great admiration for the ideas of the Italian educator.² It should be noted that Mother de Sales' decision to send Sr. Gertrude to London was unusual for religious orders at that time and was indicative of her belief in the Montessori Method.

In 1920 Mother de Sales managed, with meagre financial support, to establish a full Montessori programme in the Junior Section of St. Otteran's School, Philip Street. This was the only Montessori School founded under the Department of Education and was available, free, to the children of the vicinity. Sr. Gertrude Allman, Directress, was one of the first Montessori teachers to adapt the didactic material to the teaching of Irish, which was a compulsory subject under the Department's rules. Her average class size was 110 pupils, from four to seven years, in a room, named *An Rioghacht*, measuring 55 by 22 feet.³ Such a formidable task could not be undertaken alone, and so in the ensuing years Sr. Gertrude was assisted in the Montessori infant classes by Sister Anthony Dermody, Sister Laurence O'Shea, Miss Julia Collins, Mrs. Kitty Grant (nee Aherne), Miss Kitty Hodggers, and Mrs. Josie Cleary (nee Walsh).

2. Fanning, "Development of the Montessori Movement in Ireland", pp. 4-5; Doherty, "The Impact of Montessori Education in Ireland", pp. 9-10.
3. Doherty, "Impact of Montessori Education in Ireland", p. 10.



Mother M. de Sales Lowry.

1920 also marked the amalgamation of Montessori Societies in England, Scotland and Ireland into one society, with Dr. Montessori as president. Records state that a Montessori section was set up in the same year at the Friends' School, Newtown. In 1925 a further Montessori school was founded at the Ursuline Convent, with a Miss Batchelor as directress.⁴

In 1924 the Montessori System was discussed at the Annual Congress of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation. Eleanora Gibbon and Edward P. Culverwell, Professor of Education at Trinity College, were the main speakers. Miss K. Nettle of Waterford gave a demonstration of Montessori didactic material, emphasising that it "was not the outcome of theorists but the result of twenty-four years practical experimental work, fixed in its present form by the children themselves". Mrs. Gibbon described the growth of Montessori in Ireland and claimed that it was becoming increasingly relevant to Irish education. Professor Culverwell advised the teachers that if they "told the authorities that they wanted to teach the new system and to get an opportunity for doing it, it would have a much greater effect than anything a professor of a university would say". The Department of Education, however, did not see fit to make any innovation in early infant education in Irish primary schools at that period in the new state's history.⁵

Visits of W.B. Yeats and Dr. Maria Montessori

The years 1926 and 1927 were significant in the history of the Mercy Montessori School. In 1926 W.B. Yeats visited the school; the following year Dr. Montessori was a visitor.

W.B. Yeats, as a senator and member of a government committee investigating the state of Irish education, paid an official visit in June 1926. St. Otteran's School was of interest to Yeats as it had a reputation for modern and enlightened teaching systems, using, as it did, the Montessori and Mason methods, both of which placed emphasis on spontaneity and self-expression.⁶

Yeats was welcomed by the Mother Superior, Canon Prendergast, of Ballybricken, a group of senior students, and others associated with the school. Sr. Redemptoris Cummins, who was a senior student at the time of the visit and one of the welcoming party, has a vivid recollection of Yeats' arrival as he walked up the Convent drive, attired in a long frieze coat, slouched hat, and spats. As he approached she remembers somebody making the comment: "Look at him now with his spats and he hasn't the religion of a cow". This disparaging remark referred to Yeats's known interest in mysticism and spiritualism, which aroused considerable disapproval, even hostility, in the conservative religious climate of the 1920s.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

6. The Mason Method was first introduced in St. Otteran's School in 1917. Through this method, books by the best authors provided a liberal education and by reading and comprehension opened up a world of interest to eager pupils in disciplines as varied as religion, Greek mythology, music appreciation, and architecture. With the advent of compulsory Irish in the schools, however, the Mason Method was not recognised by the Department of Education and in the late 1920s its use was gradually phased out.

This visit from such a distinguished poet caused great excitement among teachers and pupils. Yeats visited all the classes and expressed his appreciation of the spontaneity and talent of the children. In the Senior Grade he was impressed by poems composed and read by the students. One of these poems, by Bridie Paul, R.I.P., on Gulliver's Travels, impressed him so deeply that – Sr. Redemptoris remembers – he was moved to say: "This poem reminds me of what my friend A.E. might write". It is unfortunate that this particular poem, beginning with the line "When Gulliver came to the land of small men" is not preserved in the Convent archives.

According to Raymond Cowell in his book, *W.B. Yeats*, the poet was impressed by the educational methods he observed in St. Otteran's School and the balance that was struck between intellectual, practical, aesthetic and spiritual values.⁷ It was following this visit to the Waterford School and his experience in the Montessori and senior classes that he wrote his poem *Among School Children*, which begins with the stanza:

I walk through the long school room questioning;
A kind nun in a white hood replies;
The children learn to cipher and to sing;
To study reading books and histories;
To cut and sew, be neat in everything
In the best modern way – the children's eyes
In momentary wonder stare upon
A sixty-year old smiling public man.

This is an example of how Yeats often took as a starting point to a poem an everyday occasion in his life. In the ensuing stanzas he unfolds the wisdom he learned through his mistakes and suffering. To quote Cowell: "This is the ultimate wisdom about life ... The enlightened education these children are receiving is at least a good start for such wisdom, but wisdom must arise from experience and so education can be no more than a start".⁸

Dr. Maria Montessori came to Ireland for the first time in 1927. The first place she visited was St. Otteran's School, on 27 June. Sr. Redemptoris Cummins was again present. The event was described in the *News and Star*:

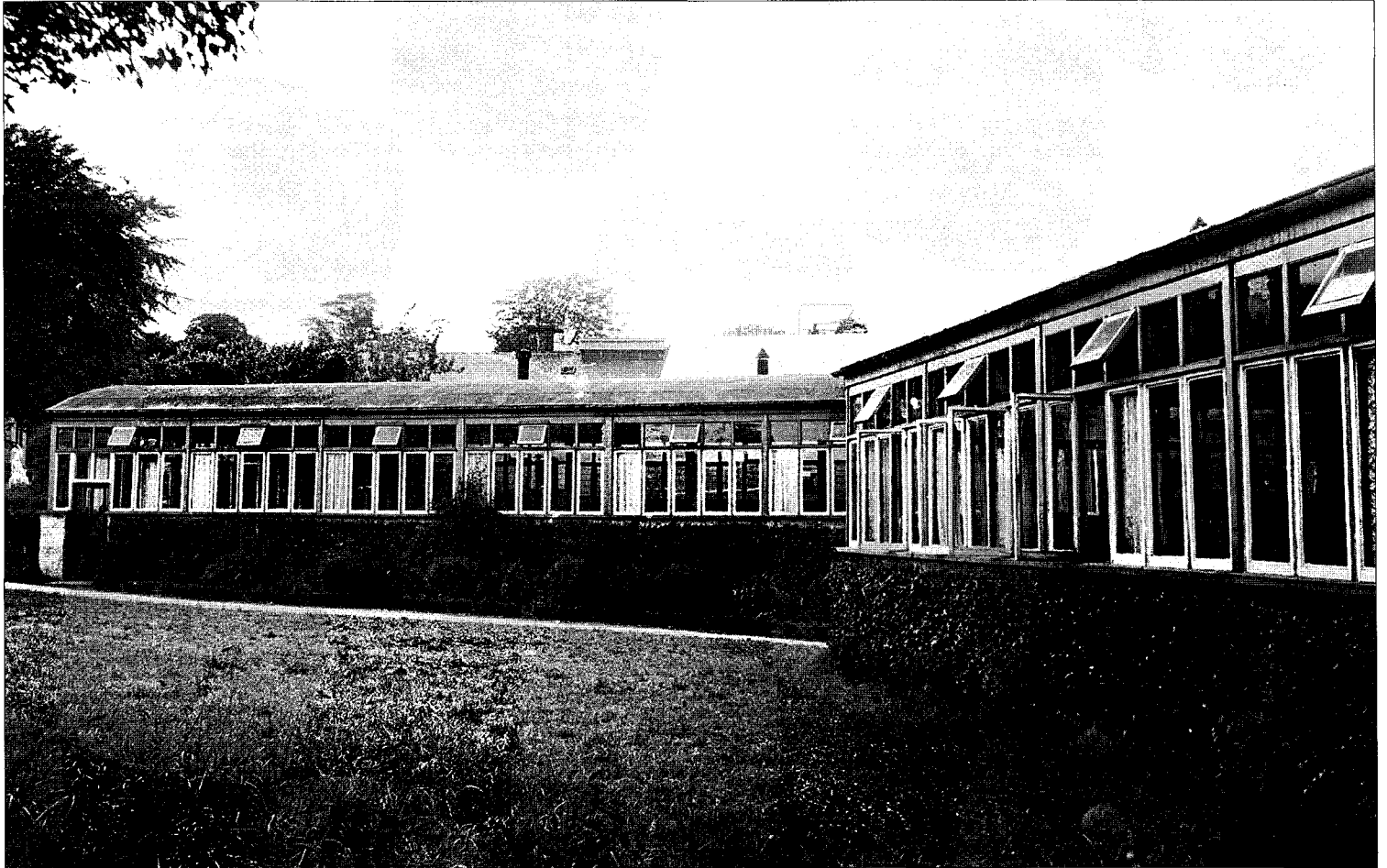
The Visit of Dr. Montessori to St. Otteran's Schools (Mercy Convent)

Monday of last week was an epochmaking day in the educational history of Waterford in general and of St. Otteran's Schools in particular. During the weekend Dr. Montessori, whose fame is worldwide in connection with the education of the young, paid a visit to Waterford and spent Monday at St. Otteran's, the pioneer school in connection with the movement in Waterford, for here since March 1920, Dr. Montessori's ideals and principles have been in operation.

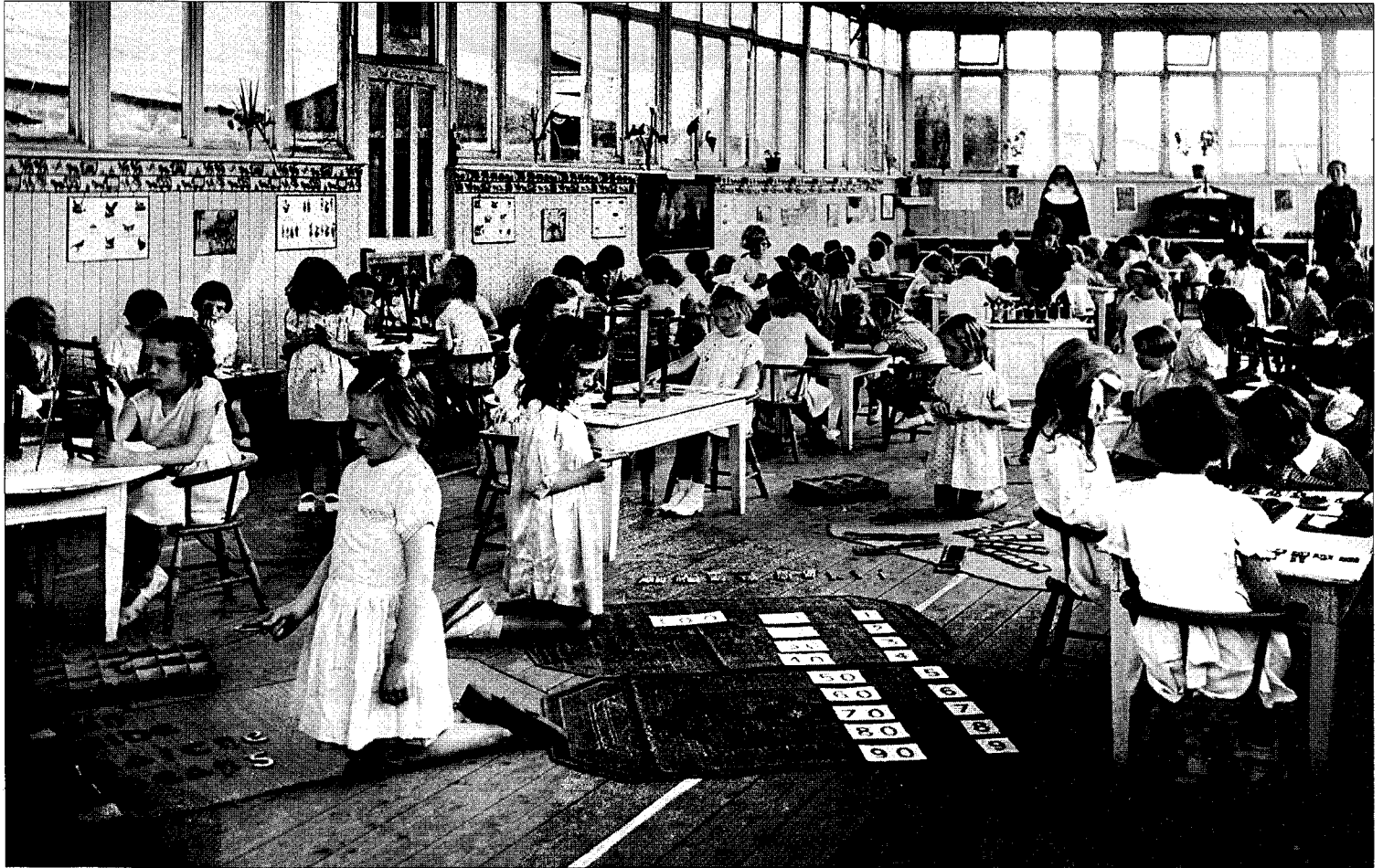
Though the notice of her arrival was short, everything was done to make Dr. Montessori's first visit to Ireland memorable. An address suitably worded to the great occasion was read by Miss Winnie Cummins, one of the senior pupils, while Miss Joan Stafford presented a beautiful bouquet.

7. R. Cowell, *W.B. Yeats* (London 1969), p. 86.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 88.



Exterior of Mercy Montessori School.



After the presentation Dr. Montessori, who was accompanied by Major Dease, late Commissioner of the National School Board, Miss Cornish, her interpreter, and Mrs. Gibbon (Montessori representative for Ireland) visited her own department of the school at the door of which she was met by a group of children, each of whom held a letter forming in pink roses the words "Benuto Signorina" which translate the Italian form of "Welcome".

Dr. Montessori spent some time observing the children at their work and was delighted to see how truly her spirit had been interpreted by the Sisters of Mercy. The true Montessori atmosphere of happiness, of interest and of perfect quiet was maintained. On leaving that department Dr. Montessori wrote her impressions of her visit in the visitors' book and expressed how charmed she was to find her ideals embodied in such perfect form by the children. She further expressed the wish that she might have again the happiness of paying another visit to the schools.

Dr. Montessori then visited the senior department of the school and followed with delight the progress of the pupils, a great many of whom had spent their earlier years under her system.

She was there entertained by the pupils to a feast of Irish dancing and song – a treat with which she expressed herself delighted as it was her first opportunity of witnessing such an exhibition. The concert closed with a delightful "Salve" to the Dotteressa, specially composed and arranged for the occasion.

The visit was in every sense a happy one, as anyone who met the Dotteressa should be delighted with her charming personality.

Before leaving, Dr. Montessori signed the visitors' book and wrote her impressions of the visit as follows:-

Ilo provato qui una commoxione vivificante a indimenti cabile. Perfexione nelle vostre opere e vita nelle vostre anime; cio ho ammirato in questa casa dave sento il desederio s'ritornare.

Maria Montessori.

27 Giugno, 1927.

I have been very favourably impressed by what I have experienced here and I shall never forget it. Perfection in your work and vitality in your aspirations: this is, in brief, what I have admired in your establishment, where already I have a desire to return.

Maria Montessori.

27th June, 1927.

Dr. Montessori made a return visit almost exactly ten years later, on 23 June 1937. She was accompanied by her adopted son, Mario. She again expressed her appreciation of the progress made in the Mercy School:

After 10 years I see that the works which remain with you are still alive and can never turn back. I carry with me the comfort of this visit.⁹

Other Visitors

The fame of the Mercy Montessori School attracted the attention of persons interested in its pioneering educational methods. On 4 November 1927 Mr. T.Y.

9. Visitors' Book: St. Otteran's School (Mercy Convent Archive).



Students welcoming Maria Montessori on the occasion of her visit to Mercy Montessori School, June 1927.

Wang, of the Bureau of Education of Mukden, Manchuria, China was a visitor,¹⁰ while on 28 November 1932 Miss C.W. Tromp, Inspector of the Montessori Schools in Holland and Head of the Amsterdam Montessori School made a visit and commented: "The first Montessori School in Ireland I admire with all my heart".¹¹ Mr. E.M. Standing recorded his impressions in rather poetic terms on 19 April 1928:

As the waters of the Shannon, obstructed by man's opposition, will nevertheless bring light to the most distant villages in Ireland, so will your noble work here in spite – nay, in part, because of man's opposition – be the means of bringing, in good time, light and joy to thousands of children in every part of the country.¹²

He returned in December 1945 and expressed his pleasure that he found

the Montessori flag still flying in spite of all the difficulties which these years have brought ... The shadows of the long night are departing; and a new day is dawning. *Magna est veritas et praevalerebit.*¹³

A Jesuit educationalist, Rev. Allan P. Farrell, commented on 20 May 1932:

My visit to the groups of children being trained according to the M. system has been not only a pleasure but also a source of practical information ... I have remarked the splendid combination of training – sensory leading to and merging into mental – with pleasure and interest. The children seemed to enjoy thoroughly the graded tasks assigned them. It is play for them, though directed to an educative end, the materials are natural, varied and wonderfully adapted to the child's powers.¹⁴

Time Marches On

Meanwhile, in Italy and elsewhere the Montessori Method was becoming more popular. Dr. Montessori's ideas were being adopted in many countries, and her books on education were translated into several languages, including Japanese and Chinese. The Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, was not slow to realise the value of the Montessori Schools as a training ground for future fascists. Dr. Montessori, however, was aware of Il Duce's intentions and the dangers they represented to her life's work as a Catholic educator. She left Italy in 1932 and four years later her schools were banned in her native country.

Montessori went to Spain and became Director of the Montessori Institute in Barcelona, continuing to conduct training courses in various countries. She finally settled in the Netherlands. On her 80th birthday the Amsterdam Free University awarded her an honorary doctorate of letters and philosophy. On 6 May 1952 she died at Noordwijk.

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

May 6th 1952, Noordwijk aan Zee.

With great sorrow we announce the sudden death of

Dr MARIA MONTESSORI

whose love protected our life and whose spirit has always been our guide.

She died as she lived, clear of mind, loving of heart, witty to her last moment. In less than a minute she transferred her brilliant soul from us to God.

We feel you would like to know: for you have shared with us the wealth given out by her spirit and so you appreciated and loved her.

In sharing our sorrow we know that we share with you the gratitude, admiration and respect for our great departed Dr Maria Montessori.

ADA AND MARIO MONTESSORI
MARILENA AND JAN HENNY
MARIO MONTESSORI
ROLANDO MONTESSORI
RENILSE MONTESSORI

Amsterdam, Koninginneweg 161

Death notice sent to Mercy Convent.

The provision of Montessori education continued at St. Otteran's School. However, in December 1961 the building was demolished. The *News and Star*¹⁵ reported:

For thousands of Waterford women at home and scattered all over the globe a link with their childhood has been severed. It happens with the demolition of the 'Babies' Room' at Saint Otteran's. Three generations of Waterford girls began life therein under the benevolent tutorship of Sister Gertrude, an expert in the Montessori System, of which the Mercy Community are pioneers.¹⁶

Sister Gertrude continued her Montessori teaching in new school premises on Military Road until her retirement in 1970. Sr. Margaret Darcy, assistant to Sr. Gertrude, continued with the Montessori method for some years. Following her appointment as Principal of Holy Family Junior School, she and her staff gradually changed from the Montessori system to the recognised Department of Education Curriculum for Primary Schools.

Waterford has had a significant association with the development of the Montessori Movement in Ireland. A small number of dedicated people ensured that the young children of the city experienced the advantages of modern educational methods. The vision and determination of Eleanora Gibbon, Mother de Sales Lowry, Sister Gertrude Allman, and others are deserving of public recognition and gratitude. This brief record of their endeavours and of some of the main events in the history of St. Otteran's School will ensure at least that posterity will remember their achievements.

15. *News and Star*, 12 December 1961. Quoted in Doherty, "The Impact of Montessori Education in Ireland", p. 17.

16. *Ibid.*

Bristol Irish News in the 1750s

By Jack Burtchaell

THE importance of the port of Bristol in the relationship between Ireland and England has long been recognised, and the centrality of the Bristol Waterford relationship is also beyond doubt. Our first identified mayor of Waterford Roger de Lom in 1284/5 was a Bristol man,¹ and trade links between the two cities pre date the Norman invasion.² Throughout the later middle ages and into the early modern period the port of Bristol was the chief link between Britain and Ireland. Of the 177 ships that loaded cargo at Bristol in 1616, 91 or 51% were bound for Ireland. Of the 91 vessels bound for Ireland in that year, an analysis of the ports involved highlights the importance of the south east.

Ships clearing Bristol for Ireland 1616

27 ships bound for Youghal	30%
20 ships bound for Wexford	22%
14 ships bound for Waterford	15%
12 ships bound for Cork	13%
9 ships bound for Kinsale	10%
3 ships bound for Derry	3%
2 ships bound for Ross	2%
1 ship bound for Dungarvan	1%
1 ship bound for Limerick	1%

Over 67% of Bristol's Irish export trade was with the three major south eastern ports of Youghal, Wexford and Waterford. If the two minor ports of Dungarvan and Ross are added it brings the region's total to 70%. Startling by its absence in the Bristol-Irish trade that year, is Dublin which doesn't feature at all in 1616.³ A generation later in 1638, some 140 ships discharged cargo at Bristol from Irish

1. *A History of Waterford and Its Mayors*, E. McEneaney, pp. 38-39.
2. 'Late Viking Age Settlement in Waterford City', M.F. Hurley in *Waterford History and Society*.
3. *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth Century Bristol*, Vol. XIX, Bristol Record Society Publication, Appendix D, P. McGrath (ed.).

ports.⁴ A breakdown of the ports of origin again emphasises the importance of the south east.

Ships from Ireland discharging in Bristol 1638

Waterford	31 ships	.....	22%
Wexford	28 ships	.....	20%
Ross	26 ships	.....	19%
Dublin	20 ships	.....	14%
Cork	11 ships	.....	8%
Rest of Country	24 ships	.....	17%

By 1700 of the 204 ships arriving in Bristol Port 41% had arrived from an Irish port.⁵ While this trade was not nearly as lucrative or as glamorous as the West Indies or American trades, it illustrates the intensity of the human interaction across St George's Channel. Throughout the eighteenth century the major destination for ships clearing Bristol remained Ireland.⁶

Bristol in 1700 was the second town of England with a population estimated at 20,000. Like Waterford, Bristol broke out of its girdle of medieval walls in the eighteenth century. By 1800 the Bristol population was 60,000. The spectacular growth of eighteenth century Bristol was achieved on the building bricks of rum, slaves, tobacco and sugar. Despite the spectacular growth of eighteenth century Bristol, by 1800 its status as second city of England was slipping. This was due to a number of factors; the emergence of the Industrial Revolution in northern England was probably the principal reason. However other developments also eroded Bristol's position. The expanding network of canals lopped off pieces of Bristol's natural hinterland. The loss of the American colonies probably impacted more on Bristol than any other British city. And lastly the rise of Liverpool in the late eighteenth century saw the emergence of an aggressive rival to Bristol in each of its sectors of trade. By the 1790s Liverpool was already the major linkage for Waterford port.⁷

Much can be learned of the shipping, trade, and merchant communities of Waterford and their international linkages from the Kilkenny published *Finn's Leinster Journal* after 1767 and the Waterford newspapers from the 1770's onwards. Unfortunately we do not have local newspaper coverage for the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. However *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* does survive from 1752. This opens up the twenty years before we get local newspaper coverage. The rest of this article is based on a study of that newspaper for the 1750's. John Mannion made use of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* from 1766-1771 in his analysis of Waterford maritime activity for that five year period.⁸

4. *Ibid.*, Appendix E.

5. Ralph Davis. *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London 1962).

6. 'The Port of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century', W. Minchinton in *Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, P. McGrath (ed.).

7. *Waterford Two Centuries Ago*, J. Burtchaell in *Decies* Vol. p. 3-16.

8. John Mannion, 'Vessels, Masters and Seafaring: Patterns of Voyages in Waterford Commerce', in *Waterford History and Society*.

This article concentrates initially on the 1750s and on what can be gleaned of Irish life from a reading of the Journal. Later, maritime activity is examined, particularly as it pertained to the south east of Ireland. The article ends with three appendices of maritime information gathered from the newspaper between April 25th 1752 and the end of 1759.

The Journal was a fairly typical weekly newspaper of four pages, with the usual mixture of foreign intelligence and dispatches from London, provincial centres, and a frequent but irregular Irish section. The local Bristol news was augmented by tide charts, advertisements, lists of dignatories visiting the wells at Bath, and an intriguing ship news section entitled 'Came in since our last'. This maritime column lists important arrivals and departures of ships to and from Bristol. It usually mentions the surname of the captain and the port where bound, or from whence the vessel came. The cargo is not specified but inference can be made as to the nature of the cargo from the port in question. Cargoes are mentioned frequently in accounts of wrecks and damaged ships. The journal also kept tabs on Bristol ships overseas and mentions their arrivals in foreign ports. The listings are by no means comprehensive and the mundane nature of the Irish trade means it is under represented in the columns.

As was usual for eighteenth century newspapers much of the foreign political news was a mixture of rumour, propaganda, speculation, supposition and invention. The accuracy of such material was usually in inverse proportion to the distance from the publisher in peace time, and further compromised in times of tension or war. Just as in any newspaper bad news usually made more news than tidings of good events. And *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* for the 1750s is no exception; the unusual and bizarre get lots of coverage.

The issue of February 10th 1753 carries a letter from Dublin dated January 30th and quotes 'On Tuesday night last (January 23rd) was cast away on the strand of Templeieverick, part of the estate of the College of Physicians, which is held by Thomas Wyse Esq. The Ann and Margaret of Dublin a brig of 70 tons. Lawrence Macneal master bound from Swanzey to St Martins with coals. Three men were saved, not being twice the length out of wading before they found the ground. But the Master and Mate lost their lives, and it is believed the Master was knocked on the head as he came ashore by the country people, who came down in great numbers and probably took advantage of the darkness of the night to perpetuate this barbarous murder, and afterwards robbed and stripped him naked; when the tide left the vessel they cut away most of her running rigging and sails, and took away everything else they could come at'.⁹

Another most horrific account of life at sea emerges from Tralee in December 1759. 'On Sunday last a Norway ship bound for Galway laden mostly with boards, was wrecked at a place called Ballylongane, within a small mile of Ballyhige; she had eight men on board her at her coming off from Norway, and her passage was so unfortunately tedious, having lost her compass in a violent storm, that for want of subsistence, five of the eight crew were eaten by the Captain and the Mate; the eighth man we suppose died in the passage. The five skeletons were nailed to the mast. The Captain notwithstanding the great care that was taken of him, died in

9. *F.F.B.J.*, February 10 1753.

about ten hours after he was brought ashore. It was a very melancholy prospect to see him, and to find five of their fingers as a store. The Mate is still living. There have been a great quantity of boards saved but the vessel is quite wrecked'.¹⁰

A less vicious but equally tragic Co Waterford shipwreck is reported in 1757.¹¹ The *Betsey* under the command of Capt Duncommum bound from Cork to Bristol was lost near Dungarvan and 25 people drowned. The same issue reported the loss of the *Success* commanded by Capt Kirkpatrick, lost between Newfoundland and Dublin. Almost a year later Dublin suffered another maritime tragedy.¹² A letter dated Nov. 11 1758 described the loss of the 'Dublin Merchant' under Capt White three weeks previously, when sixty passengers were lost. £70,000 in money and £80,000 in merchandise were also lost. Most of the passengers were eminent linen drapers and shopkeepers, who were returning from Chester fair. It was feared the incident would cause many bankruptcies.

In the issue of April 14th 1753 the publisher writes, what must be a classic of its type, the editorial apology. 'In our last we asserted Onephiporus Tyndall Esq. died some days before at Bath; but we have since heard that he is much better'. April 1753 seems to have been a month of resurrections in Cork as well as Bath. Cork April 21st 1753,¹³ 'Thursday last (April 20th) was buried here Mr Francis Taylor and next morning he was found sitting up in his grave, his coffin broke, his cap and shroud torn to pieces, one of his shoulders mangled, his hands full of clay, and blood streaming from his eyes. A shocking instance of a too precipitate interment. It is imagined some surgeons had attempted to carry away the body.'

Violence again makes the news on Saturday June 9th 1753 when a letter dated Waterford May 26th recounts the details of a fatal duel fought in Waterford. 'At three o'clock last Thursday died Lieut Collingwood of Gen. Handeryeds Regiment, of wounds he received the day before in a duel with Lieut Walsh of Col. Ffolliots Regiment. The coroners brought in a verdict of manslaughter in self defence. He admitted it was his fault, before his death. Lieut Walsh is in a fair way of recovery'.

From June 1753 onwards for several months much more disturbing violence is regularly reported from Co. Kildare. This agrarian disorder is very similar to the Whiteboy activities in Tipperary, Kilkenny and elsewhere a decade later which have been heavily researched and published. This Kildare outbreak precedes it by almost a decade and may throw lights on the origins of agrarian violence in eighteenth century Ireland.

A letter dated Kilcock Co Kildare June 17th.¹⁴ 'We are all here in the utmost consternation ... the mob of this town having by public proclamation invited the mobs of adjacent towns, are now increased to about 1600, under pretence of levelling the ditches made to inclose lands, which they pretend were formerly commons: They have laid waste some of the finest parks, both of meadows and corn, in this country, which have not been common in the memory of any person living. They pull down the piers, burn the gates, march with colours flying, drums, trumpets, etc. Where this will end we cannot foresee, but as they go about laying the whole

10. *F.F.B.J.*, December 22 1759.

11. *F.F.B.J.*, December 24 1757.

12. *F.F.B.J.*, December 2 1758.

13. *F.F.B.J.*, May 5 1753.

14. *F.F.B.J.*, June 30 1753.

country under contribution, and threaten death to any who shall either resist or give information against them, we think ourselves much in danger'. The issues and form of protest is remarkably similar to the later Whiteboy movement as is the reaction to it by the informant who though unnamed is undoubtedly of landed background.

Indications that social protest among the rural poor was not confined to Kildare emerge soon afterwards.¹⁵ A letter dated Dublin June 23rd quotes 'On account of great numbers of labourers going out of Ireland into England to the harvest, and their entering into unlawful combinations to raise the price of labour', a proclamation was issued against them and they were stopped from boarding ships.

From the same paper we learn that matters at Kilcock were still unresolved. 'The rioters at Kilcock continue their outrages with instances of uncommon insolence, being attended in their progress with pipers and fiddlers, playing among other disaffected tunes, 'The King shall enjoy his own again'. Thomas Carroll, one of their ringleaders, came to town last Monday in order to have a pretended justification of their lawless proceedings inserted by way of advertisement in the public papers, but being known by a gentleman who happened to be in the printers shop, was apprehended and lodged in Newgate. On Thursday they went in a great body to Celbridge, where they demolished 90 perches of wall belonging to the Rt. Hon. Thomas Marley Esq. late Chief Justice of the Kings Bench and other gentlemen'.¹⁶ By the end of June we learn from a letter dated Dublin June 30th¹⁷ that 'five companies of foot and two squadrons of horse under Col Ffolliot marched to Kilcock in order to suppress the riotous rabble assembled there'. It seems the rioters dispersed at least temporarily. But reports from London dated July 12th say the rioters were still active despite the deployment of the troops. These reports are backed up by news on the paper of July 21st¹⁸ where a letter from Dublin dated July 10th states that a company of Col. Kennedy's Regt. has marched to Naas to assist the troops at Kilcock.

In August we hear¹⁹ that the Lord Justice and Council of Ireland issued a second proclamation against the rioters of Kilcock, 'who ignored the first proclamation and levelled for a second time on the lands of Courtown and Braganstown, Co. Kildare'. Seven persons were named and a £50 reward for each conviction and a pardon promised.

The second proclamation and reward offer did not quell the disturbances at Kilcock. In September we learn from Dublin in a letter dated September 8th.²⁰ 'Last Saturday one Coycle of Kilcock newly married, bringing home his wife, neighbouring people had a custom to throw cabbage stalks at them added stones as well. One hit the woman on horseback behind her husband and she fell and fractured her skull'. By late October 1753 several of the Kilcock rioters had been arrested and sentenced. The issue of October 20th gives an account of their whipping. The gaoler was too lenient and had only lightly whipped them at six in the morning. But the Sheriff had them well whipped at 12 noon again, by a young

15. *F.F.B.J.*, July 7 1753.

16. *F.F.B.J.*, July 7 1753.

17. *F.F.B.J.*, July 14 1753.

18. *F.F.B.J.*, July 21 1753.

19. *F.F.B.J.*, August 11 1753.

20. *F.F.B.J.*, September 22 1753.

fellow who is sentenced under transportation. The merciful gaoler was then dismissed.²¹

Births, marriages and deaths also received attention from the publisher, especially when these occurrences had an unusual flavour. Longevity was sure to attract attention, and Thomas Palliser Esq certainly achieved longevity. He died on Nov. 16 1756 at Portobello county Wexford aged 107 years, he had served in all the wars under King William, and retained his senses till the end.²² Another old soldier was Capt James Warren who died at Grange, Co. Kilkenny in December 1757.²³ He served the Duke of Marlborough at the battles of Hockstet and Malplaquet, and at the sieges of Lille, Douay, and Ghent in 1715, and at Preston in Scotland, and in 1718 at Sherrifmore. James was the last of seven brothers who all served as British officers.

Yet another old gentleman was John Mandeville of Ballynagh, Co. Tipperary aged 102 years; he was however in the best of health in May 1755,²⁴ as he was married to the daughter of Thomas Mandeville at Ballydine. 'This accomplished young lady aged 16 years with a fortune of £4,000,' was 86 years his junior. This is probably an example of the varied strategies employed by catholic middlemen in an attempt to retain land within the family. The Rev Hugh Bolton of Waterford was another gentleman with a fortune, he died in January 1759,²⁵ as Dean of Waterford; his fortune was left between Rev James Hawkins and Capt William Hawkins of Lord Forbes Regiment of Foot who was on an expedition to the coast of Africa. A man famous for his own expeditions was Capt Chip who died aged 88 years at Cork in July 1755.²⁶ Capt Chip was originally from Hamburg and arrived in Cork harbour many years earlier in an open boat with only one boy. He later sailed to the West Indies with two men only and had 'performed many astonishing voyages'. 'Of late he had lost his understanding'.

A woman who had lost none of her faculties was Phyllis Burchell of Cork who in 1757 was aged 63 years,²⁷ when in late June she delivered a daughter, 'which she has sworn is the child of Francis Gwynn a man of 74 years'.

In the middle of the eighteenth century a small local linen industry flourished in Waterford. While it was never a serious rival of the emerging Ulster linen industry, it did attract attention in the autumn of 1753.²⁸ From Dublin on the 8th of September it is stated that the linen manufacturers of Waterford had shipped for Bristol 338 pieces of linen cloth containing 8,765 yards. 'This quantity and others formerly mentioned give the highest satisfaction'.²⁹

Such was the success of Irish linen on the Bristol market, that in January 1757 John and James Maccracken opened a linen emporium.³⁰ It was called the 'New Irish Warehouse' and was located 'next door to the sign of the horseshoe in Wine St

21. *F.F.B.J.*, October 20 1753.

22. *F.F.B.J.*, December 2 1756.

23. *F.F.B.J.*, January 14 1758.

24. *F.F.B.J.*, January 13, 1759.

25. *F.F.B.J.*, January 13, 1759.

26. *F.F.B.J.*, July 26 1755.

27. *F.F.B.J.*, July 16 1757.

28. *F.F.B.J.*, September 22 1753.

29. *F.F.B.J.*, September 22 1753.

30. *F.F.B.J.*, January 29 1757.

Bristol'. The proprietors had 'laid in a fresh assortment of linen drapery and worsted mercery goods'.³¹ They intended to sell same in 'wholesale, and retail Irish cloth and lace much lower than has been sold for some years past'.³²

In July 1756 a different Waterford textile enterprise was in the news Mr Smith of Waterford had just been awarded a grant from the Dublin Society of £500 for his tapes and thread manufactory.³³ While Mr Smith may have been prospering in Waterford, others were not so lucky, or at least perceived that their condition elsewhere would be better. In July 1753,³⁴ it was noted 'that thirty-five ships sailed this year from Waterford and Ross, to New England and Nova Scotia with about four hundred inhabitants of this country, most of them protestants whose industry and wealth might have been of great advantage to this country'. This is a good example of the fear of the establishment generally, about the strength of the protestant population in Ireland and its diminution through emigration; which was such a feature of eighteenth century thinking. While protestant emigration might worry the authorities certain forms of catholic migration caused consternation. In September of 1754³⁵ Darby M'Grath and James M'Mahone were committed to prison in Bristol 'on suspicion of enlisting into a foreign service'.³⁶ The two suspected wild geese may have been innocent or guilty but proof was wanting and they were quickly discharged.

Catholics were not the only victims of sectarian prejudice in eighteenth century Ireland or England. Quakers and their sense of fair play frequently provoked the wrath of the ruling elite. The paper of October 19th 1754³⁷ states that at Clonmel last Sunday fortnight the Quaker Meeting House was attacked by some unnamed member of the gentry with a brace of pistols and a broad sword; 'he threatened to kill the whole congregation over their inquiries into his actions. He kept them prisoner for two hours'. Thankfully no one was hurt.

Because of the application of the penal laws in Ireland conversion was one option for wealthier catholics who wished to maintain their status. Conversion was also a ploy sometimes used when wealthy catholics were under pressure during periods of heightened political tension. In March 1755 we hear from Dublin, 'on Sunday last Richard Archbold Esq. publicly abjured the errors of the Romish religion in St Andrews church and was received into the Church of Ireland by the Rev. Mr Cobb. Educated in the college of St Omer and he became a Jesuit, he was sent into Maryland for ten years. Two years ago he inherited a considerable estate in this kingdom'.³⁸

Less fortunate than the Wild geese or Richard Archbold were Thomas Larey and Elizabeth Hind alias Catherine Hynes, both executed in Bristol in September 1754 for an unmentioned crime. Larey was 28 years and a native of Wexford; his accomplice Elizabeth Hind was 30 years of age and of Ballymahon county

31. *F.F.B.J.*, January 29 1757.

32. *F.F.B.J.*, January 29 1757.

33. *F.F.B.J.*, July 3 1756.

34. *F.F.B.J.*, July 7 1753.

35. *F.F.B.J.*, September 14 1754.

36. *F.F.B.J.*, September 14 1754.

37. *F.F.B.J.*, October 19 1754.

38. *F.F.B.J.*, March 29 1755.



Longford. Larey claimed that the chief prosecution witness, a lady, was the instigator of his crime.³⁹ Another unfortunate was Eleanor Donovan, convicted in Bristol in August 1753 for stealing a silver watch and two guineas in gold, from William Owen. She received the sentence of five years transportation, and attempted to hang herself in Bristol gaol.⁴⁰ Some fortnight earlier Joan Kenney and Margaret Murry were ordered 'to stand on pillory' when convicted of 'keeping a common bawdy house'.⁴¹ William Riley was committed to prison in July 1753 for stealing a pair of men's pumps valued at five shillings, and a pair of men's shoes value two shillings.⁴²

Without doubt the most intriguing committal to prison mentioned in an Irish context in the Bristol newspaper during the 1750s occurred in Galway on June 11th 1755. It involved a dispute at a hurling match; no doubt passions were as likely to be inflamed two hundred and forty years ago as they are today. 'Robert Ridge Esq a councillor at law was brought to town and committed to the county gaol, for killing Pierce Clary on the previous Sunday at a hurling match near Corranaghrag in this county, by discharging a fuzee at him loaded with large shot which at the same time wounded several others'.⁴³ Neither the judicial system nor the hurling rules seem to have been as strict at this period as they are today, as Mr Ridge was acquitted in September on the grounds that the incident occurred on his own estate.

A local crime that received coverage in Bristol the same year occurred in November. A letter dated Dublin November 15 1755 stated that on the previous Saturday the house of John Ward, Collector of Ross 'was broke open by a gang of villains who tied him up and escaped with £4,000'.⁴⁴ Even more violent than these villains was one Michael Collins, executed in Waterford in 1759. In a letter from Cork dated April 5th it states: 'Last Saturday Michael Collins aged 23 was executed at Waterford for a rape on Margaret Bryen. He confessed at the gallows to be the person that murdered Mr Butler and his wife, John Leary near Fethard hill, and robbing three other persons, for all which crimes Thomas Gibbons, Thomas Cooney, Daniel Dyer and Patrick and James Driskloe were tried, found guilty and executed ... He declared they were all innocent and that he alone was responsible'.⁴⁵ A more understandable outbreak of violence occurred in Kinsale on March 5th 1758. On that date a party of five soldiers 'surrounded a house near Charles Fort belonging to Stephens to apprehend a runaway Negro from the Winsor Prize. The black shot one soldier in the head and wounded another in the arm. He was secured and lodged in prison'.⁴⁶

Tax avoidance using various stratagems was very much a feature of eighteenth century life. Smuggling was a worry to the revenue authorities but it continued as a thriving business, largely because everyone turned a blind eye. In January 1758 it was estimated that 1,035,699 lb of tea were smuggled into Ireland each year at a loss to the revenue of £40,780.-10 shillings. By July 1759 the authorities were taking

39. *F.F.B.J.*, September 28 1754.

40. *F.F.B.J.*, September 1 1753.

41. *F.F.B.J.*, August 18 1753.

42. *F.F.B.J.*, July 28 1753.

43. *F.F.B.J.*, June 28 1755.

44. *F.F.B.J.*, November 29 1755.

45. *F.F.B.J.*, April 21 1759.

46. *F.F.B.J.*, March 25 1758.

action; they 'purchased a fine sailing vessel in England to prevent smuggling at Valentia in Kerry'. She was armed 'with 6 four pounders, 4 six pounders and swivels' and 'another armed vessel is to cruise on the north coast for the same purpose'.⁴⁷ The early 1750s were a time when even legitimate Irish business was hampered by a series of restrictive trade laws, designed to keep competing British sectors in favoured positions. Thus in 1754 we hear that the soap makers of Bristol were 'delighted' when 'the master of an Irish trader to Bristol was prosecuted for having Irish soap on his vessel'.⁴⁸ Soap and candles it seems were frequently smuggled from Ireland into Bristol. Another traditional Irish method of defrauding the revenue was illicit distillation. Usually the distillers and the officials of the revenue operated a sensible if not cordial relationship of live and let live. The protagonists were often well known to each other and proceedings took on an air of gamesmanship. Relations were not so cordial in Kilcock in early 1759. A letter dated Dublin February 6th states: 'We hear from Maynooth on Saturday last, several excise officers assisted by soldiers went to seize a number of stills in Kilcock. The populace assembled in a tumultuous manner to oppose them. One rioter was killed and several on both sides wounded'.⁴⁹

The Lisbon earthquake of 1755 was reported from Kinsale on November 2nd; tidal waves and smaller waves were experienced at Kinsale from three in the afternoon until ten at night. Shocks of an earthquake were felt at Cork.⁵⁰ An unidentified flying object, probably a comet, was reported from Dublin in late 1758. A letter dated December 2nd describes how on the previous Saturday night, at 8.30 'lightening in the sky like a full moon with a tail, it rose in the south west and moved northeast and burst without any noise'.⁵¹

War between Britain and her European rivals was a frequent feature of eighteenth century life. A major war broke out in May 1756, it was to last into the next decade and was fought on a global scale in India, the West Indies, North America, Africa and Europe.

The protagonists were primarily Britain and France but included several allies at various times. It became known as the Seven Years War. The early stages of the war went badly for Britain, but by the conclusion Britain had broken French power in India and North America, and significant territories such as Quebec and Cape Breton were added to the empire. Tension had been building up throughout 1755 and in late April considerable anxiety was aroused by the reported sighting of a French fleet off Dungarvan, but a letter dated Dublin May 3 1755 allayed fears. The 'supposed French Fleet seen off Dungarvan was a fishing fleet with two homeward bound East Indiamen which accidentally fell in with them'.⁵² Dispositions were made throughout that summer in Ireland for the quartering of the Army. The Royal Navy also began recruiting and made use of press gangs frequently to augment numbers. The press gangs were hated and resorted to and provoked considerable violence from unwilling recruits. A letter from Beaumaris dated June 2nd 1755

47. *F.F.B.J.*, July 21 1759.

48. *F.F.B.J.*, August 10 1754.

49. *F.F.B.J.*, February 25 1759.

50. *F.F.B.J.*, November 22 1755.

51. *F.F.B.J.*, December 16 1758.

52. *F.F.B.J.*, May 17 1755.

recalls one such incident; it happened aboard the tender Tasker near Redwharfe while conveying pressed men to the fleet. There were 180 men aboard at the time. One man fell overboard on purpose, and when the guards laid down their arms to rescue him, eight Irishmen seized the arms and put the Lieut. and officers in the cabins. They then launched the boats and sixty-three went ashore and escaped. They carried with them several arms belonging to the ship.⁵³

Another feature of eighteenth century naval warfare was the raising of privateers by merchants to prey on the commercial trade of the enemy. By 1757 Bristol merchants had 39 privateers fitted out, five of whom were commanded by captains with Irish names.⁵⁴

Vessel	Captain	Tons	Men	Guns	Swivels
Ancient Briton	Murray	400	250	30	
Hawke	Conner	250	160	20	20
Hallifax	Halloran	150	100	20	
Cromwell	Flynn	?	120	16	
Vulture	McNamara	120	?	16	

The privateer Hawke commanded by Capt. Conner had been taken by the French. By January 1758 at least two more Irish privateer captains could be added to the list. The Severn under the command of Capt. Lynch, and the Tartar under Capt. Doran.⁵⁵ The same Capt Doran captured two Irish smuggling vessels in June of 1758 and sent them into Kingroad.⁵⁶ But he himself fell victim to a French privateer later the same month and was captured and carried into Cherbourg.⁵⁷ A Dublin privateer in the summer of 1757 met with misfortune on the coast of Spain on July 3rd.⁵⁸ She was called the Bedford Privateer and was commanded by Capt Tate. When she went aground in Spain the doctor and three men were drowned. Twenty-five of the survivors went aboard an English privateer at Ferrol, and thirty more went aboard the Tartar privateer of London, at Corunna. A mutiny broke out aboard the Tartar, and the captain and his officers were secured. The mutineers sailed the ship to Kinsale where she met with the H.M.S. Lizard by accident. The mutineers all took to the boats but Capt Fielding of the Tartar and H.M.S. Lizard opened fire on them; seven were killed in the boats and all the others captured. Ten hours of cannonade was reported as coming from out to sea from Duncannon fort in the first week of July 1756.⁵⁹

The escalation of the war led to a huge demand for food to provision the Army and the Royal Navy and eventually led to the lifting of the embargo on Irish provisions exports to England in 1758; it also led to a grain shortage in Ireland in the winter of 1757. The first Irish provisions landed in Bristol after the relaxation of

53. *F.F.B.J.*, June 7 1755.

54. *F.F.B.J.*, July 16 1757.

55. *F.F.B.J.*, January 14 1758.

56. *F.F.B.J.*, June 3 1758.

57. *F.F.B.J.*, July 1 1758.

58. *F.F.B.J.*, August 13 1758.

59. *F.F.B.J.*, July 24 1756.

the laws were landed in mid July 1758 out of the Post Boy, Capt Scott. The cargo consisted of 510 firkins of butter and 30 tierces of beef.⁶⁰ A week later the total landed at Bristol stood at 37 tierces and 654 barrels of Beef, 79 barrels and 54 half barrels of Pork, 4 barrels and 23 half barrels of tongues and 607 firkins, 44 Kegs, 5 pots and 3 crocks of butter.⁶¹

One of the last French vessels to voluntarily put into a British or Irish port arrived in Waterford harbour in mid May 1756. A letter from Waterford dated May 19th⁶² quotes: 'A rich vessel from St Domingo was met a day or two ago by a fishing boat, the Master desired the fishermen to carry them to the nearest port, whither Cork or Waterford or any place. The fishermen brought them to Passage within five miles of this city where she was boarded by the Kings officers and seized for his majesty's use. She had 28 men aboard and 5 passengers bound for France. The cargo is valued at £11,000 consisting of 35 hogsheads of clay'd sugar, 275 hogsheads of brown sugar. 91 hogsheads and 7 quarter casks of coffee, 3 hogsheads, 2 puncheons and 2 quarter casks of Indigo and some cotton. She also carried 2 guns but neither of them mounted. Her provisions were short and the wind being strong at east, they were afraid of being blown into the Western Ocean, where they must have perished for want of food; had they not luckily met this boat. The above ship is the Brilliant of and for Bordeaux, Francis Broineau Master'. The seizure of the boat and cargo is perplexing as it occurred over a week prior to the formal outbreak of hostilities, and the fact that the ship hadn't mounted its guns leads one to surmise that the French captain did not envisage hostilities.

Passage West in Cork saw another Bordeaux ship the following spring. The journal of February 12th 1757 carried the following announcement: 'To be sold on the 7th of March next at Cork. The Le Constante a French prize from Bordeaux now lying at Passage taken by the Constantine letter of Marque Charles Gwynn commander. Inventories may be had by applying to Messrs Devonshire and Strettel Merchants Cork'.⁶³

Irish provisions were valuable to the British war effort and were likewise valued by her antagonists. The Dutch in particular were suspected of running Irish provisions to the French colonies and military garrisons of the West Indies. In January 1758⁶⁴ over a dozen large Dutch ships were at Cork loading provisions, ostensibly for Eustatia and St Sebastians 'but probably for Louisbourg'. This led to an embargo on the exports of Irish provisions, butter excepted to any port other than Britain of British North America.⁶⁵

Just one week earlier the paper carried news from Limerick dated September 7th.⁶⁶ 'Yesterday a fire broke out in the Amsterdam Galley, a vessel of 250 tons burthen, where she lay at the pool near this city. She was immediately consumed and gun powder aboard blew up. Her sails landed on a cabin ashore and burnt it to the

60. *F.F.B.J.*, July 15 1758.

61. *F.F.B.J.*, July 22 1758.

62. *F.F.B.J.*, June 5 1756.

63. *F.F.B.J.*, February 12 1757.

64. *F.F.B.J.*, January 21 1758.

65. *F.F.B.J.*, September 30 1758.

66. *F.F.B.J.*, September 23 1758.

ground. She arrived the previous evening from Amsterdam with some bales aboard, she was to be laden with beef for St Eustatia. The ship was worth 3,000l'.

The summer of 1758 saw several audacious raids by French ships along the Irish coast. A Bristol privateer the Johnson was cut out of Dingle where she was moored, by a Dunkirk privateer. The French had her for seventeen days before she was recaptured and sent into Kingroad by the St Andrews.⁶⁷ This was not an isolated incident on the Kerry coast. A letter from Cork dated March 27th stated 'last Saturday seven night, two French privateers of 30 guns each anchored in Kenmare river, landed men on Valentia Island and plundered all live cattle and provisions they could. Another party landed on the mainland and plundered two gentlemens houses'.⁶⁸ The letter blames these two privateers for taking the Johnson privateer at Dingle, and asserts that the crew of the Johnson had deserted her after an unsuccessful cruise. The letter finishes 'a great many of the French privateers crew spoke English very well'. A similar foraging raid took place in Inishowen, Co Donegal on September 8th 1758;⁶⁹ a French ship of 70 guns visited and took over 80 cows, a number of sheep and a large quantity of butter and cheese.

The on-going hostilities led to suspicions about the loyalty of Irish catholics; fears were fuelled by the existence of the Irish brigade in the French army and were played up by the more rabid anti-catholics among the ascendancy. Wealthy or successful catholics had most to fear and were most despised by the more violent elements of Irish protestantism. Waterford City in particular had a very significant catholic merchant class, and in December 1759 the catholics of Waterford presented the Lord Lieut, with an address of loyalty to the king.⁷⁰ Thus ended the 1750s Britain at war, and the middle class catholics of Waterford fearful of their position making loud and obsequious declarations to the King and his 'most mild and gracious Government'.

The shipping news carried in the journal gives us glimpses of the Irish components among the ships captains of Bristol's mercantile fleet. Some 211 voyages of Bristol ships who were captained by a man with an Irish surname are listed below. The same individuals appear frequently and there is some evidence of dynasties of ships' captains, but a fuller analysis must wait for a later publication. Voyages to and from Newfoundland also have a Waterford interest as the local link with Newfoundland was so intense and enduring. Probably, almost all voyages noted between Bristol and Newfoundland included a provisioning call to an Irish port and Waterford was the most likely choice. It would be interesting to research if the Bristol slavers bound for Africa made similar provisioning calls to Waterford or other Irish ports at this time. Some 45 ships' movements between Waterford and Bristol and vice versa are also noted specifically, but this is certainly a gross under recording. The frequency of shipping across St. George's channel and its mundane nature, did not equate with news in the Bristol of the 175's. Ships plying to and from Waterford had a specific berth in Bristol during the period in question, a fact which underlines the regularity of the connection.

67. *FFB.J.*, April 8 1758.

68. *FFB.J.*, April 15 1758.

69. *FFB.J.*, September 23 1758.

70. *FFB.J.*, December 22 1759.

Captains of Bristol Ships with Irish Surnames

May 2 1752 at Bristol, The Friends Goodwill, Capt Forstall from Malaga
May 2 1752 at Barbados, The Dragon, Capt Doyle from Bristol
July 16 1752 at Bristol, The Hannah and Rachel, Capt Whelan from Jamaica
July 25 1752 at Bristol, The Duke of Queensbury, Capt McNeal from Antigua
July 25 1752 at Carolina, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Bristol
Aug 1 1752 at Bristol, The Cavendish, Capt Hurley from Malaga
Aug 15 1752 at Bristol, The Dragon, Capt Doyle from Barbados and Cork
Oct 1 1752 at Bristol, The Plainer Dealer, Capt Walsh from Bordeaux
Oct 28 1752 at Hamburg, The Friendship, Capt McNamara from Honduras
Nov 4 1752 at Bristol, The William, Capt Moriarty from Malaga
Nov 4 1752 at Bristol, The Charming Phyllis, Capt McNamara from Malaga
Nov 11 1752 at Jamaica, The Sybella, Capt Power from Africa
Nov 25 1752 at Bristol, The Patsey, Capt Darby from Denia
Nov 25 1752 at Bristol, The Industry, Capt Malone from Valencia
Dec 23 1752 at Bristol, The Nancy, Capt McLachlan from Maryland
Mar 3 1753 at Bristol, The Sybella, Capt Power from Jamaica
Mar 3 1753 at Jamaica, The Fantyn, Capt Whelan of Bristol
Mar 3 1753 at Antigua, The Duke of Queensburg, Capt. McNeale of Bristol
Mar 24 1753 at Liverpool, The Martin, Capt Phelan of Bristol
Mar 31 at Bristol, The Clifton, Capt Malone from the Streights
Apr 4 1753 at Bristol, The Martin, Capt Phelan from Liverpool
May 19 1753 at Cadiz, The Worthy, Capt. Buckley of Bristol
May 26 1753 at St Christopher, The Duke of Argyle, Capt McNeale of Bristol
June 10 1753 at Antigua, The Nancy, Capt Conner of Bristol
June 16 1753 at Bristol, The Fantyn, Capt Whelan from Jamaica
June 16 1753 at Bristol, The Dragon, Capt Doyle from Barbados
July 7 1753 at Bristol, The Industry, Capt Malone from St Felue
Aug 11 1753 at Bristol, The Duke of Queensbury, Capt McNeale from Montserrat
Aug 18 1753 at Antigua, The Edward and Suzanna, Capt McNamara of Bristol
Aug 25 1753 at Bristol, The Duke of Argyle, Capt McNeale from St Kitts
Sept 1 1753 at Bristol, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Antigua
Sept 15 1753 at Bristol, The True Love, Capt Barry from St Kitts
Oct 20 1753 at Bristol, The Edward and Susanna, Capt McNamara from Antigua
Nov 3 1753 at Bristol, The Martin, Capt Phelan from Liverpool
Dec 22 1753 at Bristol, The Prince George, Capt McNamara from Philadelphia
Dec 29 1753 at Antigua, The Juno, Capt Neale from Bristol
No Paper until July 6th 1754
July 6 1754 at Bristol, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Antigua
July 27 1754 at Bristol, The True Love, Capt Barry from Barbados
July 27 1754 at Bristol, The Duke of Argyle, Capt M'Neill from Leeward
July 27 1754 at Bristol, The Industry, Capt Malone from Zant
July 27 1754 at Dunkirk, The Carmarthen Castle, Capt Strange from Bristol
Aug 3 1754 at Bristol, The Beckford, Capt Whelan from Jamaica
Aug 17 1754 at Dublin, The Mark Anthony, Capt Power from Bristol
Aug 17 1754 at Milford, The Blessing, Capt Sadler 1 fish from Greenland

Aug 31 1754 at Bristol, The Nancy, Capt McCarthy from Cork
 Aug 31 1754 at Bristol, The Friendship, Capt Murphy from Limerick
 Aug 31 1754 at Bristol, The Payne, Capt McCarthy from London
 Oct 12 1754 at Bristol, The Ruddock Capt Doyle from Barbados
 Nov 2 1754 at Bristol, The Elton, Capt McNamara from Amsterdam
 Nov 2 1754 at Bristol, The Molly, Capt Sinnet from Malaga
 Nov 9 1754 at Bristol, The Lucy and Mary, Capt Byrn from Antigua
 Dec 14 1754 at Piscataqua, The Elizabeth, Capt Keating from Bristol
 Dec 14 1754 at Cadiz, The Friendship, Capt Murphy from Bristol
 Dec 21 1754 at Bristol, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Malaga
 Dec 21 1754 at Bristol, The Samson, Capt May from Denia
 Jan 4 1755 at Liverpool, The Martin, Capt Phelan from Bristol
 Jan 11 1755 at Bristol, The Nancy, Capt Fortune from Philadelphia
 Jan 11 1755 at Oporto, The Swallow, Capt Crosby from Philadelphia
 Jan 11 1755 at Cork, The Shirley, Capt Moore from Philadelphia
 Jan 18 1755 at Venice, The Industry, Capt Malone from Bristol
 Jan 18 1755 at Antigua, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Bristol
 Jan 18 1755 at St Kitts, The Duke of Argyle, Capt McNeal from Bristol
 Mar 1 1755 at Nevis, The Nevis Packet, Capt McCarthy from Bristol
 Mar 8 1755 at Bristol, The Two Friends, Capt McCarthy from Malaga
 Mar 8 1755 at Jamaica, The Beckford, Capt Whelan from Bristol
 Mar 8 1755 at Leghorn, The Alice, Capt Moore from Falmouth
 Mar 22 1755 at Barbados, The Success, Capt Holden from Africa
 Mar 29 1755 at Virginia, The Carmarthen Castle, Capt Strange from Bristol
 May 3 1755 at Bristol, The Mermaid, Capt Wallace from Malaga
 May 3 1755 at Madeira, The True Love, Capt Barry from Bristol
 May 3 1755 at Falmouth, The Industry, Capt Malone from Zant
 May 10 1755 at Bristol, The Nuestra Señora de Rosanna, Capt McGrath from
 San Sebastian
 May 17 1755 at Jamaica, The Nancy, Capt Buckley from Bristol
 May 24 1755 at Bristol, The Charlestown, Capt Heney from Lisbon and Cork
 May 31 1755 at Rotterdam, The Industry, Capt Malone from Falmouth
 June 7 1755 at Barbados, The Edward and Susanna, Capt McNamara from Bristol
 June 14 1755 at Barbados, The Ruddock, Capt Doyle from Bristol
 June 16 1755 at Barbados, The True Love, Capt Barry from Madeira
 June 21 1755 at Cadiz, The Friendship, Capt Murphy from Bristol
 June 28 1755 at Bristol, The Carmarthen Castle, Capt Strange from Virginia
 July 19 1755 at Bristol, The Beckford, Capt Whelan from Jamaica
 July 26 1755 at Bristol, The Duke of Queensbury, Capt MacNeal from Antigua
 July 26 1755 at Bristol, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Antigua
 July 26 1755 at Philadelphia, The Shirley, Capt Moore from Bristol
 July 26 1755 at Falmouth, The Industry, Capt Malone from Rotterdam
 Aug 2 1755 at Falmouth, The Industry, Capt Malone from Rotterdam
 Aug 2 1755 at Bristol, The Good Fortune, Capt Byrne from Stockholm
 Aug 23 1755 at Bristol, The Elizabeth, Capt Reilly from Malaga
 Aug 23 1755 at Bristol, The Duke of Argyle, Capt M'Neale from St Kitts
 Sept 6 1755 at Bristol, The Ruddock, Capt Doyle from Barbados

Sep 13 1755 at Bristol, The Free Mason, Capt Coghlan from Antigua
 Sep 20 1755 at Chester, The Martin, Capt Phelan from Bristol
 Oct 4 1755 at Bristol, The True Love, Capt Barry from Barbados
 Nov 1 1755 at Nevis, The Charlestown, Capt Heney from Bristol
 Nov 1 1755 at Killybegs, The Industry, Capt Malone from Bristol
 Nov 29 1755 at Bristol, The Charming Molly, Capt Roche from Malaga
 Dec 13 1755 at Bristol, The Edward and Susanna, Capt M'Namara from Leeward Is.
 Dec 27 1755 at Limerick, The Sea Nymph, Capt Sullivan from Bristol
 Jan 3 1756 at Bristol, The Charlestown, Capt Heney from Jamaica
 Jan 3 1756 at Antigua, The Friendship, Capt Murphy from Cork
 Jan 17 1756 at Gibraltar, Capt Malone from Killybegs
 Jan 31 1756 at Nevis, The Nevis Packet, Capt McCarthy from Bristol
 Feb 14 1756 at Bristol, The Adriatrick, Capt Cullen from Zant
 Feb 14 1756 at Bristol, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Malaga
 Feb 14 1756 at Venice, The Industry, Capt Malone from Alicante
 June 12 1756 at Jamaica, The Beckford, Capt Whelan from Bristol
 June 12 1756 at St Eustatia, The Friendship, Capt Murphy from Antigua and Georgia
 June 12 1756 at Antigua, The John, The Capt Coghlan from Bristol
 June 19 1756 at St Kitts, The True Love, Capt Barry from Bristol
 July 3 1756 at Antigua, The Arthur, Capt McNamara from Bristol
 July 3 1756 at Antigua, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Bristol
 July 19 1756 at St Christopher, The Nancy, Capt Doyle from Bristol
 July 17 1756 at Bristol, The Beckford, Capt Whelan from Jamaica
 July 24 1756 at Bristol, The Arthur, Capt McNamara from Antique
 July 24 1756 at Amsterdam, The Amsterdam, Capt McCarthy from St Eustatia
 Aug 7 1756 at Falmouth, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Antigua
 Aug 28 1756 at Antigua, The Edward and Susanna, Capt McNamara from Bristol
 Sept 11 1756 at Bristol, The Nevis Packet, Capt McCarthy from Amsterdam
 Sept 11 1756 at Amsterdam, The True Love, Capt Barry from St Eustatia
 Sept 18 1756 at Bristol, The Ann, Capt Magee from St Kitts
 Oct 2 1756 at Bristol, The Nancy, Capt Doyle from St Kitts
 Oct 16 1756 at London, The Nancy, Capt Conner from Antigua
 Nov 13 1756 at Bristol, The City of Dublin, Capt Wilson from Jamaica
 Nov 13 1756 at St Kitts, The Molly, Capt Grace from Bristol
 Nov 20 1756 at Bristol, The Sally, Capt Hughes from Malaga
 Jan 22 1757 at Bristol, The Charming Molly, Capt Power from The Streights
 Feb 5 1757 at Rotterdam, The Lord Littleton, Capt McNamara from Bristol
 Mar 5 1757 at Bristol, The Molly, Capt Grace from St Kitts
 Mar 26 1757 at Bristol, The Sally, Capt Mackey from Boston
 Mar 26 1757 at Bristol, The Sterling, Capt Wallace from Carolina
 June 25 1757 at Liverpool, The Everton, Capt Killey from Virginia in 28 days
 June 25 1757 at Gibraltar, The Joseph, Capt Teague from Naples to London
 June 25 1757 at Jamaica, The Beckford, Capt Whelan from Bristol
 June 25 1757 at Antigua, The Frankland, Capt Murphy from Bristol
 June 25 1757 at Antigua, The Peggy, Capt Morris from Bristol
 July 23 1757 at Kingroad (Bristol), The Elizabeth, Capt McNeal from Antigua
 July 23 1757 at Bristol, The Marshfield, Capt Doyle from Barbados

July 30 1757 at Nevis, The Nevis Packet, Capt McCarthy
 Aug 6 1757 at Bristol, The Caelia, Capt Kelly from Nevis
 Sep 17 1757 at Bristol, The Bristol Merchant, Capt Coghlan from St Kitts
 Oct 1 1757 at Cork, The Nevis Packet, Capt McCarthy from Nevis
 Oct 1 1757 at Cork, The Love, Capt Coghlan from Nevis
 Oct 1 1757 at Cork, The Frankland, Capt Murphy from Antigua
 Oct 1 1757 at Cork, The Betsey, Capt Bourke from St Kitts
 Dec 17 1757 at Derry, The Beckford, Capt Whelan from Jamaica
 Jan 21 1758 at Philadelphia, The Ann, Capt Whelan from Bristol
 Jan 28 1758 at Boston, The Sarah, Capt Mackey from Bristol
 Feb 25 1758 at Philadelphia, The Boscawen, Capt Lennon from Barbados
 Mar 18 1758 at Gibraltar, The Princess Caroline, Capt M'Ardel from Bristol
 May 20 1758 at Bristol, The Ann, Capt Fortune from Carolina
 May 27 1758 at Carolina, The Three Sisters, Capt Doyle from Bristol
 June 3 1758 at Bristol, The William and Mary, Capt Griffin from Oporto
 June 3 1758 at Bristol, The St John, Capt Butler from Bordeaux
 July 1 1758 at Bristol, The Boscawen, Capt Lannen from Barbados and Cork
 July 1 1758 at Antigua, The Edward and Susanna, Capt McNamara from Bristol
 July 15 1758 at New York, The Grace, Capt Chambers of Bristol
 July 22 1758 at Bristol, The Edward and Susanna, Capt McNamara from Antigua
 July 22 1758 at Antigua, The Worcester, Capt Neal from Bristol
 Aug 5 1758 at Bristol, The Caelia, Capt Kelly from Nevis
 Aug 5 1758 at Jamaica, The William, Capt Whelan from Bristol
 Sept 9 1758 at Bristol, The Polly, Capt Tobin from Limerick
 Sept 9 1758 at Bristol, The Lovely Martha, Capt Russel from Newry
 Sept 9 1758 at Bristol, The Blessing, Capt Dauncey from Dublin
 Sept 23 1758 at Bristol, The St John, Capt Butler from Bordeaux
 Nov 4 1758 at Bristol, The Martin, Capt Whelan from Liverpool
 Nov 11 1758 at Lisbon, The Three Sisters, Capt Doyle from Carolina
 Nov 18 1758 at St Kitts, The Betsey, Capt Murphy from Bristol
 Dec 21 1758 at Cadiz, The Polly, Capt Tobin from Bristol
 Dec 21 1758 at Seville, The Elizabeth, Capt Smith from Dublin
 Dec 23 1758 at Louisbourg, The Boscawen, Capt Long from Bristol
 Jan 6 1759 at Africa, The Tryton, Capt Doyle from Bristol
 Jan 27 1759 at Gibraltar, The Duke of Tuscany, Capt Malone from Ireland
 Feb 3 1759 at Bristol, The Prussian Hero, Capt Tobin from Malaga
 Feb 10 1759 at Madeira, The Edward and Susannah, Capt McNamara from Bristol
 Feb 10 1759 at Cork, The Catherine, Capt Tobin from London
 Feb 17 1759 at Antigua, The Worcester, Capt Neal from Georgia
 Feb 24 1759 at Bristol, The Antigua Factor, Capt Coleman from Bilboa
 Mar 17 1759 at Antigua, The Edward and Susannah, Capt McNamara from Madeira
 Mar 24 1759 at St Kitts, The Tryton, Capt Doyle from Africa
 Mar 31 1759 at Antigua, The Ranger, Capt Murphy from Plymouth
 Mar 31 1759 at Cape Francais, the Hibernia, Capt Conner from South Carolina to
 Lisbon
 Apr 14 1759 at London, The Portsmouth Merchant, Capt Doran from Bristol
 Apr 21 1759 at Leghorn, The Prince of Wales, Capt M'Ardel from Bristol

Apr 28 1759 at Bristol, The Ann, Capt Fortune from Carolina
 Apr 28 1759 at Bristol, The Defiance, Capt Condon from Carolina
 Apr 28 1759 at Carolina, The St John, Capt Butler from Bristol
 May 12 1759 at Bristol, The Duke of Tuscany, Capt Malone from Zant
 May 12 1759 at Bristol, The Edward and Susannah, Capt McNamara
 May 12 1759 at Antigua, The Elizabeth, Capt M'Neal from Bristol
 May 19 1759 at Bristol, The Tryton, Capt Doyle from St Kitts
 May 19 1759 at Bristol, The Charlotte, Capt Collins from Anconia
 May 26 1759 at Venice, The Prince of Whales, Capt M'Ardel from Leghorn
 May 26 1759 at Martinique, The Hannah, Capt Millekin from Ireland to Jamaica
 June 2 1759 at St Thomas, The Polly, Capt M'Namara from Dublin to Antigua
 June 23 1759 at Martinique, The Celia, Capt Kelly from Bristol to Nevis
 July 7 1759 at Bristol, The St John, Capt Butler from Carolina
 July 7 1759 at Bristol, The Draper, Capt Quarle from Dublin
 Aug 11 1759 at St Kitts, The Prosper, Capt Whelan from Bristol to Jamaica
 Aug 11 1759 at New York, The Britannia, Capt Butler from Bristol
 Aug 11 1759 at New York, The Catherine, Capt Doyle from Bristol
 Aug 11 1759 at Limerick, The Betsey, Capt Bastable to Galway from Bristol
 Aug 18 1759 at Martinique, The John and Edward, Capt Cunningham from Bristol
 to Tortola
 Oct 6 1759 at Jamaica, The Prosper, Capt Whelan from Bristol
 Oct 13 1759 at Bristol, The Elizabeth, Capt M'Neal from Leeward Is.
 Oct 13 1759 at Bristol, The James, Capt Saunders from Galway
 Oct 13 1759 at Bristol, The Worcester, Capt M'Neal from Leeward Is.
 Oct 13 1759 at Youghal, The Lovely Rebecca, Capt Nixon from Leeward Is.
 Oct 13 1759 at Kinsale, The Nancy, Capt Hanson from Montserrat
 Nov 10 1759 at Barbados, The Catherine, Capt Doyle from New York
 Nov 10 1759 at Liverpool, The Martin, Capt Phelan from Bristol
 Nov 17 1759 at Strangate Creek, The Prince of Wales, Capt M'Ardle from Zant

Ships trading To and From Waterford, Ross and Dungarvan 1752-59

May 9 1752 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Adventure, Capt Deffieln from Waterford
 July 11 1752 left Bristol, The Sally, Capt Neale for Waterford, Antigua and Carolina
 July 18 1752 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 Nov 4 1752 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 Sept 15 1753 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 Nov 24 1753 at Waterford, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Bristol
 July 13 1754 at St Kitts, The Charming Molly, Capt Gregory from Waterford
 Oct 12 1754 at Bristol, The William, Capt Craggs from Waterford
 Dec 28 1754 at Dublin, The Friends Goodwill, Capt Hunt from Newfoundland to
 Waterford
 Jan 18 1755 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 Apr 12 1755 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 Aug 30 1755 at Newfoundland, The Providence, Capt Murphy from Waterford
 Nov 8 1755 at Waterford, The St Andrew, Capt Fortune from Newfoundland

Dec 6 1755 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 Feb 21 1756 at Waterford, The Mary Ann, Capt Carbry from Malaga
 Oct 23 1756 at Ross, The Two Friends, Capt Malone from Barbados
 Nov 20 1756 at Bristol, The Charles, Capt Martin from Waterford
 Dec 18 1756 at Waterford, The Pegg and Patsey, Capt Harvey from Bristol
 Dec 18 1756 at Waterford, The Lucea, Capt Williams from Bristol to Jamaica
 Jan 8 1757 at Waterford, The John, Capt Quick from The Streights
 Jan 15 1757 at Bristol, The Pegg and Patsey, Capt Harvey from Waterford
 Feb 5 1757 at Bristol, The Prince Edward, from Waterford
 Feb 26 1757 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Magee from Waterford
 Feb 26 1757 at Waterford, The St. Patrick, Capt Tobin from Newfoundland
 Mar 12 1757 at Bristol, The St. Patrick, Capt Tobin from Waterford and
 Newfoundland
 Aug 27 1757, The Mary, Capt Andrews from Waterford to Newfoundland taken by
 the French
 Dec 10 1757 at Bristol, The Ann, Capt Fosset from Waterford
 Dec 17 1757 at Bristol, The City of Waterford, Capt Mansfield from Waterford
 Dec 24 1757 at Waterford, The Transports of Highland troops
 Dec 24 1757 at Waterford, The Queen Elizabeth, Capt Heney from a cruise
 Jan 21 1758 at Waterford, The Constantine (privateer)
 Jan 21 1758 at Waterford, The Severns Prize (privateer)
 Jan 21 1758 at Dungarvan, The Ferret (privateer), Capt English has lost a mast.
 Feb 11 1758 at Bristol, The St David, from Waterford prize to Constantine and
 Severn
 July 22 1758 at Bristol, The Isabella, Capt Maddock from Waterford
 Aug 12 1758 at Bristol, The Charming Molly, Capt Merry from Waterford
 Aug 19 1758 at Bristol, The Charming Molly, Capt Morrissey from Waterford
 Sept 2 1758 at Newfoundland, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Waterford
 Dec 16 1758 at Waterford, The Sally, Capt Ball from Bristol
 Dec 23 1758 at Waterford, The Content, Capt Francis from Newfoundland
 Dec 30 1758 at Waterford, The Betsey, Capt Hall from Newfoundland
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Lemon, Capt Bartlett from Waterford
 Nov 10 1759 at Bristol, The Charming Molly, Capt Merry from Waterford

Ships Trading To and From Newfoundland 1752-59

July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Patsey, Capt Darby from The Streights
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Adventure, Capt Deffieln from Waterford
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Industry, Capt Malone from Bristol
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Roebuck, Capt Crowley from Bristol
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Society, Capt Davie from Bristol
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Sally, Capt Nichols from Bristol
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Charlotte, Capt Oliver from Bristol
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Mary Ann, Capt Carbry from Bristol
 July 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert
 Aug 8 1752 at Bilboa, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Newfoundland
 Sept 30 1752 at Newfoundland, The Driver, Capt Mitchell from Bristol

Sept 30 1752 at Newfoundland, The St George, Capt Darby from Lisbon
 Oct 1 1752 at Newfoundland, The Recovery, Capt Collihall from Bristol
 Oct 1 1752 at Newfoundland, The Clifton, Capt Malone from Bristol
 Oct 21 1752 at Bristol, The Peace, Capt Walter from Newfoundland
 Oct 21 1752 at Newfoundland, The Musketta, Capt Pynn from Bristol
 Oct 21 1752 at Newfoundland, The Augusta, Capt Thrall from Bristol
 Nov 4 1752 at Malaga, The Society, Capt Davie from Newfoundland
 Nov 4 1752 at Newfoundland, The Sampson, Capt May from Philadelphia
 Nov 11 1752 at Bristol, The Plymouth, Capt Mardon from Newfoundland
 Nov 11 1752 at Bristol, The Ann and Mary, Capt Pike from Newfoundland
 Nov 11 1752 at Valencia, The Industry, Capt Malone from Newfoundland
 Nov 11 1752 at Newfoundland, The Swallow, Capt Banfield from Dunkirk
 Nov 25 1752 at Leghorn, The St George, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Dec 2 1752 at Bristol, The Sally, Capt Ramson from Newfoundland
 Dec 2 1752 at Newfoundland, The Delight, Capt Carby from Bristol
 Dec 23 1752 at Bristol, The William and Mary, Capt Tucker from Newfoundland
 Dec 23 1752 at Bristol, The Sally, Capt Nicholl from Newfoundland
 Dec 30 1752 at Bristol, The William and Mary, Capt Webb from Newfoundland
 Jan 13 1753 at Lisbon, The Augustus, Capt Thrall from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1753 at Spain, The Charlotte, Capt Oliver from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1753 at Leghorn, The Delight, Capt Casby from Newfoundland
 June 23 1753 at Newfoundland, The Mary Ann, Capt Carbery of Bristol
 June 23 1753 at Newfoundland, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert of Bristol
 Aug 11 1753 at Newfoundland, The Society, Capt Davie from Cadiz
 Aug 11 1753 at Newfoundland, The Sally, Capt Nicholls from Barbados
 Aug 11 1753 at Newfoundland, The Recovery, Capt Collihall from Bristol
 Oct 20 1753 at Bristol, The Plymouth, Capt Marsden from Newfoundland
 Oct 20 1753 at Newfoundland, The Andrews, Capt More from Lisbon
 Oct 20 1753 at Bristol, The Elizabeth, Capt Smith from Newfoundland
 Oct 20 1753 at Newfoundland, The Driver, Capt Mitchell of Bristol
 Oct 20 1753 at Newfoundland, The Jeronomy, Capt Cowley of Bristol
 Oct 20 1753 at Newfoundland, The Augustus, Capt Thrall of Bristol
 Oct 20 1753 at Newfoundland, The Clifton, Capt Malone of Bristol
 Oct 27 1753 at Newfoundland, The Champion, Capt Caswell of Bristol
 Oct 27 1753 at Newfoundland, The Musketta, Capt Waldron of Bristol
 Nov 10 1753 at Bristol, The Betty, Capt Slearn from Newfoundland
 Nov 10 1753 at Newfoundland, The William, Capt Moriarty from Cork
 Nov 17 1753 at Seville, The Society, Capt Davie from Newfoundland
 Nov 17 1753 at Newfoundland, The Dispatch, Capt Browne from Cadiz
 Nov 24 1753 at Bristol, The William and Mary, from Newfoundland
 Dec 8 1753 at Cadiz, The Charlotte, Capt Oliver from Newfoundland
 Dec 8 1753 at Bencarlo, The Clifton, Capt Malone from Newfoundland
 Dec 8 1753 at Bencarlo, The Patsey, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Dec 8 1753 at Malaga, The Sally, Capt Nicholls from Newfoundland
 Dec 15 1753 at Malaga, The Dispatch, Capt Brownett from Newfoundland
 Dec 22 1753 at Bristol, The Swallow, Capt Wilshire from Newfoundland
 Dec 22 1753 at Malaga, The Jeronomy, Capt Cowley from Newfoundland

Dec 22 1753 at Malaga, The Delight, Capt Sommers from Newfoundland
 Dec 22 1753 at St. Lucar, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Newfoundland
 July 27 1754 at Newfoundland, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Bristol
 July 27 1754 at Newfoundland, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from
 Philadelphia
 Aug 3 1754 at Bristol, The Delight, Capt Sommers from Newfoundland
 Aug 3 1754 at Newfoundland, The Sampson, Capt May from Ireland
 Aug 3 1754 at Newfoundland, The Society, Capt Davie from Ireland
 Aug 3 1754 at Newfoundland, The Mary Ann, Capt Carbry from Ireland
 Aug 3 1754 at Newfoundland, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Ireland
 Aug 3 1754 at Newfoundland, The Mary Gally, Capt Baker from Cadiz
 Aug 17 1754 at Newfoundland, The Musketta, Capt Waldron from Bristol
 Sept 14 1754 at Barcelona, The Peace, Capt Rooke from Newfoundland
 Nov 2 1754 at Newfoundland, The Recovery, Capt Collihall of Bristol
 Nov 2 1754 at Newfoundland, The Driver, Capt Mitchell of Bristol
 Nov 2 1754 at Newfoundland, The Little Harry, Capt Wheeler of Bristol
 Nov 9 1754 at Newfoundland, The Delight, Capt Summers of Bristol
 Nov 9 1754 at Alicante, The Champion, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Nov 9 1754 at Newfoundland, The Dispatch, Capt Browner from Cadiz
 Nov 16 1754 at Bristol, The Charlotte, Capt Oliver from Newfoundland
 Nov 16 1754 at Alicante, The Joseph and Hannah, Capt Anstie from Newfoundland
 Nov 16 1754 at Cadiz, The Sally, Capt Nicholls from Newfoundland
 Nov 21 1754 at Alicante, The Sampson, Capt May from Newfoundland
 Nov 21 1754 at Bilboa, The Cruizer, Capt Keith from Newfoundland
 Nov 21 1754 at Youghal, The Andrews, Capt Moore from Newfoundland
 Nov 21 1754 at Leghorn, The Adventure, Capt Munday from Newfoundland
 Nov 21 1754 at Lisbon, The Industry, Capt Crew from Newfoundland
 Nov 21 1754 at Newfoundland, The Sally, Capt Ramsey from Topsham
 Nov 21 1754 at Malaga, The Maryanne, Capt Davie from Newfoundland
 Nov 21 1754 at Malaga, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Newfoundland
 Nov 30 1754 at Bristol, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Newfoundland
 Nov 30 1754 at Bristol, The Charming Molly, Capt Mathews from Newfoundland
 Dec 7 1754 at Bristol, The Betsey, from Newfoundland
 Dec 7 1754 at Bilboa, The Delight, Capt Sommers from Newfoundland
 Dec 7 1754 at Leghorn, The Virgin, Capt Carbry from Newfoundland
 Dec 21 1754 at Beachy Head (stranded), The Diligence, Capt Clap from
 Newfoundland for London
 Dec 21 1754 at Civita Vecchia, The Driver, Capt Mitchell from Newfoundland
 Dec 28 1754 at Dublin, The Friends Goodwill, Capt Hunt from Newfoundland for
 Waterford
 Dec 28 1754 at Carthage, The Dispatch, Capt Brownnett from Newfoundland
 Jan 11 1755 at Naples, The Nancy, Capt Heighington from Newfoundland
 Jan 11 1755 at Alicante, The Sampson, Capt Midfield from Newfoundland
 Jan 11 1755 at Valentia, The Mary, Capt Baker from Newfoundland
 Jan 11 1755 at Vigo, The Lloyd from Newfoundland
 Jan 18 1755 at Alicante, The Recovery, Capt Collihall from Newfoundland
 Jan 18 1755 at Lisbon, The Musketta, Capt Waldron from Newfoundland

Feb 1 1755 at Boston, The Raleigh, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Feb 1 1755 at Poole, The Hopewell, Capt Gibbons from Newfoundland
 July 5 1755 at Newfoundland, The Champion, Capt Darby from Cadiz
 July 5 1755 at Newfoundland, The Charlotte, Capt Swiver from Bristol
 July 5 1755 at Newfoundland, The Swallow, Capt Hayman from Falmouth
 July 5 1755 at Newfoundland, The Cruizer, Capt Ceath from Barbados
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from Antigua
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Virgin, Capt Carbry from Bristol
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Mary Ann, Capt Davie from Bristol
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Andrew, Capt Moore from Bristol
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Tommy, Capt Gardiner from Bristol
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Society, Capt Davie from Bristol
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Delight, Capt Summers from Bristol
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Minehead, Capt Forrest from Bristol
 Aug 9 1755 at Newfoundland, The Lloyd, Capt Carbry from Bristol
 Aug 30 1755 at Newfoundland, The Patsey, Capt Robbins from Bristol
 Aug 30 1755 at Newfoundland, The Providence, Capt Murphy from Waterford
 Aug 30 1755 at Newfoundland, The Sampson, Capt May from Philadelphia
 Sept 6 1755 at Newfoundland, The Prince George, Capt Darby from Bristol
 Sept 27 1755 at Lisbon, The William, from Newfoundland
 Oct 11 1755 at Poole, The Seal, from Newfoundland
 Oct 11 1755 at Newfoundland, The Little Harry, Capt Thrall from Bristol
 Nov 1 1755 at Malaga, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from Newfoundland
 Nov 1 1755 at Newfoundland, The Dispatch, Capt Brownett from Bristol
 Nov 1 1755 at Newfoundland, The Recovery, Capt Collihull from Bristol
 Nov 1 1755 at Newfoundland, The Mary Galley, Capt Baker from Cadiz
 Nov 8 1755 at Waterford, The St. Andrew, Capt Fortune from Newfoundland
 Nov 15 1755 at Bristol, The Cruizer, Capt Ceaf from Newfoundland
 Nov 15 1755 at Alicante, The Delight, Capt Summers from Newfoundland
 Nov 15 1755 at Naples, The Minehead, Capt Forrest from Newfoundland
 Nov 22 1755 at Bristol, The Phenix, Capt Hayman from Newfoundland
 Nov 29 1755 at Bideford, The Dolphin, from Newfoundland
 Dec 6 1755 at Bristol, The Andrews, Capt Moor, from Newfoundland and Waterford
 Dec 6 1755 at Alicante, The Champion, Capt Darby, from Newfoundland
 Dec 13 1755 at Bristol, The Ann, Capt Carter from Newfoundland
 Dec 13 1755 at Bristol, The Betsey, Capt Coleman from Newfoundland
 Dec 13 1755 at Bristol, The Two Brothers, Capt Serle from Newfoundland
 Dec 20 1755 at Bristol, The Swallow, Capt Studey from Newfoundland
 Dec 20 1755 at Bristol, The Musketta, Capt Waldron from Newfoundland
 Dec 20 1755 at Malaga, The Maryann, Capt Gardner from Newfoundland
 Dec 20 1755 at Malaga, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Newfoundland
 Dec 20 1755 at Leghorn, The Virgin, Capt Carbry from Newfoundland
 Dec 27 1755 at Bristol, The Hester, Capt Boyce from Newfoundland
 Dec 27 1755 at Bristol, The Swallow, Capt Studey from Newfoundland
 Dec 27 1755 at Oporto, The Delight, Capt Summers from Newfoundland
 Dec 27 1755 at Ancona, The Patsey, Capt Robling from Newfoundland
 Jan 3 1756 at Bristol, The Tommy, from Newfoundland

Jan 3 1756 at Lisbon, the Little Harry, Capt Thrall from Newfoundland
 Jan 3 1756 at Vienna, The Kent, Capt Buch from Newfoundland
 Jan 10 1756 at Carthegena, The Dispatch, Capt Brownett from Newfoundland
 Jan 10 1756 at Carthegena, The Mary, Capt Baker from Newfoundland
 Jan 10 1756 at Oporto, The Sally, Capt Nicholls from Newfoundland
 Jan 10 1756 at Lisbon, The Lloyd, Capt Carbry from Newfoundland
 Jan 17 1756 at Alicante, The Swallow, Capt Hayman from Newfoundland
 Jan 17 1756 at Naples, The Post Packet, from Newfoundland
 Jan 24 1756 at Alicante, The Sampson, Capt May from Newfoundland
 Jan 24 1756 at Cadiz, The Pringe George, Capt Derby from Newfoundland
 Jan 31 1756 at Alicante, The Charlotte, from Newfoundland
 Feb 2 1756 at Civitta Vecchia, The Prince George, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Mar 20 1756 at Cadiz, The Providence, Capt Murphy from Newfoundland
 Sept 18 1756 at Jersey, The Bacelo, from Poole for Newfoundland
 Oct 9 1756 at Newfoundland, The Mary Gally, Capt Baker from Cadiz
 Oct 30 1756 at Newfoundland, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from
 Philadelphia
 Nov 13 1756 at Newfoundland, The Dispatch, Capt Brownett from Antigua
 Nov 13 1756 at Newfoundland, The Prince George, Capt Darby from Antigua
 Nov 13 1756 at Newfoundland, The Recovery, Capt Collihall from Antigua
 Nov 13 1756 at Newfoundland, The Sally, Capt Nicholls from Antigua
 Nov 13 1756 at Newfoundland, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Lisbon
 Nov 13 1756 at Alicante, The Willing Mind, Capt Crew from Newfoundland
 Nov 13 1756 at Alicante, The Susanna, Capt Greatrake from Newfoundland
 Nov 13 1756 at Leghorn, The Dove, Capt Leigh from Newfoundland
 Nov 13 1756 at Caminha River, The Endeavor, Capt Grey from Newfoundland
 Nov 20 1756 at Bristol, The Mary, Capt Painter from Newfoundland
 Nov 20 1756 at Youghal, The Delight, Capt Summers from Newfoundland
 Nov 27 1756 at Bristol, The Delight, Capt Summers from Newfoundland
 Nov 27 1756 at Gibraltar, The Rosebranch, Capt Street from Newfoundland
 Nov 27 1756 at Gibraltar, The Dispatch, Capt Pope from Newfoundland
 Nov 27 1756 at Gibraltar, The William, Capt Randall from Newfoundland
 Nov 27 1756 at Gibraltar, The Adventure, Capt Munday from Newfoundland
 Nov 27 1756 at Gibraltar, The Lori, Capt Moore from Newfoundland
 Dec 4 1756 at Newfoundland, The Constantine, Capt Gwynn from Bristol
 Dec 4 1756 at Newfoundland, The Virgin, Capt Carbry from Bristol
 Dec 4 1756 at Alicante, The Champion, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Dec 4 1756 at Naples, The Neptune, from Newfoundland
 Dec 4 1756 at Youghal, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Newfoundland
 Dec 18 1756 at Bristol, The Swallow, Capt Bond from Newfoundland
 Dec 18 1756 at Bristol, The Greyhound, Capt Morgatt from Newfoundland
 Dec 18 1756 at Bristol, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Newfoundland
 Dec 24 1756 at Bristol, The Grave, from Newfoundland
 Dec 24 1756 at Gibraltar, The Mary, Capt Baker from Newfoundland
 Dec 24 1756 at Gibraltar, The Trinity, Capt Davis from Newfoundland
 Dec 24 1756 at Gibraltar, The Society, from Newfoundland
 Dec 24 1756 at Gibraltar, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from Newfoundland

Dec 24 1756 at Gibraltar, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Newfoundland
 Dec 24 1756 at Gibraltar, The Patsey, Capt Owen from Newfoundland
 Jan 1 1757 at Malaga, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from Newfoundland
 Jan 1 1757 at Malaga, The Society, Capt Carthy from Newfoundland
 Jan 1 1757 at Malaga, The Trinity, Capt Davie from Newfoundland
 Jan 1 1757 at Barcelona, The Dispatch, Capt Pope from Newfoundland
 Jan 1 1757 at Barcelona, The Mary, Capt Baker from Newfoundland
 Jan 1 1757 at Barcelona, The Love, Capt Moore from Newfoundland
 Jan 15 1757 at Bayonne, The Endeavour, from Newfoundland for Bristol captured
 Jan 22 1757 at Gibraltar, The Virgin, Capt Carbry from Newfoundland
 Jan 22 1757 at Valentia, The Three Friends, Capt Fitzherbert from Newfoundland
 Jan 22 1757 at Ancona, The Patsey, Capt Owen from Newfoundland
 Jan 22 1757 at Civita Vecchia, The Charlotte, Capt Boyer from Newfoundland
 Jan 22 1757 at Bilbao, The Virgin, Capt Embry from Newfoundland
 Jan 22 1757 at Bilbao, The William, Capt Wallays from Newfoundland
 Jan 29 1757 at Gibraltar, The Prince George, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Jan 29 1757 at Carthegena, The Dispatch, Capt Brownnett from Newfoundland
 Feb 5 1757 at Cadiz, The Sally, Capt Nicholls from Newfoundland of Bristol captured
 Feb 12 1757 at Bayonne, The Young Racehorse, Capt Scurlock from Newfoundland
 to Oporto captured
 Feb 12 1757 at Bayonne, The Prince George, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 captured
 Feb 26 1757 at Waterford, The St. Patrick, from Newfoundland
 Feb 26 1757 at Alicante, The Recovery, Capt Collihall from Newfoundland
 Feb 26 1757 at Alicante, The Betsy, from Newfoundland
 Mar 12 1757 at Bristol, The St. Patrick, Capt Tobin from Newfoundland
 Mar 19 1757 left Bristol, The Martha and Ann, Capt Collins for Waterford and
 Newfoundland
 Apr 23 1757 left Bilbao, The Virgin, for Newfoundland captured
 June 18 1757 left Cork, The Molly, Capt Brocking for Newfoundland ransomed
 July 16 1757 left Cowes, The Medina, Capt Cox for Newfoundland captured
 Aug 20 1757 at Fogo, The Medina, Capt Cox from Poole for Newfoundland retaken
 Aug 27 1757 left Waterford, The Mary, Capt Andrews for Newfoundland captured
 Sept 24 1757 at Lisbon, The Joseph and Hannah, Capt Anstice from Newfoundland
 Oct 1 1757 at Newfoundland, The William and Martha, Capt Southcott from
 Philadelphia
 Oct 1 1757 at Newfoundland, The Dispatch, Capt Brownnett from Cadiz
 Oct 1 1757 at Newfoundland, The Swift, from Waterford
 Oct 1 1757 at Newfoundland, The Andrews, from Bristol
 Oct 1 1757 at Newfoundland, The Lloyd, from Bristol
 Oct 1 1757 at Newfoundland, The Boyle, Capt Green from St. Croix
 Oct 1 1757 at Newfoundland, The Molly, Capt Brockway from Cork
 Nov 5 1757 at Lisbon, The Lloyd, Capt Carbry from Newfoundland
 Nov 19 1757 at Bristol, The Charming Molly, from Newfoundland
 Nov 19 1757 at Newfoundland, The Prince George, Capt Smith from Ireland
 Nov 19 1757 at Newfoundland, The Champion, Capt Francis from Ireland
 Nov 19 1757 at Newfoundland, The Europa, Capt Darby from Plymouth

Nov 19 1757 at Newfoundland, The Charlotta, Capt Boyce from Philadelphia
 Nov 19 1757 at Newfoundland, The Sampson, from Philadelphia
 Nov 19 1757 at Newfoundland, The Delight, Capt Sommers from Bristol
 Nov 26 1757 at Newfoundland, The Bellica, Capt Pike from New York
 Dec 3 1757 at Guernsey, The Swallow, Capt Troth from Newfoundland wrecked
 Dec 10 1757 at Newfoundland, The Mary, Capt Baker from Cadiz
 Dec 10 1757 left Newfoundland, The Young Batchelor, to Bristol lost on Irish Coast
 Dec 10 1757 left Newfoundland, The Bellica, Capt Pike for Lisbon captured
 Dec 24 1757 left Newfoundland, The Success, Capt Kirkpatrick to Dublin lost
 Dec 31 1757 at Gibraltar, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from
 Newfoundland
 Dec 31 1757 at Gibraltar, The Dispatch, Capt Brownett from Newfoundland
 Dec 31 1757 at Gibraltar, The Trinity, Capt Davie from Newfoundland
 Dec 31 1757 at Gibraltar, The Delight, Capt Sommers from Newfoundland
 Dec 31 1757 at Gibraltar, The Pike, Capt Gally from Newfoundland
 Dec 31 1757 at Gibraltar, The Cheeseman and Molly, Capt Brockway from
 Newfoundland
 Jan 7 1758 at Lisbon, The Exchange, from Newfoundland
 Jan 7 1758 at Lisbon, The Fanny, Capt Pinn from Newfoundland
 Jan 7 1758 at Lisbon, The Boyle, Capt Green from Newfoundland
 Jan 7 1758 at Lisbon, The Swift, Capt Wheden from Newfoundland
 Jan 14 1758 at Naples, The Europa, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Feb 25 1758 at Gibraltar, The Champion, Capt Francis from Newfoundland
 Feb 25 1758 at Gibraltar, The Prince George, Capt Smith from Newfoundland
 Mar 11 1758 at Alicante, The Champion, Capt Francis from Newfoundland
 Mar 11 1758 at Alicante, The Prince George, Capt Smith from Newfoundland
 Apr 22 1758 at Kingroad, The George Gally, from Poole for Newfoundland
 recaptured
 July 15 1758 at Newfoundland, The Lloyd, Capt Carbry of Bristol
 July 15 1758 at Newfoundland, The Nancy, Capt Wright of Bristol
 July 22 1758 at Alicante, The Swift, Capt Coghlan from Newfoundland
 Aug 5 1758 left Dartmouth, The Seahorse, Capt Parr for Newfoundland captured
 and burnt
 Aug 12 1758 at Newfoundland, The Mary, Capt Baker from Gibraltar
 Aug 26 1758 at Newfoundland, The Levant, Capt Darby from Bristol
 Aug 26 1758 at Newfoundland, The Catherine Prize
 Aug 26 1758 at Newfoundland, Two Dutch sugar ships prizes
 Sept 2 1758 at Newfoundland, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Waterford
 Oct 14 1758 at Newfoundland, The Champion, Capt Francis from Bristol
 Oct 14 1758 at Newfoundland, The Betsey, Capt Hall from Bristol
 Oct 14 1758 at Newfoundland, The Prince George, Capt Smith from Bristol
 Oct 14 1758 at Newfoundland, The Nancy, Capt Stokes from Bristol
 Oct 14 1758 at Newfoundland, The Antigua Factor, Capt Coleman from Bristol
 Oct 14 1758 at Newfoundland, The Prince William, Capt Dirke from the seas
 Oct 14 1758 at Newfoundland, The Apolonia, from the seas
 Oct 21 1758 at Newfoundland, The Levant, Capt Darby from a cruise with a prize
 Nov 18 1758 at Leghorn, The Champion, Capt Francis from Newfoundland

Nov 18 1758 at Leghorn, The Prince George, Capt Smith from Newfoundland
 Nov 25 1758 at Bristol, The Phoenix, Capt Downing from Newfoundland
 Nov 25 1758 at Newfoundland, The Countess of Berkley, Capt Waitsen
 Nov 25 1758 at Newfoundland, The Mary, Capt Read
 Nov 25 1758 at Newfoundland, The Prince Ferdinand, Capt Crawley
 Nov 25 1758 at Newfoundland, The Europa, Capt Darby with a prize
 Dec 9 1758 at Newfoundland, The Prince of Orange, Capt Dandridge from Bristol
 Dec 9 1758 at Newfoundland, The Peggy, Capt Middleton from Bristol
 Dec 16 1758 at Bristol, The Ann, from Newfoundland
 Dec 23 1758 at Bristol, The Success, Capt Boyce from Newfoundland
 Dec 23 1758 at Bristol, The King of Prussia, Capt Anstice from Newfoundland
 Dec 23 1758 at Bristol, The John and Slade, Capt Belben from Newfoundland
 Dec 23 1758 at Bristol, The Virgin, Capt Fitzherbert from Newfoundland
 Dec 23 1758 at Newfoundland, The King George, Capt Wallace from Bristol
 Dec 23 1758 at Leghorn, The Levant, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Dec 23 1758 at Waterford, The Content, Capt Francis from Newfoundland
 Dec 30 1758 at Bristol, The Enterprize, Capt Greatrake from Newfoundland
 Dec 30 1758 at Bristol, The Providence, Capt Scot from Newfoundland
 Dec 30 1758 at Barcelona, The Swift, Capt Wiedden from Newfoundland
 Dec 30 1758 at Waterford, The Betsey, Capt Hall from Newfoundland
 Dec 30 1758 at Spain, The Peggy, Capt Middleton from Newfoundland to Bristol
 captured
 Jan 6 1759 at Bristol, The Weston, Capt Stout from Newfoundland
 Jan 13 1759 at Bristol, The Betsey, Capt Hall from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1759 at Bristol, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1759 at Valencia, The Swift, Capt Coghlan from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1759 at Bilboa, The Antigua Factor, Capt Coleman from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1759 at Barcelona, The Lloyd, Capt Carbry from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1759 at Alicante, The William and Mary, Capt Southcott from Newfoundland
 Jan 27 1759 at St. Andero, The Prince of Orange, Capt Dandridge from
 Newfoundland
 Feb 3 1759 at Leghorn, The Countess of Berkley, Capt Whitsun from Newfoundland
 Feb 10 1759 at Ferrol, The King George, Capt Wallace from Newfoundland
 Feb 17 1759 at Alicante, The Fortune, Capt Brown from Newfoundland
 Feb 17 1759 at Alicante, The Europa, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Feb 17 1759 at Venice, The Duke of Tuscany, Capt Malone from Newfoundland
 Feb 24 1759 at Leghorn, The Europa, Capt Darby from Newfoundland and Naples
 June 2 1759 left Bristol, The Betsey, Capt Hall for Newfoundland captured
 June 23 1759 at Newfoundland, The Levant, Capt Darby from Leghorn
 July 21 1759 at Newfoundland, The Revenge, Capt Heighington from Carrickfergus
 July 28 1759 at Newfoundland, The Success, Capt Boyce from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Antigua Factor, Capt Coleman from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Swift, Capt Wheden from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Enterprize, Capt Greaderake from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Andrews, Capt Fortune from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Freemason, Capt Tyrell from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Delight, Capt Summers from Bristol

Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Mary Gally, Capt Baker from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Content, Capt Francis from Bristol
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Ann, Capt Coyle from Ireland
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The John and Slade, Capt Belbin from Ireland
 Aug 4 1759 at Newfoundland, The Lemon, Capt Bartlett from Waterford
 Aug 4 1759 at Poole, The Greyhound, Capt Bartlett from Newfoundland
 Aug 25 1759 at Newfoundland, The Mary Gally, Capt Baker from Bristol
 Aug 25 1759 at Newfoundland, The Trinity, Capt Davie from Bristol
 Aug 25 1759 at Lisbon, The Swift, Capt Coghlan from Newfoundland
 Sept 1 1759 at Lisbon, The Delight, Capt Sommers from Newfoundland
 Sept 8 1759 at Newfoundland, The Virgin, Capt Fitzherbert from Bristol
 Sept 8 1759 at Newfoundland, The Prince Ferdinand, Capt Carbry from Bristol
 Sept 8 1759 at Bilboa, The Mary Gally, Capt Baker from Newfoundland
 Sept 8 1759 at Newfoundland, The Prussian Hero, Capt Neilson from Lisbon
 Sept 8 1759 at Newfoundland, The Lloyd, Capt Carbry from The Streights
 Oct 20 1759 at Lisbon, The Clifton, Capt Young from Newfoundland
 Oct 27 1759 at Newfoundland, The Constantine, Capt Foresyth from Bristol
 Oct 27 1759 at Newfoundland, The Revenge, Capt Heighington from Belfast
 Oct 27 1759 at Newfoundland, The Molly, Capt Breen from Cork
 Oct 27 1759 at Newfoundland, The Swift, Capt Coghlan from Lisbon
 Oct 27 1759 at Newfoundland, The Levant, Capt Darby from a cruise
 Nov 3 1759 at Bilboa, The Sally, Capt Cheeseman from Newfoundland
 Nov 3 1759 at Newfoundland, The Prussian Hero, Capt Neilson from Bristol overset
 Nov 17 1759 left Cadiz, The Dispatch, Capt Grubb for Newfoundland captured
 Nov 17 1759 left Newfoundland, The Bellica, Capt Pike captured
 Nov 17 1759 at Bristol, The Virgin, Capt Fitzherbert from Newfoundland
 Nov 17 1759 at Bristol, The Squid, from Newfoundland
 Nov 17 1759 at Newfoundland, The Delight, Capt Summers from Lisbon
 Nov 17 1759 at Newfoundland, The Mary Gally, Capt Baker from Bilboa
 Nov 24 1759 at Leghorn, The Prince Ferdinand, Capt Carbry from Newfoundland
 Dec 1 1759 at Newfoundland, The Dolphin, Capt Honeywell from Bristol
 Dec 15 1759 at Leghorn, The Levant, Capt Darby from Newfoundland
 Dec 15 1759 at Milford, The Mary, Capt Breen from Newfoundland
 Dec 22 1759 at Malaga, The Experiment, Capt Coghlan from Newfoundland
 Dec 22 1759 at Malaga, The Swift, from Newfoundland
 Dec 22 1759 at Alicante, The King of Prussia, Capt Anstice from Newfoundland
 Dec 29 1759 at Leghorn, The Revenge, Capt Heighington from Newfoundland
 Dec 29 1759 at Ancona, The Success, Capt Boyce from Newfoundland
 Dec 29 1759 at Lisbon, The Boyle, Capt McCarthy from Newfoundland
 Dec 29 1759 at Oporto, The Dolphin, Capt Honeywell from Newfoundland

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From Anglo-Norman Demesne to Modern Luxury Hotel: the story of Little Island, Co. Waterford

By Tom Dooley

LITTLE Island is a 311 acre estate in the estuary of the River Suir about three miles downstream from Waterford city. Its abrupt transition in the 1980s to leisure complex and luxury hotel, after centuries of agricultural use, was symptomatic of political and economic changes in Ireland and internationally. This notion of continuity and change is encapsulated in the story of Little Island and its castle.

Following the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland in the 12th century, Little Island would have been incorporated as a demesne into the new feudal and manorial order. The entire grant of an estate, or manor, is sometimes referred to as being a demesne. Generally, however, the term is used to mean only the lord's castle or manor house with its adjacent lands and buildings, thus distinguishing it from those areas of his estate let by various tenures to his tenants. It is in this latter sense that the word is used in this essay.

An Anglo-Norman demesne

It is not known if Little Island was included in the large area of Waterford county initially reserved as part of the royal estate.¹ However, it had been granted to Robert le Poher (sometimes written as le Poer and later as Power) by the king before 1284, in return for military services.²

The Anglo-Norman occupation of manors such as Little Island began with the construction of a fortified house, generally of the motte and bailey type, with a wooden tower erected on the motte. These residences were sometimes later rebuilt in stone, and there is evidence that Little Island had its own 12th century fortified

1. Kevin Downs, 'Colonial Society and Economy in the High Middle Ages', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Vol. II, Medieval Ireland 1168-1534* (Oxford, 1987), Ch. 15: C.A. Empey, 'County Waterford: 1200-1300', in William Nolan, T. P. Power and Des Cowman (eds), *Waterford: History and Society, Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 131-46.
2. *Waterford News*, 27 May 1938. Based on one of a series of articles entitled 'Glimpses of Waterford' written by a variety of local historians published in the newspaper. The articles identify the range of primary sources (several in Latin) used.

house, or keep, commonly referred to as a 'castle'. The island may have been a demesne farmed directly by the lord. If so, he would have relied on piece-work carried out by hired labourers, and on permanent manorial servants. The few existing records for other estates suggest that from the 1280s to 1344 these workers were probably paid between four and six shillings a year, depending on skills and responsibilities. They may also have been given maintenance or a food allowance of threepence to fourpence a week.³ But from the 14th century, most of the estate was more likely to have been rented out to subtenants. Some land would have been used as pasture for animals and some for the cultivation of crops such as wheat, oats, barley, rye, beans, peas and leeks.

The Little Island's castle fell into ruins and was replaced by the keep which now forms the central section of the existing hotel. This was probably built by the Butlers, or possibly their tenants or a subsequent landowner. It is a typical tower-house of the 16th century since, in October 1537, Peter Butler, Earl of Ossory and Ormonde, and James Butler, Treasurer of Ireland, were granted the 'manors, castles and towns of the Little Island' by letters patent, at a rent of 40 shillings.⁴ In Ireland, military services was commuted to cash payments at an early date. At this time (1537), Thomas Cromwell was overseeing the dissolution of religious houses and the island may have belonged to the church, the Justiciary of Ireland having been ordered to deliver it to Walter, Bishop of Meath, in 1284.

Ownership of the 'Lytle Yland' appears to have passed on to Nicholas White in 1546 in accordance with the terms of James Butler's will.⁵ The island's occupancy may subsequently have been affected by Mary Tudor's attempts at restoration of the Catholic Church, and by Queen Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy, as in 1559, she (Elizabeth), granted a pardon to Dermicius or Derby Leyn of the Little Island, for unspecified offences.⁶

From the later middle ages, the nature of landholding underwent evolutionary change. Feudal dues, such as the military service owed to a lord, were replaced by commercial contracts. However, the land market was still subject to political interference. In 1640, according to the Civil Survey, James Walsh, an Irish Papist, was the proprietor of Little Island. In an apparent reference to a decision by commissioners who, working under a military governor were appointed to collect revenue, administer justice, and distribute confiscated lands in terms of the Act of Settlement (1652), the survey noted that the island was 'held by Quarter Mr Generall Vernon by lease from the Comrs. of Waterford, and since granted to him by Act of Parliament'.⁷

At the time of the Civil Survey, about 130 acres of the island were used as pasture and for arable farming. The Down Survey (1654) records the proprietor of Little Island as being Sir Robert Welsh, and confirmed its use for mixed farming. It also

3. Kevin Downs, 'Colonial Society and Economy in the High Middle Ages'.

4. *Waterford News*, 8 July and 19 August 1938, 'Glimpses of Waterford'; Matthew Butler, *A History of the Barony of Gaultier* (Waterford, 1913), p. 47; Patrick Mackey, *By Hook or by Crook* (Waterford, 1983), p. 49.

5. *Waterford News*, 8 July 1938, 'Glimpses of Waterford'.

6. *Waterford News*, 29 July 1938, 'Glimpses of Waterford'.

7. Civil Survey 1654-1656, County of Waterford, Vol. VI (National Archives, Dublin).

noted that there was a 'Castle in Repaire and there is noe other Improvement Therein'.⁸ This is likely to have been the case when the Fitzgeralds bought the property.

Feudalism to commercialism

The Fitzgerald family may have acquired Little Island when they bought property in Ballygunner and Ballynakill parishes during the 18th century.⁹ John Fitzgerald, born about 1705, is described in *Burke's Irish Family Records*¹⁰ as being 'of Williamstown', near Ballynakill House. And Charles Smith, in *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford* (1746),¹¹ also noted that Williamstown was the seat of Mr Fitzgerald. Sometime during the latter part of the century, the Fitzgeralds occupied Little Island's castle.

This branch of the powerful Old English family had English property and family links and also English military, professional and city of London connections which were renewed through generations of intermarriage.¹² A descendant of Richard Fitzgerald, Sheriff of Waterford in 1687, married into the Wyses, a Waterford city-based merchant family. A monument was erected during 1770 in Waterford city's Protestant cathedral at the request of his grandson, late of Gray's Inn and St Marylebone, Middlesex, who married into a Worcester family and died in 1763. It shows his father Nicholas as being late of King's Meadow, and his uncle John as being late of the city of Westminster. The Fitzgerald motto, 'Crom A Boo', meaning 'dissolve forever' and said to be a public reference to the wish to dissolve their old ties of allegiance to England, was omitted.¹³

Like many of Waterford city's leading professional and merchant families, the Fitzgeralds had extensive properties in both the county and the city.¹⁴ Villas belonging to upwardly mobile city-based merchants lined the River Suir, those between the city and Cheekpoint in particular being spectacular examples of conspicuous consumption. But for Catholics, success hinged on the abandonment of their faith. Ordinances passed by the Cromwellian corporation excluded Catholics from the city's trade and commerce. In September 1656, it ordered that 'all Irish

8. Down Survey, 11 December 1654 (NA, Dublin).

9. Fitzgerald Papers, Ms 812(27) (National Library of Ireland). Correspondence showing claims that the Fitzgerald family acquired Little Island before the 1530s are unsubstantiated. It is more probable that they acquired it when purchasing land in County Waterford during the 18th century.

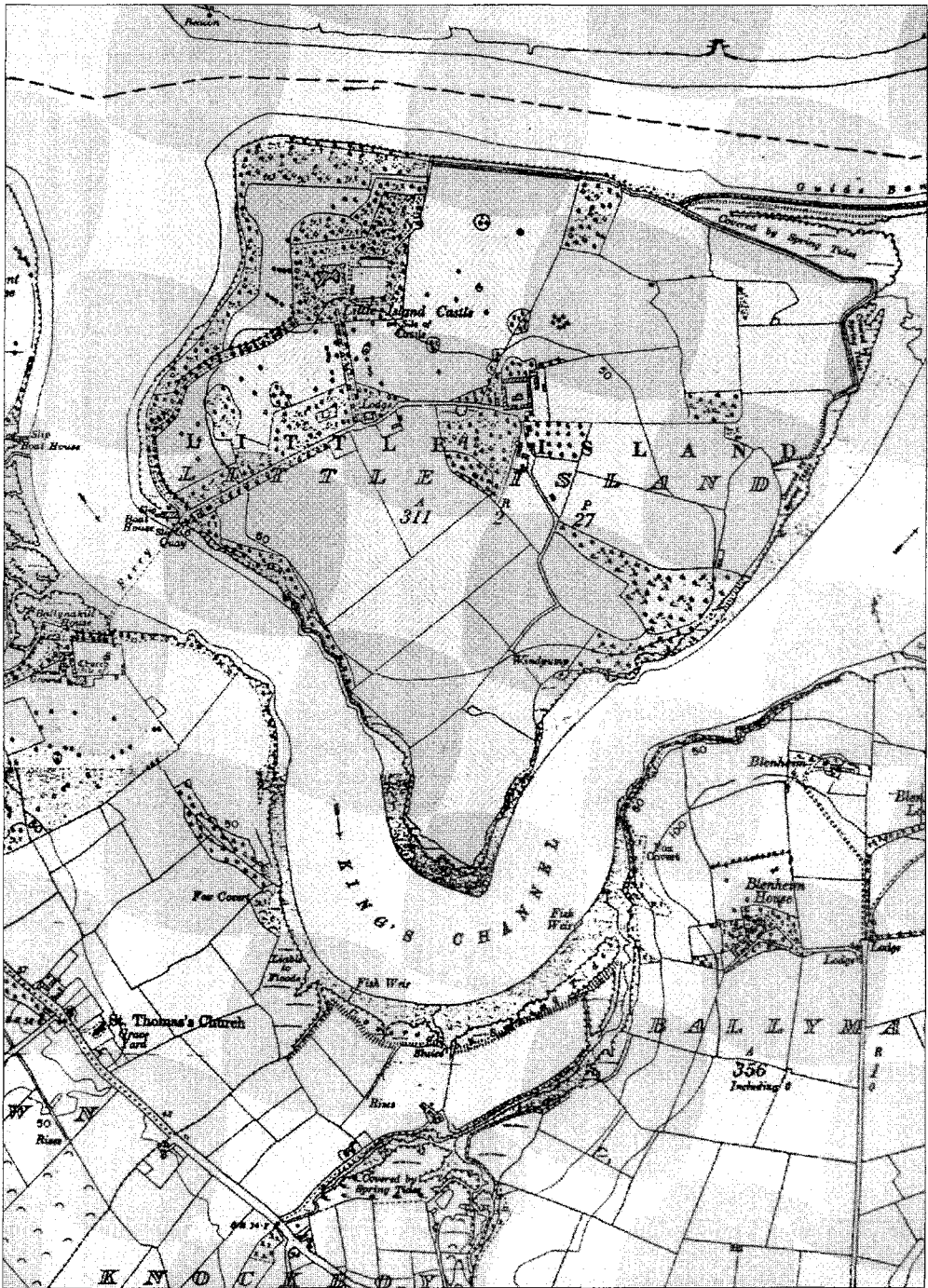
10. *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London, 1976), pp. 425-6. Most of the information in this article relating to the Fitzgerald family history was obtained from this publication and from *Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland* (see footnote 12).

11. Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford: being a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical and topographical description thereof* (Dublin, 1748).

12. Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* (London, 1904), pp. 191-2, and the 1912 edition, p. 232; *Waterford News*, 30 Sep. 1938, 'Glimpses of Waterford'.

13. *Waterford Castle - A History* (publicity brochure produced for Waterford Castle Limited, c. 1990).

14. Catherine Ketch, 'Landownership in County Waterford c. 1640: The Evidence from the Civil Survey', in Nolan, Power and Cowman (eds), *Waterford: History and Society*, pp. 199-226.



Little Island in 1925. Based on the Ordnance Survey by permission of the government of Ireland (Permit No. 6108).



Waterford Castle Hotel as it exists today. The central structure is the original 16th century tower-house. The wings were added by the Fitzgeralds at different dates in the 19th century.

shall remove out of the city and county of the city and liberties thereof within twentie dayes'. Nor did the restored English monarchy offer relief. Under Charles II, Catholic merchants were still not eligible for admission to the city freedom 'until they are Protestants'.¹⁵ There was no significant change in conditions until the first half of the 19th century.

However, the family's resilience ensured that its connection with Little Island survived the vicissitudes of the famine, the 19th century agricultural depressions, and the land acts which followed.

A famine landlord

Mary Frances Fitzgerald inherited Little Island on the death of her father John, in 1818. He had married a Fitzgerald of Hertfordshire, and had been High Sheriff of Counties Waterford and Flint. A socialite, on her return to the family seat she is said to have been rowed in state across King's Channel to Little Island with 24 musicians playing in the barge.¹⁶

Reported as having been at one time engaged to the Duke of Wellington, who presented her with a painting of himself, she had married her first cousin, Lieutenant Colonel and Deputy Lieutenant John Purcell, the son of John Purcell of Dublin, in 1801. His family had property in England, and when he assumed the surname and arms of Fitzgerald by royal licence less than three weeks after his father-in-law's death, he became John Fitzgerald of Naseby (Northants), Boulge (Suffolk), and the Little Island. At various times he was High Sheriff of Suffolk and of County Waterford, a Lieutenant Colonel in the 2nd East Suffolk Volunteers, and the MP for Seaford (East Sussex).

The Fitzgeralds spent long periods out of Ireland. In 1837, Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* described them as 'occasional' residents.¹⁷ And in O'Donovan's Ordnance Survey Letters, Waterford (1841),¹⁸ they were reported as being resident 'for a few months in the year' only.

The Tithe Applotment books for 1827¹⁹ show John Fitzgerald's demesne as being about 22 acres. The remainder of the island was occupied by six families, five of which were farming families. In 1848, the same families were still resident, three of them having sublet some of their ground.²⁰ A typical Waterford farm in 1844 was mixed, some land being used as pasture and some to grow crops such as wheat, barley, oats and potatoes.²¹ Island tenants are likely to have conformed to this pattern.

15. Seamus Pender, *Waterford Merchants Abroad* (O'Donnell Memorial Lecture delivered at University College, Cork, 7 April 1964), pp. 7-11.

16. *Waterford Castle – A History*.

17. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1837), entry under 'Ballynakill'.

18. John O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters, Waterford* (1841), entry under *Baile na Cille* (Ballynakill).

19. Tithe Applotment Book, Jan. 1827, entry for 'Little Island' (PROI). Also see entries for 1831, 1832 and 1833.

20. Richard Griffith, *Valuation of Rateable Property in Ireland* (Dublin, 1848), entry under 'Little Island', Parish of Ballynakill.

21. Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin, 'Waterford on the Eve of the Famine', in Des Cowman and Donald Brady (eds), *The Famine in Waterford: teacht na bprátaí dubha* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 1-23.

The impact of the famine varied from townland to townland, Little Island escaping the harshest consequences. But in Ballygunner Castle (Ballygunner Parish) where Fitzgerald owned land and was the lessor of the Roman Catholic church and graveyard, the national school house, and four houses with land attached,²² the 1841 population of 116 had decreased by 69 per cent by 1851.²³

Many landlords were financially broken by the famine. John Fitzgerald, however, embarked upon the first phase of extensive and costly improvements to the castle. When he died in London in 1852 he was interred in the family mausoleum in Boulge Hall, Suffolk. His wife died at Brighton on 30 January 1855 and was also buried at Boulge Hall. Their eldest son, John, inherited Little Island.

A 'good' landlord

John Fitzgerald was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He assumed the additional name and arms of Purcell by Royal Licence in 1858, and became John Purcell-Fitzgerald of The Little Island, Boulge Hall (Suffolk), Pendleton (Lancashire), and Seaford (Sussex). The new coat of arms combined the heraldry of both the Purcell and Fitzgerald families, and included the restored Fitzgerald 'Crom A Boo' motto. Appointed a Suffolk Deputy Lieutenant and a Justice of the Peace, both of his marriages were with English women.

Generally considered to be a 'good' landlord, in February 1865 the *Waterford News* reported him as distributing a large quantity of flannel and other warm clothing to the poor of Ballygunner parish. This was

only a small portion of the charity dispensed by this good landlord in the same locality; he gives £13 each year in weekly payments to a few old and infirm poor people; he has expended a very large sum in reclaiming waste lands on his property, and has thus given constant employment for the last two years – the best description of relief to poor people, who would otherwise be without employment, while he insists on procuring a good education for the children of his tenants and of the poor of the parish.²⁴

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Gerald Charles, in 1879.

Irish nationalists or English landlords?

Although educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, Gerald Charles Purcell-Fitzgerald and his nephew, Gerald Purcell-Fitzgerald who succeeded him, were the only two Little Island heirs to be buried in the small Catholic churchyard in Ballygunner parish, rather than in the family mausoleum in England.²⁵ The

22. Griffith, Valuation of Rateable Property, entry under Ballygunner Castle, Ballygunner Parish.

23. Jack Burtchaell, 'The Demographic Impact of the Famine in County Waterford', in Cowman and Brady (eds), *The Famine in Waterford*, pp. 263-89.

24. *Waterford News*, 12 Feb. 1915. A report from the newspaper files of 10 Feb. 1865.

25. The unimposing grave is enclosed by low railings and bears the Fitzgerald coat of arms.



The castle's 'big hall', or hotel reception area, as it exists today. The Portland stone walls, the ceiling, and the combined Purcell-Fitzgerald family arms over the fireplace, were commissioned by the Fitzgeralds in the 19th century.

considerable expenditure involved in adding a wing to Little Island's castle also demonstrated Gerald Charles's commitment to his Irish seat.

As well as serving as a lieutenant in the Waterford Artillery, an Irish militia regiment, Fitzgerald was an unsuccessful Waterford county candidate in the 1876 general election. In his manifesto, he pledged to work for denominational education and an endowed Catholic university. In opposing the Sunday closing of pubs, he declared, 'it is class legislation; it affects the less wealthy, and leaves the more wealthy and less needful untouched'. However, his stand on this issue aroused the ire of Catholic priest and hierarchy.

A supporter of Isaac Butt's Home Rule League, he demanded the pardon of political prisoners, fixity of land tenure, and compensation and long leases to the tenant. His opinion that 'every tenant should have a lease for ever', was a striking contradiction of



A typical guest room in Waterford Castle Hotel.

his status as landlord. He promised to press for home rule and a Parliament in Dublin, this being the 'first and surest move towards ultimate Repeal of the Union'. Unimpressed, the *London Daily News* commented that Fitzgerald was 'anxious to be all things to almost all men'. His address was 'a quaint Irish stew of principles, prejudices, and promises. There is a deal of the fine confused thought in it.'²⁶

When he died unmarried in June 1879, just short of his 46th birthday, he was succeeded by his nephew. Born in May 1865, Gerald Purcell-Fitzgerald was educated at Harrow and Jesus College, Cambridge, and was at one time a lieutenant in the 3rd Battalion Leicestershire Regiment.

Although a practising Catholic, his relationship with the church and its teachings, like his attitude towards Britain, was complex. The first of his marriages was to the daughter of a Protestant clergyman who died childless in 1898. A year later, he married a Pennsylvanian woman, by whom he had three sons. The marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1907. In the same year, he married into a Yorkshire family, his wife bearing him a fourth son and a daughter, but they were divorced in 1928. He married for a fourth time, having a fifth son by his new English wife.

Like his uncle, Fitzgerald laid out huge funds in improvements. An elaborate stable and staff accommodation block was constructed and another wing added to the castle, which was also extensively renovated. A visitor reported the work as being 'on the most luxurious modern lines'.²⁷ The interior of the castle, furnished

26. *Waterford News*, 29 Dec. 1876.

27. Anonymous, 'The Island, Waterford' in an unidentified journal. A copy of the article is held by Waterford Municipal Library.

with Tudor and Jacobean period pieces, and fine gold Italian silk and Louis XIV furniture, was 'baronial and lavish Edwardian-Elizabethan'.²⁸ Ambitious plans to build a bridge connecting the island and the Waterford mainland were not implemented.

In some respects, Fitzgerald perpetuated the traditions of Anglo-Irish landowners. In 1901 and 1911, for instance, his stewards were English-born Protestants.²⁹ However, political conditions did not favour the landowning class. The Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881), passed in response to the land war which was then at the height of its violent phase, was intended to make landlordism impossible. In 1885, the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act speeded up the tenant-purchasing of estates, and moves by Fitzgerald's brother-in-law to evict Little Island tenants in 1886 prompted angry reaction.

Claude William de Lacey, from Dorset, had married Fitzgerald's sister, Mary Francis Geraldine, in 1880.³⁰ On hearing of the planned evictions, the *Waterford News* announced it to be an 'impudent step . . . on the eve of the harvest' by a newcomer from England 'of whom nothing was known in this locality until recently'. Because of him, 'some of the old and respectable tenants on the Fitzgerald Island property . . . are threatened with the "death sentence"'.³¹ In 1888, Fitzgerald successfully evicted one of his employees for refusing to give up possession of a house with four acres of land.³² By the turn of the century, relations were easier. Among the guests invited for an afternoon's coursing on the island during March 1900, were four Catholic priests from the city, the bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Lord and Lady Waterford.³³

The 1903 Land Act, which offered landlords financial incentives to sell off their estates, was passed at a time when there were only two tenant farmers and their families and servants on Little Island. They were descendants of the Powers who had been farming on the island in 1827. Resisting the legislative drive against Irish landlords, Fitzgerald bought out what rights the farmers had and made the entire island his demesne.³⁴

Keen on Irish politics, during 1904 Fitzgerald played a prominent local role in the agitation for a Catholic university.³⁵ Later, he became actively engaged in the home rule debate.

Home Rule and the First World War

In July 1914, when Ireland seemed to be drifting into civil war, it was rumoured that an attempt had been made to land rifles near Tramore for the Irish Volunteers.

28. M. Bence-Jones, *A Guide to Irish Country Houses* (London, 1988); pp. 158-9.
29. *Census of Ireland 1901* (Munster Province), 1902 (Cd. 1058) CXXIV/CXXV.1: *Census of Ireland 1911* (Munster Province), 1912-13 (Cd. 6050) CXV.1.
30. Both are buried in Ballygunner Parish Church cemetery.
31. *Waterford News*, 6 Aug. 1886.
32. *Waterford News*, 3 Feb. 1888.
33. *Waterford News*, 30 March 1900.
34. *Waterford News*, 14 Oct. 1938, 'Glimpses of Waterford'; Unidentified newspaper cutting 'The Fitzgeralds of the Island' (ILB 94194, National Library of Ireland).
35. *Waterford News*, 5 Feb. 1904.

A force of police 'armed to the teeth with rifles, bayonets, and revolvers', were reported to have been stationed on Little Island, Fitzgerald having 'recently identified himself with the Volunteer movement'.³⁶

When the British government declared war on Germany a fortnight later, Fitzgerald promptly wrote to Waterford city's Irish Volunteers battalion commander, supporting John Redmond's proposal that the Irish Volunteers should be used to defend Ireland, and offered his own services. He was enrolled in the Volunteers the following day.³⁷ Subsequently, he subscribed money to the organisation.³⁸ An adherent of Redmond's First World War policy, Fitzgerald also recruited for the British army. Outside Ballygunner parish church, he addressed 'largely attended' recruiting meetings after 11 o'clock Sunday Mass,³⁹ and was a speaker at a recruiting meeting held in the city's Town Hall when a man shouted from the gallery, 'this is not Ireland's war!'.⁴⁰ Subsequently, Fitzgerald served with the French Red Cross in the war.

In July 1916, about two months after the last of the leaders of the Easter Rising had been executed, a Dublin newspaper reported that Little Island, complete with its castle and contents, was up for sale.⁴¹ However, it remained in the Fitzgeralds' possession.

A 20th century demesne

Fond of horses, Fitzgerald was a thoroughbred horse-breeder and also kept hunters. As well as horse-riding and hunting, leisure pursuits for him, his family and friends, included pheasant shooting and cricket matches. Matches between the Waterford garrison cricket club and the island XI⁴² were probably played on a meadow still known as the 'cricket field' long after it had been returned to use as permanent pasture.⁴³

About 14 acres of the island demesne was reserved as parkland, and the castle had its own kitchen and fruit gardens. Fitzgerald continued to farm the remaining approximately 295 acres, pasture occasionally being rented out to mainland farmers for use in fattening their sheep and cattle. Castle and farm workers formed an integrated island community.⁴⁴

Working on the island

Some employees, for example the cook, lived off the island, but at the time of the 1911 census, 22 people (excluding the absent Fitzgeralds), lived on the demesne.

36. *Munster Express*, 1 Aug. 1914.

37. *Munster Express*, 8 Aug. 1914.

38. *Waterford News*, 15 Jan. 1915.

39. *Munster Express*, 17 July 1915.

40. *Waterford Standard*, 25 March 1916.

41. *Waterford News*, 7 July 1916.

42. *Waterford News*, 22 May 1903.

43. Information about the 'cricket field' and most of the information about life on the island which follows was obtained from the author's father (1904-1994) who worked on the island in various capacities as man and boy.

44. Census, 1911.

These were the gardener (who combined his role with that of steward), a mechanic, an agricultural labourer, a stud groom, the ferryman, a housemaid, a laundress, and their families. However, the number of employees varied from time to time. Domestic staff in the 1920s included a parlour maid and two serving maids. There was also a resident governess. A houseman employed in the castle worked on the farm during the summer. Farm staff included a cowman, a dairymaid, a ploughman, and about four farm hands.

Wheat, barley, oats, mangels (a type of beet) and potatoes were grown on the farm. After threshing, the wheat was sold in Waterford city, and after spreading and turning in the drying room, the barley was sold to a city brewery. Straw was used as bedding for horses, cattle and pigs. Hay not used on Little Island was sold at the city's hay market on the Quay. Oats were used as feed for the farm horses and Fitzgerald's hunters. As well as pigs, the farm had a bull and milking cows. There were four working horses – a black mare, a grey mare, a horse called Billy, and Rosie the chestnut. A pair of horses pulled the plough, but Rosie was generally used with the cart and carriage garaged on the mainland.

As well as farm jobs, there was a variety of other work to be done. Stones for the cowsheds were quarried, and the island's roads were surfaced with material from a gravel and sand pit. A tool sharpening machine, a mobile steam engine used to power the saw and thresher, the generator supplying electricity to the castle, a windpump used to draw up water from a well, and the petrol pump used to supply it to the castle and the cattle troughs, all had to be maintained.

When necessary, temporary labour and specialist staff were hired. Female labour was recruited to pick potatoes or to work in the castle if there was extra cleaning to be done, while additional male agricultural labourers were employed at harvest time. Local men (including the father of singer Val Doonican) with their dogs and ferrets were hired to clear out the rabbits, and foresters were contracted to thin out the woods. Felled trees were cut up in the island's mill and provided fuel for the castle, timber planks for use in construction and repairs, and 'pit' wood for export to Wales. Of all the jobs, the ferryman's was particularly arduous.

The ferryman

Employed in a key position, the ferryman had a variety of boats to master. Two small 'prongs', capable of carrying two or three passengers, and a larger boat with a capacity of ten, were used for ferrying people the 300 yards across King's Channel. Up to seven cattle at a time were rowed across by a crew of two, in a flat-bottomed boat with ramps. The horse-boat, also crewed by two rowers, carried a horse and passengers. It was also sometimes used to freight wheat and barley to the city, or to collect coal from a city coalyard or direct from a ship unloading at the quays. A lighter, towed by Fitzgerald's motor-launch, was used to transport 'pit' wood to the city, or mangels sold to local farmers as cattle feed. Sometimes it was used to collect dung from a city dealer.

The ferryman had to be available at any time, day or night, to row the Fitzgeralds, workers, visitors, animals or supplies across King's Channel. If the Fitzgeralds were entertaining, he often had to be on stand-by until after midnight. The job could also be hazardous. During darkness, the guide lamps on either side of



The ferryman transporting huntsmen, other passengers, dogs, and hunter, across King's Channel, circa 1920.

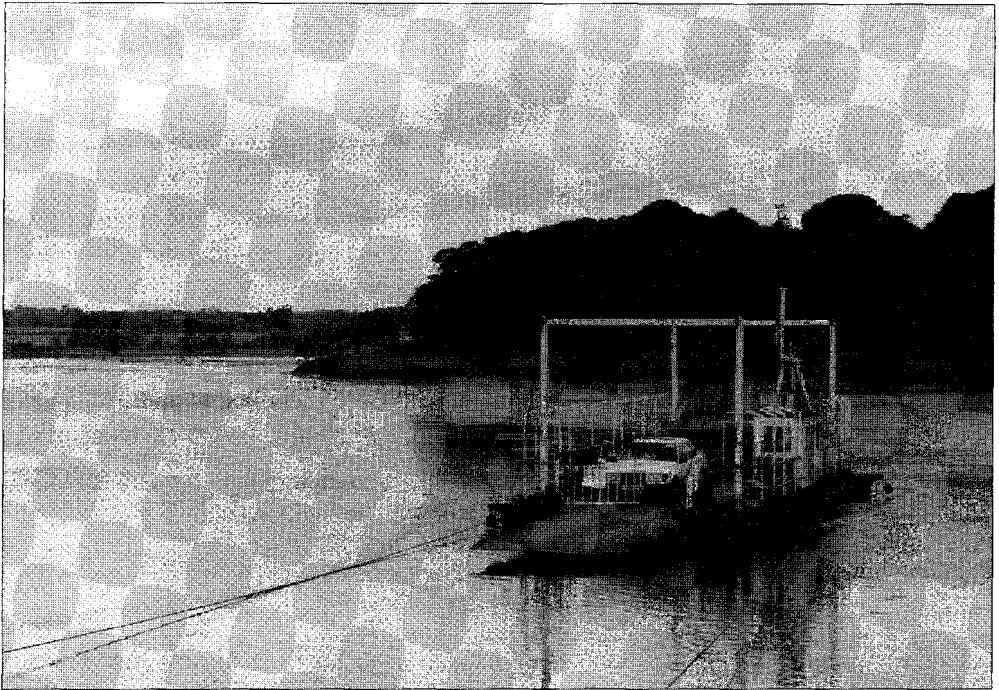
the channel were frequently blown out by the wind or knocked down by water rats, making accurate navigation difficult.

However, the ferryman occupied a spacious, good-quality house near the slip and was paid £1 4s. 8d. a week, with eightpence deducted for insurance. Given the average wage of about 15 shillings for unskilled workers, this was good pay which was topped up by 'tips' sometimes amounting to a shilling a day. Generally, pay and conditions on the island were perceived as being 'good'.

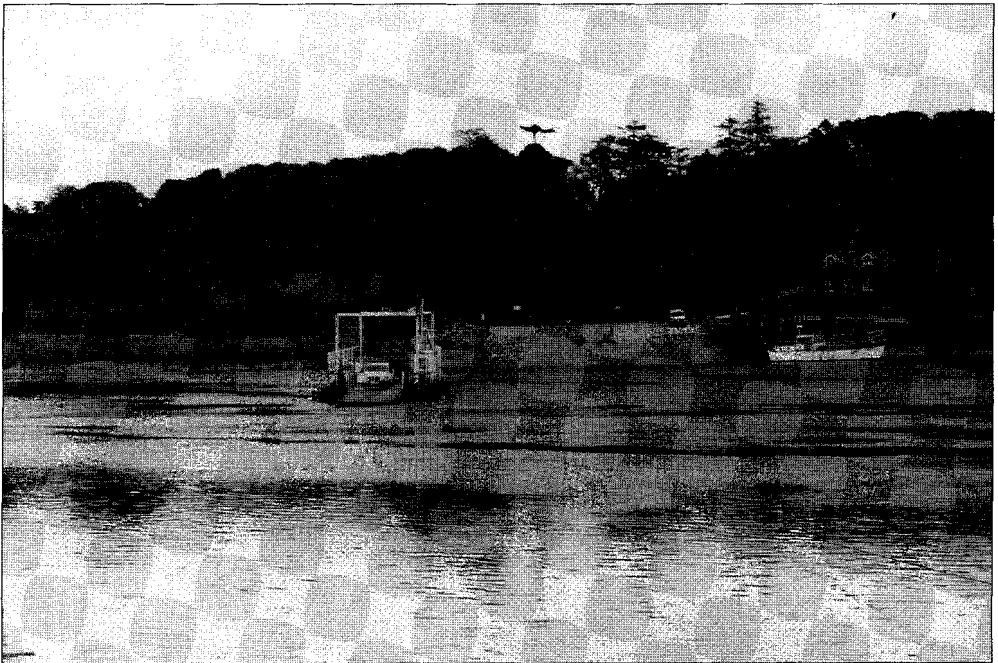
Working conditions

Typically, in 1917 a fourteen-year-old boy, who had paid 10 shillings a week for working on the Little Island farm during school holidays, took up a full-time job as houseboy for 18 shillings a week. His duties included driving a horse and cart to collect visitors and supplies from the city, feeding chickens, cleaning and polishing the cutlery, breaking sticks for fires, and cleaning boots. A family's income could be supplemented by doing additional chores such as cleaning Fitzgerald's guns, car or carriages – and there was a £2 bonus after the harvest. At Christmas, Fitzgerald handed out cash and free tobacco.

Plenty of good quality food was provided free in the castle's staff dining room. At 7 a.m., tea or milk was available. Breakfast, generally eggs and bacon, was served at 8 a.m. Lunch, at 1 p.m., consisted of cold meat and potatoes, followed by sandwiches at 4 p.m. Dinner, at 8 p.m., was generally the same as that served to the Fitzgeralds – soup followed by a meat dish. When the Fitzgeralds had finished



The chain-guided ferry *Strongbow* currently in use, transporting vehicles across King's Channel. It replaced the wooden boats in 1969.



cutting their meat, what remained was brought in by one of the family, frequently 'Master Edward', who also checked that staff were adequately catered for. Edward Maurice Fitzgerald was one of the twins born to Gerald Fitzgerald's American second wife. Educated at Eton and Jesus College, Cambridge, and formerly a lieutenant in the Irish guards, he served with the American forces in the Second World War. Later becoming a teacher, he was on the US army reserve list until he retired in 1963.

Food produced on the island, such as milk, butter, potatoes, cabbages and other vegetables, was supplied free to the families of employees. Some of those occupying houses with land attached, grew their own produce and sold any excess in the city.

Accommodation was rent-free and was of a high standard compared to the 'halls' (tenements) in the city where a couple with three or more children might be crammed into two rooms. In 1911, for instance, the mechanic, Martin Walsh, aged 49, and his wife lived with their five children in a seven-room house, while 31-year-old John Foley, the agricultural labourer, occupied a four-room property with his wife and eight-year-old child.⁴⁵

Life on the island, therefore, could be comfortable and satisfying.

Social life

Workers created their own entertainment. They visited each other's houses, and sometimes gathered around the big cosy fireplace in the castle's staff dining room. There was much tea-drinking and conversation, and a lot of card-playing. Pubs, relatives and friends in Waterford city, Ballygunner and Ballynakill, were easily accessible. In the city, there were cinemas, and the Theatre Royal staged live operas, plays, and varieties at affordable prices. At the several city band rooms, there was the threepenny hop, so-called because people attending put threepence into a cap to pay for the fiddle and melodeon players. Dances were also held in private houses, and money collected in a cap to pay for them. Regattas on the Suir also gave Little Island's ferryman and workers the opportunity to show off their strength and skills.

Free variety shows were put on in the castle's 'big hall'. Probably the same or similar to those staged in the Town Hall, they would have included athletic feats and acts by magicians, conjurors, ventriloquists, hypnotists, thought-readers, Indian club swingers, and sword swallowers. There were also card tricks, scenes recreated from the Wild West, and great escapes from handcuffs, ropes and sealed bags. Workers and their families were given a day off and the train fare to attend the Tramore races. And Fitzgerald's launch, with the horse-boat in tow, occasionally took them on picnic excursions to Dunmore East and Duncannon.

However, the social controls exercised by Fitzgerald over his workers were feudalistic in nature. In the 1980s, speaking of their experiences, deferential terms such as 'the master' and 'the mistress' came easily to those who had worked on Fitzgerald's island. A bell on the stable tower called people to work. Lateness and other disciplinary infringements were dealt with by the steward at daily report sessions held each morning in the castle gunroom when he also issued work

45. Census, 1911.

instructions. And Fitzgerald, who had gallery pews reserved for his Ballygunner tenants, checked that his employees regularly attended Sunday Mass.

A houseboy recalled that being a 'sleepy boy', he was always late with the breakfast milk and was ordered to sleep in a room next to the castle houseman, rather than in his father's house, so that he could be aroused in good time to collect the milk from the milkmaid. Blackened after separating 'slack' from coal lumps in order to make 'slack balls', 'madam' use to threaten to wash him if he did not do so himself. And she 'went mad' when he was suspected of delivering fewer eggs than had been laid by the chickens. Mrs Fitzgerald could reduce the maids to tears, demanding on occasion, that the 'Irish curtains' (cobwebs) they left behind should be removed.

The largely self-contained island community was relatively untouched by the rise of militant trade unionism among agricultural workers in the years following the First World War, and by the war of independence. But it did not long survive the death of Gerald Purcell-Fitzgerald on 21 November 1946.

The Fitzgerald link is broken

Fitzgerald's only son by his fourth marriage, Patrick, was killed at sea in 1943 while serving with the Royal Navy. Mary Augusta De Lisle Cecilia, born to Fitzgerald's third wife, therefore succeeded to the Little Island, her brother, Nicholas, having been killed in a big-game shooting accident in November 1938. She had married the Italian prince, Don Ferdinando Antonio Giuseppe Maria d'Ardia Caracciolo, in July 1938 and became the Princess Caracciolo. In 1952, they moved permanently to The Park, the family's property in Rathfarnham, Dublin, taking most of the furniture and paintings and important family heirlooms with them. The island was let out to a farming family and then sold in 1958.

A motorised chain-guided drive-on drive-off 80 feet long ferry, capable of transporting six motor cars, was commissioned by the new owners. Christened *Strongbow* after the Anglo-Norman conqueror of Waterford, it replaced the existing wooden boats a year later. The island was again rented out and then sold to a pedigree dairy farmer. From the time of the Caracciolos' departure, the castle was mainly unused. In July 1987, Eddie Kearns, a self-made Kilmacow-born entrepreneur, bought the estate for a reported £500,000.⁴⁶ Targeting the American market, he turned the castle into a luxury hotel. It opened for business in May 1988, and the estate is now valued at around £7 million.⁴⁷

A Luxury hotel

In 1990, the island was divided into two separate companies, Waterford Castle Limited, which owns the castle and 60 surrounding acres, and Waterford Castle Golf and Country Club, established to promote the Golf and Leisure facilities on the

46. *Munster Express*, 24 July 1987.

47. This information, and that which follows, was obtained during an interview with the Waterford Castle manager, Mary Connors, and from Waterford Castle Limited publicity brochures.

remaining approximately 250 acres. The Waterford Castle Hotel has 19 rooms, including suites, with plans to build an additional 28 rooms and a golf club and function room onto the west wing. In 1995, the summer tariffs ranged from £150 for a single room per night to £350 for the presidential suite. Croquet may be played on the castle lawn, or guests can shoot clay pigeons. There are tennis courts, an indoor heated pool, and an 18 hole golf course.

Management's policy is to employ local people, and about 20 permanent full-time staff are currently working on the island. In addition, approximately 20 temporary staff are taken on at the height of the tourist season.

For centuries, cultivated strips and fields, grazing animals, and ordered rural communities were the essence of Little Island. But the resurgent philosophy of *laissez-faire* and a growing tourist industry, with the concomitant adjustment in Ireland's economic structure, have brought speculation, property deals and a transient population. Little Island's feudalistic communities have vanished, but according to tradition their ghosts walk the fields and castle corridors.⁴⁸

48. A review of the island's ghostly legends will be found in *Waterford News*, 21 Oct. 1938, 'Glimpses of Waterford'.

The Temperance Movements in Waterford, 1839 to 1841

By Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin

Introduction

IT has been argued that the threat posed by the activities of Protestant proselytising societies, together with a more aggressive and fundamentalist style of Catholicism introduced into Maynooth from abroad, resulted in the increasing involvement of Catholic clergy in political campaigns such as emancipation, repeal, and tithing agitation in the years before the famine.¹ Another aspect of this "Catholic backlash", as it is sometimes called, can be seen in the attempt by the clergy to reform or suppress many of the traditional religious practices in Ireland such as wakes and patterns; in the regulation of marriage, and in the suppression of secret agrarian societies and faction fighting.² However, perhaps one of the most successful areas of Catholic clerical activity among the laity between the years 1839 and 1845 was the involvement in the temperance movement, which in the opinion of some people led to the priests themselves becoming more and more "Protestant".³

Fr. Mathew launched his temperance campaign in Cork in 1838. Within a very short number of years his movement spread throughout the south and south east of Ireland and also among the Irish in England and America. As well as that, the campaign attracted a number of independent "Temperance Apostles", organising their own local campaigns. Even if the figure of six million converts to teetotalism by 1841 seems a little exaggerated, especially considering that there were only twelve "temperance counties", there is plenty of evidence of success.⁴ The

1. For evidence of proselytism in Waterford see the *Report of the Proceedings at a Public Meeting Held in the City of Waterford on Friday November 9, 1827 For the Purpose of Establishing an Auxiliary to the Society for Promoting the Principles of the Reformation*, Richard Henderson (Waterford, 1827), WML 32/4. At this meeting in the Wesleyan Chapel it was reported that 1,000 people attended, "including many Roman Catholics". (See p. 1)
2. Seán Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-famine Ireland*, Gill and Macmillan (Dublin, 1982), pp. 2-3.
3. Kevin Danaher, *The Year in Ireland*, The Mercier Press (Cork, 1972), p. 184.
4. Colm Kerrigan, *Fr. Matthew and the Irish Temperance Movement*, Cork University Press (1992), p. 98. The main "temperance counties" were Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Clare, Galway, King's County (Offaly), Queen's County (Laois), Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford.

temperance meetings in many ways resembled O'Connell's Monster Meetings for Repeal, with tens of thousands turning out to take the pledge. To many among the peasantry, Fr. Mathew, like O'Connell, was regarded as a folk hero, invested with almost magic powers over drunkenness. Whether as a result of the temperance campaign or not, the consumption of legally produced whiskey was more than halved from 12,296,342 gallons in 1839 to 5,546,483 gallons in 1844.⁵ Perhaps more importantly, in spite of abuses and clerical domination, the Irish people developed a sense of self confidence as a result of temperance. According to Thomas Davis, temperance and the National Schools made the Irish "sober and full of reflection".⁶ This self confidence, however, would be shattered with the failure of O'Connell's political campaign in 1843, the famine from 1845 to 1850, and the demise of the mass temperance movement.

There had long been in Ireland a realisation of the damage caused by spirit drinking. Speaking in the Irish House of Commons on 2 Feb. 1791 Henry Grattan described whiskey as "this poison, which now destroys the health, the morals and the industry of the people." He went on to point out that three million gallons of legally produced whiskey were consumed in Ireland each year, as well as a much greater amount of poteen; and stated that "nearly every seventh house is a whiskey shop".⁷ By 1838, over eleven million gallons of whiskey were distilled annually.⁸ Of this only 320,744 gallons were exported.⁹ It was estimated that thirteen pints of spirits were consumed per person in Ireland in 1838, compared to seven pints per person in England.¹⁰

Waterford's Drink Problem

"Níor chruinnigh mé ór ná stór ar aon chor,
Ach an scilling a gheobhainn a ól go héasca."¹¹

Thus Donnchadh Rua Mac Conmara, the eighteenth century Waterford poet summed up his life, never saving anything, except a shilling he could spend on drink. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, drink continued to be a major problem in the Waterford area. Although the three Waterford city distilleries closed by the early nineteenth century as a result of government regulation, the problem of drunkenness among the people of the city and county

5. *The Nation*, 8 Mar. 1845.

6. John Molony, *A Soul Came Into Ireland, Thomas Davis 1814-1845*, Geography Publications (Dublin, 1995), p. 45.

7. Daniel Madden, *The Speeches of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan; to which is added His Letter on the Union, with a Commentary on His Career and Character*; James Duffey and Co. Ltd. (Dublin, 1845), pp. 160-163.

8. Andy Bielenberg, "The Distilling Industry", in *Cork's Industrial Revolution 1780-1880, Development or Decline*; Cork University Press (1991), p. 65.

9. *The Waterford Mirror*, 13 Nov. 1839.

10. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Dec. 1839.

11. "I never saved up gold or goods,
"But the shilling I could drink quickly".

Seán de Fréine, *Croí Cine, Dréachta agus Sleachta as Litríocht na Gaeilge*, An Clíochomhar (Dublin, 1990), p. 90.

was not solved. During the course of the eighteenth century the consumption of beer and spirits in the Waterford area began to increase.¹² Between 1808 and 1811 the number of patients treated in the Waterford General Dispensary rose from 4,227 to 5,708. Doctors working in the Fever Hospital and in the Waterford General Dispensary blamed the reduction in drink prices and its excessive use among the “lower orders” for the increase in disease and the high number of patients in these institutions.¹³ In 1833 there were 190 public houses in Waterford, and with a weekly intake of £10, the annual expenditure by the population of the city in public houses would amount to £100,000. According to one witness giving evidence to the *Poor Inquiry* of 1836 the impoverished state of the poor was due to drunkenness, bad clothing and lodging. The usual weekly wages in Waterford’s main industries ranged from 9s. for a labourer to £1 2s for a carpenter, and in the opinion of the witness this should be sufficient for a sober man to support his family and save money at the same time. However, he testified that this rarely occurred because of drinking.¹⁴ It was estimated that there were 100 “strolling beggars” in Waterford city in 1834, receiving a combined income of £17 10s per week, a sum considered sufficient to maintain 300 mendicants. It was believed however that much of this money found its way into the “coffers of the dram merchants”.¹⁵ By 1838, 6,000 gallons of legal whiskey were consumed in Waterford every year. This would only have accounted for a fraction of the whiskey drunk, as poteen, at only half the price, was widely available in the city.¹⁶

Although many respectable witnesses appearing before such committees investigating poverty in Ireland during the nineteenth century were very quick to blame the working class for their own problems, one must also take into account other evidence of drunkenness. In September 1838, sixty percent of those tried before the Mayor’s Court were charged with being drunk.¹⁷ At a meeting of Waterford Corporation in January 1839, the Chief Constable defended the recruitment of fifteen extra policemen to enforce the Drunkenness Act. In the previous three months, 964 people were arrested in the city for being drunk and locked up in Reginald’s Tower.¹⁸ The following month an account appeared in *The Waterford Mail* of a woman from Barrack Street who burned to death after falling into her kitchen fire in “an intoxicated state”.¹⁹ According to *The Waterford Chronicle*, there was no sea port in Ireland “where drunkenness has made such a havoc as Waterford”.²⁰ Again in the *Chronicle*, it was stated that one in every three houses in Carrick-on-Suir sold beer or whiskey.²¹

12. Des Cowman, “Drink in the Waterford Area to c. 1840”, in *Decies xxii*, January 1983, pp. 20-21.

13. British Parliamentary Papers, 1810-1811; *Petition of Brewers*, 222 (v): 17, pp. 11-12.

14. *Appendix to the First Report of Commissioners for enquiring into the conditions of the Poorer Classes in Ireland* (1836), Appendix C, Part 1, pp. 103-104.

15. *Report on Poverty in Waterford, 1834*, NLI Ms. 3288.

16. Des Cowman, “Trade and Society in Waterford City, 1800-1840”, in W. Nolan and T. Power (eds.), *Waterford History and Society* (Dublin, 1992), p. 444.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 22 Jan. 1839.

19. *The Waterford Mail*, 6 Feb. 1839.

20. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 12 Nov. 1839.

21. *Ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1839.

In rural areas the problem of drink was little better. For some farm workers, whiskey was part of their wages. According to Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin, writing about south Kilkenny in 1827, reapers were paid 2s. per day and a glass of whiskey.²² It was estimated that there were 75 premises in Dungarvan selling whiskey before the advent of temperance, with an average of £15 being spent in each one weekly, giving a weekly outlay of £1,125, and a yearly outlay of £58,500.²³ According to one correspondent, 3,000 barrels of beer and the same amount of whiskey were annually consumed in the mining village of Bonmahon.²⁴ Fr. Cantwell of Tramore gave the following account of life in Bonmahon in 1836: "The miners at Bonmahon get great wages and might live more comfortably than any workman in the country, but they spent their money very much on liquor. The police are obliged to go around and close all the public houses on Sundays to preserve order and quiet".²⁵

Following a campaign launched by the Waterford city magistrates against Sunday drinking, *The Waterford Chronicle* addressed the publicans of the city: "We would earnestly exhort this large class of our fellow citizens to be more attentive to the laws which regulate their trade".²⁶ This was in spite of the fact that drinking on a Sunday was a reserved sin in the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore for Catholics.²⁷ As a result of this campaign a great number of successful prosecutions took place, taking up the entire Petty Sessions Court of the 23rd of August. The publicans, who were accused of "debauching the morals of the public", produced a large number of excuses. The most novel explanation by one of the publicans was that the crowd drinking whiskey in his public house at 3 a.m. on a Monday morning "had sought shelter from a sudden shower of rain".²⁸ There is no doubt but that the activities of the police greatly annoyed many publicans and their customers. A letter appearing in *The Waterford Chronicle*, and signed "A Citizen" complained that it was unfair to allow policemen to search the entire premises of a public house for illegal drinkers, believing that their attentions should be limited to the public bar only.²⁹

Legally produced whiskey, on which duty was paid, was probably not the main problem in the country. In fact numerous government restrictions limited the sale of spirits in Ireland. Unlike their counterparts in England and Wales, Irish grocers were unable to get licenses to sell spirits, a situation which Daniel O'Connell hoped to remedy by the introduction of a special bill in the House of Commons.³⁰ It would seem, however, that most shops sold whiskey and paid very little attention to the law.³¹ Poteen was widely available. In 1823 a Dublin distiller claimed that poteen accounted for between one and two-thirds of all spirit sales in Ireland.³² In July 1839

22. Tomás de Bhaldraithe (ed.); *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh, An Clóchomhar* (Dublin, 1970), p. 14.

23. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 14 Nov. 1839.

24. *Ibid.*, 9 Nov. 1839.

25. *Poor Inquiry 1836*, Vol. xxxiii, p. 108.

26. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 16 Oct. 1839.

27. *Ibid.*, 12 Nov. 1839.

28. *Ibid.*, 27 Aug. 1839.

29. *Ibid.*, 8 June 1839.

30. *The Waterford Mail*, 3 Aug. 1839.

31. Cowman, "Drink in the Waterford Area to c. 1840", p. 28.

32. John McGriffin, *In Praise of Poteen*, Appletree Press (Dublin, 1978), pp. 18-19.

a Bill For The Better Prevention Of The Sale Of Spirits By Unlicensed Persons In Ireland was proposed by the government.³³ The main poteen producing areas in Ireland before the famine were in the west and north of the country, with generally very little in the south of Ireland. The one exception to this trend was Tipperary, which reportedly ranked 9th as a poteen producing county, and would have been in a very good position to supply surrounding counties.³⁴ In *The Waterford Mail*, there is an account of a very successful raid on a poteen still in Tipperary. On that occasion 1,300 gallons were seized.³⁵ According to a revenue officer in the mid nineteenth century, a poteen maker could make 3s. per gallon profit, thus the poteen confiscated in the raid described above would have made a profit of £195.³⁶

Before Temperance

The Society of Friends always had a strong interest in temperance, seeing it in the same light as other improving causes, such as the campaign for the abolition of slavery and the suppression of the opium trade, especially in China. During the winter of 1808-1809, Elizabeth Ridgway, a Waterford Quaker, visited public houses in the city. She was accompanied on these visits by Thomas Shillito, described as a "Quaker minister from London". They preached to the owners and the customers on the dangers of strong drink.³⁷

The modern temperance movement is said to have begun in the winter of 1828 in a Friend's meeting house in New Ross, Co. Wexford. Later, William Martin, a Quaker shopkeeper in Cork developed an interest in temperance. He was a governor of the House of Industry in Cork with Fr. Mathew and induced the priest to preach on temperance, and after 1831 abstinence.³⁸ The Quakers established a number of their own temperance societies, but at the same time always maintained close contact with Fr. Matthew and his movement.

In Portlaw a temperance society was founded for the workers at the Malcomson factories and numbered 500, holding fortnightly meetings.³⁹ According to a contemporary account of the Portlaw factory a very strict moral atmosphere was established among the workers: "It was a rule to dismiss any girl who was guilty of the slightest impropriety. Drunkenness has been abolished".⁴⁰ The Portlaw Club, as it came to be called, did not restrict its activities to temperance alone. A savings club was also formed for the members, and shares were issued, paid for at 6d. per week. There were monthly meetings, and a committee elected by the members. Drunkenness or taking a drink within four miles of their homes, was punished by

33. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 30 July 1839.

34. McGuffin, *In Praise of Poteen*, p. 18.

35. *The Waterford Mail*, 16 Aug. 1839.

36. McGuffin, *In Praise of Poteen*, p. 20.

37. *Reminiscences of Elizabeth Ridgway, 1757-1833*; p. 4, WML, 13/13.

38. Arthur Williamson, "Quakers in the Irish Textile Industry", *Planning Perspectives* 7 (1992), pp. 323-324.

39. Portlaw ICA Local History Group, *Portlaw, A Local History*, Waterford 1986, p. 15.

40. Richard Sheil, *Legal and Political Sketches*, Vol. II (1828), quoted in John Morley, *A Brief History of the Malcomsons of Portlaw 1818-1837*, typescript, WML 30/10, p. 6.

expulsion.⁴¹ However, a number of unrepentant drunkards had to be sent from Portlaw to Fr. Mathew in Cork in 1839 as a last resort, because the local society was not able to deal with them.⁴² After the famine the Malcomsons finally sold their interest in the brewing business in Waterford.⁴³

The first attempt to establish a temperance society in Waterford ended ludicrously. In May 1830, a meeting of "The Friends of Temperance" was held in the Town Hall. The attendance included Lieutenant General Browne and two Quakers, members of the New Ross Temperance Society, Samuel Elly and George Whitmore Carr. At the close of the meeting it was proposed to establish the Waterford Temperance Society as an auxiliary to the Hibernian Temperance Society. However, one of those present, Peter Kenny was "of the opinion" that the establishment of such a society, one of whose rules was the total abstinence from spirits, would discriminate against "moderate drinkers". He proposed an amendment to the resolution, that members of the temperance society should be allowed to consume spirits "in moderation". To the consternation of "The Friends of Temperance", the amendment was carried. The meeting then broke up without the formation of a temperance society. At the same time a number of people had notices printed and distributed in Dungarvan announcing the formation of a local temperance society. However, when people turned up for the meeting the whole thing turned out to be an elaborate hoax!⁴⁴

There followed a protracted correspondence in the local press about the benefits of "moderate drinking", some of it derisory. One correspondent, signing himself a "Water Drinker", quipped that temperate men should not be debarred from the use of "a wholesome beverage".⁴⁵ Another, "X.X.", could see no harm "in a tumbler of good whiskey punch" and accused "The Friends of Temperance" of being too extreme.⁴⁶ "A Moderate Drinker" writing to the *Chronicle* wrote of the advantages of getting drunk every now and again.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, temperance societies were established in Clonmel and Carlow in 1830, with help from New Ross, and without the division that occurred in Waterford.⁴⁸

It would seem however that Ireland was not yet ready for a mass temperance movement. On the whole, drinking was still regarded as a very acceptable pastime. In May 1830, *The Freeman's Journal* described a dinner given by Guinness and Co. for its workers. Apart from food, each person was given "a quart of Guinness's Best, and an abundant supply of whiskey punch".⁴⁹

Rightly or wrongly, many Catholics regarded the early temperance societies as

41. Desmond Neill, "Portlaw – A Nineteenth Century Quaker Enterprise Based on a Model Village", *Occasional Papers in Irish Quaker History 1*, Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland (Dublin, 1992).

42. Kerrigan, *Fr. Mathew*, p. 55.

43. Maurice Wigham, *The Irish Quakers*, Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland (Dublin, 1994), pp. 88-90.

44. *The Waterford Mirror*, 22 May 1830.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, 29 May 1830.

47. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 19 June 1830.

48. *The Waterford Mirror*, 12 June 1830.

49. Reprinted in *The Waterford Mirror*, 24 May 1830.

purely a Protestant phenomenon.⁵⁰ Even by 1839, according to *The Waterford Chronicle*, there was "too much fanaticism – a certain Methodistical cant – with a lurking proselytism" in these early societies.⁵¹ A letter writer to *The Chronicle* remarked: "Temperance was the means and proselytism the end".⁵²

In that climate, the Waterford Temperance Society did not prosper. An account of one of its meetings in 1839 comments on the very low attendance.⁵³ A month later very little had changed, with a report of a meeting ending with the following observation: "We are sorry to see it so thinly attended".⁵⁴ After the formation of a branch of Fr. Matthew's society in the city, the Waterford Temperance Society continued in existence. In time it was renamed the Protestant Temperance Society, and claimed a membership of 500.⁵⁵

Many individual Catholic priests also preached about the evil of drunkenness to their congregations. Describing St. Patrick's Day in 1830, Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin remarks: "Is é seo an Lá Fhéile Pádraig beannaithe, óir ní fheicim duine ná daonnaí, fear, bean, ná buachaill ar meisce, míle milliún baochas le Dia! Is tré sheanmóna an Athar Tomás Ó Deabhán tharla so, le grásta Dé tré Íosa Críost".⁵⁶ In the meantime, Brother Patrick Joseph Murphy, Superior of Mount Sion, had established a juvenile temperance organisation in 1835, three years before Fr. Mathew popularised the idea in the country as a whole.⁵⁷

Fr. Mathew and Fr. Foley – rival Apostles?

From July 1839, stories began to appear in the Waterford press on Fr. Mathew's activities in different parts of Munster. Even allowing for exaggeration, there is no doubt that he had an extraordinary effect on all classes of Catholics, especially on the peasants. He was described as "a man of a striking and even a commanding presence ... endowed with a wealth of sympathy and a love of the human race".⁵⁸ There are many accounts of the influence Fr. Mathew had over alcoholics. According to one account, not one person who joined the society broke his pledge. From October 1838 to September 1839, it was stated that 148 people had died from intemperance in Limerick. As a result of Fr. Mathew's crusade in that city, not one death was attributed to intemperance during September 1839.⁵⁹ Cork, which it had been claimed was, "the second most drunken city in the United Kingdom after

50. Kerrigan, *Fr. Mathew*, p. 14.

51. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 21 Oct. 1839.

52. *Ibid.*, 16 Nov. 1839.

53. *The Waterford Mail*, 25 June 1839.

54. *Ibid.*, 6 July 1839.

55. *Ibid.*, 11 Nov. 1839.

56. de Bhaldraithe, *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh*, pp. 63-64. "This is the holy St. Patrick's Day, since I don't see anyone at all, man, woman, or boy drunk, a thousand million thanks to God! It is through the preaching of Father Tomás Ó Deabhán that this happened, with the grace of God, through Jesus Christ".

57. Desmond Rushe, *Edmund Rice, The Man and his Times*, Gill and Macmillan (Dublin, 1981), p. 139.

58. Justin McCarthy, *The Story of an Irishman* (Chatto and Windus, London, 1904), pp. 34-35.

59. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 5 Oct. 1839.

Dublin", had been transformed by his work.⁶⁰ In July 1839 the spirit retailers of Limerick were at a "complete standstill" because of Fr. Mathew's campaign in that city. The Cork distillers were supposed to have offered him £1,000 to give up his temperance campaign.⁶¹ During that summer of 1839 the numbers converted to teetotalism in the Munster region began to soar – 19,000 in Cork and 22,000 in Limerick. At the same time, stories began to appear of large crowds of people travelling to Cork to take the pledge from Fr. Matthew personally.⁶² In October 1839, reportedly over 200 people passed through Clonmel on foot, en route to Cork to take the pledge there. These were joined by 100 boatmen from the river Suir.⁶³

While some from Waterford were making the trip to Cork, what seemed to be a rival temperance society began to be established in east Cork and west Waterford by a curate from Youghal, Fr. John Foley. He was born in Clashmore and studied for the priesthood in Spain. After Spain was invaded by Napoleon, he moved to Paris and was ordained there in 1815. He worked for a while in the south of France, but "after becoming a victim of democratic fury" he went to America. There his health suffered, and he returned to Ireland and became a curate in Youghal. He was described as "learned, austere, and rigorously abstemious".⁶⁴

In October 1839, he addressed a crowd of 20,000 at Aglish in Irish, and administered the pledge. Groups from Youghal, Dungarvan, Clashmore, Cappoquin, Lismore, Whitechurch, and Villierstown made the journey to join with the Aglish people for this meeting.⁶⁵ Fr. Foley's knowledge and use of Irish was to be very important in the development of his movement in the rural districts of Waterford, where it remained the first language of communication up until the early twentieth century. It must also be remembered that 70.55% of the population of County Waterford could not read or write at this stage, the third highest illiteracy rate in Ireland after Mayo and Galway.⁶⁶ It was claimed that 769 people from Dungarvan took the pledge.⁶⁷ In November, Fr. Foley preached in Dungarvan, and afterwards led 560 members of the temperance society, accompanied by a band, in a parade around the town. He would have stayed longer in Dungarvan, except for a strict order from his parish priest in Youghal to return to his duties. However, great changes were attributed to Fr. Foley's influence in Dungarvan, with no more drunkenness or fights on the streets. "Waterford ought to be up and stirring in this glorious movement" was the opinion of the *Chronicle* after describing these events.⁶⁸ The movement next appeared in Stradbally and Bonmahon. It was reported that all the miners in Bonmahon had taken the pledge, "to the consternation of the shebeeners" and that twelve public houses in the village were reportedly forced to close.⁶⁹ It was also announced at the Dungarvan Petty Sessions that in future the law

60. *Ibid.*, 21 Oct. 1839.

61. *The Waterford Mail*, 24 July 1839.

62. *Ibid.*, 16 Aug. 1839.

63. *Ibid.*, 26 Oct. 1839.

64. "A Memoir of the Rev. John Foley", published in *The Waterford Chronicle*, 16 Jan. 1840.

65. *Ibid.*, 6 Oct. 1839.

66. *Ireland, Census of Population 1841*, Introduction, p. xiv.

67. Elizabeth Malcolm, *Ireland Sober, Ireland Free* (Gill and Macmillan, 1986), p. 115.

68. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 5 Nov. 1839.

69. *Ibid.*, 7 Nov. 1839.

forbidding publicans giving credit to customers would be strictly implemented.⁷⁰ By now many Waterford people began to go to Youghal to take the pledge from Fr. Foley, instead of going to Cork to Fr. Mathew.

As these events were taking place in the west of the county, very little seemed to have been happening in Waterford city. *The Waterford Chronicle* was calling for action on the temperance front, and continued to give publicity to Fr. Foley's movement. Finally the Mayor decided to act. He had already established a fund to help those wishing to travel to Cork to take the pledge. However, in November he decided that it would be cheaper to invite Fr. Foley to Waterford city. This seemed to have prompted the Catholic Bishop, Dr. Foran, to take a different initiative. Instead of agreeing with the proposed invitation to Fr. Foley, who was still a curate in the Diocese of Cloyne, he announced to the press that he had already written to Fr. Mathew, who as a Capuchin might have been regarded as removed from possible inter-diocesan rivalries, inviting him to Waterford.⁷¹

After this, events moved at great speed. On Sunday 10th November the Waterford branch of Fr. Mathew's Total Abstinence Association was formed at the Christian Brothers' School, Mount Sion. A large crowd gathered for the occasion. Dr. Foran took the chair. He was joined by Edmund Ignatius Rice, founder of the Order, several other brothers, and Br. Patrick Joseph Murphy, superior of Mount Sion. The meeting place was decorated with laurel branches as a symbol of the coming victory over intemperance. Dr. Foran addressed the crowd and announced that Fr. Mathew would be visiting Waterford early in December. He then read out the rules of the association, which were accepted in full by the audience. These rules provided for a strictly disciplined organisation to be firmly under the control of the local Bishop and clergy. All members had to abstain from alcohol, except "on medical advice". (This "medical advice" clause would prove to be very useful to middleclass members of the society in the future, including Daniel O'Connell, enabling them to drink and not break the pledge.) No person from any other temperance societies was allowed to address a meeting of the Mount Sion society without permission from the local parish priest. No tracts were to be reviewed by the society without permission of the local parish priest. No member of a secret society, or anyone who had taken the combination oath, was allowed to join. Apart from these rules, membership was open to all denominations, and the society was to be non-political and non-sectarian! A great number of people, both men and women, took the pledge. At the conclusion of the proceedings, it was decided to hold regular meetings in Mount Sion, and to open a coffee shop in Waterford.⁷²

A week later, a separate Female Total Abstinence Society was formed at St. Patrick's Schools. Br. Patrick Murphy and Fr. Sheehan, parish priest of Trinity Without, were present. The women accepted the same rules as the men. Fr. Sheehan spoke of the evils of drunkenness among women – something he informed his listeners that was much worse than among men! He then reminded the women of what the future might hold for them if they succumbed to the temptation of drink:

70. Ibid., 9 Nov. 1839.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., 12 Nov. 1839.

"If those wretched outcasts who pace the streets were asked what caused them at first to rush upon destruction, no doubt they would attribute it to the indulgence in intoxicating liquors".⁷³

While the Waterford city branches were being formed, the movement in the west of the county was strengthening. *The Waterford Chronicle* wondered why people travelled all the way to Cork to take the pledge from Fr. Mathew when they could join under Fr. Foley.⁷⁴ On the same day as the Mount Sion meeting took place, Fr. Foley paid a visit to Dungarvan. He celebrated 7 a.m. mass at the Friary, spoke in English and Irish, and administered the pledge to 1,500 people. He then left for Stradbally, promising to return to Dungarvan on Monday. He was accompanied by a large crowd on his journey. At the outskirts of the village they were joined by groups from Newtown, Bonmahon, Kilmacthomas, Ballylaneen and Kill, and as well as from Stradbally itself. A letter writer signing himself "Dungarvaniensis" described the scene in great detail: the crowds marching in perfect order, "the spirit-stirring strains of marching bands", the white silk flags, one of which was embroidered by the nuns from Dungarvan with the emblem of a cross and the words "In Hoc Signo Vinces". In the opinion of "Dungarvaniensis" 4,680 people took the pledge in Stradbally that Sunday, bringing the total number enrolling under Fr. Foley to 21,346.

Fr. Foley returned to Dungarvan the following morning, the 11th. Large crowds gathered again, and 5,000 new converts to temperance were received into the association, according to the Dungarvan Correspondent of *The Waterford Chronicle*, who went on to remark that the public houses and shebeens were "as deserted as Goldsmith's village ale house". The sale of tea, coffee, bread and oatmeal increased by 60%.⁷⁵ As in other parts of the country, breaking the pledge meant automatic expulsion from the society. Although conservative newspapers like *The Waterford Mail* doubted that many of those taking the pledge would keep it in the long term, the Dungarvan association had its own way to check on the activities of their members. Monitors and inspectors were appointed to report to the committee on anyone who was drinking. *The Waterford Chronicle* was happy to report that the inspectors had not a single report of relapse at a meeting of the society at the end of November.⁷⁶

One correspondent, "Dungarvaniensis" wrote to the *Chronicle* praising certain Dungarvan publicans for serving tea and coffee, and distinguishing between them and "shebeeners". He also stated that a Mr David Burke was the leader of the Dungarvan society.⁷⁷ This was followed by a letter from "A Teetotaller", also from Dungarvan, refuting the claims of "Dungarvaniensis". He claimed that the society was not under secular control. The society was under the control of the parish priest, and was run according to strict Catholic principles, by Catholics. Mr. Burke, although a member, was one of the leading pawnbrokers in the town. In the opinion of "Teetotaller", such pawnbrokers were nothing more than "remorseless,

73. Ibid., 19 Nov. 1839.

74. Ibid., 30 Nov. 1839.

75. Ibid., 14 Nov. 1839.

76. Ibid., 30 Nov. 1839.

77. Ibid., 26 Nov. 1839.

extortionate, usurious panderers to every vice and to that of drunkenness in particular".⁷⁸

Fr. Mathew in Waterford City

On the 4th of December 1839, it was announced in *The Waterford Mail* that Br. Patrick Murphy of Mount Sion had received a letter from Fr. Matthew, announcing his intention of visiting Waterford on the 11th. By that time, the loyalist *Waterford Mail* began to express certain doubts about the wisdom of unleashing the charismatic priest on the Catholic workers and peasants of Waterford. On the same day the paper printed extracts from a pamphlet published by the Rev. William Cook from Belfast, denouncing superstition and mass-hysteria, which he implied were deeply ingrained in Fr. Mathew's association, arguing that the temperance movement must be "purified from unsound and dangerous opinions, and placed upon a rational and scriptural foundation".⁷⁹

However, more serious questions were raised a few days later when news of a debacle in Limerick reached the local papers. One pregnant woman was killed and many injured during Fr. Mathew's visit to that city. In the opinion of the editor of *The Mail*, "every sober minded and right thinking individual will turn from the details with pity and disgust". The crowd of between 30,000 and 40,000 had gathered to take the pledge, the police were attacked as the crowd went on the rampage. Many of those taking the pledge were "in the last state of beastly intoxication". The army had to be called out to restore order. The Protestant sensibilities of the *Mail* were also outraged by the sight of the reception given by the crowd to Fr. Mathew; "a mortal hailed as a deity before whom thousands fell prostrate in adoration".⁸⁰ The more liberal *Waterford Mirror* gives further details of the trouble in Limerick: "The spectacle was frightening", one man had his spine broken, and a woman her breast bone fractured. The crowd stormed the house where Fr. Mathew was staying, destroyed the staircase and broke windows. After Fr. Mathew moved to the courthouse, trouble continued. He tried to administer the pledge to those who could force their way through the railings. Eventually part of the railings themselves were torn down, and ended up in the river, as well as a number of people.⁸¹

Even the nationalist *Chronicle* was not able to gloss over the events which occurred in Limerick, calling for special planning to prevent casualties in Waterford during the forthcoming visit of Fr. Mathew, for plentiful supplies of food to prevent over pricing, and for a special committee to be established to organise the occasion. Referring to the death of the pregnant woman, the paper had the following rather bizarre observation to make: "'Tis but one life lost to save many thousands ..." The crowd could not be condemned for engaging in "accidental violence", especially when the people "braved the swords of the dragoons to touch the hem of his garment", and "fell before him in pious homage" – a sight which the *Mail* found so objectionable. The *Chronicle* seemed far more concerned with exorbitant prices in

78. *Ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1839.

79. *The Waterford Mail*, 4 Dec. 1839.

80. *Ibid.*, 7 Dec. 1839.

81. *The Waterford Mirror*, 7 Dec. 1839.

the city during the visit; 1d. loaves of bread rose to 3d., a quart of milk sold for 6d., and 2s was charged for standing room in cellars at night.⁸² Two days later, the *Chronicle* again commented on the violent scenes in Limerick. It agreed that the violence of some of the crowd was disgraceful, and compared the drunkenness to the actions of beasts.⁸³

As a result of the violence in Limerick, a meeting was held in the City Hall in Waterford on Monday 2nd of December. Fr. John Sheehan stated that the trouble in Limerick was caused by the lack of proper planning.⁸⁴ It was decided to elect a committee to make all the arrangements for the visit, which were to be kept secret until the last minute. The police and the army were represented on the committee, and extra cavalry were sent for.⁸⁵

In the days before Fr. Mathew's arrival, excitement began to mount. This new spirit was even to be seen in the courts. When several men appeared on charges of drunkenness, they all promised that they would take the pledge when Fr. Mathew came. As a result of these promises, sentence on them was postponed. So great was "temperance fever" in the newspapers that no other local news seemed important. The *Chronicle* ended its court report with the following observation: "Some uninteresting assault and battery cases were also tried".⁸⁶

Fr. Matthew arrived in Waterford on Tuesday evening the 10th of December, a surprise move to avoid trouble.⁸⁷ On the same day, a letter was sent by the Mayor to each parish priest in the city, via mounted policemen, asking them to accompany their parishioners going to see Fr. Mathew.⁸⁸ From early the previous day, thousands of people had been gathering, some coming from as far away as Wicklow and Kildare. Many more came by boat from Wexford. In spite of the bad weather, the streets were thronged with people.

On Wednesday morning, Ald. Alcock and Br. Murphy, guarded by two companies of the 37th Depot and all the police of the city, took up position in Ballybricken. Fr. Mathew arrived at 9 a.m. and began administering the pledge. Because of the pressure of the crowds, he had to be rescued by the police and army, and escorted to the courthouse. At this point scuffles broke out, and "the police had sometimes to distribute several knocks among their assailants". The courthouse was reached with some difficulty, and one commentator remarked upon the absence of cavalry, whose presence would have made the job of controlling the crowd much easier. The cavalry which had been sent for, thirty-five of the Scots Greys, did not arrive until the following day from Cahir, having spent the night in Clonmel.⁸⁹ A maximum of 200 people were allowed into the courthouse at one time, and then were escorted out through a side door. Crowds arrived from Kill, Tramore and Bonmahon led by their priests. The same scenes were repeated on Thursday

82. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 5 Dec. 1839.

83. *Ibid.*, 7 Dec. 1839.

84. *The Waterford Mirror*, 11 Dec. 1839.

85. *The Waterford Mail*, 11 Dec. 1839.

86. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Dec. 1839.

87. Kerrigan, *Fr. Mathew*, p. 90.

88. *The Waterford Mirror*, 11 Dec. 1839.

89. *Ibid.*, 14 Dec. 1839.

and Friday. In total, it was estimated that nearly 70,000 people took the pledge in Waterford over two days. After Fr. Mathew's departure, thousands more still continued to arrive.⁹⁰

The Waterford Mirror regarded the visit as "one of the most remarkable events in our modern history – or in the annals of the country". It put the number taking the pledge at 80,000 people.⁹¹ *The Mail*, although full of praise for Fr. Mathew and the local committee, kept its account of the visit to the bare facts. The *Chronicle* on the other hand gave a long enthusiastic report of the two day event. Its account begins on the 12th of December under the headline "The Glorious Revolution", and goes on to give a blow by blow description of the visit. On Wednesday it quoted Ald. Poole remarking: "Talk of the victories of the Duke of Wellington, they are nothing to those of Mr. Mathew".⁹² On Thursday, it counted many Protestants, Quakers and Dissenters taking the pledge, as well as thirty nine of the city police, many of them also Protestants. Ballad singers were everywhere with songs in praise of temperance and Fr. Mathew. He left Waterford at 8 p.m. on Thursday night. The *Chronicle* estimated that 100,000 people had taken the pledge.⁹³ In its next edition on the 17th of December, the paper decided to reprint in full the account of Fr. Mathew's visit, due to unprecedented demand from the public. There is a suggestion, however, from a supporter of Fr. Foley's movement that many people were drunk during the visit.⁹⁴

The three local papers noticed the great improvements which came over the city in the days after Fr. Mathew's visit. One of the most remarkable changes was the fact that not one person was committed to Reginald's Tower for drunkenness in the twenty four hours ending on Saturday the 14th of December, something which had not happened before this during the twenty years it had been used as a prison. The weekly petty sessions lasted only fifteen minutes, with only three cases to be heard.⁹⁵

After leaving Waterford, Fr. Mathew's next major meeting in the south east region was in Clonmel. According to *The Waterford Chronicle*, this visit was also a great success. It reported that the conduct of the crowds was exemplary, in spite of the lies spread by "the local orange press". Another 100,000 took the pledge, with people coming to Clonmel from the surrounding districts. Many from Carrick made the journey, and the "whiskey shops" of that town were reported to be deserted. Many of the police in Clonmel also took the pledge. The only trouble reported was of a dragoon who cut off the ear of a member of the crowd with his sabre, and injured several others.⁹⁶

The Waterford Mail, however, had a completely different version of the events in Clonmel. Again there were accounts of the huge crowds thronging the streets with

90. *The Waterford Mail*, 14 Dec. 1839. The same edition of the *Mail* gives an account of "the many coffee houses and soup houses springing up in the city", and a "frequent visitor" to Bonmahon writes to the papers describing the great effect of the temperance movement on the miners there, unlike in the past when it was "awful to witness the state of depravity of the miners".

91. *The Waterford Mirror*, 14 Dec. 1839.

92. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 12 Dec. 1839.

93. *Ibid.*, 14 Dec. 1839.

94. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 16 May 1840.

95. *The Waterford Mirror*, 16 Dec. 1839.

96. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 24 Dec. 1839.

people crowding into the town from surrounding districts. It was appalled, however, at the behaviour of the people, many of whom seemed to be drunk, "staggering towards the courthouse" to take the pledge. Jugs of whiskey were being consumed on the streets, because there was no room in the public houses. The reporter had never witnessed "anything to equal the scenes of drunkenness throughout the day"; the majority who knelt to take the pledge were in a "beastly state of intoxication". Many were so drunk that they repeated the pledge several times, forgetting they had done so already.⁹⁷

In spite of the stories about disturbances in Clonmel, Waterford city continued to be an example of peace and tranquillity. On Christmas Day, the Waterford Temperance Society held a procession in the city, with 12,000 marching from Ballybricken to the bishop's house. They all wore temperance medals and were led by Br. Patrick Murphy. The procession was reported to have been one mile long. When they reached the bishop's house, they were addressed by Dr. Foran, and afterwards dispersed quietly.⁹⁸ On the Sunday after Christmas, what was reported as the largest meeting of the temperance movement to date took place at Mount Sion to record the thanks of the society to those who helped to organise the recent visit of Father Mathew.⁹⁹ Carrick also was said to have been transformed by temperance, with homes bright and clean, and every family with enough money to buy food. The greatest change was to be seen in the behaviour of the shoemakers. The previous Monday, they had gone to work quietly. Before temperance, Mondays were spent in "rioting and drunkenness!"¹⁰⁰

There had been much speculation on how the new converts to temperance would survive Christmas without drink. Fears, however, were groundless. According to the *Mirror*, there had only been one arrest for drunkenness on Christmas Eve – a peddler from Ulster. On Christmas Day, there had been three arrests, all of them strangers to the city, and two of them sailors.¹⁰¹

Fr. Foley's Catholic Temperance Society

As Fr. Mathew launched his campaign in Waterford and Clonmel, Fr. Foley's independent organisation continued to prosper. By now it was styled The Catholic Temperance Society (unlike Fr. Mathew's society which kept a facade of ecumenism by avoiding the use of the word "Catholic" in its title or rules, and specified that membership was open to all religions). Fr. Foley's society had many supporters who were prepared to promote it in the local papers. One correspondent was very anxious to treat Fr. Foley and Fr. Mathew as equal. He asked for God's blessing on "the Rev. Founders" of the organisation, and stated that their work would render Ireland as she should be;

"Great glorious and free,
First flower of the land – first gem of the sea".¹⁰²

97. *The Waterford Mail*, 24 Dec. 1839.

98. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 28 Dec. 1839.

99. *Ibid.*, 31 Dec. 1839.

100. *Ibid.*, 7 Dec. 1839.

101. *The Waterford Mirror*, 28 Dec. 1839.

102. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Dec. 1839.

Fr. Foley expanded his operations into Cappoquin in mid December 1839, at the invitation of the parish priest, Fr. John Walsh. He was by then described as "The Apostle of Temperance", a title which is usually associated in peoples' minds with Fr. Mathew. There were already 800 teetotallers in the town. They paraded behind a band for Fr. Foley; then forming a huge circle, within which 2,000 people, including 400 children took the pledge. The Cappoquin correspondent assured his readers that "The Apostle", Fr. Foley, did not really favour demonstrations of enthusiasm such as parades, bands and banners, but that these were quite harmless and very important for making more converts to the cause. In the short time that Fr. Foley had been at work, he had enrolled 40,000 people. It was hoped that he would tour the entire Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. The writer ends his description of the Cappoquin meeting with a vicious attack on some of the Protestant "gentry", many of whom were "right worthy descendants of Cromwell's covenanters – modern roundheads". They would prefer to see "our people kneeling to a Lucifer than bow the knee to a Catholic priest".

Later the same month, there is news of the progress of "The Apostle *par excellence* – Fr. Foley." His territory now stretched from Killea in east Cork, through Ballycotton, and Youghal, and then into west Waterford. His next visit was planned for Kill, and from there up into the Comeragh mountains.¹⁰³ In a letter signed "A Miner" from Bonmahon, there is an account of Fr. Foley's visit to Kill during Christmas 1839. Crowds came from Dunhill, Ballyduff, Stradbally, Ballylaneen and Bonmahon. Fr. Foley addressed the crowds in Irish, and enrolled 3,000 new members.

On Christmas Day in Dungarvan 7,000 members of the temperance society paraded around the town after first mass. The parade was led by the parish priest, the Rev. Dr. Halley, and the teetotallers wore "the insignia of Fr. Foley's order". Fr. Foley himself arrived in Dungarvan on the 26th of December. He enrolled more teetotallers in the parish church. A vast crowd was gathered in and around the church, with order being kept by the police. Twelve policemen took the pledge from Fr. Foley. As one countryman was head to remark, times had indeed changed "to see the police doing duty in a chapel under the command of a priest".

Fr. Foley and the Dungarvan clergy were highly praised for their work during 1839. The local priests were "second to none, save the original Apostles". Priests in other parts of the country were criticised because of their lack of involvement in the temperance movement and in the national question, preferring to "weep silently over the long faded glories of a persecuted people than enter upon the stormy arena of political warfare". By now Fr. Foley had resigned his position as a curate in Youghal and dividing his time between a seminary he had founded for young men wishing to serve on the foreign missions, and the development of the temperance movement. According to the *Chronicle*, he intended to tour all the rural districts of the diocese.¹⁰⁴

103. *Ibid.*, 21 Dec. 1839.

104. *Ibid.*, 28 Dec. 1839.

Temperance in West Waterford – Conviction or Coercion?

There is quite a lot of evidence to suggest that membership in temperance societies was not completely voluntary. In Dungarvan there were “temperance inspectors” who reported on any pledge breaking. When Fr. Foley met some of the miners in Bonmahon at Christmas 1839, he was approached by five men leading a sixth who had refused to take the pledge. The other miners would not work with him, believing that he would bring them bad luck. After getting an order from Fr. Foley to take the pledge, he replied that he would, adding: “It’s all the same now, for whether I join or not, I would not drink” – suggesting perhaps that there were other pressures concerning drink, besides the purely moral ones of the priest. According to another, temperance went much farther than opposition to drink, stating: “Today the boys even scruple to play a game of cards”.¹⁰⁵

Some believed that there was a conspiracy between the local Catholic clergy and the mine management in the enforcement of temperance, which would naturally lead to greater productivity and increased profits. With the introduction of temperance, productivity in the mines increased by 30%. By June 1840, the “temperance police”, also known as “the morals preserving force”, or “the temperance district inspectors” had been established in Bonmahon. One account in the *Chronicle* describes how they “arrested an unfortunate creature whose life is supported by the wages of sin”. The “creature” was then locked in the “black hole” overnight. The following morning, the culprit was brought before the committee and after a “suitable admonition” was banished from the area for life. We are not told if the person banished was male or female. The correspondent ends with the following observation: “From the vigilant and praiseworthy exertions made by this good body of teetotallers, every public violation of order and morality must cease in the neighbourhood”.¹⁰⁶

In a long satirical poem of over 1,400 lines, *The Miner*, by an anonymous poet from the area, there is a rather cynical view of the activities of the local clergy, the mine management and their spies. The poem tells the story of the journey taken by a number of visitors by hired car from Ballybricken in Waterford city to Bonmahon. During the course of that journey, the driver of the car, called Logan, describes in verse the countryside, his love life and especially the temperance system which has been established in Bonmahon by the mine manager, Mr. John Petherick and local curate in the parish of Kill, Fr. James Power, who was President of the Bonmahon Temperance Society. In the middle of the poem is a song, to the air of “Thugamar Féin an Samhradh Linn” (We ourselves brought the Summer with us), with the chorus in Irish, written phonetically:

“Come boys let us sing of the Knockmahon mines
Where Captains and miners make such a display
Where the sun of Temperance gloriously shines
And the rod of coercion has absolute sway”

(Chorus) Hugamir hugamir hugamir ling e
Hugamir fein an souragh ling ...”

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid., 4 June 1840.

Miners were forbidden, not only to drink, but also to enter any shop where drink was sold. Six spies were employed, one of whom was Fardy Doyle, to watch the miners on Sundays and on pay days, and report on them if they entered any shop selling drink:

“Shall I ask the shopkeeper from whom I would buy
A loaf or some fish, if he also sells beer?
Shall I forfeit my friend because Fardy the spy
May tell my employer who would be cashier?”

Being fired, however, was not the only thing to fear. Censure from the altar and the withholding of the sacraments were also used as deterrents and punishments:

“For my part I dread the Altar
More than gibbet, lash or halter”.

Fr. Power from Kill:

“A very happy zealous priest
Who praises Temperance at his feast”

called the miners together from time to time, with the support of Captain Petherick, to lecture them:

“With spur on heel and whip in hand,
He issued forth his high command
To every man both sage and fool
To meet him at the National School”.

In the poem the priest begins his “harangue” by denouncing the people “who live beyond the river”. Here he is referring to the river Mahon which divides his own parish of Kill, where the Knockmahon mines are situated, and the village of Bonmahon, which is in the neighbouring parish of Stradbally. Apparently the clergy in Stradbally are not as fundamentalist in their attitude to temperance. However, according to Fr. Power from Kill, Bonmahon:

“... must be a place
’Gainst which the Gods have set their face.
Alas! that village is a sink
Of iniquity black as ink”.

He attacks the shopkeepers of Bonmahon who sell beer and spirits as well as general goods. If they lived in his parish:

“’Pon my word I would then banish”.

The next to speak is Fardy Doyle himself, described in the poem as:

“Of course front, but slippery as oil”

and was received by the miners,

“With feint groans and prolonged greeting.”

Fardy Doyle in his address to the miners agrees with the curate. These shopkeepers

who also sell alcohol would entice miners from the pledge with music, fires, and other attractions:

“And damsels looks that speak desires
Which your honour can divine
Better than any words of mine,
Would tempt an angel from above,
To join the dance and think of love”.

In Fardy’s opinion these young women employed in Bonmahon,

“With heaving breast and rosy cheek”

might tempt the miners to break the pledge.

When a Temperance Band was started among the miners, it was the custom of some of the musicians to meet in a room in a house in the village, where a fire was provided, to practise music and consume “temperance beverages” such as “Moore’s Celebrated Stomachic Beverage” or “Conway’s Effervescing Autiscorbutic Spruce”. This practice, however, was soon stopped by Fr. Power because the setting resembled a public house.

One of the major problems the miners faced was changing their wages into small denominations. As they operated in gangs between four and eight men, the entire gang was paid for piecework. In many areas, before the famine, there was a perpetual shortage of small coins. Apparently this problem had been solved in Bonmahon by the shopkeepers borrowing coins from merchants in Waterford city and repaying them in the large denominations changed by the miners. Fardy proposes that money from now on be changed in the Temperance Hall, where certain merchants would be invited to sell their wares.

The curate then resumes his sermon, promising that the wrath of God will fall upon

“Each lover of the dance and song”

and that there is

“Not a vender of beer and gin
From Dunmore East to Cappoquin,
That will not be made to feel
The power of the Avengers steel”.

He orders the people

“Never to cross that bridge again
On peril of eternal pain”.

At this stage, there are a number of interruptions. One is from Matthew Broderick, a tailor from Bonmahon. Captain Peterick has forbidden any miner to buy from him as a result of a bad report made by one of the spies. He challenges the priest:

“Let us hear of beef and blankets
From the company to the poor
Who starve and shiver at our door”.

A Cornish miner asks if he is to

“Shrink before the watching eye
Of every base and dastard spy”.

He also mentions other spies, Byrne, O’Sullivan, K-ll-n (Kullen?).

A Tipperary man then speaks, and although full of praise for the temperance movement when it is free of coercion, proclaims:

“Spirit of liberty, all hail!
May thy votaries never fail
To crush tyrants wherever found
In broad daylight or underground”.

He issues an appeal to Fr. Mathew to investigate the system of temperance established in the area by

“Sages whose teetotalism
Is the most odious cruel schism
That ever into error’s way
Has led the mind of man astray”.

In his opinion, if this situation were to continue, it would be preferable to sink

“Again to idleness and drink”.

It would be better for the miners to be dead than to put up with this treatment from the mine Captain, the “silly pastor” and their ill treatment,

“Than thus expose ...
... your posterior to that foot
So well equipped in polished boot”.

The teetotalers of Tipperary compared to those of Bonmahon

“Sit, sing or dance where’er they choose,
No spy will watch, or priest expose”.

The poem ends with a note of hope for the future. The message of freedom will survive:

“The present race will pass away,
And their grandchildren become grey
And the offspring even of these
Will yield to old age and disease,
Before the story we have told
Will be forgot by young or old”.¹⁰⁷

107. Anon., *The Miner*, Published by John Kelleher, 10 Georges Street, Waterford (1841), NLI, I 6651. I am grateful to Des Cowman for pointing out this poem and a review of it in *The Mining Journal and Commercial Gazette*, 1842, as well as other references dealing with life in Bonmahon in the mid nineteenth century.

The Mining Journal and Commercial Gazette was horrified by the tactics used in the Knockmahon Mines. It urged the Mining Company of Ireland to investigate the allegations made in the poem, and not allow their local manager employ spies and threats of dismissal to promote temperance. It regarded Captain Petherick's actions as "highly objectional", and if followed in the rest of Ireland "would be destructive of all social intercourse".¹⁰⁸

Other tensions were also coming to the surface in Bonmahon between the miners and management. At a meeting of the temperance society in February 1841, a vote of thanks was proposed to Miss Osborne who donated the land for building a temperance hall, as well as a grant of £50. The mine management had not given anything towards the hall, in spite of the increased profits that resulted from temperance.¹⁰⁹

However, despite problems, the temperance movement in Bonmahon continued to prosper. According to one observer in Cornwall: "Unless people have witnessed, they can scarcely believe the great change that has come over these people. The temperance movement was one of the main instruments in this mighty change".¹¹⁰ By 1849, only one "official" public house remained open in Bonmahon, but drink was probably available elsewhere.¹¹¹

Coercion could also be of a more sinister kind. In Tramore, an elderly woman who broke the pledge was badly beaten by "an infuriated mob" and then dragged through the streets by the hair. According to one report, she was severely injured and "neither her age nor her sex could shield her from the rage of her savage tormentors".¹¹²

The use of threats of dismissal to enforce temperance was not a purely Catholic phenomenon. The same tactics were used by employers of all denominations in their efforts to control the behaviour of their workers. In the Quaker owned factory in Portlaw workers were also fired for pledge-breaking and drunkenness.¹¹³

Fr. Mathew's Movement in Waterford, 1840

The new year began for the temperance society in Waterford city with a procession, followed by a tea party in the Town Hall. Br. Patrick J. Murphy led 7,000 in the procession. The bishop, Dr. Foran, presided over the tea party where 1,600 took tea and coffee provided by Mr. Mulhall of the Waterford Hotel.¹¹⁴ The *Mail* however estimated that there were only 3,000 people in the procession.¹¹⁵ A regular contributor to the local press on the subject of temperance, who signed himself

108. *The Mining Journal and Commercial Gazette*, Fleet Street, London, 4 June 1842, p. 179.

109. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 23 Feb. 1841.

110. R. Burt, *Cornish Mines and Miners* (Truro, 1972), p. 87.

111. Des Cowman, "Life and Work in an Irish Mining Company c. 1840: Knockmahon Copper Mines, Co. Waterford", *Decies* 14, May 1980, p. 35.

112. *The Waterford Mail*, 14 Aug. 1840.

113. Arthur Williamson, "Quakers in the Irish Textile Industry", p. 323.

114. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Jan. 1840.

115. *The Waterford Mail*, 8 Jan. 1840.

“Teetotaller” and lived in Cathedral Square, seemed to have been very worried in January 1840 about the fact that teetotallers were now drinking such beverages as soda water, ginger ale, “pop” and cordials. In his opinion these were strictly forbidden by the pledge. The only drinks allowed to the teetotaller were tea, coffee and cold water. It was also a grave sin for anyone who had taken the pledge to enter a public house, even to drink tea or coffee!¹¹⁶

At the end of January, Fr. Mathew returned to County Waterford, this time visiting Tallow and Lismore. In Tallow, he was met by the parish priest, Fr. Eugene Condon. Over 6,000 were reported to have taken the pledge.¹¹⁷ A large body of troops, including cavalry and infantry, as well as eighty policemen were on duty.¹¹⁸ He next travelled to Lismore, where he was welcomed by a committee consisting of the parish priest Dr. Fogarty, Sir Richard Keane, Major Currey (agent to Lord Duncannon) and Francis Currey (agent to the Duke of Devonshire). He then proceeded to the courthouse where he was reported to have enrolled 25,000 new members. The people of Lismore were also addressed by Sir Richard Keane, Dr. Fogarty and Francis Currey. The crowds were peaceful and dispersed quietly.¹¹⁹ Even the Gows and the Poleens, two rival factions in the west of the county, were in Lismore for Fr. Mathew’s visit and shook hands instead of fighting.¹²⁰

On St. Patrick’s Day 1840 in Waterford, the local papers were again amazed at the fact that nobody was drunk – something that would have been unheard of in the days before Fr. Matthew’s visit. Parades by the local temperance societies were held in many centres, including Waterford city itself, Carrick-on-Suir, Clonmel, Tramore, Dungarvan and Kilmacthomas.¹²¹ In Waterford, 20,000 marched watched by between two and three thousand others – which would have accounted for most of the population of the city. However, the flags displayed were objected to by many Protestants who did not think that religious emblems should have been carried by an organisation which was supposed to be non-sectarian.¹²² Yet the *Mirror* found little to object to in these “well executed banners representing pictures of domestic comfort similar in character to those upon the temperance medals’.¹²³

Meanwhile in Tramore, on May Day, the local teetotallers marched in procession as “May Boys ... gaily decorated with ribbons” to collect money for a temperance band. That night, after tea and coffee, a dance was held, “and from one end of the night to the other,

“They tripped it on the light fantastic toe
While hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys and reels
Put the life and metal in their heels”.¹²⁴

116. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 14 Jan. 1840.

117. *Ibid.*, 30 Jan. 1840.

118. *The Waterford Mirror*, 1 Feb. 1840.

119. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 1 Feb. 1840.

120. *The Waterford Mirror*, 1 Feb. 1840.

121. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 19 Mar. 1840.

122. *The Waterford Mail*, 21 Mar. 1840.

123. *The Waterford Mirror*, 18 Mar. 1840.

124. *Ibid.*, 6 May 1840.

Fr. Mathew's second visit to Waterford resembled the first in many ways. He was met a mile outside the city, and escorted to the bishop's house in George's Street. Large crowds followed him wherever he went. The following day – Sunday – he preached at the cathedral to raise funds for the Christian Brothers, and afterwards administered the pledge to those who had not yet taken it. On Monday, he again enrolled thousands of people in the temperance society at the courthouse. He was guarded by a troop of the 17th Lancers and the city Police, and was accompanied by the Mayor and Ald. Alcock, who carried a large banner inscribed with the words "The citizens of Waterford welcome the good Fr. Mathew – céad míle fáilte". According to one witness, almost the entire population of the barony of Gaultier came to Waterford to see Fr. Mathew. The streets were reported to have been full of ballad singers, singing songs praising him and temperance. Others were also selling copies of his sermon of the previous day in the cathedral.¹²⁵ On Tuesday, Fr. Mathew continued with his work in the courthouse, and when he had finished St. John's Band played "God Save the Queen" and "St. Patrick's Day". Then Fr. Mathew returned to the bishop's house followed again by a large crowd. He addressed the people one more time, and left Waterford for Cork. It was with great difficulty that the crowd were prevented from unhitching the horses from his carriage and pulling it through the streets.¹²⁶ The *Mail* estimated that 24,000 took the pledge during his second visit to the city.¹²⁷ All the local papers agreed that there was no trouble. A troop of the 17th Lancers aided the police and infantry in keeping order in front of the courthouse and "the soldiers had many a joke with the country lads and lasses".¹²⁸

Fr. Mathew's visit to Waterford city even prompted a supporter of Fr. Foley to write to the local press on his feelings of triumph at the second visit of "the Apostle of Temperance", and his feelings of disgust at the "orange press" which predicted that many would give back their medals and badges. He ends with the hope that this movement will spread all over the country and will be the instrument of solving the country's problems:

"Erin! Oh Erin! thus bright through the tears
Of a long night of bondage, thy spirit appears".¹²⁹

In May 1840, Dr. Foran went to Lismore to celebrate the anniversary of St. Carthage. He was met by a crowd of 20,000, most of whom were reported to have been teetotallers. The bishop in his sermon treated Fr. Foley as an equal to Fr. Matthew in the temperance campaign. He remarked that the entire districts of Waterford city and Lismore had been twice "teetotalised ... the few demons resisting Fr. Foley being cast out by Fr. Mathew". According to Dr. Foran, 115,000 people had taken the pledge from Fr. Mathew in the diocese, and another 100,000 from Fr. Foley. He finished by reminding the crowd that he had officiated at almost 30 executions, and that in all cases, their downfall could be attributed to drink!¹³⁰

125. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 12 May 1840.

126. *Ibid.*, 11 May 1840.

127. *The Waterford Mail*, 13 May 1840.

128. *The Waterford Mirror*, 13 May 1840.

129. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 16 May 1840.

130. *Ibid.*, 21 May 1840.

A special prayer meeting was held by the Waterford teetotallers in June 1840 to give thanks for the failure of an assassination attempt on Queen Victoria. Dr. Foran used this occasion to remind the teetotallers of their pledges. He began his sermon by informing the congregation that he was the first bishop to induce Fr. Mathew to spread his message outside of Cork! He praised the local society, saying that very few had relapsed. He then went on to warn the people about certain "temperance cordials" being served by publicans, stating: "To my personal knowledge five or six persons took these cordials, and what is more they got drunk on them! (Here a thrill of horror ran through the meeting) ... these cordials were laced with whiskey and brandy!" In the bishop's opinion, the temperance movement would not survive unless it was firmly rooted in religion, reminding the people that "neither drunkards, fornicators or swearers shall enter the kingdom of heaven". From now on, he intended to convene special meetings of the society at Christmas and Easter, and demand proof of all the members that they had fulfilled their Easter and Christmas obligations, i.e. attendance at Confession and Communion. He also knew of some members of the temperance society, "base, immoral, profligate abandoned wretches ... whose company is that of the unfortunate females of the town". The other members were told that they were bound to inform the bishop of the names of these people, "and then shun them as you would a pestilence". Card playing was "a most pernicious custom" and should be strictly avoided. Finally, the people were warned about a certain establishment in Patrick Street which was open at all hours. Dr. Foran then concluded the evening's proceedings with prayers for the Queen, giving thanks for her survival.¹³¹

Fr. Mathew was supposed to visit Waterford for a third time in July. The local society prepared an address of welcome to be presented to him on his arrival. However, on the appointed day, Fr. Mathew did not get beyond Carrick-on-Suir, so Br. Murphy was forced to rush to Carrick to present him with the address there.¹³² Whether or not it was as a result of Fr. Mathew's several visits to the town, but the people of Carrick were gently criticised by Dr. Foran in September for a little excessive zeal. Trouble broke out at a fair in the town when the people "arrested" a drunken policeman!¹³³

In November 1840, the first Annual General Meeting of the Waterford Teetotal Temperance Society took place in Mount Sion. Br. Murphy presented a report of the year's activities. The society was started with 50 members who had taken the pledge from Fr. Matthew in Cork, and now numbered 15,000. Br. Murphy then reassured the members that very few had broken the pledge in spite of the rumours circulating to that effect in the city. He was also happy to relate that employers were very satisfied with the increased profits from increased productivity by workers! Dr. Foran announced that an "English capitalist" intended to invest £40,000 in a new factory in Waterford. He praised Ald. Milward for providing coffee for his workers each day. The officers of the Society were then announced; Fr. Mathew was President, Br. Murphy vice-president, Mr. Morris Lenihan Secretary, and the Bishop Dr. Foran, Patron of the society.¹³⁴

131. *Ibid.*, 23 May 1840.

132. *Ibid.*, 18 Aug. 1840.

133. *Ibid.*, 29 Sept. 1840.

134. *The Waterford Mirror*, 11 Nov. 1840.

In December 1840, Fr. Mathew paid his third visit to Waterford. Although he only spent six hours in the city, he was met by a huge crowd, including groups from Tramore, Kill, Annestown, Portlaw, Kilmacow and the Bonmahon miners led by the mine captain, Mr. Petherick. Every time he appeared before the crowd, the St. John's and the Juvenile Bands struck up "See the Conquering Hero Comes". Fr. Mathew enrolled more people at the courthouse and then addressed the crowd. He warned them against all cordials, especially a cordial bearing his own name, since they were made from strong spices and whiskey; impressed upon them not to mix religion and politics with the temperance movement, but to accept all creeds; and to save their money in banks.¹³⁵

In spite of Fr. Mathew's appeal to accept all creeds in his temperance movement, and to avoid political and religious controversy, some Waterford Protestants were alienated by the increasingly sectarian tone of the society. Many of them continued as members of the pre-Fr. Mathew temperance movement, now known as The Protestant Temperance Society. By the end of 1840, it claimed to have 500 members. The president, the Rev. T. D. Gregg, and the secretary, Mr. Jones were anxious to distance themselves from the Mount Sion organisation, believing that the main reason for its founding was to prevent the Catholic laity from associating with Protestants, and listening to their lectures.¹³⁶

Trials and Tribulations in West Waterford

Fr. Foley's organisation in West Waterford continued to expand at the beginning of 1840, but it always seemed to have a certain air of controversy associated with it. For example, a Cappoquin supporter was of the opinion that the people of the town and surrounding area were at peace with themselves since Fr. Foley's work among them – unlike the people of Clashmore who were still drunken and unemancipated, which could be seen from the huge number of prosecutions from that area in comparison to Cappoquin. This was not Fr. Foley's fault, in the opinion of the correspondent, because the Clashmore people were very near Youghal, but as he remarked: "The nearer the church, the farther from God!"¹³⁷

On New Year's Day, 2,000 were enrolled at Ballynameelagh by their parish priest. On the 5th of January Fr. Foley again visited Cappoquin and enrolled 2,250 people. Fr. Foley, or as he was then referred to in the *Chronicle*, "The Second Apostle of Temperance", continued his mission in the county, visiting Kilmacthomas on the 26th of January. Here he was met by a procession, led by the large farmers on horseback accompanied by their wives and daughters, followed by "the humbler classes of the peasantry" and three bands. The following day, he led a parade of "tens of thousands" on horseback and on foot through Dunhill to Fenor. Here he spoke in Irish and enrolled 3,000 new members.¹³⁸ In June, the parish priest of An Rinn (Ring) enrolled 600 people, who were not already teetotallers in the Youghal

135. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 10 Dec. 1840.

136. *The Waterford Mail*, 11 Aug. 1840.

137. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 2 Jan. 1840.

138. *Ibid.*, 28 Jan. 1840.

Society. He was supported by the Rev. Alcock, Rector of the Established Church. It was reported that there were less than twenty in the parish who had not taken the pledge.¹³⁹

In April, the people of Clashmore finally became involved in the temperance movement, when Fr. Foley visited the parish on the invitation of the parish priest, Fr. Quirk, and 8,000 were reported to have taken the pledge. Perhaps the bad publicity the area received in January was one of the reasons for the invitation.¹⁴⁰ Another district to suffer adverse publicity on account of temperance in west Waterford was Ardmore. This controversy began with a report in the *Chronicle* of the Dungarvan Petty Sessions in April, which was published under the headline "The Parish of Ardmore against Teetotalism, or All of Ireland". Four men from Ardmore and Old Parish were convicted of being drunk in Dungarvan. All were fined, and one who was "as drunk as seventeen tinkers", according to a policeman, addressed one of the magistrates as follows in a strange mixture of Irish and English:

"Glory to you Mr. Lonegan – *mo ghrá géar thú* – from Ould Parish, that is *Shanna Phubul*, I'll never deny it, that's all one herself and Ardmore, look now, give me the hand Mr. Lonegan – see now *an dhíol dhaor*".¹⁴¹

The parish priest of Ardmore, Fr. Patrick McGrath, wrote to the paper later in the month, rejecting the insinuations about his parish. He pointed out that in some parts of the parish 75% of the people were teetotalers. The Dungarvan correspondent of the *Chronicle* replied to this in early May. According to him, Fr. McGrath was not encouraging temperance. His parishioners were "some of the most thirsty people visiting Dungarvan". Even though situated a short distance from Youghal – "the Medina of the revelation" – neither of the temperance Apostles had been invited to Ardmore.¹⁴² Meanwhile at Touraneena, the parish priest, Fr. Thomas Kearney, enrolled himself and 1,400 of his parishioners in what was now referred to as The Youghal Temperance Society.¹⁴³

In the meantime, it was reported that crime rates in the west of the county had fallen dramatically. The Dungarvan Petty Sessions spent quite some time involved in handing out fines for pig-vagrancy, much to the annoyance of some of the magistrates, who felt that the police were over-reacting to the fact that other crimes such as drunkenness and violence seemed to have disappeared.¹⁴⁴ Kerrigan disputes the belief that the presence of temperance societies was responsible for a decrease in crime rates in Waterford. He points out that other counties which did not have the benefit of Fr. Mathew or Fr. Foley had a similar decrease during the same period.¹⁴⁵

Controversy continued in Fr. Foley's society. A correspondent signing himself "T.T." wrote criticising the description of Fr. N. Cantwell in Tramore (who was associated with Fr. Mathew's society based in Mount Sion in Waterford, with the

139. *Ibid.*, 23 June 1840.

140. *Ibid.*, 11 Apr. 1840.

141. *Ibid.*, 2 Apr. 1840.

142. *Ibid.*, 7 May 1840.

143. *Ibid.*, 26 May 1840.

144. *Ibid.*, 18 June 1840.

145. Kerrigan, *Fr. Mathew*, p. 98.

bishop Dr. Foran as patron) "as one of the leading lights of temperance in the county". He mentioned Dr. Halley, parish priest of Dungarvan, who had first introduced Fr. Foley to Waterford, Fr. Richard Power from Comeragh, and Fr. Michael Power from Stradbally, as being much more worthy of that description. He finished by announcing that west Waterford was now totally teetotalised, and that the priests there were all repealers.¹⁴⁶

On the 17th of September, Fr. Halley preached a sermon in Dungarvan parish church, announcing that there were 10,000 teetotalers in Dungarvan and Abbeyside, and that there was not "one solitary drunkard in the parish". He finished his sermon with the observation that it was only right that Catholic priests should lead this movement.¹⁴⁷

The following edition of the *Chronicle* must have been embarrassing for Dr. Halley. One of the stories carried was that of a woman arrested in Dungarvan for being drunk. While in custody she tried to strangle herself with her handkerchief.¹⁴⁸ "T.T." however came to the rescue. Writing the following day he stated: 'Lest it could be for a minute supposed that a Dungarvan women could be seen drunk, ... the person alluded to was from Tipperary!' He went on to emphasise his point about women being drunk, describing it as "such a reproach on humanity, that eldest born of hell!" Such a sight, - "that most revolting sight" - was never seen in Dungarvan even when drunkenness was common!¹⁴⁹

Dr. Halley himself was no stranger to controversy. At one stage, he tried to prevent the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy establishing a school in Dungarvan but was overruled by the Bishop of the time, Dr. O'Brien.¹⁵⁰ Early in 1841, he became involved in a major scandal. He dismissed his two curates, Fr. Byrne who was the president of the local temperance society at the time, and Fr. Wall. It appears that the reason for their dismissal was the fact he believed that they were too involved in the promotion of repeal, especially at temperance meetings. A deputation from Dungarvan went to Waterford to see the bishop, Dr. Foran, to ask him to overrule the decision of Dr. Halley. The bishop however declined to become involved in an internal parish matter. As one commentator remarked: "The bishop is a repealer in Waterford and an anti-repealer in Dungarvan". Dr. Halley also preached a sermon opposing the establishment of a reading room for fishermen in Dungarvan because he feared that the fishermen would use the premises to discuss politics, and thus learn dangerous ideas. The actions of the parish priest were castigated by a number of local people writing to the press. "A Repealer, a Fisherman and a Freeholder" accused him of the following: "He left no stratagem untried, and resorted to every ingenious device that Machiavelli himself could have used to thwart the repeal movement ... he belongs to the era of 1610 when Gallileo was denounced". The letter goes on to criticise the removal of two of the best priests that ever worked in Dungarvan, which had damaged the temperance movement, morality and religion.

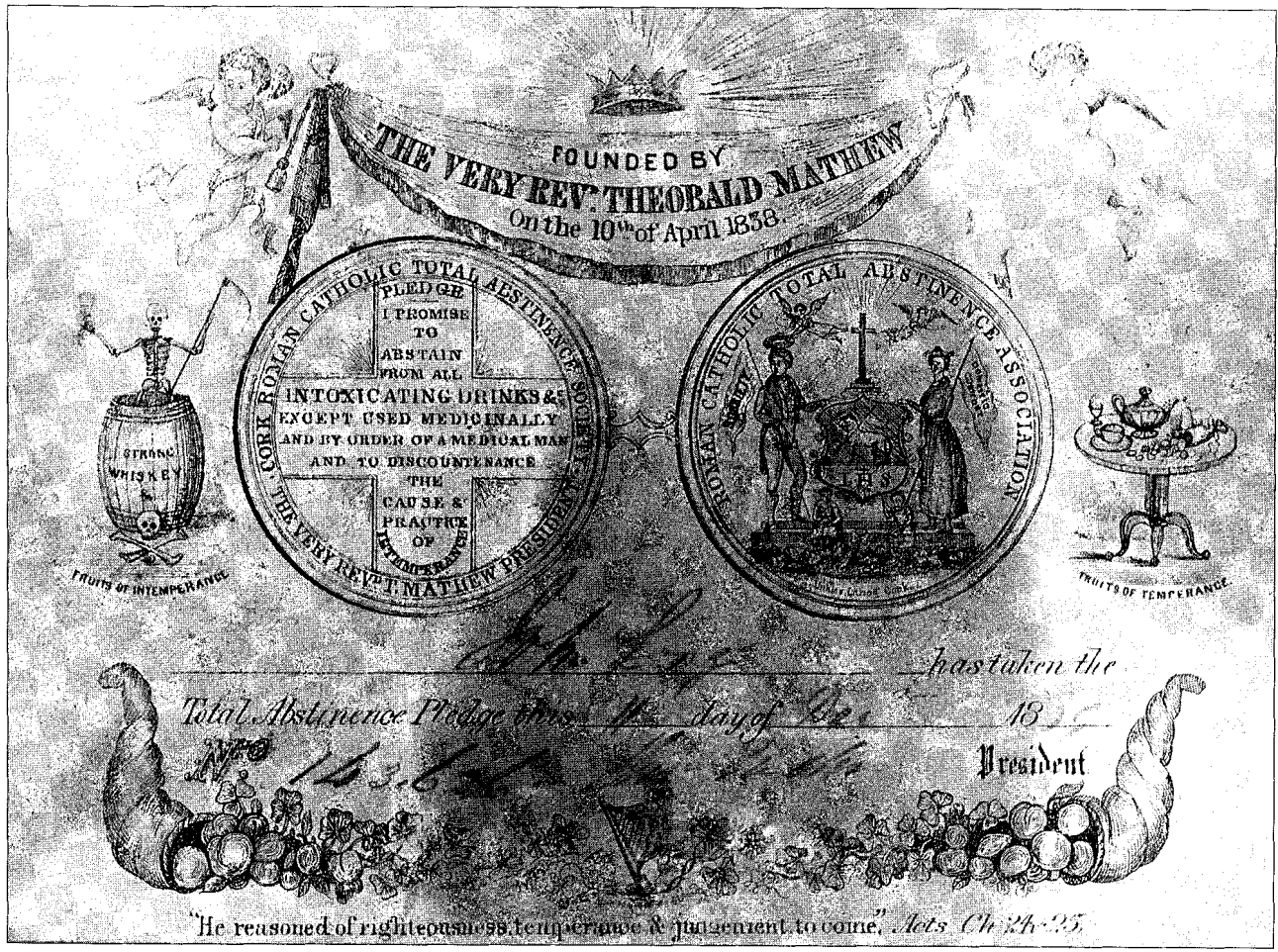
146. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 17 Sept. 1840.

147. *Ibid.*, 19 Sept. 1840.

148. *Ibid.*, 22 Sept. 1840.

149. *Ibid.*, 26 Sept. 1840.

150. Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore, A Compendious History of the United Dioceses*, Cork University Press (1937), p. 225.



Temperance Certificate 1839. Courtesy of Waterford Corporation.

On the same day as this letter was published, a meeting of teetotallers of the town took place, in the open air – an unusual occurrence for temperance meetings unless a procession or enrolling ceremony was being held. No clergy attended. A Mr. Marks, representing the fishermen, was elected chairman, and a Mr. Marshall, representing the bootmakers, elected secretary. A number of important resolutions were passed at the meeting. Firstly it was denied that anyone broke the pledge as a protest against the removal of Fr. Byrne as president of the temperance society. A statement of Dr. Halley that he had given money to the deputation which had gone to Waterford to see the bishop about the re-instatement of Fr. Byrne and Fr. Wall, was strongly contradicted. One member of the deputation accepted £1 10s (thirty shillings) from Dr. Halley, but later returned “the 30 pieces of silver”. A statement by the parish priest that prayer meetings had become political meetings was denied.¹⁵¹

The supporters of Dr. Halley then became involved in the dispute. “A Catholic and a Lover of Justice” denounced the “Fisherman”. He doubted that a Catholic could have ever written such a violent letter against a member of the clergy. The tone of the letter reminded the “Catholic” of the anarchists of the French Revolution as they prepared to sweep aside the monarchy and the church. His impression was that the Fishermen wished to divide Catholics among themselves. “A Humble Catholic” also wrote condemning the Fisherman. If he attended to his duties as a Catholic, he would not have anything bothering him.¹⁵²

At this stage in the controversy over Dr. Halley and his curates, the editor of the *Chronicle* intervened. In his opinion there was no point in prolonging the matter further in the press. The language of certain correspondents was already violent enough. He especially picked out the “Fisherman” for his use of “repulsive language” in his letters.¹⁵³

In the meantime, the Dungarvan branch of the temperance movement was without a president. Eventually, Fr. Patrick Toumey, the Augustinian Prior in the town was appointed to that position. Before this, he had not been involved in the temperance movement. However, in March 1841, he delivered a very strong sermon on the subject. There had been rumours that many people in the county had begun to break the pledge – a grave sin according to Fr. Toumey. As well as that, publicans were selling cordials laced with whiskey and brandy. No teetotaller was safe entering a public house or drinking cordials. Fr. Toumey illustrated his point with an account of what happened to a young man of the district, a teetotaller, on his wedding night. He began by drinking cordials, became quite tipsy and then drank whiskey. Not only was he drunk, but he went completely mad and foaming at the mouth. He never recovered.¹⁵⁴ In spite of the fact that Fr. Byrne and Fr. Wall had been removed from the parish, they were not forgotten by the people of Dungarvan. They were presented with an address expressing warm approval of the stand they had taken on the political question. In reply to this address, the two

151. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 20 Feb. 1841.

152. *Ibid.*, 23 Feb. 1841.

153. *Ibid.*, 27 Feb. 1841.

154. *Ibid.*, 18 Mar. 1841

priests thanked the people, saying that priests should not be prevented from exercising their rights as citizens and joining the people "in their struggle for national independence".¹⁵⁵

In April, the Dungarvan branch held a temperance soir e in Michael Keating's corn store. A great number of toasts were proposed, including to Fr. Byrne and Fr. Wall, to the airs of "The Exile of Erin" and "We mourn the hopes that leave us".¹⁵⁶ In spite of such problems in Dungarvan, the cause of temperance continued. In July during the election, it was reported that "temperance was the order of the day".¹⁵⁷

Progress in Waterford City

The year 1841 began on a quiet note for the Waterford city teetotallers, with the usual round of processions, sermons, and outings. At the end of January, Fr. Mathew paid a very quick visit to the city on his way from Tipperary to Kilmacow. He enrolled a small number of people and then left for Kilmacow on the same day where 3,000 took the pledge.¹⁵⁸ The Catholic bishop, Dr. Foran, became more and more committed to the cause of temperance, reminding audiences and congregations on numerous occasions that he was the first bishop to invite Fr. Mathew to leave Cork and spread his message throughout the country and beyond.

He also used the full weight of his authority as a Catholic bishop to admonish the backsliders and promote the cause. In February, he criticised the inhabitants of Clonmel for their lack of commitment to temperance. He had received reports of many instances of pledge breaking. His reaction was to appoint a special committee of eighteen of the most committed teetotallers. They were to collect names of those breaking the pledge and inform the employers of the pledge breakers.¹⁵⁹ During 1841, his visits to many of the rural parishes for Confirmations were used to re-enforce the message of temperance. In the parish of Whitechurch, he told the people that drunkenness was the root of all evil, including poverty, secret societies and faction fighting. Thanks, however, to Fr. Mathew, "and your own zealous Apostle, Fr. Foley", these abuses had come to an end. He then interrogated the parish priest Fr. O'Mara about the spiritual state of the people of the parish, and asked if many were teetotallers. Fr. O'Mara replied that a number of them were, but some had relapsed because there were two public houses near the church gates. According to the *Chronicle*, his Lordship, "glowing with virtual indignation" proclaimed: "Temples of evil at the gates of the house of prayer – it shall not be". He had previously decreed that no public house should be within a half mile of the gates of a church. He ordered the parish priest to withhold the sacraments from the owners of the public houses, and declared it a reserved sin in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore for anyone to enter these premises. He threatened to interdict the parish church if the people continued to frequent these establishments. The threat of

155. *Ibid.*, 27 Mar. 1841.

156. *Ibid.*, 24 Apr. 1841.

157. *The Waterford Mirror*, 7 July 1841.

158. *Ibid.*, 30 Jan. 1841.

159. *Ibid.*, 22 Feb. 1841.

interdiction was very grave; it meant that mass could not be celebrated there. He finished his sermon by forbidding the people to attend the pattern in Ardmore where 300 tierces of porter had been consumed the previous year!¹⁶⁰

Later in August, Dr. Foran preached in the cathedral in Waterford on the subject of temperance. In his opinion, there were now six million reformed drunkards in Ireland! He described the publican as rebel to God and a rebel to his country, and again reminded the people that breaking the pledge was a reserved sin in the diocese.¹⁶¹

In Mount Sion, Dr. Foran again addressed the teetotallers in September. He was greeted with loud cheering, with the Juvenile Temperance Band playing "See The Conquering Hero Comes". He informed the crowd that the Pope had appointed Fr. Mathew Commissary Apostolic of his order in Great Britain and Ireland. He then began the sermon proper with the message for people to attend the sacraments, saying that those who neglected the sacraments always broke the pledge. He criticised the "bad characters" flocking to Waterford, and if this trend continued, it would soon become another Sodom and Gomorra. He warned people against going to the races because of the temptation of drink. He expressed his reservation about temperance bands, he was never a supporter of these bands because they were open to abuse, especially when they went to play at the races. Br. Murphy informed the bishop that the Juvenile Band had gone to the races at Tramore on one occasion without his permission, but the members promised that they would not do so again!¹⁶²

Politics or Superstition?

There is no doubt but that the ideal of temperance spread very quickly throughout much of Ireland during 1839-40, becoming a mass movement. For many, temperance was far more than a simple improving or moral philosophy. It was seen as part of a much greater movement; a massive nationalist revival incorporating continuing tithe agitation, tenant rights, economic development, and self government with the repeal of the Act of Union. After the success of the campaign for Catholic Emancipation in 1829, it seemed that nothing could prevent the onward march of the Irish nation, with drunkenness seen in the same light as bad landlords and general "English oppression". Some contemporary commentators even believed that temperance would alleviate food shortages. Anticipating a potato shortage in 1842, the *Mirror* hoped that "money saved by temperance will be forthcoming for more solid fare".¹⁶³

The nationalist *Waterford Chronicle* saw at an early stage the potential of the temperance movement as an extension of the general nationalist cause. A description of Fr. John Foley's first meeting in Co. Waterford in October 1839, ended with the comment that if the campaign for Repeal could be conducted by temperate means, Ireland would soon have its own parliament, and no longer would "her

160. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 5 Aug. 1841.

161. *Ibid.*, 26 Aug. 1841.

162. *Ibid.*, 16 Sept. 1841.

163. *The Waterford Mirror*, 31 Jan. 1842.

VERY REV. T. MATHEW.

ON SUNDAY, the 10th May, a Sermon will be preached in Trinity Cathedral in this City, at Three o'Clock, by the Very Rev T MATHEW, in aid of the establishment of upwards of 500 Boys, receive a gratuitous education, under the patronage of the Right Rev Dr FORAN.

To prevent the inconvenience that might arise were the Church overcrowded, Tickets will be issued. For the Grand Gallery and Choir, 5s – for the Second Gallery 2s 6d.

Family Tickets to the Grand Gallery, 15s. 1d.

Family Tickets to the Second Gallery, 7s. 6d.

– the Aisle 6d. Tickets may be had at Mount Sion, Chronicle Officer, Mirror-Office, Mr STEPHEN PHELAN'S QUAY, from any of the Parochial Clergy, or at the Gallery doors of Trinity Cathedral.

Donations from those who cannot attend the Sermon will be thankfully received by the Right Rev. Dr FORAN, by any of the Roman Catholic Clergymen, or by the Brothers of Mount Sion.

The Very Rev. T. MATHEW will administer the Temperance Pledge on Sunday Evening and on Monday.

Waterford Chronicle, 7 May 1840

brave sons be considered as inferior to the Saxon Boor".¹⁶⁴ Drunkenness was caused by "bad laws, poverty, neglectful landlords and harsh agents".¹⁶⁵ In a later comment, the *Chronicle* described Fr. Mathew as "next to O'Connell the best benefactor of his country – O'Connell the political, Fr. Mathew the moral regenerator of Ireland".¹⁶⁶

The more conservative newspapers in Waterford viewed the alliance between temperance and repeal with a certain amount of alarm. Memories of the horrors of 1798 were still very much alive in many minds, and therefore any mass movement of Catholics uniting politics and religion was a cause of deep concern. In its description of the St. Patrick's Day parade of 1840, *The Waterford Mail* believed that the banners and flags chosen had "shown an injudicious taste", believing that these "exclusive religious emblems" were "obnoxious". Their political character also made it impossible to distinguish the teetotallers from Ribbonmen.¹⁶⁷

In some parts of Ireland, there is evidence of secret societies infiltrating temperance societies. The temperance medal was seen by many in the secret societies almost as a badge of membership. The question "Have you got the medal?" seems to have been the first part of a password in some districts.¹⁶⁸ *The Mail* from time to time carried stories of Ribbon involvement in temperance

164. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 6 Oct. 1839.

165. *Ibid.*, 26 Nov. 1839.

166. *Ibid.*, 7 Dec. 1839.

167. *The Waterford Mail*, 21 Mar. 1840.

168. Kerrigan, *Fr. Mathew*, p. 124.

societies. All of these stories, however referred, to places other than Waterford, although the *Mail* continued to be suspicious and critical of the confederation of Catholicism, temperance and repeal. There is little evidence of outrages carried out by secret societies in Waterford before 1845, except some Rockite activity on the river Suir in 1832 and 1834.¹⁶⁹ Faction fighting still remained a common pastime for some, with Na Poil and Na Gaibhne (Poleens and Gows) still fighting each other at fairs and patterns. It was considered a great boost for the temperance cause when Poil and Gaibhne shook hands with each other instead of fighting, when they met in Lismore during a visit of Fr. Matthew.

Not all Catholic priests were content to allow the temperance movement to become an auxiliary of the Repeal Association. We have already seen how the parish priest of Dungarvan dismissed his two curates for becoming too involved in politics. In Knockavella, Co. Tipperary, the parish priest, Fr. Davern did not accept the alliance between temperance and repeal, stating that "for too long it was considered necessary that the priest should act in a political as well as a religious role, to answer the ambitions of either honest men or political knaves".¹⁷⁰

Some historians, especially Kerrigan, see aspects of millenarianism in the temperance movement, especially in the combination of Catholicism and temperance in the struggle against Protestant proselytism, and in the campaign for repeal and agrarian rights.¹⁷¹ Revenge, the ending of grievances, and the dawning of a new era seem to be the foundation of Irish Catholics millenarianism at this stage; in other words, that oppressors – whether landlords, the established Church or the Union – were to be overthrown.¹⁷² With the belief prevalent among many Catholics that drunkenness was in some way an English device to keep them enslaved, its almost miraculous defeat by Fr. Mathew, together with the advent of the monster meetings for repeal, it is no wonder that the expectations for 1843-44 became millennial. Protestant fears were articulated in Loyalist publications such as *The Waterford Mail*, and it is not surprising that it looked upon these developments with such horror, especially during times of very high emotions.

While links were being forged between the Repeal Association and temperance societies, it is interesting to note that the trade union movement was also becoming increasingly attracted to temperance. With an emphasis on self improvement and education in trade unionism during the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that workers began to see drunkenness as one of the causes of poverty, and as a result joined temperance societies in large numbers.¹⁷³ Trades associations, carrying their banners and accompanied by bands became a regular feature of temperance processions in Waterford. During the operative bakers strike to end night work in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny and Waterford, in 1842, Fr. Mathew supported the strikers.¹⁷⁴

169. Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, Waterford Trades Council (1989), p. 50.

170. *The Waterford Mail*, 1 Jan. 1840.

171. Kerrigan, *Fr. Mathew*, p. 134.

172. James Donnelly, "Pastorini and Captain Rock: Millenarianism and Sectarianism in the Rockite Movement of 1821-4", in Clark, Samuel and Donnelly, James S. Jnr. (eds.); *Irish Peasants and Political Unrest 1780-1914*, Gill and Macmillan (Manchester, 1983), pp. 135-7.

173. Maura Cronin, *Country Class or Craft; The Politicisation of the Skilled Artisan in Nineteenth Century Cork*, Cork University Press (1994), p. 215.

174. Emmet O'Connor, *Labour History of Waterford*, pp. 50-53.

For large numbers of the Irish speaking peasantry, however, Fr. Mathew was seen as a traditional holy man, a folk hero, with almost supernatural powers, and during his campaign became as popular as O'Connell himself.¹⁷⁵ From the beginning he was the object of mass-hysteria wherever he went, although he did all in his power to discourage this. Much of the contemporary evidence of this in the Waterford area comes from the two conservative newspapers of the period, *The Waterford Mail* and *The Waterford Mirror*; although at times the extreme nationalist *Chronicle* contributes to the legends in spite of itself.

Although full of praise for Fr. Mathew's efforts for temperance, we have seen how the *Mail* was horrified by the hysteria that greeted him; people prostrating themselves before him, trying to touch the hem of his robes, fighting to get close to him. For many, the temperance medal was in itself an almost magic charm. The *Chronicle* of March 1840 carried a story of how a man called Kennedy from Mountrath was uninjured after falling off the roof of a high house, and kissed his temperance medal in thanks for his escape.¹⁷⁶ In May 1841, the same newspaper reported that the owner of a fishing boat in Ring was unable to get a crew. He had broken his pledge and it was felt by the people that he would bring bad luck to anyone who went fishing with him.¹⁷⁷ The attitude of the people of Rinn to the pledge-breaking fisherman seems to have been justified by the events which were reported to have occurred in Knockmahon mines in December of that year. Patrick Reidy was working in a shaft at a depth of twenty fathoms when the sides collapsed. He was killed. His assistant was "a notorious pledge breaker".¹⁷⁸

Fr. Mathew was generally believed to have the power to cure all types of sickness and injury. A description of his reception in Nenagh illustrates this: "The blind, the aged and crippled were being conveyed to Nenagh under the impression that Fr. Mathew could cure them ... even though the other Catholic priests told them that they were fools if they believed that he could perform miracles".¹⁷⁹

In spite of attempts to suppress any superstition smelling of paganism, the Catholic clergy at times added to the myths surrounding temperance. Dr. Foran illustrated one of his sermons on temperance with a story of a fisherman from Dungarvan who was unable to catch any fish although others fishing with him had no such difficulties. The unlucky fisherman had broken his pledge, while the others had not.¹⁸⁰

There are many accounts of people getting drunk just before taking the pledge. While in many cases this was simply a farewell to whiskey, there was also a belief that the pledge would not work unless the person taking it was drunk. The pledge was seen as another folk cure, in this case a cure for drunkenness. Naturally a person could not be cured of an illness he did not have; therefore it was considered by many that the pledge could only work if they were drunk taking it. In August 1840, there are accounts of people praying to a large rock in Carrick. The *Mail*

175. William Lecky, *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, Vol. II, Longman Green and Co. (London, 1903), p. 238.

176. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 17 Mar. 1840.

177. *Ibid.*, 20 May 1841.

178. *Ibid.*, 23 Dec. 1841.

179. *The Waterford Mail*, 11 Mar. 1840.

180. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 12 Apr. 1841.

insinuated that the people were actually worshipping this rock: "... actually knelt before by the superstitious peasantry as if it were a deity".¹⁸¹ The Church of Ireland curate of St. Patrick's, Mr. Ardagh, investigated this account and confirmed that it was true. Describing these practices as "abominations", he went on to describe how hundreds of people used to kneel before this rock praying, some going around it on their bare knees. The people believed that by doing this they could cure sickness and disease. People were also in the habit of taking the earth around this rock home with them.¹⁸²

Conclusion

Temperance prospered in the years leading up to the famine, both in Waterford city and county. Fr. Mathew continued to visit Waterford city from time to time, encouraging the teetotallers and administering the pledge to many new converts. However, after 1841, the rural temperance societies from Fenor to Ardmore came under the patronage of Fr. Mathew, with Fr. Foley concentrating on his seminary, St. Mary's College, and the Magdalen Asylum in Youghal.

In 1843 Fr. Foley and Fr. Aubert from Marseilles, the Professor of Divinity in his college, became involved in a major scandal. It appears that three of the women in the Magdalen Asylum exhibited stigmata – the wounds received by Christ during His passion and crucifixion. It was also reported by Fr. Foley and Fr. Aubert that these women levitated in prayer and at times appeared to be in a state of ecstasy. Both *The Waterford Chronicle* and *The Tablet* (the English Catholic newspaper) investigated these reports and believed them to be false – "a lamentable and blasphemous mockery". One of the women involved, Mary Roche was a near relative of Fr. Foley. She was described in the *Chronicle* as "one of the worst characters of the town".¹⁸³ According to *The Tablet*, Mary Roche "continued to practise the greatest villainies ever practised by a woman" while under Fr. Foley's care.¹⁸⁴

Eventually the Bishop of Cloyne and Ross ordered an investigation, which was carried out by four priests, two doctors, and three nuns, and a report sent to the bishop. The *Chronicle* however managed to get hold of a copy of the report and immediately printed it. It appears that one of the women was found in possession of a pen knife and a case full of needles. Mary Roche had apparently cut her own gums to extract blood which she applied to her hands, feet and forehead. A self inflicted wound was discovered in her side. The investigators concluded that the entire matter was an elaborate hoax.

The temperance movement itself continued to be admired by all shades of nationalist opinion, and to maintain its essentially Roman Catholic character, with the Young Ireland movement supporting its aims just as strongly as O'Connell did.

181. *The Waterford Mail*, 22 Aug. 1840.

182. *Ibid.*, 26 Aug. 1840.

183. *The Waterford Chronicle*, 28 Jan. 1843.

184. *Ibid.*, 21 Feb. 1843; reprinted from *The Tablet*.

185. *Ibid.*, 28 Mar. 1843.

In 1843, Fr. Mathew visited Waterford and was welcomed by the Mayor, Thomas Meagher with an address composed by his son, the future Young Ireland leader, Thomas Francis Meagher.¹⁸⁶ In the country as a whole, drink consumption was to continue to fall up to 1844, and then to stabilise. It never again reached the 1839 figure.

However, the famine was to have a disastrous effect on the cause of temperance as it did on political progress. After the repeated failures of the potato crop, many teetotallers broke the pledge. Poteen again became a major problem. The difficulty of providing sufficient small coin to pay labourers 6d. per day on relief schemes was soon solved by shebeen owners opening for business on the relief sites.¹⁸⁷

Many of the early advocates of temperance also deserted the cause after 1845. For some, the conversion to temperance had been very short lived. O'Connell himself, although he had taken the pledge from Fr. Mathew, continued to drink on "medical advice".¹⁸⁸ Thomas Francis Meagher drank heavily during and after the American Civil War. While he was acting Governor of Montana, he was described in a rather biased and perhaps exaggerated manner by his political opponents, as a 'drunken madman, consorting with prostitutes and wallowing his days away in his room; polluting his bed and person in the most indecent and disgusting manner'. His bar bill for April 1867 amounted to \$200.¹⁸⁹

Although the broad temperance movement continued in existence under different names ranging from the Anti-Treating League of the moderate drinker, to the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, it would never again develop such mass appeal as it did during the years 1839-45. However, for some, the twin ideals of temperance and nationalism continued well into the twentieth century. As one later republican commentator stated: "We are apt to overlook Fr. Mathew. In his day he accomplished as great a work for Ireland as did Daniel O'Connell, but because his work was moral, not political, he is almost forgotten".¹⁹⁰

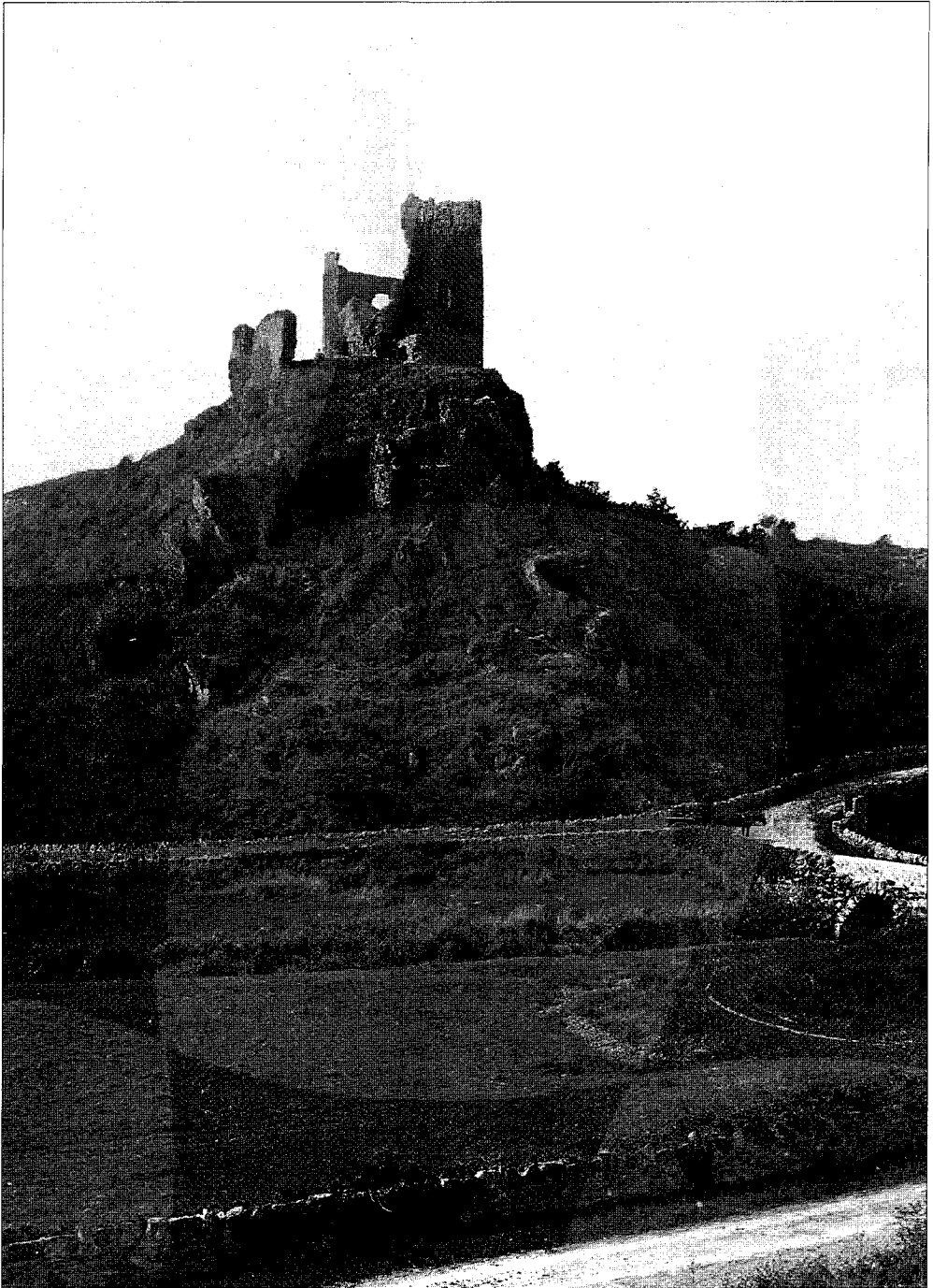
186. Eamonn McEaney (ed.); *A History of Waterford and its Mayors, From the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century*, Waterford Corporation (1995), p. 191.

187. See letter of Fr. Mathew to Trevelyan, 20 Nov. 1846, concerning the payment of labourers on relief schemes in public houses and shebeens; *British Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers, 1847; Relief of Distress in Ireland*, Vol. 17, London (1848), pp. 271-73.

188. K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland Since 1800, Conflict and Conformity*, Longman, London (1989), p. 82.

189. Elliot West, "Thomas Francis Meagher's Bar Bill", in *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, Winter 1985, pp. 18-23. WML 33/25.

190. Fr. Walter O'Brien, "Ireland Free is Ireland Sober" in *The Catholic Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July 1924.



Dunhill Castle, seat of the le Poers, barons of Donoil (Dún áill). Old photograph in possession of Waterford Municipal Library. The nearest (eastern) wall of the castle collapsed in a storm in 1912.

Local Government in County Waterford in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

By Ciaran Parker

Part III, The Office of Sheriff, 1355-1420

COUNTY Waterford in 1355 presented a different political environment to the one that had existed fifty years earlier. The influence of the various strands of the le Poer lineage had been considerably curtailed but they were still an important force in local society and capable of exerting an impact, albeit a destructive one, on the county. The prestige of the Geraldines, for so long incipient in their extensive land-holdings in the west of the county, had not been vanquished by either royal armies or attainders, so that the first earl of Desmond was able to emerge from the ignominy of defeat and exile to resume his title and lands in 1349. In the north and east of the county the le Botillers of Kilkenny were beginning to exchange their role as a minor player in local politics, represented by a cadet branch of the lineage, for a far more decisive role on Waterford's stage.

In terms of local government, the dramatic events of 1345 had little long-term impact on personnel or practices. The sheriff of the county in 1355 was Henry fitz Walter le Poer, a member of a branch of the le Poer lineage which had already provided the county with three sheriffs.

The reforms in local government of the 1350s and their impact in Waterford

In its desire to administer the localities as economically as possible the government of the Irish lordship had given extensive powers to the sheriff, and in the case of Waterford these had been augmented in 1305 by expanded military and police duties. However, the actions of many holders of the office in pursuit of their own or their families' interests highlighted the problems of relying on local personnel who were the captives of their own social background and were thus largely immutable to the extensive legislation outlawing extortion and oppression.

In theory the sheriff of a county or shire, whether in England or Ireland, was chosen to serve for only an annual term. Waterford and many other counties in the lordship demonstrated many exceptions; sometimes individual sheriffs acted for less than a year, while on other occasions terms of three or four years had occurred.

The annual term was based on the desire to allow as many suitable people as possible to hold the position. It would also prevent the concentration of excessive power in one person's hands, a feat which was considered difficult if not impossible in one year. Shorter terms were also popular amongst potential sheriffs, as a sheriff became personally liable for uncollected debts during his term, which could amass to an impossible level over two or three years.

This model had its drawbacks. It did nothing to nurture a spirit of professionalism in the post, so that a 'good' sheriff, that is one who keenly and assiduously collected the king's debts, enforced the king's laws and statutes in a strict but impartial manner, and was in all ways the perfect bureaucrat, might be succeeded after one year's sterling service by at best an incompetent, and at worst a corrupt sheriff who would undo most of the good work of his predecessor. Such inconsistency in the level and quality of local government could exacerbate lawlessness and disrespect for authority. These arguments were recognised in England in 1326 when Walter de Stapleton, a former English treasurer, stated that sheriffs would be unable to fulfil their duties if they served for too short a term.¹ This had little impact on thinking in Ireland. There were far too many instances where sheriffs who served for long terms were pawns in the hands of powerful noblemen such as the earls of Desmond or Ormond and in the Irish parliament of 1342 an ordinance setting out the traditional one-year term was reenacted.²

The manner in which the sheriffs of County Waterford were selected in the mid fourteenth century is surrounded by uncertainty. A number of sheriffs received mandates from the Irish exchequer appointing them to their position but it is unclear to what extent these were granted in response to some level of local choice or through the representation of powerful interests in the lordship as a whole. As we have seen, John fitz Peter le Poer of Donoil was chosen in Waterford in the presence of the justiciar of the lordship, but such elections were rare.³ Nicholas Brun, who was sheriff in 1345, even claimed that he had been appointed without his knowledge.⁴

In 1355 the dominance of the annual term was reenacted in legislation stipulating that the choice of sheriff was to occur in the county court.⁵ This had an important albeit ephemeral influence in Waterford for in November of that year an election was held in Waterford in which Peter fitz Roger le Poer was chosen by twenty-four men of the county who subsequently became pledges for his debts.⁶ Peter was a member of the Shanagarry branch of the le Poers who had provided at least three sheriffs in the preceding five decades, including Peter's own father who had been sheriff for a brief period in 1319. Their lands were concentrated in and east Cork although Peter did hold some wooded land in northern Waterford.⁷

In the event Peter served a term of one year and on November 11th 1356 his

1. N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), p. 109.
2. Berry, *Statutes, John – Henry V*, pp. 356-7.
3. See C. Parker, 'Local Government of County Waterford in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', Part II, in *Decies* 51, pp. 80-1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 87
5. C.C.R. 1354-60, pp. 144-5.
6. *R.P.H.*, p. 56, no. 80.
7. N.A.I.R.C. 8/19, pp. 402-3.

successor, William de Sandhull, received a commission from the Irish exchequer, although there is no reference to any form of election having taken place previous to this.⁸ We have no indication of the impact that Peter had on County Waterford although he does appear to have carried out his duties without engendering complaints from either the locality or the exchequer, and following de Sandhull's term he again became sheriff, although the manner of his appointment is not known. It appears that the renewed attempts to enforce a one-year term were not pursued with much vigour for Peter subsequently served for two years from Michaelmas 1357 until January 1360.⁹

The waning of Geraldine interest in Waterford

The first earl of Desmond had demonstrated that most necessary of political traits: an uncanny knack for survival. His rebellion in 1345 was met by imprisonment, exile and the loss of lands and title but he had both restored to him in December 1349 and at the time of his death in 1356 he had undergone such a process of rehabilitation that he was holding the post of justiciar of the lordship, a remarkable turn-around considering that a mere decade earlier he had been condemned as a rebel. His immediate successor as earl was his son Maurice, but he did not have time to make any impact on affairs in Ireland, as he was drowned while sailing to France in 1358. The control of the Geraldine lands passed ultimately to his brother Gerald whose interest in Waterford was temporary and fitful. In July 1358 he was given the traditional office of chief sergeant of counties Cork, Kerry and Waterford which had been held by his father and grandfather and which ultimately devolved from his ancestor Thomas fitz Anthony.¹⁰ In January 1362 Maurice de Mandeville, a son of the first earl's retainer sir Walter de Mandeville, received a commission of the shrievalty of county Waterford to hold for the term of his life, although he was to serve less than a year in the post.¹¹ The extent to which the earl of Desmond was involved in procuring the post or dictating its terms is unclear. What is less ambiguous is the extent to which Geraldine influence in Waterford declined in the following decades. Gerald fitz Maurice was certainly able to match his poetic proclivities with martial prowess but this did not include the political domination of county Waterford and most of his interests were absorbed by disturbances to the west and north of the Geraldine lands in Kerry and Limerick.

The growth of le Botiller influence

The le Botillers had a presence in county Waterford for many decades as a branch of the lineages held lands near Dunmore and at Dysert in east Waterford and in the early fourteenth century its leader, John fitz William le Botiller, had served as

8. N.A.I. R.C. 8/27, pp. 231-2.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 217; N.A.I. R.C. 8/28, p. 195.

10. *R.P.H.*, p. 72, no. 11.

11. N.A.I. R.C. 8/28, p. 58.

sheriff.¹² Involvement by the leader of the lineage had been slight, even after his elevation to the position of earl of Ormond in 1328. This changed with the accession of James, the second earl, in 1347 who ultimately found himself able to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of le Poer influence.

The le Poers' position not only in Waterford but throughout the south-east had been in steady decline since the 1320s, but the execution of sir Eustace le Poer in 1345 removed the one figure who had any pretensions to prestige even in a regional context. The le Poers of Donoil were still under the control of the youthful John fitz Peter le Poer, the grandson of his more famous namesake, but he was unable to exercise much authority over his relatives and to prevent attacks by them on Waterford city.¹³

The baron of Donoil, along with most of the other members of the le Poer lineage, had joined Eustace in his rebellion and had been amerced in return for grants of the king's peace.¹⁴ In its aftermath there was no leadership figure within the lineage capable of providing protection and patronage, as Eustace was dead and John le Poer of Donoil was ineffective, even after he had returned from exile in the king's army in France. Others had more practical reasons for seeking a powerful protector.

The Clonfad and Kilmeadan segments of the lineage had acquired extensive lands in north-east Waterford, and the leaders of both had fought alongside sir Eustace in the rebellion. The possession by the le Poers of the manor of Kilmeadan was not unchallenged for not only was there an outstanding Geraldine claim but there were also the powerful earls of Suffolk whose ancestor, Robert Ufford, had been granted the manor in the 1270s.¹⁵ It was therefore important to acknowledge any help which might be forthcoming from the earl of Ormond.

In August 1355 John fitz Geoffrey le Poer of Clonfad entered into an agreement of service with the earl, promising to provide military support in return for which the earl undertook to help and maintain him in his quarrels and pay him a yearly fee of twenty pounds.¹⁶ The agreement implied that le Poer's help was to be sought for the earl's activities both within Waterford and further afield, for he was to serve at his own expense while within Waterford, but at the earl's expense elsewhere. A similar agreement may have been drawn up between the earl and Nicholas le Poer of Kilmeadan for in 1358 the latter was seriously wounded while fighting alongside le Botiller in the Wicklow mountains.¹⁷ An indenture between the two has survived from January 1369 in which the earl leased le Poer extensive lands at Fenoagh in return for a specified rent.¹⁸ There was no reference, however, to le Poer receiving fees or annuities.

The implications of these links for Waterford became even more apparent when le Botiller held the post of chief governor of the lordship in the following decade.

12. See Parker, 'Local Government in County Waterford, Part II', pp. 81-2.

13. *R.P.H.*, p. 72, no. 14.

14. P.R.O. E.101/241/14.

15. For a discussion of the le Poers' acquisition of the manor of Kilmeadan, see C. Parker, 'Paterfamilias and Parentela: The Le Poer lineage in Fourteenth-century Waterford' in *PRIA*, 95 C (1995), pp. 100, 114.

16. *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, II, p. 28, no. 39.

17. P.R.O. E.101/244/2.

18. *Cal. Orm. Deeds*, II, p. 106, no. 144.

Between 1363 and 1375 the post of sheriff was rotated between Nicholas and John fitz Geoffrey le Poer, except for an interlude between 1367 and 1368 which ended tragically. A reflection of how Ormond combined his official duties with those of a regional magnate occurred at Clonmel in April 1366 when John fitz Geoffrey le Poer was elected sheriff of county Waterford in the earl's presence.¹⁹

The shrievalty of Nicholas Devenyssh

The earl of Ormond did not rely solely on his allies amongst the le Poers or his distant relatives in county Waterford to secure his influence and position for he had succeeded in constructing strong ties with the city of Waterford and its citizens. The county and the city had always been rigidly separated in administrative terms, although there had been occasions in the late thirteenth century when the city, struggling under the burden of the annual fee farm it was compelled to pay the crown in return for its privileges, was placed under the temporary supervision of the sheriff of Waterford.²⁰ In the changed circumstances of the mid fourteenth century, the city was becoming a reliable centre of stability and administrative influence in a region dominated by feudal magnates and Gaelicised lineages.

William de Sandhull was sheriff on two occasions during the period under discussion (1356-57, 1361-62). He was mayor of Waterford City in 1350-51 and again in 1353-1354; and he also had interests in South Kilkenny. In April 1371 he granted the earl of Ormond the half of the manor of Polroan he had received from Stephen de Marreis in June 1355.²¹ The nature and extent of the relationship between the earl and de Sandhull is unknown but it is safe to assume that de Sandhull was one of the former's associates within the city and that his appointment as sheriff was probably engineered by him.

Nicholas Devenyssh became sheriff in 1368; there is no record of his appointment and in the circumstances he never proffered his account at the exchequer.²² Like de Sandhull he was a citizen of Waterford city and his father Walter had been mayor in the early fourteenth century, but unlike de Sandhull there are no indications of any interests outside the city in either Waterford or Kilkenny.²³ The extent of any links with the earl of Ormond is also difficult to ascertain, although his immediate predecessors and successors in the post were supporters of the earl's interests in Waterford.

The relationship between city and country in Waterford was complex and was reflected throughout western Europe at this time and even though there was still a considerable amount of trade and personal contact between the two they had become distinct from one another in political, social and cultural terms.

19. N.A.I. R.C. 8/29, p. 171.

20. See C. Parker, 'Local Government in County Waterford in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Part I' in *Decies*, 50 (1994), p. 18.

21. *Cal. Orm. Deeds*, II, pp. 13-15, no. 25; p. 121, no. 167.

22. The memoranda roll for Michaelmas term 1368 recorded that Devenyssh did not proffer his account because he had been killed before he could come to the exchequer (N.A.I. R.C. 8/30, pp. 86-7).

23. *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 47*, p. 37; NLI Ms. 761, p. 83.

The le Poers of Donoil were in turmoil in the 1360s. Baron John le Poer had died before 1360 without leaving a male heir. His daughter Ismania became a ward of the crown and she was subsequently married to Nicholas de Bekenesfield, an associate of King Edward III's son, Lionel, duke of Clarence. In September 1361 began his first and ultimately frustrating intervention in Irish affairs and de Bekenesfield was appointed escheator of the Irish lordship.²⁴ On marrying Ismania le Poer, de Bekenesfield was granted the title of baron of Donoil in addition to his father-in-law's manors in Waterford and Limerick.²⁵ De Bekenesfield shared the disdain of Lionel for Ireland and in 1368, at the time of another large-scale military intervention, he was ordered to reside on his lands in Ireland or risk their forfeiture.²⁶ It is not known whether this was a sufficient threat or not, but as de Bekenesfield is never mentioned as having any further involvement with Irish affairs, it seems that he considered the loss of his far from lucrative lands as a blessing.

The le Poers of Donoil were resentful of this attempt at forfeiture of their title which had given their leaders some pre-eminence over his relatives. In August 1368 they launched a violent assault on Waterford city and in the ensuing exchanges the sheriff of the county and John Malpas, mayor of the city were killed.²⁷ A contemporary account of this attack is preserved in the great parchment book of Waterford and attributes it to "Richard Mór Poer". It seems very likely that Richard Mór was a close relative of Ismania and may have been seen as the rightful leader of the "Donoil" branch of the family.

The reaction to the attack

It was understandable that the tensions existing between the town and county should grow to almost hysterical levels as a result of these events. Devenyssh's successor as sheriff was the former sheriff and Ormond client John fitz Geoffrey le Poer, but his election received a hostile reaction from the Waterford citizenry and the bishop of Waterford and Lismore, acting no doubt as a spokesman for the anti-le Poer feelings in the city, objected to the choice stating that John fitz Geoffrey's election was the worst thing that could have happened.²⁸ It is interesting that the citizens of Waterford were growing increasingly incapable of distinguishing between the various branches of the le Poers and while the historian writing in the late twentieth century can isolate John fitz Geoffrey as being potentially more friendly towards the city owing to his ties with the earl of Ormond, such a distinction might have been too fine to contemporaries. Reeves' objections are noteworthy from another point of view, as they represent an early attempt by the city of Waterford to exercise a veto over the personnel of the shrievalty. The city was, as we have said, a separate political entity but the growing instability in the adjacent countryside made its inhabitants even more dependent on a figure who

24. N.A.I. R.C. 8/28, p. 21.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 277; NLI Ms. 761, p. 198.

26. Rymer, *Foedera*, III, no. 2, p. 848

27. *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, IV, pp. 470-1.

28. N.A.I. R.C. 8/30, pp. 166-9.

could prevent the turbulence of the county spilling over into attacks on the city and its trade.

John fitz Geoffrey's election was not contested and he was sheriff for over two years. In 1371 he was replaced by Nicholas le Poer of Kilmeadan who, in 1373, was followed by John fitz Geoffrey.²⁹ It was obvious that the earl of Ormond was seeking to maintain his influence within the country in the 1370s as he had done throughout most of the previous decade by engineering the election of his two most trusted local associates to the office of sheriff.

In July 1375 the rotation between the le Poers was broken when Edmund Haket was appointed sheriff by a writ from the Irish treasurer.³⁰ Haket does not appear to have had any lands in county Waterford and most of his earlier activities took place in Tipperary. In 1359 he had been accused of cattle-rustling in the palatine court of the Ormond Liberty of Tipperary.³¹ Nevertheless, he would appear to have owed his position to the earl's support. Other sheriffs of the period came mostly from north and east Waterford where the earl of Ormond's power was greatest, such as Richard Aylward, or alternatively they were from outside the county: Philip Crafford who was sheriff in 1384 had no prior associations with Waterford.³²

The resumption of Geraldine interest

The 1370s and 1380s were decades in which the earls of Ormond had been given an almost undisputed licence to control affairs in Waterford. The only serious threat to le Botiller influence came from the remnants of the le Poers of Donoil who were never capable of providing anything more than a serious nuisance to the citizens of Waterford and to their own distant relatives. In 1375, for example, John Cruys, a former escheator of the Irish lordship, complained that he had been unable to make an extent of lands in the county because of heavy fighting between the le Poers.³³ In the wake of the death of the second earl of Ormond in 1382 there was a resurgence of Geraldine activity, leading to sporadic clashes with the le Botillers and their relatives in north Munster and in the 1390s the theatre of conflict spread into Waterford although the protagonist of Geraldine activity was not the earl or one of his allies from the west of the county but his son, sir John of Desmond.

The impact of sir John's activities on local government can be seen through the experience of Roger Franceis who had been appointed sheriff before the end of 1392. He was a descendant of Stephen Franceis, a sheriff of the 1320s, and he was a landholder in east Waterford. In January 1393 he wrote to the council of the Irish lordship begging them to relieve him of his duties, as he had no power or influence in the county. Furthermore he claimed that his lands had been raided and wasted and that, far from being able to carry out any of his shrieval duties, he had been forced to reside with his mother in the Liberty of Wexford.³⁴ It is probable that

29. Ibid., p. 189; R.C. 8/32, p. 132

30. N.A.I. R.C. 8/31, p. 32.

31. *Cal. Orm. Deeds*, II, p. 46, no. 49.

32. N.A.I. Ferguson's Mss. I, p. 90; *R.P.H.*, p. 121, no. 84.

33. N.A.I. R.C. 8/31, p. 278.

34. J. Graves (ed.), *King's Council in Ireland, 16 Richard II*, p. 96.

Franceis had been attacked either directly by Desmond's own forces, or by the le Poers of Donoill. The expulsion of the sheriff of the county had left the desired vacuum which was filled by sir John of Desmond who was elected sheriff in February 1393, barely a month after Franceis' request had been made, and no doubt before the council had any opportunity to accept Franceis' resignation or put another sheriff in place.³⁵

The assertion of Geraldine power in Waterford did not go unchallenged and in the following years fighting raged intermittently between sir John of Desmond and the third earl of Ormond. In 1396 Thomas le Botiller the earl's brother was killed.³⁶ The intensity of the fighting led to a royal rebuke for Gerald fitz Maurice from king Richard II and a threat of judicial and military retaliation against him for the misdeeds of his relatives.³⁷ In 1398, following his father's death, sir John fitz Gerald launched an attack against the le Botillers in south Tipperary. A truce was arranged before serious fighting occurred, but the new earl was drowned shortly afterwards while recrossing the river Suir into county Waterford.³⁸

The office of sheriff in the early fifteenth century

It is difficult to ascertain the effects of the growing tensions on local administrations and as the fourteenth century came to an end it is a challenge to ascertain the identity of the sheriffs let alone the nature of their relationship with the competing powerful groupings or the quality of their activities.

It does appear that the initial Geraldine success with regard to a local administrative take-over was short-lived as the two sheriffs of the remainder of the fourteenth century whose identities are known were more likely to have belonged to the Ormond sphere of influence than to that of the Geraldines. Adam fitz David (who was sheriff in 1396 and again in 1400) was a landholder along the river Suir whose relatives had operated a ferry bringing criminals across the river to the safety of the Liberty of Kilkenny.³⁹ Edmund le Poer who was sheriff in 1398 was a cousin of sir Eustace le Poer who had been executed for his part in the first earl of Desmond's revolt of 1345.⁴⁰ While Eustace had died fighting for the earl, it will be remembered that many of his relatives and associates in the rebellion subsequently migrated towards the Ormond pole of influence.

The lineage of the le Poers dominated the office of sheriff in the early fifteenth century, although it must be remembered that it is impossible to assemble a really reliable list of sheriffs for this period. In 1404 the sheriff was Peter, son of John fitz Geoffrey le Poer, a former sheriff and ally of the second earl of Ormond in

35. Ibid., p. 155.

36. K. W. Nicholls (ed.), 'Late Medieval Irish Annals: Two fragments' in *Peritia*, 2 (1983), p. 90.

37. D. Johnston, 'The Interim Years: Richard II and Ireland, 1395-1399' in J. F. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1980), p. 183.

38. Nicholls (ed.), 'Late Medieval Irish Annals', pp. 90, 92. The two fragments place John fitz Gerald's death under the years 1399 and 1400 respectively. However, juries in Ardrahan and Clonmel stated in 1420 and 1421 that he had died on October 24th 1398. (*Cal.Orm. Deeds*, III, p. 31, no. 45.)

39. N.A.I. Ex. 2/4, pp. 1, 8; *Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, III, p. 183.

40. N.A.I. R.C. 8/33, p. 175.

Waterford.⁴¹ His presumed successor was Nicholas fitz Walter fitz Peter le Poer, the son and grandson of former sheriffs.⁴² Both these men did not come to the exchequer in Dublin in order to proffer their account, and their reluctance to retain contact with royal government in Ireland, whose agents they theoretically remained, demonstrates the extent to which the links between Waterford and Dublin had broken down and how limited the latter's influence was in the lordship as a whole. The next sheriff of Waterford who is mentioned in official sources, Nicholas Walsh, did come to the exchequer in Easter term 1416 to render an account. It is significant that he was not a le Poer but belonged either to a Waterford city family or to the Walshes of southern Kilkenny.⁴³ However the final record referring to him as sheriff came in Michaelmas term 1420 when his non-appearance at the exchequer was noted on the memorandum roll.⁴⁴

As a result of the laconic nature of surviving sources it is difficult to say much about the quality of the work performed by the sheriffs of the late fourteenth century. As we have seen, Edmund Haket already had some experience in breaking the law before he was appointed to uphold it. John fitz Geoffrey le Poer's election in the autumn of 1368 caused considerable alarm amongst the Waterford citizenry, and while this might have been caused by the recent attack by his relatives, albeit distant ones, on the city, we are ignorant as to whether other causes, best known to bishop Reeves and his friends, also coloured their objections.

To be continued

41. N.A.I. Ferguson's Mss, XV, p. 75.

42. N.A.I. R.C. 8/33, pp. 187-8, 191.

43. N.A.I. R.C. 8/36, p. 4.

44. N.A.I. R.C. 8/38, p. 4.

Shadows from the Past

No. 1



The Ass as a beast of burden was a familiar scene for generations and on Fair Days numerous specimens of this animal were bought and sold.



Picture taken outside the gaol, shows the skep makers offering their handicrafts for sale. The skep was a primitive type of beehive made of straw and was in use until about the middle of the present century.



Another picture taken outside the gaol wall shows various dealers including the *Riddle Maker* offering his wares for sale.



Scene near the mouth of Jail Street showing farm carts with creels used for the conveyance of pigs. Also men and women in conversation, and dressed in the attire of the period.



Fair scene looking North-West from Ballybricken Green showing the chimney of Denny's Bacon Factory, and part of Gracedieu.



Fairday scene looking West from Ballybricken Green showing the headquarters of the Pig Buyers Association, established in 1884. Also in the picture is the chimney of Denny's Bacon Factory.



Picture of part of the last gaol erected in 1861-62, from the mouth of the Mayor's Walk. Note the condition of the street surface, the rough and uneven cobblestones – an everyday scene before the era of tarmacadam.



Fairday scene looking North-Westwards. In the background is the Pig Buyer's Association headquarters, and the high chimney stack of Matterson's Bacon Cellar in the Glen.

Photographs courtesy of Waterford Corporation. Lent by Mr Dan Dowling, who is currently compiling a book on the historic street names of Waterford for Waterford Corporation.

Rope-Making in Waterford

By Patrick Kavanagh

IN the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the most important industries in the city were brewing, ship-building and bacon curing, or "Beer, Boats and Bacon". At one time there were three breweries and four bacon factories in operation, as well as the shipyards. A subsidiary industry of both ship-building and bacon curing was ropemaking.

The 1764 Richards & Scale Map of Waterford shows a rope-walk at Bolton Street. Leahy's map of 1834 shows four rope-walks. There was one in the townland of Browlea (now the Keane's Road, Tycor Avenue area) owned by George White, a Quaker merchant of King Street; one on the Green Street side of the Military Barracks; one off Hennessy's Road, about where Connolly Place is now built; and one in Ferrybank, owned by P. Cox, shipwright. According to the Ordnance Survey map of 1871 a rope-walk was situated in Poleberry. There was a rope-walk in Portlaw, attached to the Malcomson's cotton factory, and another in Cheekpoint.

Daniel Denny opened a factory in James Street in the late nineteenth century for the manufacture of jute sacks and bacon wrappers. These wrappers were used in the various bacon factories, or "cellars", as they were called, in Waterford. The cord which was used to tie the wrappers was made in the rope-walk at the Cork Road, opposite the Good Shepherd Convent. Up to fifty years ago, a person passing the door in the wall just beyond the Matthew Shee Institute, where the Statoil service station is now situated, would be attracted by the whirring of machinery.

This rope-walk was a long, low, lean-to shed, built against the wall which ran between the Matthew Shee Institute and the Castle Field. Along the walk at intervals stood wooden stakes with cross-pieces to hold the cords. Against the gable wall of the Institute three sheds were built. The first, nearest the road, held the stationary machine, consisting of a large flywheel, with a handle, connected to six hooks which spun on smaller cog-wheels. This shed also held the bales of jute yarn, supplied by Messrs. Goodbody's factory in Clara, Co. Offaly and delivered by Messrs. Hackett's Carriers on horse-drawn drays. The second shed was the store for the coils of finished cord and ropes. A second machine, which was never used while I worked in the walk, also stood in this shed. The third shed was the boilerhouse, where a sago mixture was boiled to be used in polishing the cord.

The apprentice carried each $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. bale of jute up the length of the rope-walk,

paying it out onto the stakes until the yarn lay in a straight line from end to end. The threads were divided according to the required thickness of the strands. Each set of threads was tied to a hook on the machine at the Castle Field end of the walk. This machine was mounted on a trolley, so that it could move down the walk as the threads spun together. The apprentice moved back along the walk separating the strands and tied the threads to the hooks on the stationary machine. At this stage any breaks in the threads were mended, using the "weaver's knot" which allowed both short ends to lie in the same direction. One man at each end turned the handles on the machines until the tension was right. The cord was taken off the machines and tied down to two long bars at either end of the walk. The cords were polished using horsehair polishers, and when they had dried out, were coiled, again by hand, on to a large reel.

For the making of ropes, the unpolished cords or strands were gathered into groups of three, tied to separate hooks at one end, and together to a "looper" at the other end. This looper had two swivel hooks, running in an over-shaped brass box. One hook was attached to the moving machine, and the other to the three strands of the rope which were tied at the other end of the walk to the stationary machine. Then a top (a block of wood with three grooves) was passed along the length of the rope, allowing the three strands to be "laid" together evenly. It was quite likely that the ropemaker would walk about twenty miles a day, up and down the walk, in the various processes of laying out, spinning, turning, laying and coiling the ropes.

When normal supplies were cut off during the 1939-1945 "Emergency", Denny's Rope-walk turned from specialising in bacon cord to the manufacture of cowtie and harness ropes. The workers in the rope-walk were paid at that time by the piece, that is strictly by result. It could happen that due to bad weather or delay in delivery of jute the requisite amount of material was not made up. This would mean overtime work, at no extra pay, to fill the quota for the week.

One might say that but for the war, Denny's Rope-walk would have closed down much sooner. However, when the war ended, the few small, manual rope-walks in Ireland could not compete with Irish Ropes Ltd. working to full capacity. The final blow fell when customers found that they could buy finished rope for slightly more than Denny's were paying for their raw materials. Jute bacon wrappers, and therefore bacon cord, were other casualties of progress. With new hygiene regulations in the bacon factories, muslin bags and then plastic began to be used. This was the end for Denny's wrapper factory. Many of the workers were employed in the new Waterford Sack and Bag Co. Ltd., owned by Mr. W. F. Watt, who had been manager of Denny's.

Goodbody's of Clara opened a factory in Tycor for the manufacture of jute sacking and hessian. This gave great employment up to a few years ago, when plastic took over the packaging industry. Denny's still have a presence in Waterford, with Mr. Gerhardt Denny, grandson of Mr. A. D. Denny and his son running Denny's Covers in O'Connell Street, in the actual sack store which served the wrapper factory in James' Street.

In 1775 a Quaker named Thomas White came to Waterford and opened a general grocery store in Thomas Street. His son, William, took over the business in 1799 and expanded it, building warehouses in Hanover Street and on the Quay for corn, sugar and oils (fish and vegetable) which he imported. He also built a shipyard in

Ferrybank and the rope-walk in Browlea (Tycor Avenue/Keane's Road) which made all the cables, ropes, and cordage for the company's shipping.

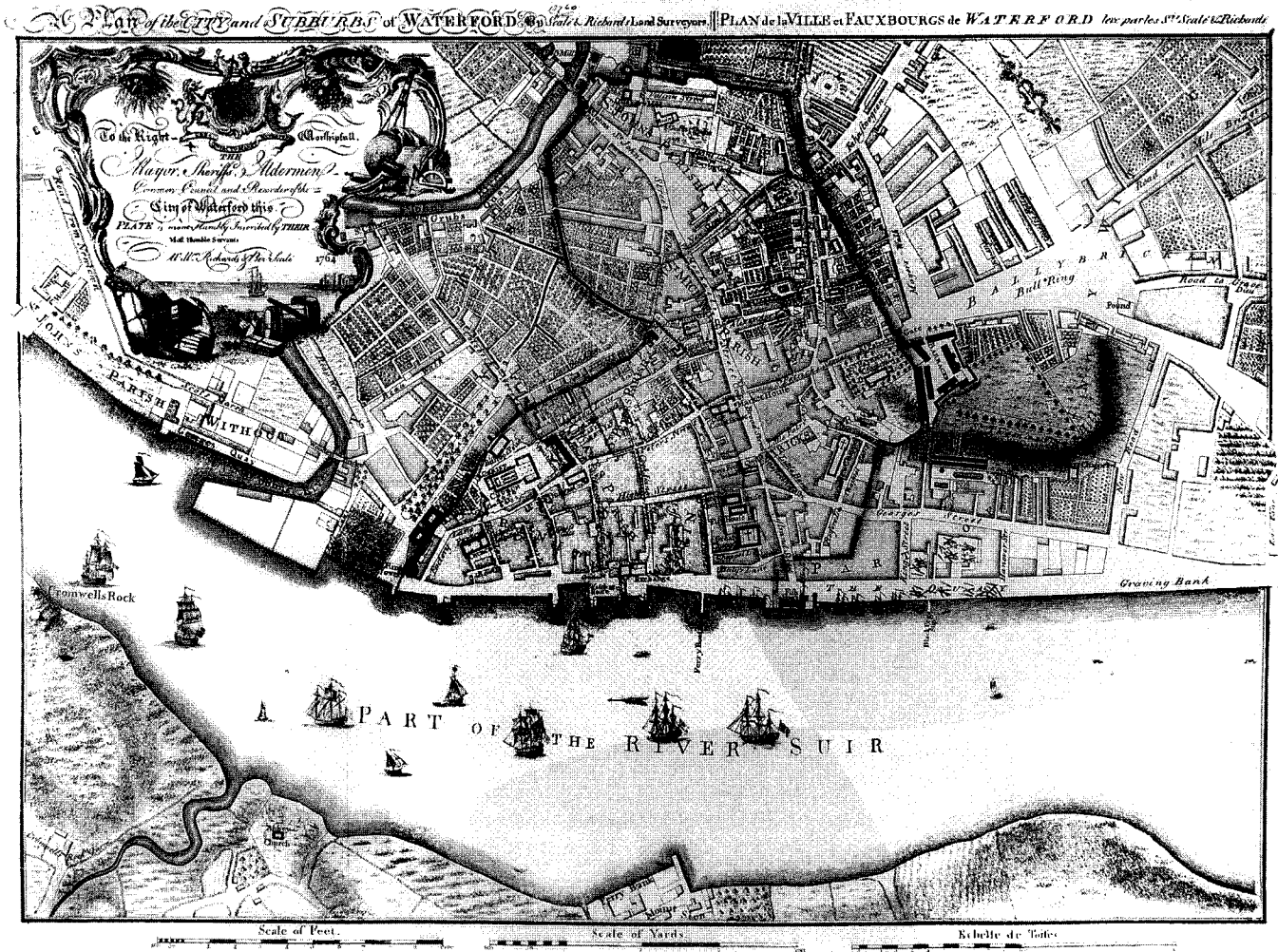
With the primitive hand machines the rope-walk was capable of turning out cordage of all sizes and weights up to ships' cables 220 fathoms in length (a fathom being six feet). As these ropes were used in marine work it is quite likely that they were soaked in tar before being coiled. As well as being a dirty job, this was a great fire hazard since all the ropes had to be passed through a large vat of boiling tar. Little wonder, then, that in 1847 the local newspapers reported a fire in the rope-walk. The business was very labour intensive, some aspects of the work, such as laying up heavy hawsers, needing scores of men working together.

On the death of William White the business passed to his sons, George and Albert. In 1843 a fire destroyed the warehouses in Hanover Street. According to newspaper reports at the time "— so great was the conflagration that some ships entering the harbour at Dunmore East did not dare to proceed further for fear of being involved in the blaze". In 1847 the brothers dissolved the partnership, Albert taking over the shipyard and George managing the shop and the rope-walk.

Under the direction of George White the shop expanded, selling medicines, glass, paint and guano, a product of bird manure which was very much in demand as fertilizer. The rope-walk was in production until the early part of this century. When steam superseded sail the rope-walk struggled on, making ropes for the shop in King Street (now O'Connell Street), but it closed finally about 1905.

Many families in the Slievekeale and Yellow Road area had a tradition of employment by George White's which continued even after the rope-walk had closed down. The workers were then employed in the yards and stores, which ranged on both sides of Thomas Street. After a fire in 1932, which destroyed some of the stores, the property on the west side of Thomas Street was sold and all that remained was the original shop site and yard at the junction of Thomas St. and O'Connell St. This is the shop, built in 1874 by William and Edwin White, sons of George White, which changed hands in 1986, and is now the property of Frank English.

The other rope-walks were mainly connected with the ship-building industry: Cox's of Ferrybank and one in Prior's Knock. The latter was owned by Jas. Blake & Sons, after whom Blake's Lane was named. Blake had a seafaring background, and he used his maritime connections to further the ropemaking business. Part of Green Street, off Barrack Street, was known until recently as the Rope-walk. A native of that area told me that his grandfather and great-uncle had worked in the Neptune Shipyard, so perhaps this rope-walk was connected to ship-building. On the other hand, its proximity to the Military Barracks could mean a connection with the army. The Poleberry rope-walk was owned originally by the Cox brothers (whether related to the Ferrybank Cox I know not). Subsequently it became the property of the Young family, who later had a dairy farm in the same area.



Richard's and Scale, Map of Waterford 1764. Note the 'Roap [sic] Walk' on the banks of the St. John River in St. John's Parish Without. Courtesy of Waterford Corporation.

Appendix

Ropemakers' name from various Directories

1821 Census:

Joseph Chatham, 51 Stephen Street
Daniel Cox, 13 Poleberry
John Cox, The Quay
William Cox, 19 Poleberry
James Dunne, 51 Stephen Street
William Nowlan, 51 Stephen Street

1824 Pigot's Directory

James Blake & Sons, Rope & Sailmakers (Blake's Lane)

1839 Shearman's Directory

Pierce Cox, 110 The Quay
Daniel Denny, Canvas Manufacturer, 30 Anne Street
Abraham Denny, Sailmaker, 115 Parade Quay
William White & Co., 56 Thomas Street

1839 Harvey's Directory

J. Bennett, 84 Yellow Road
P. Hearn, 36 Thomas Street
Richard Kenny, 27 Yellow Road

1846 Slater's Directory

As above, Cox, Denny & White.

1877 Harvey's Directory

Michael Lynch, Sailmaker, 13 Lombard Street
James Murphy, 28 Barrack Street
George Price, Yellow Road
James Skelton, 21 Henry Street
George White, Yellow Road
James Young, Poleberry

1894 Egan's Directory

John Price, 19 Upper Yellow Road

1909/10 Thom's Directory

Edward Carberry, 2 Poleberry
James Hogan, 31 Morrisson's Road
Nicholas White, 2 Slievekeale Road

My thanks to Mr. Bill Irish; and to Mr. Richard Fennessy and Mr. Dermot Power of the Waterford Municipal Library.

A History of The People's Park

By Dermot Power

Introduction

THE need for a place of public recreation was long necessitated by the stifling smells that permeated the city of Waterford. The smells from the numerous tan yards, malt houses and the heaps of horse manure which littered the streets. The awful condition of the city's streets is borne out in a letter to the *Waterford Mail* when a correspondent writes 'the interior [streets] of our city are deplorable it is shocking to have to pass along and see those hideous pies that abound in them I know the subject is a nasty one to write about but why are our eyes and nostrils to be offended with such exhibitions?'¹ The personal hygiene of the poorer classes left a lot to be desired, and this was alluded to during a meeting about the Park, when it was remarked that 'the precarious habits which the humbler classes fall into are more the result of circumstances rather than character'.² It was only the wealthy who could afford to travel to the nearby coastal resort of Tramore for the health-giving sea breezes and occasional swim in the sea. For the workman, it was to work, eat and (probably) sleep in the same clothes. The 'Best' clothes, if indeed these were available to him, would be worn only for Sunday Mass and first thing on Monday they were pawned to part-finance the coming week until the next wage day, when the clothes would be redeemed for the next Sunday Mass. And so it went week after week. For him, his wife and their children there was no escape from the 'Smells of Waterford'.

Origin of park

The idea of a public park had long occupied the minds of the city Fathers, and as early as the 1820s, the idea of a park was mooted.³ It was again mentioned at the Extraordinary Presentment Sessions held in the City Court House on 6 October

1. *Waterford Mail*, 7 Feb. 1856.
2. *Waterford Mail*, 18 March 1856.
3. *Waterford Chronicle*, 9 June 1856.

1846 when '£700 was allocated to erecting a public Park at Lombard's Marsh or elsewhere'.⁴ The plan to locate the park in Lombard's Marsh 'originated with Sir Henry Winston Barron, M.P. for Waterford city, who had suggested the plan in 1845-46, but because of animosity towards his political viewpoint, and so great was this animosity to any plan conceived by him',⁵ that he abandoned the plan to build a park at Lombard's Marsh. It was to wait ten years until the emergence of a young, vibrant and energetic young man by the name of John Aloysius Blake.

The 'People's' Park

The term 'People's' as applied to the park does not appear to be an official one. It was at no stage mentioned either in the preliminary discussion with the Town Council, the meeting with the Lord Lieutenant, the meeting with the Treasury or at any subsequent Corporation meeting prior to July 1855. In all official documents and memorials it was referred to only as the 'Public' Park. It was first called the 'People's' Park in the *Waterford Chronicle* of 21 July 1855, but the term 'Public Park' was maintained by the *Waterford Mail* throughout the period in which the park was first mooted and up to the time of its opening. It was only on a rare occasion just prior to its opening that it was referred to by the *Waterford Mail* as the 'People's' Park. I believe that the term 'People's' originated with, and betrays the political sentiments of, the *Waterford Chronicle*, and the term, once popularized, became one of common usage.

John Aloysius Blake, Mayor of Waterford city (1855-58)

The fate of the park is inextricably linked to John Aloysius Blake. It probably would have been built at some period, but its extent and grandiose design was limited only by the imagination of this young man. The park and the widening of Barronstrand St are perceived as his crowning glories.

John Aloysius Blake was born in 1826. A house in Gladstone St, Waterford, once bore a plaque in his honour stating that he was born in that house.⁶ Unfortunately, the plaque has long since disappeared. In 1855, at the tender age of 29 years, he became mayor of Waterford city, taking with him to that office the energy, exuberance, idealism and aspirations of youth. Such was his popularity that he was elected mayor for three successive years and then as M.P. for Waterford city in 1857, which he continued to represent until 1869. He was also president of Waterford Chamber of Commerce from 1857 to 1869. While still president in 1869, Blake was appointed Inspector of Fisheries, a post he held for close on ten years.⁷ It was said of him 'that whatever qualification he may or may not have had, he however was blessed with one that was rare in public men, viz., the gift of making friends'.⁸ Blake

4. D. Power (1995) 'Public Works in Waterford 1846-47', in *Decies* 51, pp. 57-64.

5. *Waterford Chronicle*, 13 Sept. 1856.

6. Undated and unattributed newspaper cutting in papers of Michael O'Sullivan. I would like to thank Mr O'Sullivan for allowing me to examine his press cuttings.

7. *Munster Express*, 18 May 1887.

8. P. M. Egan (nd [1894]) *History, guide and directory of county and city of Waterford* (Kilkenny: P. M. Egan), pp. 340-2.



People's Park, Waterford (c. 1900): The bandstand with one of the cannons captured at the siege of Sevastopol (1845-1855). Note that the cannon rests on a wooden gun carriage. (Lawrence Collection, National Library of Ireland).

first entered Parliament in the Liberal interest. When Parnell became leader of the Irish Party, Blake did not approve of some of his tactics and accordingly placed his resignation in the Irish leader's hands. After a lengthened sojourn abroad, Blake returned and then admitted the practicality of the course adopted by Parnell, and having thrown in his lot with the Irish party he was elected member for Carlow.⁹ During his travels abroad embracing the greater portion of Asia as well as Australia, he contributed many articles about his travels to *The Munster Express* such as 'The Irish under the Southern Cross' and even the 'Irish in Japan'. Blake married Adelaide Power, daughter of Nicholas Power of Faithleg, Co. Waterford. It was she who discovered Blake dead of a sudden heart attack. It appears that 'Mrs Blake went out about 11 o'clock in the morning leaving Mr Blake at their residence, Queen Anne's Mansions, London, apparently in the best of health. When she returned home at half past twelve he was dead'.¹⁰

John Aloysius Blake died in the 62nd year of his life, and is interred in St Mary's, Kensal Green, London.

Lombard's Marsh

The name Lombard's Marsh derives from the family of Lombard who owned this property since post-medieval times. The name Lombard originated as a generic term applied to those merchants who came from Lombardy in Italy, and who traded with, and settled in, Ireland. One of the original bearers of that name was William Lombard and he can be placed in Waterford city in 1350. In 1371, he was elected mayor of Waterford and returned to office for a second term from 1372 to 1373. In 1377, he was again elected mayor and was returned to office for the period 1378-79.¹¹ Lombard's Marsh was, as the name suggests, a marsh! In the Civil Survey (1654-6), Lombard's Marsh is stated to comprise of 12 acres and is described thus: 'This meadow or marsh is surrounded by the river Swyre [Suir] and St Catherine's Pill [alias St John's Pill] was in the year 1640 the freehold of the Corporacon [Corporation] and was in the same year in the hands of the Corporacon and is now in the hands of Thomas Osborne, Tanner, English Protestant as Tenant to the Commonwealth'.¹² It is ironic that this place, which was described prior to the building of the park, as a 'waste and weary swamp covered with dank and fetid water, exhaling noxious vapours by night, and by day presenting a picture of hapless wretchedness which was a derision and disgrace to us',¹³ should now be chosen as the site of a pleasure Park, which, 'aided by the hand of man, flings forth from its generous breast, verdure and bloom and beauty to cheer the eye and gladden the hearts of all who visit there'.¹⁴

9. *Waterford News*, 29 May 1887.
10. *Munster Express*, 28 May 1887.
11. E. McEaney, ed. (1995) *A History of Waterford and its mayors from the 12th Century to the 20th Century* (Waterford: Waterford Corporation), pp. 63-4.
12. R. C. Simington, ed. (1942) *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654-1656. County of Waterford. Vol. vi. With appendices: Muskerry Barony, Co. Cork: Kilkenny City and Liberties (Part). Also valuations, circa 1663-64, for Waterford and Cork cities* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission).
13. *Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Feb. 1857.
14. *Ibid.*

Previous attempts to beautify city

The previous attempt at beautifying the city was the draining of the large pond which occupied the ground from the River Suir at Reginald's Tower to the present Colbeck St, making it into a parade, planting elm trees on each side of it and laying out a bowling green on the site now occupied by the present Tower Hotel. It is mentioned by Smith in 1746 when he describes the Mall as 'a beautiful walk about 200 yards long and proportionally broad, situated on the east end of the city. The draining and leveling [of] the ground which was formerly a marsh, was done at a very considerable expense; it is planted with rows of Elms, and the sides of the walk are fenced with a stone wall. Near the centre, facing this beautiful walk stands the Bishop's Palace [it houses the present planning office of the corporation], which not only adds a considerable beauty to the mall, but also reciprocally receives the same from it. Here the Ladies and Gentlemen assemble on fine evenings, where they have the opportunity of each other's conversation. Nothing can be more agreeable than to see this shady walk crowded with the fair sex of the city, taking the air, enjoying the charms of a pleasant evening, and improving the health. Near the mall is a pleasant Bowling-green for the diversion of the citizens, which is a most innocent and healthful exercise, where in summertime after the business of the day is ended, they sometimes recreate themselves'.¹⁵

The beginning

In March 1855, a special meeting was called by the young, energetic and newly elected mayor of Waterford John Aloysius Blake, and it was attended by the High Sheriff, Bonaparte-Wyse and the four city aldermen. One of the items on the agenda was to discuss the proposal for a public or pleasure park for Waterford city. After some discussion, it was resolved on the motion by Counsellor Grubb and seconded by Alderman Kelly that 'the Mayor be empowered to memorial the Lord Lieutenant on the subject of a Park'.¹⁶ Not allowing grass to grow under his feet, the mayor set about preparing the memorial and the *Waterford Chronicle* reported on 14 April 1855 that 'A deputation will visit the lord lieutenant in the early part of next week for the purpose of soliciting the exercise of his influence with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to obtain a grant of Lombard's Marsh for the purpose of a Park'. It was believed that the lord lieutenant did not have the ultimate decision but it would do no harm to have the favourable disposition of the lord lieutenant towards the project. On 25 April, the deputation consisting of the mayor; the high sheriff of the county; the sheriff of the city; the Very Rev. Dean Hoare; James Galwey, Esq., Inspector General of Prisons; Carew O'Dwyer, Esq., Thomas Harris, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; and the Town Clerk, Michael Dobbyn, Esq., J. P., were received by the Lord Lieutenant. The mayor introduced each member of the deputation to the lord lieutenant, and expressed the desirability of opening a place of recreation for the

15. C. Smith (1746) *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford. Being a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical and topographical description thereof* (Dublin: A. Reilly), pp. 193-4.

16. *Waterford Mail*, 28 March 1855.

benefit of all classes of people. The town clerk then read the following memorial:

To His Excellency George William Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, K. G., Lord Lieutenant General and Governor General of Ireland.

May it please your Excellency –

We the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the city of Waterford, most respectfully approach your Excellency for the purpose of soliciting the exercise of your influence with the Government, in order to obtain some aid towards enabling us to establish a Park or Pleasure Ground for the recreation of the people.

To one who has shown such a desire as your Excellency towards promoting rational and healthful recreation for the people during their leisure hours, as evinced by your exertions in the sister country to forward similar objects to those which we have in view, we consider it unnecessary to dwell on their desirability, both in a moral and sanitary point of view, and feel confident that the mention of the object will be sufficient to secure it for your Excellency's gracious co-operation.

As the deputation, who will have the honour of presenting this memorial, are fully instructed how to explain to your excellency everything connected with the contemplated project, we consider it would be superfluous to enter further into details, then to say that the ground proposed to be converted into a Public Park is within the city – consists of about six acres – the property of your memorialists, who would make a free grant of it for the purpose, and is well calculated in many essential respects for the contemplated object, and the only object which your memorialists have in carrying it out is the want of the necessary pecuniary means.

As your Excellency is aware that the Municipal Act precludes the corporation from devoting any portion of their funds for any purposes except those stated in the act, unless a surplus should accrue after defraying the necessary municipal expenses; and such not being the case in this instance, your memorialists cannot obtain more than the Town Council has already given, viz., a free grant of the land; and it may also be added, with truth, that the severe depression which this city is slowly recovering from, consequent of the dire visitations which it pleased Providence to afflict Ireland with during the past four years, as well as the many calls which our citizens have made on them to relieve the pressing necessities of those by whom they are surrounded, precludes them from contributing, as they would wish, towards effecting an object which they feel would be productive of much public benefit.

Your memorialists therefore, earnestly hope that taking those circumstances into consideration, as well as the desirability of encouraging such sources of recreation for the people, the government will be induced to countenance the effort we are now making for the purpose by contributing assistance out of some at their command for such purposes.

And your memorialists rejoice that they should be fortunate enough to be enabled to make the application through the medium of a Viceroy like your

Excellency, whose official antecedents in connection with this country, as well as the favourable disposition to promote the interests of its people, evinced since your return to it in your present high capacity, encourages us to hope for a gracious compliance with our wishes on the part of your Excellency.

And that your Excellency may long continue to enjoy the confidence of your Sovereign, and be enabled, with the assistance of providence, to occupy for many years to come, a high place amongst the statesmen of the Empire, is the earnest wish and prayer of your memorialists,

John A. Blake

Mayor of Waterford.¹⁷

Although, technically, the lord lieutenant was unable to secure a grant for the park project, how could he not be flattered by such a gracious letter, and he intimated to the mayor and the delegation that he would do everything in his power to influence a decision in the affirmative. The decision to grant financial aid to the project lay with the Lords of the Treasury. On 2 May 1855, the mayor reported to the council that they had been favourably received by the lord lieutenant.¹⁸ The next step was to petition the Lords of the Treasury and on 12 May 1855, the *Waterford Chronicle* reported that 'on Tuesday next a deputation will visit the Lords of the Treasury with a view to obtaining a grant to convert Lombard's Marsh into a pleasure Park'.

Meeting with Lords of the Treasury

The Mayor, Mr Meagher, M.P., and Captain Wyse, High Sheriff for the county, had an interview at the Treasury with an official, Mr Wilson, in London on 18 May 1855, for the purpose of presenting a memorial from the Town Council, requesting some aid towards the establishment of a park or promenade for the recreation of the citizens of Waterford. The mayor read the memorial which was very similar in content to the one presented to the lord lieutenant, and stated the 'great desirability of establishing a place of general resort for all classes of people in a town like Waterford, where nothing of the kind at present exists'. Meagher and Captain Wyse made similar observations to Wilson.

Wilson stated that a very small portion of £40,000 voted to it by Parliament remained at the disposal of the Treasury. It was also a rule not to grant any monies unless to supplement local effort. He cited the case of Manchester where for a certain project 'subscribed £30,000 and the Treasury had given £650'. Wilson then asked how much would the completion of the proposed park cost and what amount would the people of Waterford contribute. He also remarked that 'Waterford appeared to be a place of considerable trade, judging by the exports and imports, and of course ought to be able to pay a sum almost sufficient for the purpose'.

17. *Waterford Chronicle*, 28 April 1855.

18. *Waterford Chronicle*, 5 May 1855.

The mayor in reply stated that the probable cost of the park would be £1,500 which he expected the Treasury to give as the citizens had already offered as much as could be expected of them. The land, for instance, if let for building sites, would be worth £2,000 and a very large sum had already been spent on raising its level and draining it by the Town Council. All this would be given by Waterford as its contribution. 'As far as Manchester was concerned', stated the Mayor, 'it was not a fair criterion to judge Waterford by. It was comparing one of the most prosperous towns in the richest country in the world with one of the poorest towns in the poorest country on the face of the earth, and the people of which had suffered so much from famine and misfortune of every kind that they were not in a position no matter how well they might be disposed to do so, to subscribe adequately towards the object in question'.

Meagher pressed Wilson to consider Waterford as favourably as other towns and further pressed him as to how much money he would recommend the Treasury to advance.

Wilson stated that though he was unable to state any sum that the Treasury might be disposed to give, he would however promise that he would prevent any portion of the money at hand in the Treasury from being disposed of until the case for Waterford had been presented to the Treasury. While accepting the case put by the mayor of Waterford and Meagher, it was his duty to direct a report to be prepared by the Board of Public Works as to the eligibility of the proposed site, and on obtaining this report the Treasury would at once decide on the sum they would allocate for the park'.¹⁹

Lombard's Marsh surveyed

'On Monday [4 June] Mr Owen came and surveyed the ground for the proposed Park. He was accompanied by Mr Hudson, Inspector of Corporate Works; Captain Belford, Harbour Master; Mr O'Brien, Town Clerk, and Arthur Ussher Roberts, who helped in the way of ascertaining the relative levels of the lands adjoining [Lombard's Marsh]'.²⁰

Reply from the Treasury

At the Council meeting of 26 June 1855, the proposed public park was discussed. The mayor said he had received a communication from the Lords of the Treasury, but before he read it out, he wanted to express in the strongest possible terms his gratitude to one of the delegation to the Treasury, Mr Meagher, who had put the case for Waterford more forcibly than any other person and it was largely due to him that he was about to read the very favourable communication from the Treasury.²¹ Thomas Meagher was the father of the Young Ireland leader Thomas Francis Meagher and represented Waterford City in Parliament from 1847 to 1857. As can be seen from the above comments by Blake about Meagher, he was held in

19. *Waterford Chronicle*, 28 April 1855.

20. *Waterford Chronicle*, 9 June 1855.

21. *Waterford Chronicle*, 30 June 1855.

very high esteem by Blake and it can be said that his guiding hand can be seen in almost all of the actions of the young Blake. The mayor then read the following letter from the Treasury:

To the right worshipful John A. Blake, Mayor of Waterford.

Sir – The Lords’ commissioners of her Majesty’s Treasury having before them a memorial from the council of the Borough of Waterford, expressing the wish of the corporation to form a Park for the recreation of the inhabitants, and expressing their willingness to make a free grant of about eight acres of land, within the Borough, if the Government will assist them with funds to carry out the undertaking; the Lordships desire me to observe, that upon a careful consideration of all the circumstances adverted to in the Memorial from the Council of the 15th ult., they will be willing to make a grant in aid of the expense of forming a Public Park at Waterford, to the extent of five hundred pounds, upon certain conditions; but adverting to the assistance which has been afforded in other cases from the Parliamentary Grant that this is the utmost amount, which with propriety they could concede in the present case.

The conditions to which the Grant must be subject are the following:-

1. That the ground be appropriated for the formation of a Park, and be permanently secured for the recreation of the inhabitants of Waterford, by vesting it in Trustees for that purpose.
2. That the corporation undertake to keep the grounds in a suitable condition for that purpose.
3. That previous to the issue of the Grant, such an additional sum may be required to enclose, plant and form walks in the ground to be converted into a Park, [this sum] and shall be raised by voluntary contributions, and expended to their Lordships’ satisfaction.

Their Lordships desire me further to remark, with reference to the first of the conditions enumerated, that it will be necessary that an application for the appropriation of the site proposed for the object in question should be submitted to their Lordships by a Memorial from the Council of the Borough, after due publication of the notice which is required by the provisions of the Municipal Corporation Act.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
James Wilson.²²

The mayor then impressed on the council the importance of raising funds locally for the project. He remarked, ‘for my own part I will contribute all I can afford to promote the undertaking and I am convinced that I could not devote money to a more useful public object’.²³ He then enunciated the benefits of a building project at this time of year when ‘during the summer [the price of] provisions would be high and employment low, it would be a fine thing to have our poor labourers employed; and that in itself ought to be an incentive to exertion even if no other

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

existed'.²⁴ I am sure that Blake had witnessed the streets of Waterford city crowded with starving labourers working on the public works,²⁵ and that this had left a deep impression on his mind.

Effects of the Famine

What has become very apparent during the research for this article, was that the after effects of the famine were still strongly being felt in this period (1856). In the return for the Waterford Union Workhouse of 15 April 1856, the number of inmates was 1,727 persons. This appears to be an extremely high figure considering that during the Famine the average weekly number of persons relieved in the Waterford Union Workhouses was 1,056 persons in May 1847 and 2,034 persons in March 1848.²⁶ At a special meeting called to discuss the 'Poor of Waterford', it was reported that the city contained over '3,400 distressed labourers'.²⁷ This was apart from the swarms of beggars that crowded the city's streets. In the 1856 emigration returns from Liverpool, we find that of the 112,716 persons that left the port, 61,828 were Irish.²⁸ These figures do not include all of the persons who left from Irish ports directly to America and Canada. It is my belief that this period *must* be included in any further examination of the 'Famine'.

It would appear that John A. Blake was entirely devoted to the object of a Park and spent quite an amount of his own money pursuing the task. This is borne out in the request of Blake at a quarterly meeting of the Council on 11 August 1855, when he asked the Council to grant him £3 to procure plans for the proposed park. The County and City Grand Juries had voted him 3 guineas each for that portion which included the Courthouse. He was going to Dublin to see some landscape gardeners and had already spent £15 out of his own pocket.²⁹

Nevin to design the park

Not willing to rush into anything and to develop the best possible plan for the park, Blake travelled to Galway to see there the newly constructed beautiful Square or Park. He then instructed Nevin, an eminent landscape gardener from Dublin, to prepare plans for the park in Waterford.³⁰ On 15 September Nevin arrived in Waterford and surveyed Lombard's Marsh preparatory to drawing up plans.³¹ On 1 November 1855, at a meeting of the Town Council, 'the Mayor unfolded a beautifully executed plan of the intended Park at Lombard's Marsh, designed and drawn by the eminent landscape gardener Mr Nevin, and which really presented a

24. Ibid.

25. Power, 'Public Works'.

26. R. Byrne (1995) 'The workhouse in Waterford city, 1847-49', in D. Cowman and D. Brady (eds), *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850: teacht na bprátaí dubha*, (Dublin: Geography Publications with Waterford County Council), pp. 119-36 (p. 122, table).

27. *Waterford Mail*, 7 Feb. 1856.

28. *Waterford Mail*, 13 Jan. 1857.

29. *Waterford Chronicle*, 11 Aug. 1855.

30. *Waterford Chronicle*, 28 Aug. 1855.

31. *Waterford Chronicle*, 22 Sept. 1855.



People's Park, Waterford: The fountain in c. 1900 (Lawrence Collection, National Library of Ireland).

beautiful appearance. Walks, trees, artificial water, islands, grass mounds, being laid in the most tasteful and artistic manner'.³² So delighted was the council with this plan of the park that a vote of thanks was proposed by Henry Denny and seconded by Samuel Grubb. They expressed the council's appreciation of the efforts of Blake not only in the drawing up of the plan of the park but also in other local enterprises in which he had involved himself. Along with the drawing of the plan of the park, Nevin also submitted an explanatory report (see Appendix 1).

Park enlarged

The acreage of the proposed Park was now enlarged and Blake had written to the Treasury asking for an additional grant because of the proposed increase in the size of the park. The only condition on which the Treasury would give an additional sum was that an accommodation should be afforded to the military for the purpose of occasional reviews and that they procure certificates from the Military authorities as to the practicability of sufficient space being afforded. On 5 November a number of officers assembled at the Town Hall and proceeded with the mayor, Arthur Ussher Roberts, Esq., C.E., to the grounds for the purpose of inspecting and reporting on its eligibility. The Earl of Meath, Colonel of the Dublin Militia, Major-General Roberts, Colonel Roberts, and Lieutenant-Colonel Palliser all agreed to give the required certificates. The mayor was then to proceed to Kilkenny to procure an additional certificate from the general commanding that district, and upon receiving it, he would, along with the others, send a memorial from the corporation to the Treasury for an additional grant.³³

At the Town Council meeting held on 19 November 1855, a memorial was drawn up to be presented to the Lords of the Treasury, accompanied by the certificates from the relevant military authorities. This application seems to have fallen on its face, and early in 1856, the War Dept refused the application for a grant towards the park.³⁴ In a letter addressed to the inhabitants of Waterford and the neighbourhood which was carried in the local papers, Blake in retrospect said that he was happy that the War Dept refused to participate in the funding of the park and that it would now be devoted solely for the recreation of the inhabitants of Waterford city. However, the plan to enlarge the park was carried out and it was intended to acquire an additional five acres of adjoining land belonging to the Rev. D. Wall and the Misses Hardy at an annual rent of £20.³⁵

Public meeting

On 15 March 1856, the *Waterford Chronicle* carried a public notice requesting the attendance of the inhabitants of Waterford at a meeting in the Town Hall on 17 March for the 'purpose of adopting the necessary measures for proceeding with the proposed Park'.

32. *Waterford Chronicle*, 10 Nov. 1855.

33. *Waterford Chronicle*, 10 Nov. 1855.

34. *Waterford Mail*, 6 March 1856.

35. *Ibid.*

The Public meeting was held at one o'clock in the Town Hall and was, as expected, packed to capacity. The mayor outlined the position regarding the park and stated that 'the ground consisting of upwards of fifteen acres, has been given by the town council as their contribution, the government's subsidy of five hundred pounds is ready to be handed over when a sufficient sum to complete the design with it has been raised and expended; the plans and estimates are prepared; the season arrived when the work can proceed advantageously, and all that remains to enable this to be done is the raising of the necessary aid from the public themselves'.³⁶

He told the meeting that the estimated cost of works on the extended park would be £1,200. Out of this, there was the contribution by the Treasury of £500. There was an additional £100 contributed by local merchant Joseph Malcomson, while the Rev. Wall and the Misses Hardy from whom the additional land for the Park was leased, gave a contribution of £50. The remaining sum to be raised by local contributions was no more than £600. The mayor went on to explain that the other city improvements were proving a great boon for the building of the park. For instance, a large block of houses which stood in the centre of Barronstrand St was now being demolished and a large expense would have been incurred by the removal of the rubbish ensuing from this demolition. However, the rubbish was now being used to fill the lower parts of the marsh. The making of a new line of road at Bilberry, which necessitated the removal of a large portion of the rock face, would likewise provide the stone for the erection of the boundary wall around the Park. The Harbour Commissioners also had long delayed the removal of tons of mud from the Quays in consequence of not having any place to deposit such an amount of it. This would now be used in the erection of the large mounds in the park. It was estimated that the entire amount of material used in the park from the various public works was in the region of fifteen thousand tons. The mayor again reiterated the statement he had made at previous meetings to the effect that all monies would be spent locally and would provide local employment.

The Mayor then went on to explain the mode in which the park would be self-supporting. Although admission to the park would be open to all classes, it was the intention to open it five days a week for this purpose. However, those who were prepared to pay ten shillings a year would have keys which would allow them access to the park at any time, while those who paid a sum of ten pounds would be classed as life members and would similarly have access to the park at any time. Those paying under these sums would have access with the general public.³⁷

Selection of Park Committee

Arthur Ussher Roberts suggested that a list of subscribers be opened, and in less than an hour, £400 was donated. It was further suggested by Roberts that a committee be appointed to collect subscriptions, and the following were then selected as members of the committee: The Mayor of Waterford; the Bishop of Cashel; J.P. Lapham, Esq., High Sheriff of the City; Edward Power, Esq., Ex-High

36. *Waterford Mail*, 18 March 1856.

37. *Ibid.*

sheriff of the City; Colonel Roberts; Edward Roberts; Joseph Mackesy, Esq., M.D.; Charles Newport, Esq., J.P.; the Dean of Waterford; Henry Galway, Esq.; Joshua W. Strangman, Esq.; Arthur Roberts, Esq.; George Courtney, Esq.; Henry Ridgway, Esq.; Arthur Smith, Esq.; Thomas L. Mackesy, Esq.; and Terence O'Reilly, Esq. In answer to a question as to whether the committee would have the power to appoint trustees, the Mayor replied in the negative and said that the Corporation would appoint trustees.³⁸

Attempt to host Royal Agricultural Show

On 10 June 1856, local papers carried an advertisement on behalf of the Royal Irish Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, asking for 'propositions from suitable localities in the Province of Munster for the holding of their Annual Cattle Show in the year 1857'.³⁹ The *Waterford Chronicle* of 14 June reported that the 'Mayor had two meetings in an attempt to host the Royal agricultural show in Waterford. Limerick had already hosted it, Clonmel and Tipperary are now in contention for it. While Limerick have the benefit of a railway Waterford has the benefit of the port and the cross channel communication'. In a letter dated 19 June 1856, the Royal Irish Agricultural Improvement Society confirmed that Waterford had been successful in an attempt to host the show for 1857.⁴⁰

At the quarterly meeting of the Town Council on 5 August 1856, the Mayor told the council that 'Waterford had been successful in getting the Royal Agricultural Show for 1857, and that he had forwarded a personal guarantee of £500 to the Royal Agricultural Committee. The Waterford application had been in some days before the other applications, and he (the Mayor) took the opportunity to thank those 25 gentlemen who put down their names for £25 each'. He continued: 'the council of the Royal Agricultural Show at their next meeting appointed Waterford to host the show for 1857'.⁴¹

At the same meeting, the Mayor reported that the earthworks in the park were almost completed and that between the masons and the labourers almost £80 per week was being paid out in wages, and that the park had given much needed employment and had sustained many until the harvest. Upwards of £1,500 had been expended on the park to date.⁴²

Work on park stopped – why?

By the middle of September 1856, the building of the park seems to have come to a halt. What was the reason for this? Did the many labourers abandon the park for work taking in the harvest? Whatever happened, it promoted an editorial comment from the *Waterford Chronicle*, which read: 'foreigners say there is about an Irish project whether on a large or small scale a 'briefness and brittleness of purpose'.

38. Ibid.

39. *Waterford Mail*, 10 June 1856.

40. *Waterford Mail*, 21 June 1856.

41. *Waterford Chronicle*, 9 Aug. 1856.

42. Ibid.

This, they say, is seen on roads through the country, undertaken and left unfinished, drains made halfway through the land, domain walls two-thirds built; expensive gate piers raised, but left uncompleted. We all remember how long the present Chapel in Beresford St [the present Parnell St] stood windowless and roofless. Bilberry Road is yet only a project; and there are dark stone pillars outside the front of the Catholic Cathedral raised about six feet above the yard floor, and in all probability never to be perfected. Must the plan of the Park claim exception from a place in such a category?⁴³

By October, however, it was all systems go for the hosting of the Royal Agricultural Show. The secretary of the show visited Waterford and reported favourably on the grounds commenting that 'the Courthouse yard and adjoining grounds, [...] offer peculiar advantages for the holding of the Cattle show [including] close proximity to the town and quays, the existence of capacious offices in the Court-house for holding council and other meetings [...] the area of the ground attached to the Court-house is about three statute acres in extent [...] it is intended to connect the new Park with a handsome iron bridge [...] the Park is in extent from 10 to 12 statute acres, beautifully laid out, and offers an excellent promenade for visitors.'⁴⁴ From the above remarks, it appears that from the apparent stoppage of work in September, the work on the park had now advanced rapidly to a stage of near completion. By 25 October the secretary of the Park Committee was able to publish a statement of accounts of the Public Park (see Appendix 2).

Hardy's Bridge

The *Waterford Mail* in early January 1857 expressed the hope that in the coming Presentment Sessions some effort would be made to 'widen Hardy's Bridge and take away the nasty turn out of this public way. The present bridge is very unsuitable as the principal entrance to the People's Park; and further it is a most awkward drive from Catherine Street to the South Parade, or the public buildings in this part of the city'.⁴⁵ At the Presentment Session held in the Court-House on 10 January 1857, two presentments passed were for the enlargement of Hardy's Bridge and the construction of a new line of road from the Newtown Road to Water Street.⁴⁶

Park Bazaar

Now that the funds for the park were almost depleted, it was suggested that the holding of a bazaar would be a good means of raising extra funds.⁴⁷ It was decided to hold the bazaar in the Town Hall on 23 April and many of the wives of the members of the Park Committee busied themselves with making crafts, dolls, etc.

43. *Waterford Chronicle*, 13 Sept. 1856.

44. *Waterford Chronicle*, 15 Nov. 1856.

45. *Waterford Mail*, 3 Jan. 1857.

46. *Waterford Mail*, 13 Jan. 1857.

47. *Waterford Chronicle*, 13 Jan. 1857.

The price of admission to the bazaar was 6d, with children and servants at half price. One novelty item was a broadsheet containing a 'New Song for the Park Bazaar' and was on sale at the price of 6d. each. It was written phonetically in an attempt to portray the strong Waterford accent of that time:

Jolly Green

Jolly Green, if you are seen
At de Park Bazaar,
You'll surely hab to buy a doll.
Or a baby's horse and car,
De ladies dere who walk about,
Are not a whit to shy,
Dere sure to make you pay de cash
Widout your knowing why.

Chorus.

De say ---

'Heres a ticket - heres a ticket
Won't you buy from me?'
and when you've bought another comes
With 'Won't you buy from me?'

Jolly green if you're seen
Upon de Newtown road,
Just look within an' you will see
Yourself upon de sod;
De grass is dere, so nice and green -
So like your pretty self
Dat you can neber hab de heart
To button up your pelf
Den, here's a ticket, &c.

Jolly Green, don't strut about
A treading on my dress;
But try to get a pretty gal,
And her hand softly press:
Give her your note, and take de card,
And dat will be de ting;
And if your berry soft you'll say
'When may I buy the ring?'
Den, here's a ticket, &c.

Jolly Green when summer comes,
Dere's Music in de Park
And we will both go walkin' dere,
And hab a little lark!

But it is lying open now –
It want two pair of gates;
And de Colonel says dey're ready now,
But for the money waits,

Den, buy a ticket, buy a ticket
Won't you buy from me;
An' if you're Green, just look an' see
De twinkle in my e'e⁴⁸

The bazaar was hugely successful and realised £210 13s. 1d. in receipts.⁴⁹

Preparations for Agricultural Show

Now that the building of the park was in full swing, Blake turned his attention to making the Royal Agricultural Show a spectacular event. He acquired the talents of a language teacher and wrote to various governments in their native language asking them to exhibit at the forthcoming show.⁵⁰ By May, the work was progressing rapidly the Quay wall at the Court-house was almost finished and the stone for the widening of Hardy's Bridge was cut, while the work on the bridge was expected to be completed by August.⁵¹ The foundation for the lattice bridge that was to connect the Court-House grounds and the Park was laid, with the gates and the walks of the park almost finished.⁵² The shedding which had been used at the Royal Dublin Society Show was being transported to Waterford for use in the forthcoming Agricultural Show, and on its arrival, it was expected that a large amount of local tradesmen would gain employment for the erection of those sheds. With the extra monies in from the Park Bazaar it was decided to go ahead and build the lodge for the park. The builder was to be William Moran and Son of the Manor, since he had submitted the lowest tender, and it was expected that the lodge would be completed by 5 July.⁵³

By June, the quay wall was finished and the piers for the lattice bridge were ready for the iron work. The foundation for the extension to Hardy's Bridge was cleared out and ready for the concrete to be poured. The arrangements for the show yard were complete. The pigs were to be placed in a long strip between the Fish-House (Bolton St) and the Court-House grounds, while the cattle sheds and sheep pens were to be placed between the river and the Court-House, the poultry being placed along the wall. The farm implements were to be placed in a circular shed in the Park just opposite the lattice bridge.⁵⁴ The contractor for all the above works was Messrs Stevenson and Deane.⁵⁵

48. *Waterford Mail*, 25 April 1857.

49. *Waterford Mail*, 30 April 1857.

50. *Waterford Chronicle*, 7 Feb. 1857.

51. *Waterford Mail*, 2 May 1857.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Waterford Mail*, 5 May 1857.

54. *Waterford Mail*, 2 June 1857.

55. *Waterford Mail*, 4 June 1857.

As one can imagine, all this work attracted many curious onlookers, and on Tuesday and Friday evenings from 7 p.m., the band of the Waterford Artillery entertained the public who perused the park and Court-House grounds.⁵⁶

By early August, the *Waterford Mail* reported that the entries for the Agricultural Show were greater than expected, and that the sub-committee of the Show stated that 'there had been no show in Ireland in which the arrangements of the local committee were so complete, nor no place in which the accommodation was so perfect and we are glad that, through the exertions of the gentlemen in this locality, the fame of the Royal Irish Agricultural Show will be in a great measure revived'.⁵⁷

Guns arrive

In May 1857, Blake had written to the War Dept, asking for some trophies from the Crimean War so that they might be displayed in the New Public Park.⁵⁸ In June, the War Dept agreed to send two Russian Guns⁵⁹ and these arrived in Waterford in August.

On 1 August, the two Sevastopol guns arrived on the steamer *Citizen* and were landed on the Quay. It was said that they each weighed over two tons.⁶⁰ Incidentally, when the War Office decided to send the Sevastopol Guns to Waterford, they included a price list of gun carriages which would be suitable to hold such guns. However, the mayor John A. Blake, who at that time was in Parliament as M.P. for Waterford, decided to go to the arsenal at Woolwich. He found some carriages there which he believed would be suitable, and having telegraphed the War Office, he received a reply that he might have them. He then promptly had them shipped to Waterford.⁶¹

Visitors flock to Waterford

The Park and Court-House grounds were now ready to host the show. The quest for suitable lodgings was reaching fever pitch. It was reported that the price of lodgings was rising at a remarkable rate, while in Tramore, notice had been given to lodgers there that they must pay the increased rate or quit their lodgings.⁶² The Waterford/Limerick Railway was to run special trains for the duration of the show. The prices from Limerick to Waterford return were as follows: 1st class 10 shillings, 2nd class 7s. 6d., and 3rd class, 5 shillings.⁶³ The river steamers were to bring visitors from County Wexford while the South Wales and Bristol steamers would bring excursionists from Wales and the south of England.⁶⁴ The *Waterford Mail*

56. *Waterford Mail*, 14 July 1857.

57. *Waterford Mail*, 8 Aug. 1857.

58. *Waterford Mail*, 10 May 1857.

59. *Waterford Mail*, 16 June 1857.

60. *Waterford Mail*, 4 Aug. 1857.

61. *Waterford Mail*, 23 July 1857.

62. *Waterford Mail*, 4 Aug. 1857.

63. *Waterford Mail*, 13 Aug. 1857.

64. *Waterford Mail*, 25 July 1857.

commented that 'we may reckon if the weather is fine, on a vast gathering of those intent on business and pleasure [...] we expect this show will be one step in the advancement of our country, and that the local committee will be rewarded for all the trouble they are taking to make it a credit to the Urbs Intacta and Ireland'.⁶⁵

The Royal Agricultural Show was to open on the 19 August and continue until 21 August. On 19 August, the Judges were to commence their judging of stock at 6 a.m. The implement yard was open to the public at 9 a.m. and the general showyard from 2 o'clock until 7 p.m. Admission was 2s. 6d., though children aged under 14 years paid only half price.⁶⁶

The Lord Lieutenant was to officially open the Park on the afternoon of 19 August 1857. On the day before the Lord Lieutenant left Dublin and travelled as far as Fiddown, Co. Kilkenny, where he was met by Lord Waterford in whose home he was to stay for the duration of his visit.⁶⁷

Opening of Show and inauguration of park

The Lord Lieutenant accompanied by Lord Waterford arrived in Waterford city at half past one in the afternoon on 19 August, where they were met at the Town Hall by the mayor, the Corporation and the clergy. After some addresses and presentations they went to the park. The mayor and lord lieutenant drove to the Park in the carriage of the city, escorted by a troop of Lancers. 'At the entrance of the Park, the Mayor and Lord Lieutenant alighted and proceed into one of the inner plateaus, where they were received by a guard of honour of the lancers, who having presented arms, the band played "God Save the Queen".'⁶⁸ Every available vantage point in the park was thronged with people. The secretary of the Park Committee, Lieut-Col. Roberts, read an address on behalf of the Park Committee, thanking the lord lieutenant for his help in achieving their goal for a public park and mentioning that 'while the committee are conscious that this Park falls short in magnitude and appearance of many constructed for similar purposes in other parts of the kingdom, still it is a source of pride that it is the only one in Ireland of a People's Park'.⁶⁹ The lord lieutenant replied in a similar complimentary fashion, commenting 'let me add a fervent hope that the moral results will prove to be in keeping with the external aspects of the undertaking. As the oozy marsh and swamp has made way for the smooth lawn and green clump, and gay parterre, so I trust the reeking public house and the hateful whiskey shop will be widely exchanged for the pure breeze of heaven, the quiet repose of feeble age and the healthful gambols of rejoicing youth'. The lord lieutenant then visited the various parts of the Agricultural show, and later that afternoon visited the Work House (St Patrick's Hospital), Leper Hospital (the late City and County Infirmary, John's Hill) and several schools.⁷⁰

65. Ibid.

66. *Waterford Mail*, 19 Aug. 1857.

67. *Waterford Mail*, 18 Aug. 1857.

68. *Waterford Mail*, 22 Aug. 1857.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

The local committee of the Royal Agricultural Show were so delighted with the results of the Show that they presented £100 to the Park Committee out of the profits made.⁷¹

People's Park finished

At a meeting of the Park committee held in the Town Hall on 23 November, the secretary reported that the 'People's Park' was finished. It further resolved that the report and accounts (now audited and adopted) be printed and circulated amongst the subscribers who would be called together for a meeting on 30 November to receive and finally pass them, and take measures to hand over the park to the trustees appointed by resolution of the Corporation dated 6 May 1856, and that the Corporation be requested to formally carry out the resolution. It being proposed by Thomas Meagher Esq. and seconded by the Very Rev. Dean of Waterford, the motion was carried unanimously.⁷²

Meeting of subscribers to park

The meeting of the subscribers to the park took place at the Town Hall. The following proposal was carried which I believe is worth noting – 'that the committee [of the park] cannot conclude its labours without rendering its most grateful acknowledgements to Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, for his very assiduous attention and continued exertions as Honorary Secretary, Sub-Treasurer, General Superintendent, and Direct of the Works, and that the committee consider the public deeply indebted to him for having now a place of recreation so conducive to the health of the citizens'.⁷³ It is quite clear from the above and the many compliments paid to him that Lt-Col. Roberts was indeed the *tour de force* behind the Park Committee. The following report⁷⁴ of the Hon. Sec. was put forward to be adopted –

To the Chairman of the People's Park

Mr Chairman and Gentlemen – I have the pleasure of reporting the completion of the Park, all the works being finished which you decided upon having executed, the particulars of which I subjoin, together with a detailed statement of accounts and abstract of the receipts and expenditure from the commencement of the works on 18 March, 1856 up to this date, with list of contributions and balance at your credit.

Drainage – the main sewer, measuring 1,610 feet, extending from the extreme end of the Park to the river Suir, and a branch sewer measuring 299 feet from the Model School to the main sewer, were completed on 25 October

71. *Waterford Mail*, 8 Aug. 1857.

72. *Waterford Mail*, 28 Nov. 1857.

73. *Waterford Mail*, 8 Aug. 1857.

74. *Waterford Mail*, 3 Dec. 1857.

last year and certified by the city and county surveyor; there have been also several lateral and other drains constructed, and all of which fully answer the purpose intended. In fact what was little better than a year ago an unsightly, unhealthy marsh is now converted into an exceedingly airy and healthy locality.

Enclosing – completed with walls of an average height of four feet over the footpath exclusive of the coping and dashed inside and out.⁷⁵

Coping – Seven hundred and fifty feet of saddle back granite coping on the Newtown road line, and thirteen hundred and eighty feet of rustic coping in hammered limestone on the Canada Street, Hardy's Road and Water Street lines have been completed, as also 792 feet of Scotch coping on the new line of road leading from the Model School to Newtown.

Carriage Road and Walks – The Principal promenade or occasional carriage drive 15 feet wide and the rest of the walks averaging 10 feet in width, have been thrown out to the extent of 450 perches, varying from 12 to 18 inches in depth, bottomed with broken Bilberry stone, covered with suitable rubbish, the sides formed and sodded and finished with gravel. From the wet spongy nature of the soil this has been an expensive and laborious work, but I think the public are fully compensated for both, as the whole of the road and walks are exceedingly well drained, the entire of them have drains either at the side or the centre sunk to the depth of one foot, and in some places where such was necessary 18 inches below the foundation and two inch drainage stone packed and placed within, the whole communicating with the main sewer. 6,000 feet of the best Bridgewater tiles have been used in this work.

Planting – Mr Fennessy has completed this work, and is under engagement to uphold the same for three years. Grass seeds have been sown throughout the Park.

Earth works – Upwards of 28,000 tons of mud taken from the river have been used in these works, consisting of several mounds and embankments.

Lodge and Gates – A Lodge, Granite Piers and Iron Gates have been erected at the main or Front Entrance to the Park, according to the design submitted to your committee and approved of by them; also Two iron wickets with Limestone Piers have been placed, the one at Hardy's Bridge, the other at the upper end of the Park at Newtown Road. An additional expense has been incurred in raising the wall of the Park near Hardy's Bridge and re-coping the same and other necessary works in consequence of alterations lately made at the bridge and the raising of the road there.

In conclusion, it affords me much pleasure to be able to state that the 'People's Park' is in a finished state, free of all debts and liabilities, and be ready to be delivered over to the Corporation of the City by your Committee.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

Emanuel Roberts, Honourary Secretary.

75. Almost all of this dash has now gone from the walls, leaving the bare stone visible. However some dash does remain on the inside of the Newtown Road part of the wall.

Receipts and Disbursements

1857	Receipts	£	s.	d.
	To amount received from the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury	500	0	0
	To amount received from the commissioners of National Education towards Sewerage	50	0	0
	To amount of Private contributions	1105	18	6
	To amount of Sale of Old Materials	10	10	0
	To amount of Grass Sold	11	10	0
	To amount of wooden House Sold	6	0	0
	To amount realised by sale of Picture presented by Mrs Malcomson	20	0	0
	To amount realised at Public Bazaar	195	19	5
	To amount received from Committee of the Royal Agricultural Show in Waterford towards the Park in which the show was held	100	0	0
		1999	17	11

Expenditure

1857		£	s.	d.
	By amount expended to this date, viz;			
	For Drainage, Main, Branch and Lateral Sewers	346	9	11
	For Inclosure Walls and coping same	354	19	4
	For Labour Bills	399	16	2
	For Advertisements, Printing, Stationery and Postage	22	1	2
	For Plans, Specification, and Professional Visits by Mr Nevin	37	5	9
	For Plant	48	9	1
	For Filling 450 Perches of Carriage Road and Walks with Broken Stone and Rubbish	178	12	3
	For Coarse Gravel for Roads and Walks	39	12	6
	For Erection of Gates and Piers, &c.	303	11	2
	For Wooden House for Office, &c.	8	10	0
	For Planting and Manure	174	7	4
	For Sundries	8	19	8½
	For Watchman's Wages	22	7	0
	For Overseer's Wages	35	13	11
	For Garden Seats	8	10	0
	By Balance in hand	10	12	7½
		1999	17	11

No trustees

However, no trustees had been appointed to take over the Park, and no deed of trust had been executed. Furthermore, the condition of the trust had not been arranged. The *Waterford Mail*, criticising the Park Committee and the Corporation, says 'The Park Committee were Trustees for the citizens for £1,499 17s. 11d., subscribed by them; they were trustees to the Treasury for £500, granted by it; and it was their duty to have seen that the letter of the Treasury was complied with; and had they done so there would have been a regularly organised body to take up the Park, and we would not have had the Secretary saying that the People's Park was to be handed to the Corporation, and the Committee saying it was to be handed to the Trustees.'⁷⁶

Trustees to be appointed

On 1 December 1857, a deputation from the Park Committee comprising of Dean Hoare, Col. Roberts, and Thomas Meagher, attended a Corporation meeting in order that they give possession of the park to the Corporation now that it was finished. It was now for the Council to carry out the wishes of the trustees appointed at a meeting held on 6 May 1856. Mr Cooke read the resolution of that meeting and said the town clerk would prepare the necessary deed according to that resolution, and according to the conditions required by the Lords of the Treasury, vesting the right in the hands of the Trustees for the benefit of the people at large.⁷⁷ The May resolution constituted the Corporation, High Sheriff and City members as trustees. In reply to a question, Mr Cooke said that every one of the corporation was a trustee for a period of 500 years. At a Town Council Meeting on 1 January, 1858, the trusteeship of the Park again reared its head with the reiteration from Mr Cooke, saying that 'the property is to be vested in the Mayor for the time being, [with] the other members of the council and their successors for 500 years, and that a deed to that effect is to be carried out in its full integrity.'⁷⁸

Later additions to park

With that reply, the park seems to have vanished from the pages of the local papers until it was announced that a bandstand was to be erected in the People's Park. It was erected in 1869 under the mayoralty of Cornelius Redmond. In 1883, the Fountain was added to the Park by Mayor William Kelly. The potential of the 'People's Park' as a centre for sports was soon recognised and the first sports event took place in 1881.⁸⁰ In 1891, the Waterford Bicycle Club submitted plans for the erection of a cycle track at the 'People's Park' to the Street Committee.⁸⁰ It was erected at a cost of £1,000 by Mr W. D. Goff, Glenville, Waterford.⁸¹ Mr W. G. D. Goff,

76. *Waterford Mail*, 3 Dec. 1857.

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Waterford Chronicle*, 9 Jan. 1858.

79. *Waterford News*, 13 April 1900.

80. *Waterford News*, 7 Feb. 1891.

81. P. M. Egan, *History [...] of Waterford*.

formally handed over to Mr Fielding, the captain of the Waterford Bicycle Club, a new cycle track in the People's Park, and insisted that at no time would he accept any repayment for the money which he spent of the erection on the cycle track.⁸²

The People's Park Today

While the Bandstand in the 'People's Park' remains intact, the beautiful ornate Fountain was vandalised beyond repair in 1977 and again in the early 1980s. Carlisle Bridge is badly in need of repair, and looks quite delapidated, with many of the footpaths around the park also in need of attention. The Goff cycle track which hosted many fine cycling events is likewise in a state of disrepair with much of the track torn up and grass growing on several parts of it. Finally, it is ironic that the park which John A. Blake and his colleagues encouraged those who frequented the 'whiskey shops' to come to and sample its clean air, has now become the haunt of those illicit drinkers, who are not yet old enough to frequent those same 'whiskey shops'. So much for our enlightened generation.

Acknowledgement.

Photos of Nevin map courtesy of Waterford Corporation and taken by Dermot Power with the permission of and under the supervision of Mary Fitzpatrick, city Archivist.

82. *Waterford News*, 2 May 1891.

Appendix 1

EXPLANATORY REPORT, ACCOMPANYING THE DESIGN FOR THE UNITED ARRANGEMENT OF THE COURT-HOUSE AND THE PUBLIC PARK GROUNDS BELONGING TO THE CITY OF WATERFORD

First – As to the Court-house. On referring to the plan, it will be observed that in proportion to the building, and as its requirements as a place of public resort, broad spacious accommodation all around, in the way of gravel surface walks, &c. is given, and that immediately around the house is squared with it, and the grass protected with strong iron posts and a chain, and so also down the sides of curved approaches in front. Beyond said gravel surfaces, the whole to be laid down permanently in grass, except along high wall, behind the building, where a skirting of trees, shrubs, and evergreens is shewn to be planted. This for double the purpose of shutting out said high dead wall and giving a proper background to the house itself. The rest of the planting will consist chiefly of good sized single trees, and groups of trees, which will at once produce a certain Park like effect, and be in keeping with that followed in the public Park opposite, and also with that of the magnitude of the building alluded to.

As to the Boundary – the design, after the most careful consideration as to facility of intercommunication, security, &c., came to the conclusion that it is upon the Court-house side of the so-called tidal stream that the public thoroughfare or street should pass, and so arranged as he has shown by having gates at each end, which could at any time be shut up, or during the night only, or dispensed with altogether; and besides this, to have a boundary line of suitable iron railing set on a low basement stone, all around in front, between said street gates. On the side of the new road, next to the Court-house with gates to match, as is shewn on design – but not to be so high or heavy as the palisade by street. Thus affording a sort of double security to this section of the grounds, without producing any too marked a line of separation between the one and the other; and, further, on each side of the said new street or road, to have, as represented, a line of handsome single trees at regular distances planted in the grass slopes on each side of the gravel footways. It will thus at once been seen that whilst the Court-house grounds can be thoroughly protected in themselves, they will at the same time be rendered objects of interest to the public passing to and fro in front, or coming by the proposed iron foot or carriage way bridge – by the connection that is shown, may be made with Canada street on the other side. Finally, as regards the tidal stream, it is conceived that the best and most suitable method of giving security to its banks, between the points indicated on plan, would be by stone pitching the sides, between high and low water marks, as is shown by section on line A. B., rather than that anything in the way of precipitous rubble wall should be built. The plan thus proposed, on each side between the grounds in question, with the trees and grass sloping margin down to the stone pitching, will produce an effect pleasing and more characteristic of the river than would the former.

Second – as to the park – It is proposed that it should be of the extent presented, or as near it as possible, so as to afford the scope necessary for the full development of the design. The more clearly to point out and explain its several features, the writer respectfully submits them under the following separate heads, namely,

1. Boundaries
2. Gates and Lodges
3. Drainage
4. Promenades and Walks
5. Artificial Water and Mounds
6. Planting &c., &c.

1. **As to Boundaries** – That on the Newtown Road side, already presents a good and substantial line of low wall, averaging about four feet in height over pathway, which it is proposed should be Raised (as is shown in section on Line E. F.), so as to give a uniform height over path of six or seven feet, as may be decided on, finishing with, and including, a sharp rought projecting Scotch Coping. Inside of said wall, a bank of soil to be thrown up, on which, close to said wall, a strong thorn and privet hedge be planted, so as ultimately to sit flush with the face of coping, and give two or three feet additional height to the fence. This would be considerably the cheapest, most suitable, and substantial kind of fence that could be adapted on this side of the Park. Again, on the opposite side, next to the Model school grounds, on what may ultimately be their horticultural instruction grounds, a wall may be constructed of moderate but suitable height, for training trees upon, say from eight to ten feet high, or so, and consequently, a party affair; otherwise a wall of same dimensions and character as above described, with a hedge on Park side, would be the best sort of fence for the New Park. Further, at the extreme end, a long line of new Building ground, proposed to be kept by the Misses Hardy, either a continuation of the wall and hedge, as above, or as substantial open Wooden Paling, with a ground hedge behind, or a dwarf wall and hedge, as above.

2. **As to the Gates and Lodges** – the design shews two entrances – one at St Catherine's Bridge, the other from the end of William St. In the first instance these Gates might be constructed simply of rough sawn timber, and the building of the Lodges, with the erection of the permanent gates, left over until the more essential works were fully carried out then suitable and characteristic Gates and Lodges might be decided upon.

3. **Drainage** – In consequence of the low and swampy nature of the soil under consideration, and finding that the permanent level of water under the present surface not more than two feet, and having ascertained that by the lowering of outfall through to the river Suir, and erecting a proper floodgate there, the permanent level of the water in said grounds may be lowered to three or three and a half feet – it therefore becomes essential to all the parties concerned, that such lowering of outfall should be made so as to thoroughly drain the ground for planting and other purposes. It may be here observed, that a series of pipes and broken stone drains would accompany each respective line of walk or promenade, which along with a few parallels through the more open portions of the Park, would be sufficient for all purposes connected therewith in the way of draining.

4. **Promenade and Walks** – In the Design, a broad drive, with footpaths on each side, is shown – and the choice may be between this accommodation, or merely a Broad Gravel Promenade from gate to gate all round. This may be observed, along with the large circular open space in the centre under the sloping grass mound would afford excellent accommodation for the purpose of exercising the military on, as well as for the other purposes noted on Plan. The various subordinate walks as shown in design will sufficiently explain themselves when looked at.

5. **Artificial Water** – This, in the place, is shewn at a point where the surface is naturally low, and much broken up by ditches. Considering, however, the probability of this part of the design being likely to be encroached upon by the recently proposed arrangement for building ground, without much interfering with the more important features of the plan, this part of the Designer's arrangements may be in part or in whole dispensed with.

6. **Ash Planting** – By referring to the design, it will be seen that internally the planting out of the boundaries will be managed by an irregular skirting plantation, with a row of good-sized single trees, at regular intervals all round, on faces of hedge banks, and in front of these the thick screen plantation of common trees and shrubs above alluded to. In like manner, on the back portion of the large mud heap is shewn a thick shelter plantation, with single trees in front, crowning the hill. The remainder of the planting will, as in the Court-house grounds, chiefly consist of good-sized single, and groups of single trees; each of such individual trees,

it may be here noted, are accurately shewn on the plan, as they would stand, even to their respective forms and habits of growth, names, &c. As to method of planting. The ground where the massive skirtings alluded to will be placed, will require to be properly trenched, and in some cases, partially elevated into mounds. On the other hand, the single tree planting will be done by keeping the roots very much on the present surface – first preparing underneath, and after putting down the tree, raising a gentle elevation to its stem.

Such a brief outline of the principal feature of the Design, the writer has now the honour of submitting.

signed, N. Nevin
Garden Farm
Dublin Oct. 27th, 1855

Waterford Chronicle, 10 November 1855

Appendix 2

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF PUBLIC PARK COMMITTEE

The following statement is from the Hon. Secretary of the Public Park Committee, Mr Emanuel Roberts.

To the Committee of the Public Park

Mr Chairman and Gentlemen – I beg to lay before you a statement of the Accounts of the Public Park, shewing the Receipts and Expenditure up to this date, and the balance in hand with your liabilities at present; I shall proceed to give in detail the progress of the various works in the Park, and those which still remain to be executed, according to the Specifications and Estimate which accompanied Mr Nevin’s design now before you.

Enclosing – This is now completed with Walls of an average height of 4 feet over the outside footpath, viz;

No. 1 – Newtown Road line to a height of 4 feet, including a saddle back Granite Coping, extending over 726 feet.

No. 2 – Canada Street, raised and completed to a height of 4 feet, without the Coping, which is in progress, and which is to be 1 foot high.

No. 3 – Hardy’s Road raised to a height of 3 feet 9 inches.

No. 4 – Water Street raised in like manner.

No. 5 – New road line, built for presentment, its height is 5 feet.

[This road connects Water Street with Newtown Road at the lower end of De La Salle college and is commonly called the Mash (Marsh) Road].

A contract for 1,360 feet of rustic Coping for Walls Nos. 2, 3, 4 has been entered into at 1s. 3d. per lineal foot. This work is progressing.

No. 6 – Margin of Pill – a Bank of 3 feet high has been raised along the margin of St John’s Pill, which is to be planted with evergreens.

Walks and Roads – the principal Promenade or occasional Drive, 14 feet wide, and the rest of the walks, averaging 9 feet in width have been thrown out to the extent of 435 perches, varying from 12 to 18 inches in depth, and bottomed with broken stone and suitable rubbish. From the nature of the soil this has been an expensive and tedious work, still the Expenditure is within the limits of Mr Nevin’s Estimate under his head. The entire of the Walks have Drains, either on the side or in the centre sunk to depth of one foot and in some places to 18 inches below their foundation, and two inch Drainage Tiles packed in stone placed in them. Nearly 5,000 feet of Bridgewater Tiles have been used in this work.

Drainage – The main Sewer, measuring 1,616 feet, has been completed, and certified by Mr Tarrant, County and City surveyor. It is found to act admirably. An additional Sluice has been placed within the Park Wall, which fully answered the purpose intended.

The Branch Sewer from the Model School measuring 299 feet has been completed and certified and is acting most satisfactorily. On the 14th instant the tide rose to a greater height than has been known for some years, overflowing the Scotch Quay and other places, which did not affect the Park or the Sewer.

Planting – Mr Fennessy has entered into an agreement for this very important work, which is to be upheld for three years. This work is progressing very fairly, and will be completed in all next month.

Manure – Three heaps of improved Manure have been prepared at a very moderate cost.

Earth Works – these works consisting of several Mounds of various extent, and Embankments around the Park, as specified in the plan, are furnished, have been sown with Grass Seed, and are now ready for planting. Upwards of 2,600 tons of Mud taken from the river have been used in these works.

Lodges and Gates – a strong Iron Wicket with suitable Piers has been placed at the upper end of the Park at the Newtown Road line. A contract for the Gate of 10 feet wide with suitable Piers has been entered into for the entrance at Hardy's Bridge; and which will be completed in ten or fifteen days.

Your sub-committee which was appointed on 11 August last, recommended for adoption the Plan of Lodge and Gates designed by Samuel Ussher Roberts Esq., for the main Entrance, the probable cost will be £250.

Your Sub-committee think it would be advisable to proceed with this part of the work at once – but funds of the amount of £300 will be required to finish the Lodge, Gates, Coping, &c., &c.; and I would urge the members of committee to form themselves into Sub-Committees for the purpose of collecting contributions, however so small from their Fellow-Citizens who have not yet subscribed, to carry out the remainder of this most desirable work, now nearly brought to a finish. If extortion is used, I have no doubt but that funds will be raised to complete in a handsome, durable and satisfactory manner, the Public Park – which will reflect so much credit on the Citizens at the approaching Royal Agricultural Exhibition, when the influx of strangers into Waterford will be great.

Suggestions have been made for an additional Wicket and other improvements, which no doubt are desirable, and if sufficient funds are raised, can be carried out; but in the mean time the Lodge and gates for the Main entrance appear most worthy of consideration.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Most Obedient Servant,

Emanl. Roberts,

Hon. Secretary⁸³

At a meeting of the Public Park Committee held in the Mayor's Office, Waterford, on Saturday 25th October, 1856.

The Right Worshipful John A. Blake, in the chair;

Moved by the Very Rev. the Dean of Waterford, seconded by Alderman Phelan.

Resolved – That the Report now read be adopted, and Printed for Circulation, together with the statement of Accounts, and Sub-Committees be formed to collect a sum of £300, which appears to be required for the completion of the Park.

Signed,

Emanl. Roberts, Hon. Sec.

John A. Blake, Mayor, Chairman, Public Park

83. *Waterford Chronicle*, 8 November 1856.

		£	s.	d.
1856				
October 25,	To Amount collected and lodged in the National bank to this date	1443	11	0
	To Amount of sale of old Iron, Deals, &c.	10	10	0
	To Amount of contributions due	30	0	0
	To Amount due by Commissioners of National Education	50	0	0
		<hr/>		
		1534	1	0

Statement of Liabilities .

By cash due	for Gate and Wicket	10	0	0
By cash due	for Pillars for Gate	5	0	0
By cash due	for Enclosure Wall	20	0	0
By cash due	for Granite Coping	1	13	0
By cash due	for Balance for 1,360 feet Rustic Coping	66	0	0
By cash due	for Planting	150	0	0
By cash due	for Stoning Walks	20	0	0
By cash due	for Rubbish for Walks	10	0	0
By cash due	for Gravel for Walks	20	0	0
By cash due	Labour Bills	15	0	0
By cash due	sundry small Bills	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
		334	13	0

Cash Account

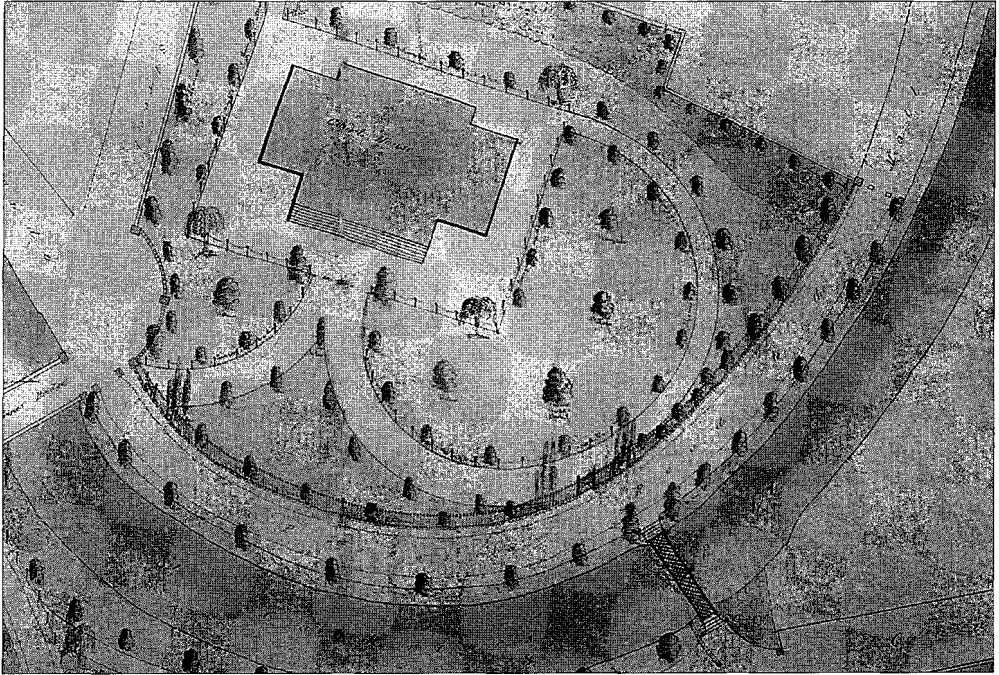
		£	s.	d.
1856				
October 25,	By amount Expended to this date viz;			
	For Main and Model School Sewers and Lateral Drains	341	19	4
	For Wooden House for Office	1	10	0
	For Filling Roads and Walks with Broken Stone, to the extent of 435 perches	155	14	11
	For Enclosure Walls and Coping	224	8	3
	For Printing, Stationery and Advertisements	16	16	8
	For Bills for Labour	346	9	8
	For Mr Nevin, Landscape Gardener, for Plants and Visits	32	15	6
	For Plant tools, &c	47	10	1
	For Manure.....	8	5	2
	Pillars for Wicket	5	0	0
	For Gravel	1	0	0
	For Sundries	5	11	0
	By balance in hand and to be collected	340	0	0
		<hr/>		
		1534	1	0

Particulars of Balance

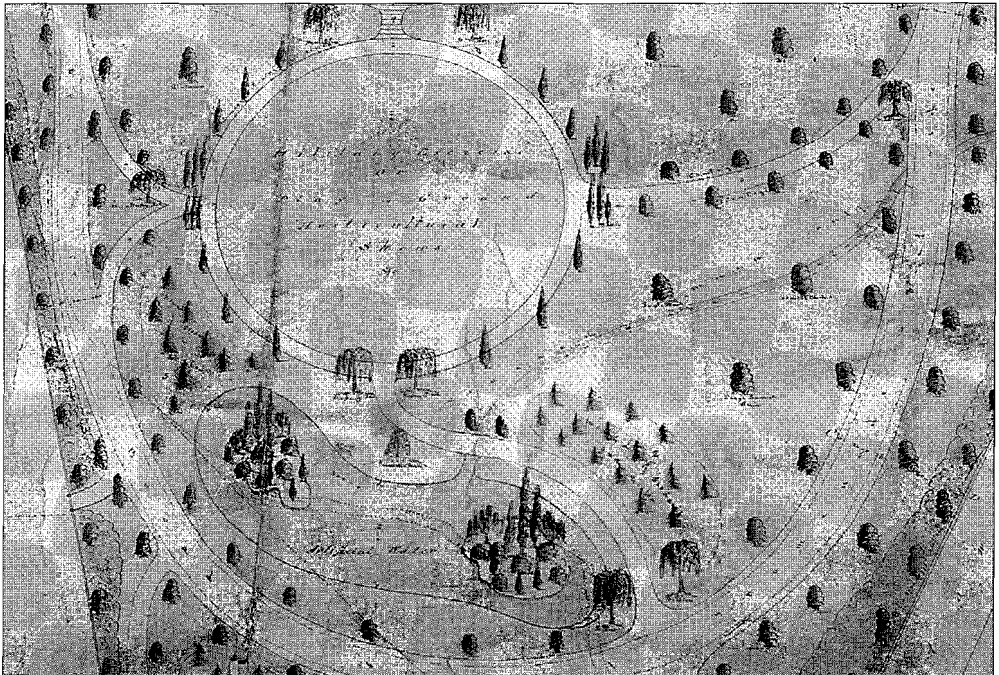
In Bank	259	1	0
Due for Contributions	80	0	0
In Secretary's Hands	0	6	5
	<hr/>		
	540	0	5

Emanl. Roberts,
Hon. Secretary⁸⁴

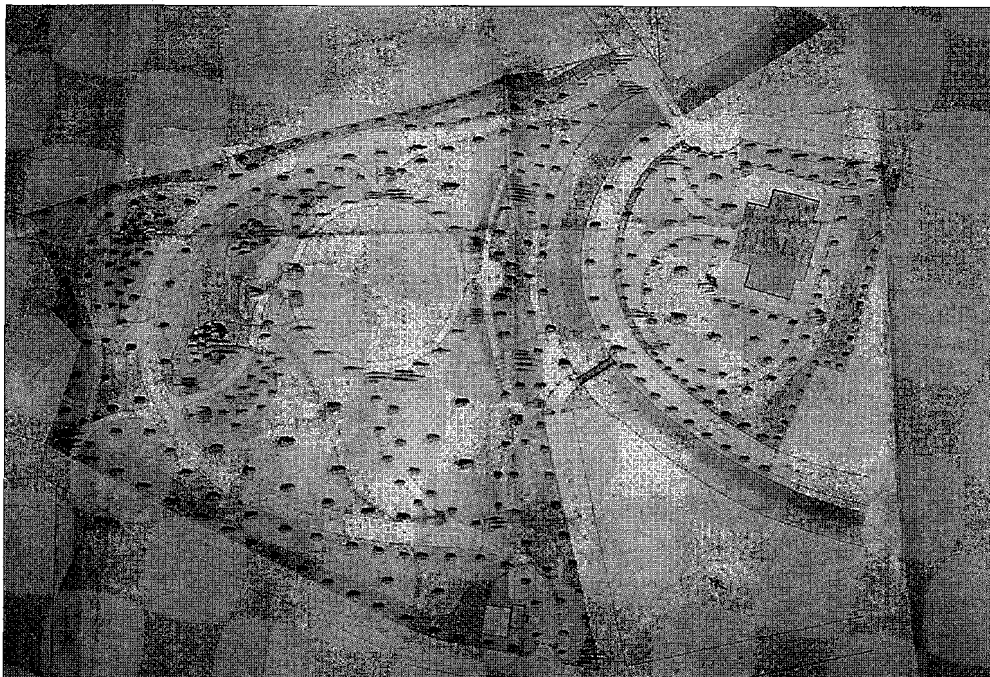
84. *Waterford Chronicle*, 8 November 1856. The figures are given as they appear in the newspaper, though they are not wholly accurate!



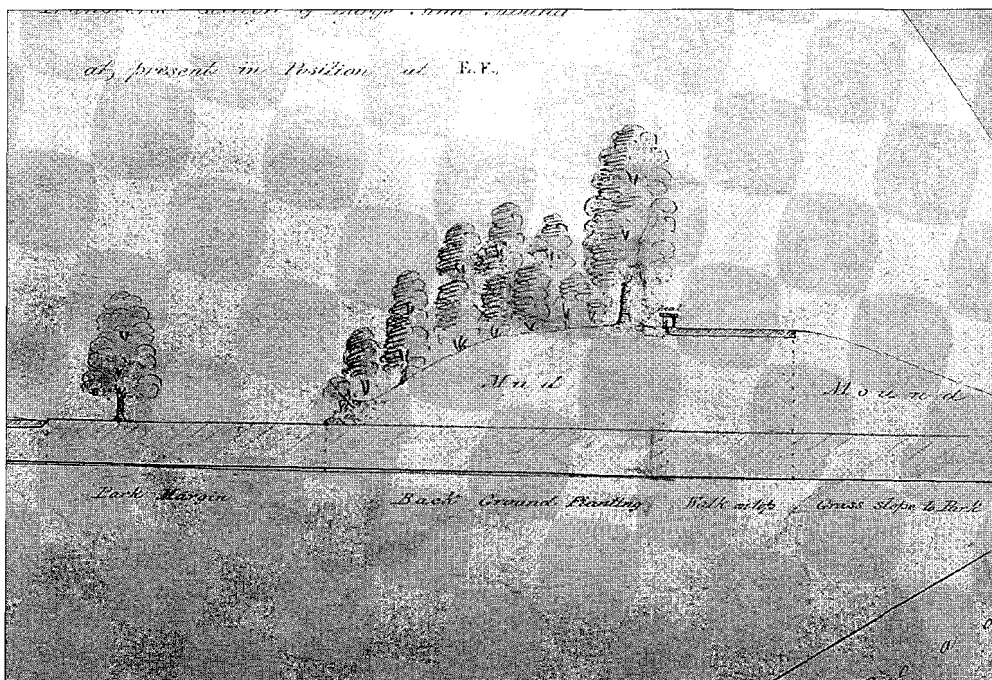
The Court House Grounds showing Carlisle Bridge.



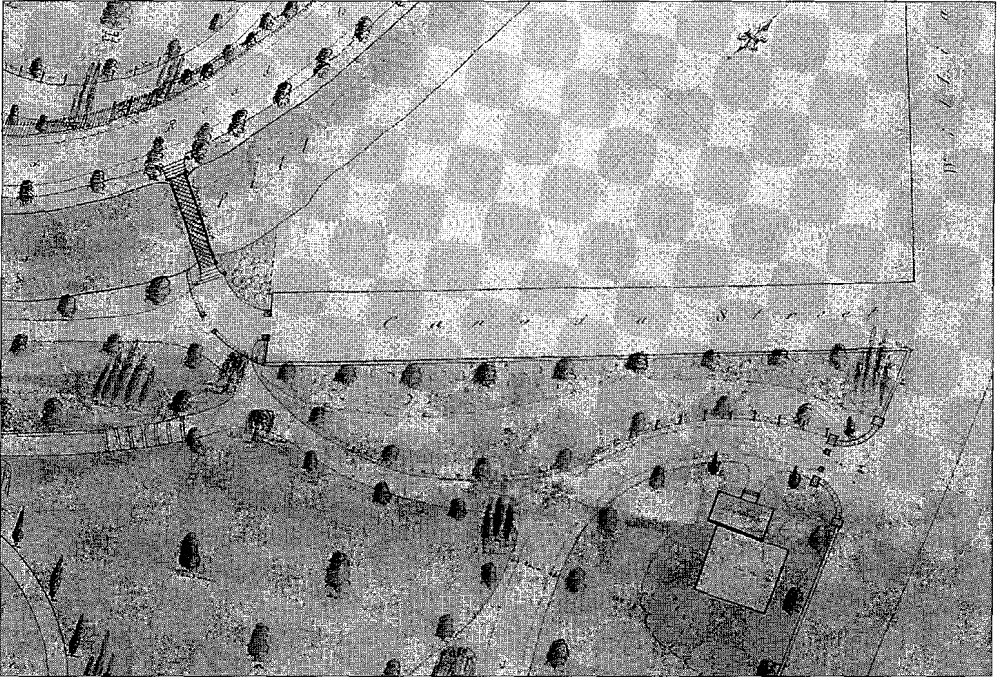
The proposed artificial lake and military Parade ground.



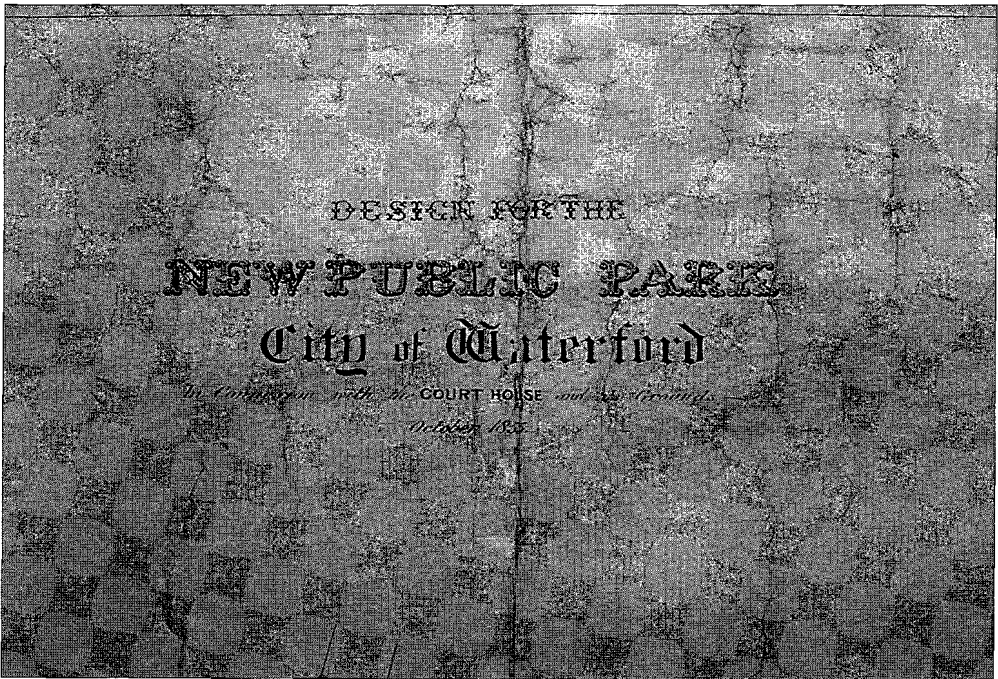
Complete map of proposed Park. This area did not include that portion now taken up by the Goff cycle track.



Showing how mounds were constructed.



Park from Newtown Road, showing lodge designed by Arthur Ussher Roberts.



Legend of Map.

The Bóithrín Móna Ruadh

By Richard Fennessy

DRIVING along the road one day with my uncle Jamie Fennessy from Bohadoon North to Bohadoon South, Jamie asked me to slow down. He pointed to the ditch on the left hand side of the road where a slight declivity could just be discerned. "That's the Bóithrín Móna Ruadh", he said. Inside the ditch, the line of an ancient roadway is barely traceable. The name translates "Little Road of the Red Turf" and he related how for generations local people drew turf along the bóithrín by horse and cart to the main road. The bog is now sold to Coillte and is planted.

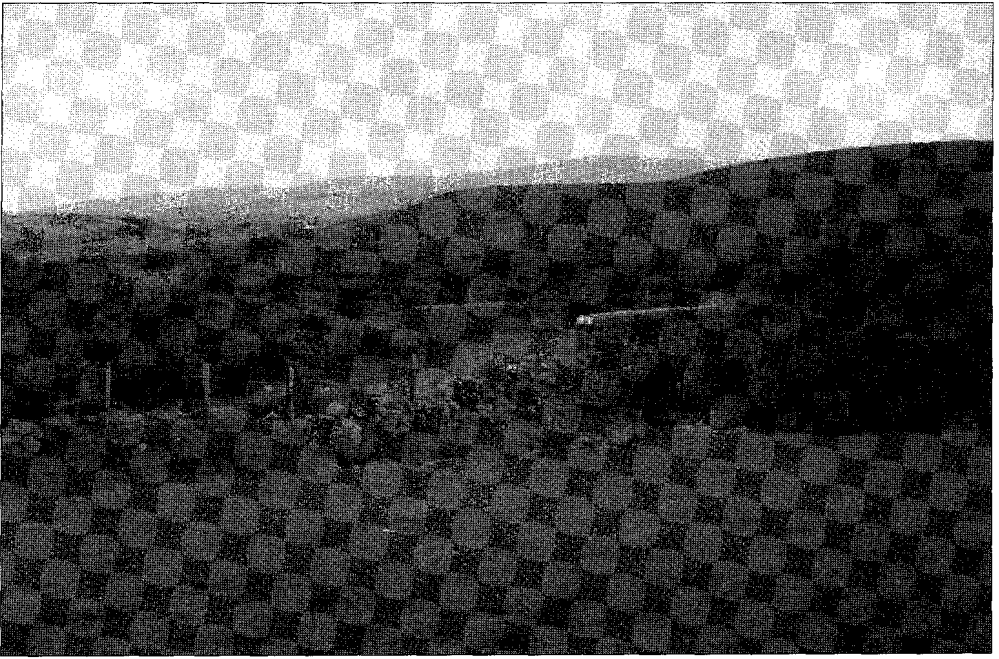
Fascinated by this beautiful placename straight out of the mists of our Gaelic heritage, I delved further. Tom Corcoran and Jamie Fennessy, both lifelong farmers in Bohadoon North, supplied the bulk of the placenames given below. It was decided to concentrate on Bohadoon North only. They were ably assisted by another lifelong resident of Bohadoon North, Alice Hickey, aged 93 years.

Together they proudly revealed 68 placenames in all, in this small world of Bohadoon North, a townland of only 315 acres. Their predecessors named even the smallest and least significant topographical features, such was their intimacy with and love of the soil and land, from stone to ditch to river hole.

There is a pride in the fact that they retained these names over the centuries, simply through strength of folk tradition. The vast majority of these names have never before been documented. The fact that the landscape has largely remained unaltered over the years has helped.

A photograph of each feature listed was taken with the assistance of Tom Corcoran, who even in his Sunday best blazed a way through 10 foot high fern and bramble to reach the more inaccessible places. Each feature was then marked on the 6 inch O.S.

Canon Patrick Power's great work of local toponymy interestingly includes only five of these names. The many subdenominations that he did collect all over the Decies, comprising several thousand placenames, are not easily located today, as they were not then and are not now marked on any map. All townlands are mapped; the subdenominations which in many ways are the more beautiful and imaginative placenames, are not. It is imperative that all subdenominations be located and mapped as soon as possible, by talking to local people in each townland or street. Otherwise their locations are lost forever.



Paoirín's Bridge.



Formerly Land Lord Agent's house at the time of the Connerys.

It is a cause of great concern that many placenames in the City and County of Waterford will be lost irretrievably in the next few years, unless they are comprehensively documented. With this in mind, and as a sample of our rich placenames heritage here in the Decies, the chief Placenames Officer for Ireland at the Ordnance Survey, Phoenix Park, an tUasal Art Ó Maolfabhail was shown the Bohadon listing. He described the listing for Bohadon as "fairly typical" and number 65 *The Black Amlinn* as "intriguing".

The Ordnance Survey does not have the personnel to facilitate the collection of all these placenames in all townlands in this county, or any other for that matter. He encouraged the idea of having a FÁS Scheme in place to physically locate, map, photograph and collect béaloideas for each placename in the Decies. Judging by the Bohadon North model, there are well in excess of 100,000 placenames in the entire Decies. Usually in every street and townland, there is some person who is interested in or who has knowledge of the local placenames. That person would be the first point of contact for such a Scheme.

Because of the high incidence of Gaelic placenames in the Decies, a sound archive would have to be built up by fieldworkers using tape recorders. It certainly would not be appropriate to attempt to phonetically record such names.

The Fund for the Canon Patrick Power Memorial Sculpture is progressing well and remains open at the City Library, Lady Lane, Waterford. Tel. 051-73501. Subscriptions will be gratefully received and acknowledged.



Lime Kiln.

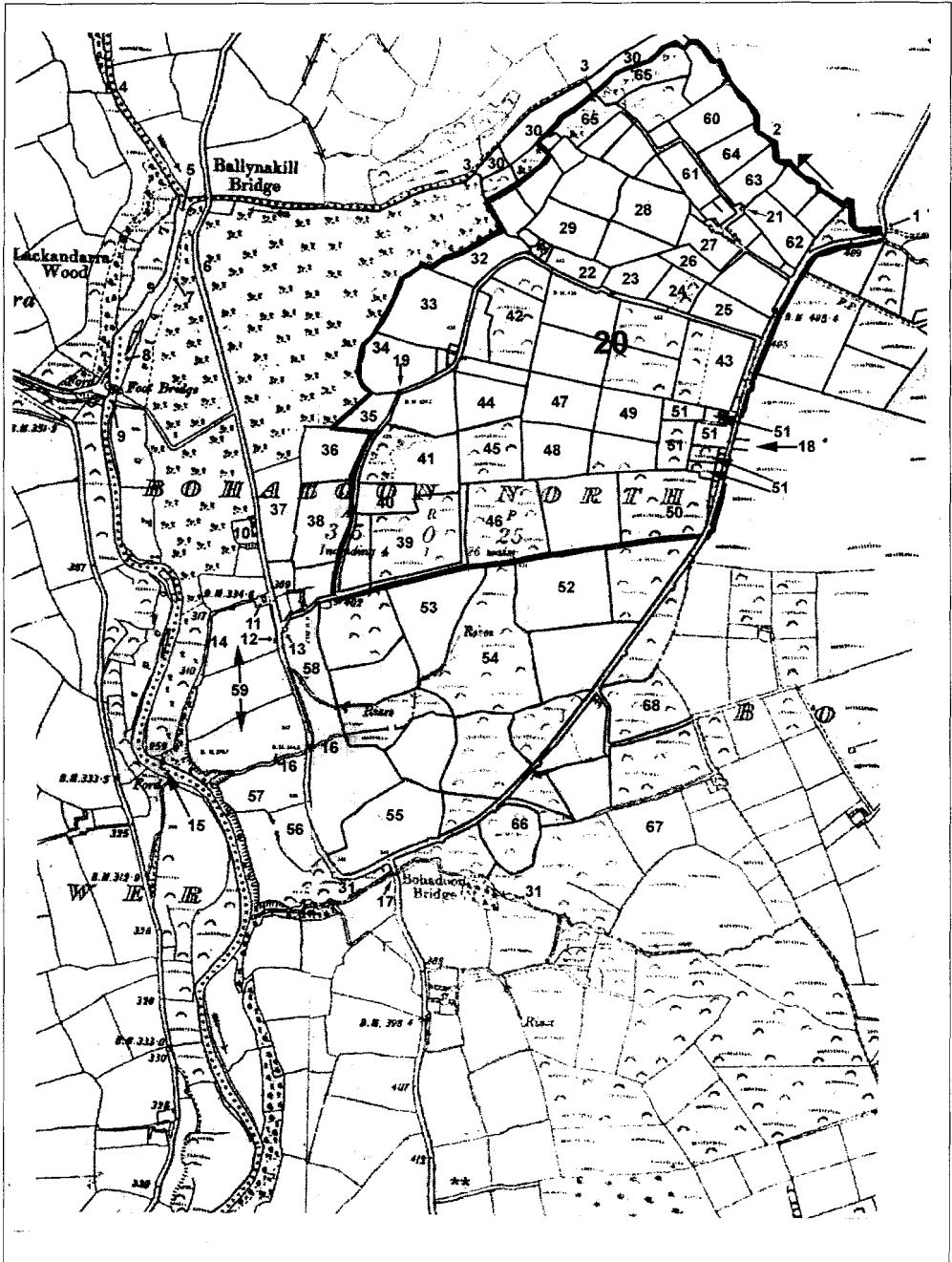
BOHADOON NORTH
Area: 315 acres

NUMBER	NAME	COMMENT
1.	Powereen's Bridge	Paorin's Bridge.
2.	Gurteen River	
3.	Coumaraglen River	
4.	Bun an Dá Abhainn River	Scart River and Bleantis River.
5.	Ling ar Ling	Meeting of the two rivers to make the Colligan. The Ling (linn) is an ancient swimming pool, still used.
6.	An Cloch Liath	The Grey Stone, huge stone landmark.
7.	Slippery Stone	This is a short cut school path. The Slippery Stone is on this path.
8.	Power's Drowning Hole	In Irish, Poll a'Phaoraigh – on the River Colligan. Powers owned the land adjacent to the river.
9.	Lackendarra Bridge	Built circa 1924.
10.	Keefe's	Formerly Land Lord Agent's house at the time of the Connerys.
11.	Connery Homestead	In ruin.
12.	Lime Kiln	
13.	Lime Kiln	In map.
14.	Barrack Boreen	Leading from Connery House to the River.
15.	Sand Hole, also Old Ford	Áith na Gainimhe – The Sand Ford.
16.	Áit na Saileach	Sally Glen – Áth na Saileach.
17.	Bohadoo Bridge	Already in map.
18.	Forestry Entrance	
19.	Sappers' Stone	Ordnance survey.
20.	Gurteen Area	Goirtín – Little Garden. Inside Heavy Black Line.
21.	Lime Kiln	In map.
22.	Páircín	
23.	Thistle field	
25.	Réidh Beg	
25.	Páirc Kaver	
26.	Páircín Paddy	After owner Paitsín Corcoran.
27.	Páirc an Chapail	
28.	Crabtree Field	
29.	Páirc an Tí	
30.	The Inch	
31.	Bohadoo Tributary	Small stream.
32.	Coolín	
33.	Páirc in aice an Tí	
34.	Páirc an Tí	
35.	Coolín Beag	The Connery Brothers fired on landlord's agent here. Could be renamed "Coolín of the Conneries"
36.	Páirc na Coille	
37.	Road Field	
38.	Doyle's Field	i.e. near Doyle's House

BOHADOON NORTH

Area: 315 acres

NUMBER	NAME	COMMENT
39.	An Crucáin	The Hillock
40.	The Barley Field	
41.	An Moor Duibh	Black Moor
42.	Páirc an Tobair	
43.	An Páirc is sia amach	The far away field
44.	Páirc a Garbh	Rough Field
45.	An Rea Garbh	
46.	The Bog	
47. & 48.	Biddy Morrissey's Fields	
49.	Biddy's Square Field	
50.	Biddy's Rea	
51.	Biddy's Gardens	
52.	Rea na gCloch	pronounced "gluch", stones.
53.		
54.	Doyle's Bog	
55.	An Páirc Árd	
56.	Páirc a Crann	
57.	An Sean Pháirc	
58.	The Spout Field	
59.	Páirc a Briseadh	The Field of the Fracture or Break. At the south-western corner of this field, there is a "cliff" down to the river, over which animals have been lost in the past.
60.	The Bawn	
61.	An Garraí Áin	
62.	The Kiln Field	
63.	The Kiln Field	
64.	The Bláth Beag	The Little Blossom or Aimpling. This is a field where little grass grows and where animals with a tendency to wander were "imprisoned".
65.	The Black Aimplinn	
66.	The Fern Field	
67.	The Páirc Bán	
68.	Rea	
**	Bóithrín Móna	
	Ruadh	



Ordnance Survey Map

The Ruined Church of Killea: A Consideration of its Date and Foundation¹

By Thomas Gregory Fewer

THE Church of (St) Áed, or Killea as it is now known, is situated about one kilometre to the north of Dunmore East at an altitude of between 61 and 76 metres (200 and 250 feet) on the south-facing slopes of a low hill. Now ruinous, it stands across the road from the present Roman Catholic church. In 1988, the author included the ruin in an undergraduate archaeological survey of selected sites within the area covered by Sheet 27 of the Ordnance Survey six inch maps.² In this article, the evidence regarding the age of the church and the date of its abandonment is considered in the light of historical records and the various archaeological features of the site. An attempt is also made to identify the person commemorated in the name of the church.

Archaeology of the site

The ruins mainly comprise the southern and western walls of the church's nave/chancel with the north wall of a tower house attached to its north-eastern corner. These walls are built of generally uncoursed masonry dominated in composition by locally available old red sandstone and conglomerate. The overall dimensions of the church are about 16.5 m in length and 6.4 m in width. Internally, the nave's dimensions are 11.2 m by 5.1 m, while the chancel is 4.2 m long and 2.7 m wide. The wall of the nave survives to a height of 2.4 m above the present ground surface towards the western end of the church.

In the south wall of the chancel, there is a splayed ope which narrows from 51 cm internally to 20 cm on the outside. The Rev. Patrick Power stated in 1890 that the outer part of the ope was only 3 inches (8 cm) wide.³ This difference in measurements is explained by the fact that the outer wall facing around the ope has

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented as part of an outing of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society led by the author to Dunmore East on 29 June 1995.
2. Thomas Gregory Fewer (1988) Second Year Honours survey project (east Waterford). Unpublished archaeological survey for the BA degree, Dept of Archaeology, University College Cork.
3. Rev. Patrick Power (1890) 'The ancient churches of Co. Waterford', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 1 (5th series) pp. 475-82 (p. 477).

crumbled or been broken away in the last one hundred years to a depth of up to 18 cm, thereby giving it a much wider appearance. The interior height of the ope is about 70 cm from the top of the splay to the modern ground level. The floor of the church must lie beneath at least 1 m of accumulated rubble, soil and burials within the church, since the bottom of the ope is now at ground level.

The north wall of the tower (which has been estimated to be about 13 m high)⁴ is 4.4 m long, while traces of the east and west walls peter out after 3.2 m. The tower, which was presumably the parish priest's residence, contained three floors, of which the first was a vaulted stone arch (the upper stories would have had wooden floors which, of course, do not survive today). The parapet, however, had a wall-walk made of flagstones which survives along the interior of the north wall. These flagstones run through the thickness of the parapet to appear as a string-course in the exterior face of the wall. Whether the roof was completely surfaced with flagstones or was either thatched or slated cannot now be ascertained except by archaeological excavation. The north wall has a base-batter⁵ that begins about 2 m above the level of the grave of William Wyse (died 1794). This grave is located beside the tower's north-east corner. Only two windows of the tower survive, although Power reported in 1890 that there were three windows, each one lighting a different floor, and that there were just four other 8 inch (c. 20 cm) wide (square) opes to provide additional light. However, I was able to locate a total of nine square opes – six in the north wall and three in the remnants of the west wall – though the lowest three are now blocked up. These square opes probably secured the wooden scaffolding used in the construction of the tower, so their use as extra windows would have been secondary.

Part of the original earthen bank which enclosed the church exists to the south and east. Nancy Edwards suggests that 'from the seventh century onwards, when the concept of areas of sanctuary is first attested, enclosures or *valla* were constructed round ecclesiastical sites and their interiors and environs were increasingly organized to encompass the varying needs of a growing population of monks and clerics, and sometimes nuns, lay people and pilgrims'. It is possible, therefore, that traces of huts and other ancillary buildings would be found if the Killea site was excavated. These earthen enclosures strongly resemble secular ringforts and, like the latter, the size of their diameters reflected the importance of the site. Also, the more important the site, the more likely it was to have more than one enclosing element.⁶ Killea, on the other hand, appears to have had only one enclosing bank. Less important ecclesiastical sites also frequently have flimsier banks than their secular counterparts (ringforts) according to Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, who observes that they have 'rather the characteristic of the ordinary field fence'.⁷

4. 'Old Waterford Society Survey', in *Decies* 24 (1983) pp. 42-57 (p. 51).

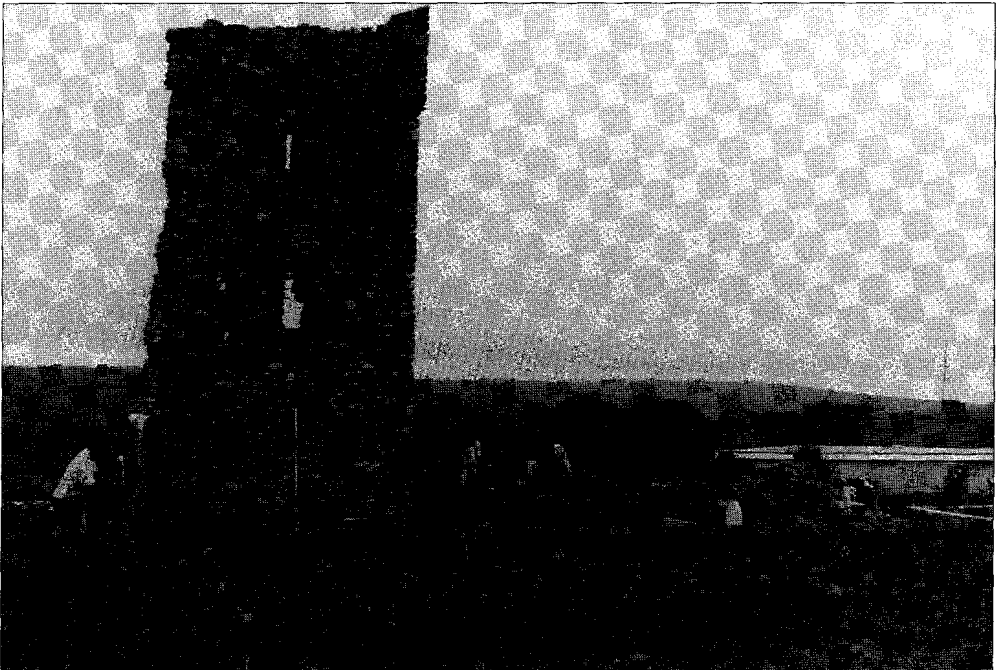
5. The base-batter is the inward sloping of the wall-face at the foot of a wall. Its purpose was two-fold – to add strength and stability to the building and to allow stones dropped from the parapet to bounce off the wall and strike any attackers.

6. Nancy Edwards (1990) *The archaeology of early medieval Ireland* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd) pp. 106-7.

7. Seán P. Ó Ríordáin (1979) *Antiquities of the Irish countryside* (fifth edition revised by Ruaidhrí de Valera; London & New York: Methuen) p. 57.



This area between the bank (left) and the accumulated burials was filled in with soil in 1992. (Photo taken 1988). © T. G. Fewer 1988, 1996.



Killea Church (tower and nave) from the North. © T. G. Fewer, 1988, 1996.

The enclosing bank at Killea may now be less obvious on the ground since a 7 m wide area between the bank and the edge of a raised area around the church was filled in with fresh soil in the summer of 1992. This was apparently to raise the level of the ground to that of adjacent parts of the graveyard. The raised area was formed over time from the accumulation of both fallen masonry and human burials (many spanning the eighteenth to twentieth centuries) that crowd, in particular, the eastern half of the graveyard and part of the church's interior. The edge of this raised area rises about 1.6 m from the surface of the pre-1992 level of the infilled area. By comparison, 2 m of soil have built up against the south wall of Ardmore Cathedral's chancel as a result of the accumulation of burials there since the thirteenth century.⁸

Of previous antiquarian descriptions of the monument, the Rev. R. H. Ryland in 1824 simply refers to 'the ruins of a church' that stood on a hill behind the village of Dunmore.⁹ Both the Name Books and the Letters of the Ordnance Survey provide descriptions of the ruin as it appeared in 1841, which does not seem to have changed much in the 150 years since then. The Ordnance surveyor and antiquarian, John O'Donovan, dated the structure to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, but dismissed it as being 'neither ancient nor interesting for its style'.¹⁰ The Rev. Patrick Power seemed to share this view, but dated the structure to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. P. M. Egan, on the other hand, considered the greater part of the church to date from the thirteenth century, but suggests that the chancel may have been built as early as the ninth century, on the common assertion that the nave and tower were added to the original structure.¹¹ This architectural development was similarly proposed for the eleventh or twelfth century phase of St Peter's Church in Waterford.¹² In other cases, the chancel post-dated the construction of the nave, such as at Banagher Church in Co. Derry, where an early thirteenth century chancel was added to the twelfth century nave.¹³

According to Nancy Edwards, early churches in Ireland were usually, though not exclusively, constructed of timber up to the ninth century before being rebuilt of

8. Tadhg O'Keefe (1992) 'Romanesque architecture and sculpture at Ardmore', in William Nolan, Thomas P. Power and Des Cowman, eds, *Waterford: history and society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin: Geography Publications) pp. 73-104 (p. 75).
9. Rev. R. H. Ryland (1824) *The history, topography and antiquities of the County and City of Waterford* (London: John Murray [reprinted 1982 by Wellbrook Press Ltd, Kilkenny]) p. 239. No mention is made of Killea church in a discussion of the parishes of Gaultier in Charles Smith (1774) *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford. Being a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical and topographical description thereof* (second edition, Dublin: W. Wilson) p. 17. There is similarly no mention of Killea church in the 1746 edition (Dublin: A. Reilly) of Smith's work.
10. John O'Donovan (no date) *Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Waterford collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841* [No publisher or place of publication given], p. 9; Ordnance Survey Name Books, County Waterford, Parish of Killea, p. 87.
11. P. M. Egan (1894) *History, guide and directory of [the] County and City of Waterford* (Kilkenny: P. M. Egan) p. 568.
12. M. F. Hurley (1992) 'Late Viking Age settlement in Waterford City', in *Waterford: history and society*, pp. 49-72 (p. 54).
13. T. B. Barry (1987) *The archaeology of medieval Ireland* (London & New York: Methuen) p. 142.

stone between the tenth and twelfth centuries.¹⁴ Archaeological evidence suggests that this might also have been the case with St Peter's Church in Waterford, and that for a time, this church may have been composed of a stone chancel and wooden nave.¹⁵ However, the Rev. Patrick Power considered that there were no traces left of the original church at Killea.¹⁶ With regard to stone-built examples, Terry Barry states that churches with sandstone window and door mouldings and/or a west doorway generally date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while later medieval churches are indicated by hammered limestone mouldings and opposing north/south doors in the nave.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the walls at Killea are either buried, too ruinous or heavily overgrown with ivy to locate the position of any door in the nave.

Regarding the attached tower house, Terry Barry has pointed out that by the fifteenth century when many Gaelic (or gaelicised) princes were building or embellishing churches within their territories, the addition of strong residential towers had become the norm.¹⁸ A site similar in layout to Killea, comprising a medieval church with a fifteenth century tower attached to its north-east corner stands at Kilfane, near Thomastown, County Kilkenny.¹⁹ The later middle ages was a period when many local lords were at war with each other or against the colonial administration. Locally, the Power and O'Driscoll clans fought several battles against the city of Waterford during the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁰ The Powers had earlier been at war with Maurice fitz Thomas fitz Gerald, first earl of Desmond, in the 1320s, but joined forces with him in a rebellion against the Dublin government in 1345.²¹ Furthermore, during this turbulent period and to the dismay of the colonial administration, many manors in County Waterford (as elsewhere in Ireland) came to be abandoned by their feudal tenants

14. Edwards, *The archaeology of early medieval Ireland*, p. 122. Cf. Liam de Paor (1984) 'The age of the Viking wars (9th and 10th centuries)', in T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin, eds, *The course of Irish history* (second edition, Cork: Mercier Press with Radio Telefís Éireann) pp. 91-106 (p. 100).
15. Hurley, 'Late Viking Age settlement', p. 54.
16. Power, 'Ancient ruined churches' and idem. (1952) *The place-names of Decies* (Cork: Cork University Press) p. 204.
17. Barry, *The archaeology of medieval Ireland*, p. 140. However, the nave of St Peter's Church in Waterford had both north and south doorways despite being dated to the late eleventh/early twelfth century (Hurley, 'Late Viking Age settlement', p. 54).
18. Barry, *The archaeology of medieval Ireland*, p. 195.
19. Ben Murtagh (1994) 'Archaeological excavations at Dysart, Co. Kilkenny 1989-1994: An interim report, in *Old Kilkenny Review* 4 (6) pp. 78-94 (p. 89).
20. Eamonn McEaney (1992) 'Mayors and merchants in medieval Waterford City, 1169-1495', in *Waterford: history and society*, pp. 147-76 (pp. 160-1). Cf. Eamonn McEaney, 'The will to survive: William Lombard, Mayor - 1371-73, 1377-79, 1384-85', idem., 'A new order: Simon Wicken - 1413-14', and Julian Walton, 'Gifts of sword and cap: Sir William Wyse, Mayor - 1533-34, 1540-41', in Eamonn McEaney, ed. (1995) *A history of Waterford and its mayors from the 12th century to the 20th century* (Waterford: Waterford Corporation) pp. 61-72, 73-80 and 104-13, respectively.
21. Ciaran Parker (1995) 'Local government in County Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Part II. The Sheriffs of Waterford in the early fourteenth century 1304-1350', in *Decies* 51, pp. 79-89 (pp. 84, 86).

who chose to live on their English estates instead. These tenants were expected to aid in the defence of the English colony in Ireland in return for their lands. Various methods, including the imposition of absentee fines and taxes or the exemplary forfeiture of a tenant's lands were attempted to coerce these tenants in remaining on their Irish estates.²²

From the meagre architectural evidence supplied by the above-surface remains, the church at Killea may be either an entirely new construction of the later middle ages, or a largely eleventh or twelfth century building possibly incorporating earlier masonry, with a tower house added in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

Documentary record

Historical records relating to Killea are as scanty as the ruins themselves. Killea (*cell aedh*) is not listed in *Onomasticon Goedelicum* which incorporates references from most early Irish sources.²³ Reference to the church is similarly absent from the early medieval papal chancery documents edited by Maurice Sheehy.²⁴ The church's name suggests that it may have been dedicated to its founder, or perhaps to its first priest (if a different person from the founder), who was called Áed (modern Irish: Aodh). Neither John O'Donovan (who called him St Aidus) nor (initially) the Rev. Patrick Power, who called him St Aidan²⁵ when writing in 1890, was able to identify the saint commemorated by the placename. Citing a Latin Life of St Declan

22. Sheelagh H. Harbison (1983) 'The absentee problem in Waterford and east Cork during William of Windsor's administration, 1369-1376', in *Decies* 23, pp. 4-16. See also general accounts of this problem in James Lydon (1973) *Ireland in the late middle ages* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan) pp. 58-60; Robin Frame (1981) *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin: Helicon) pp. 119, 130; Art Cosgrove (1981) *Late medieval Ireland, 1370-1541* (Dublin: Helicon) pp. 3-5, 18-19; A. J. Otway-Ruthven (1980) *A history of medieval Ireland* (second edition, New York: Barnes & Noble) pp. 296-7.
23. Edmund Hogan (1910) *Onomasticon Goedelicum: Locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae: an index, with identifications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes* (reprinted 1993, Dublin: Four Courts Press). Hogan's compilation was cross-checked with the published edition of the Munster-provenanced *Annals of Inisfallen* (Seán Mac Airt, ed. [1951] *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B 503)* [Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies]) and with the *Annals of the Four Masters* (John O'Donovan, ed. [1990] *The Four Masters: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland from the earliest times to the year 1616* [Third edition, Dublin: De Búrca Rare Books, 7 vols. Includes an introduction by Kenneth Nicholls]). Neither source contained references to Killea.
24. Maurice P. Sheehy, ed. (1962-5) *Pontificia Hibernica: medieval papal chancery documents concerning Ireland 640-1261* (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son) 2 vols.
25. Aidan (Áedán/Aodhán) is the diminutive form of Áed which means 'fire'. See Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Fidelma Maguire (1990) *Irish names* (second edition, Dublin: The Lilliput Press) p. 13. The name Áed was apparently 'the commonest of all names in use in early Ireland' according to Ó Corráin and Maguire. Indeed, though it is not the most common name appearing among the rulers of the early medieval Déise, there are seven individuals called Aed in the Déise genealogies (none of whom could be identified with the founder of Killea). See Eóin Mac Néill (1910) 'The Déisi genealogies (From the Book of Ballymote)', in *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society* [hereafter *JWSEIAS*] 13, pp. 44-51, 82-7 and 152-7.

published by the Bollandists in 1727,²⁶ the Rev. Patrick Power later identified the founder of the church, whom he now called Aodh, with a disciple of St Declan of Ardmore (Waterford's patron saint who flourished in the fifth and early sixth centuries A.D.²⁷), stating that the latter called Aodh 'to minister to him when he found death approaching'.²⁸ This identification is at variance with the account of the dying saint in the Irish Life of St Declan that Power himself edited for the Irish Texts Society in 1914. There, the text of the Life reads:

When Declan realised that his last days were at hand and that the time remaining to him was very short he summoned to him his own spiritual son, scil., MacLiag (residing) in the monastery which is on the eastern side of the Decies close to the Leinstermen in order that, at the hour of death, he might receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Sacraments of the Church from his hands.²⁹

And further,

there came to him the holy man, to wit, MacLiag, at his own request, already referred to. He [Declan] received the Body and Blood of Christ and the

26. In *Acta Sanctorum* 30, Julii, vol. 5, pp. 593-608. I have not, regretfully, had the opportunity to examine this version of Declan's Life. However, it is not the most reliable redaction since, for example, its editors (a group of Jesuits in seventeenth century Antwerp) suppressed a supposedly scandalous part of the text (which appeared in the introduction). For this point, see Donncha Ó Laoghaire (1991) 'Duibhín Declain: Little Black Stone or Little Black Bell?', in *Ardmore Journal* 8, pp. 8-11 (p. 11, n. 5). Cf. 'Vita Sancti Declani', in Carolus [Charles] Plummer, ed. (1910) *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae: Partim hactenus ineditae ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum recognovit prolegomenis notis indicibus instruxit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2 vols) vol. ii, pp. 32-59 (p. 32, n. 2) where the Bollandists are said to have 'abbreviated this introduction, no doubt 'causa cuitandi scandali'. The Bollandists were not unique in this respect, however, as the relevant part of one manuscript version used by Plummer was found to be 'mutilated' while 'the whole first folio of the Life is wanting' in another.
27. Gearóid Mac Niocaill (1972) *Ireland before the Vikings* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan) p. 24. There is considerable doubt to the tradition that Declan preceded St Patrick as a missionary in Ireland – see Donnchadh Ó Corráin (1992) 'Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland', in R. F. Foster, ed., *The Oxford History of Ireland* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press) pp. 1-43 (p. 11); Benedict O'Sullivan, O. P. (1985) 'The Desii become Christian', in *Decies* 30, pp. 4-9; and the first part of Rev. W. H. Rennison's manuscript history of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (Representative Church Body Library, MS. 40/2/1, ff. 16-19). For views supporting Declan's early date see Rev. P. Power, ed. (1914) *Life of St Declan of Ardmore (edited from MS. in Bibliothéque Royale, Brussels) and Life of St Mochuda of Lismore (edited from MS. in Library of Royal Irish Academy) with introduction, translation, and notes* (London: Irish Texts Society/Comann na sGribeann Gaedilge, vol. xvi) pp. xvii-xviii; and (for a more popular view) Art MacGreagóir (1953) *Waterford and Lismore Diocese (Na Deise): a short religious history to AD 1170* (no publisher or place of publication given; 'Translated from the Irish Original': *Stair na nDeise* [1938]) p. 6.
28. Patrick Power (1906) 'The Place-Names of the Decies' in *JWSEIAS* 9, p. 35.
29. Power, ed., *Life of St Declan of Ardmore*, p. 69. Cf. 'Vita Sancti Declani', in Carolus [Charles] Plummer, vol. ii, pp. 32-59 (p. 58, §38). No additional information can be gained on St Declan's death from the scrap of his Life used in Colgan's 1645 edition of the Life of St Ultan. See Brendan Jennings, OFM, ed. (1948) *The 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae' of John Colgan. Reproduced at the Ordnance Survey, Dublin* (Dublin: Stationery Office, for the Irish Manuscripts Commission), p. 608. (St Declan's Life itself is strangely omitted by Colgan in this compilation).

Sacraments of the Church from his [MacLiag's] hand – surrounded by holy men and his disciples, and he blessed his people and his dependants and his poor, and he kissed them in token of love and peace.³⁰

The Latin Life edited by Charles Plummer similarly refers to Mac Liag (*filius Lyach*) but not to any Áed as the disciple who attended Declan on his deathbed. Given that Plummer does not mention any discrepancy between the various recensions of the Life regarding the identity of the disciple who attended Declan, and that he referred to the Bollandists' edition elsewhere in his footnotes, it seems unlikely that such a discrepancy exists. Furthermore, the Rev. W. H. Rensison in his manuscript history of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, bases his account of Declan on the Bollandists' edition of his Life yet makes no mention of any Áed ministering to the dying saint.³¹ Rensison recounts the death of Declan as follows:

Having received from his favourite Liach the body and blood of Jesus[,] Declan entered into rest on the twenty-fourth day of July.³²

It seems obvious here that Canon Power has confused the founder of Killea with that of Kilmacleague in his 'Placenames of the Decies' which preceded the publication of the *Life of St Declan of Ardmore* by eight years. However, in a note to the text of the latter, Power associates Mac Liag with the early monastic site of Kilmacleague that overlooks the Back Strand behind Tramore Bay.³³ Peculiarly, Power neglects to mention that Mac Liag was recorded as St Declan's disciple in his entry on Kilmacleague in the 1952 edition of *The place-names of Decies*.³⁴ Finally, although an Aodh (Áed) might have been a disciple of Declan, no person of the name is so designated at any other point in either the Irish Life or the Latin version edited by Plummer, nor do they mention such a person founding a church.³⁵

No mention is made of an Áed, whether the founder of a church in County Waterford or as a disciple of St Declan, in either the ninth-century martyrology known as *Féilire Óengusso*³⁶ or in the twelfth-century 'Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints'.³⁷ Since the latter is, in the words of Sarah Sanderlin,³⁸ 'principally an

30. Power, ed., *Life of St Declan of Ardmore*, p. 71, Cf. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ii, 58, §39.

31. Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, MS. 40/2/1, f. 2 (note).

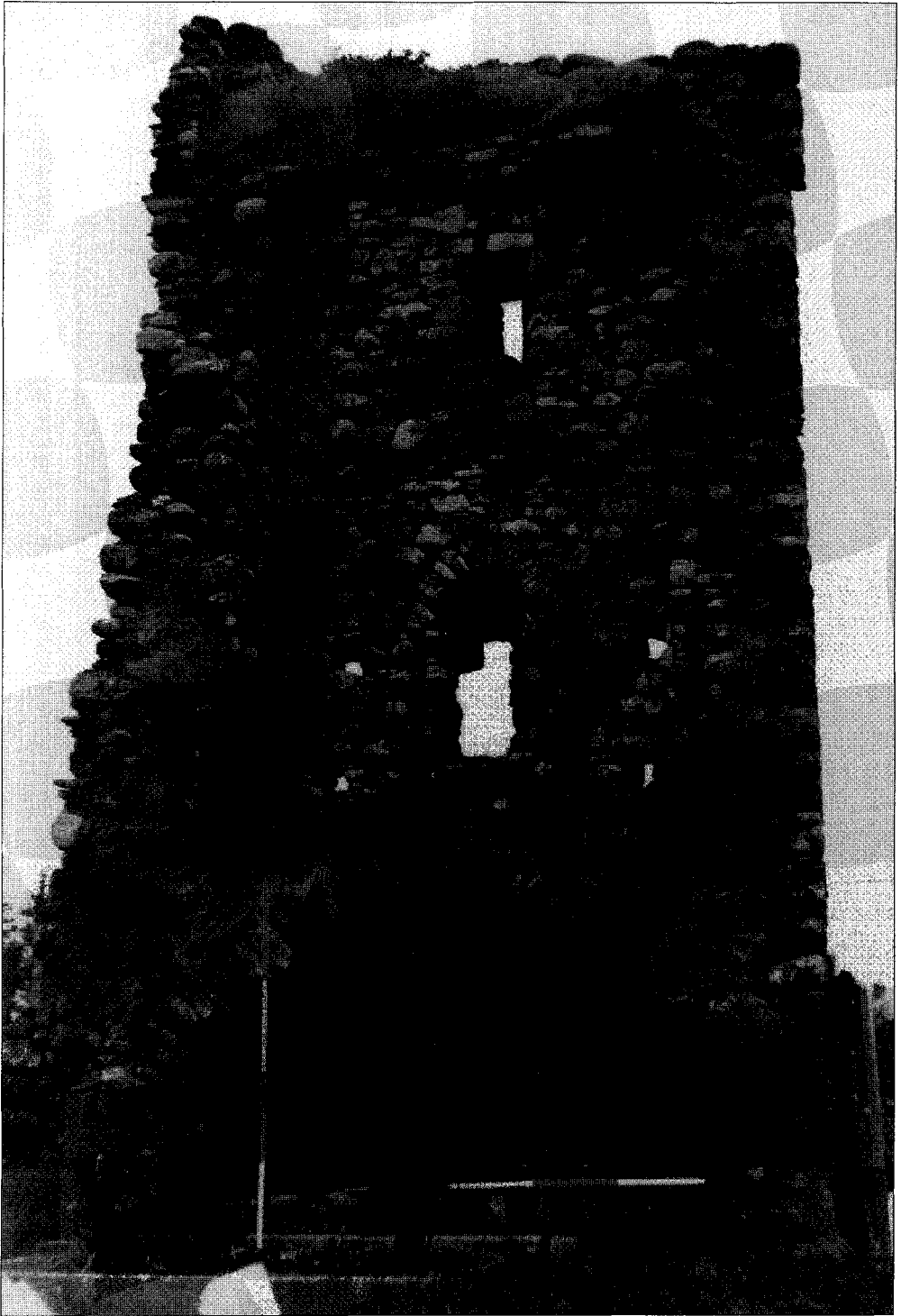
32. *Ibid.*, f. 16.

33. Power, ed., *Life of St Declan of Ardmore*, pp. 176-7.

34. Rev. Patrick Power (1952) *The place-names of Decies* (second edition, Cork: Cork University Press), p. 214.

35. The only person named Áed appearing in the Life of St Declan edited by Power (p. 61) was a twin boy who was conceived and born following Declan's prayers, though his mother had been previously 'barren for many years'. Afterwards, this boy and his brother, 'together with their children and descendants were under tribute and service to God and Declan' according to the Life. He is not mentioned again in the Life. The Latin Life edited by Plummer includes the account of St Declan's miraculous intervention (pp. 54-5, §33) and, like its Irish counterpart, contains no additional reference to any Áed.

36. Whitley Stokes, ed. (1905) *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé. The martyrology of Oengus the Culdee critically edited from ten manuscripts, with a preface, translation, and indices* (Henry Bradshaw Society 29) (London: Henry Bradshaw Society).

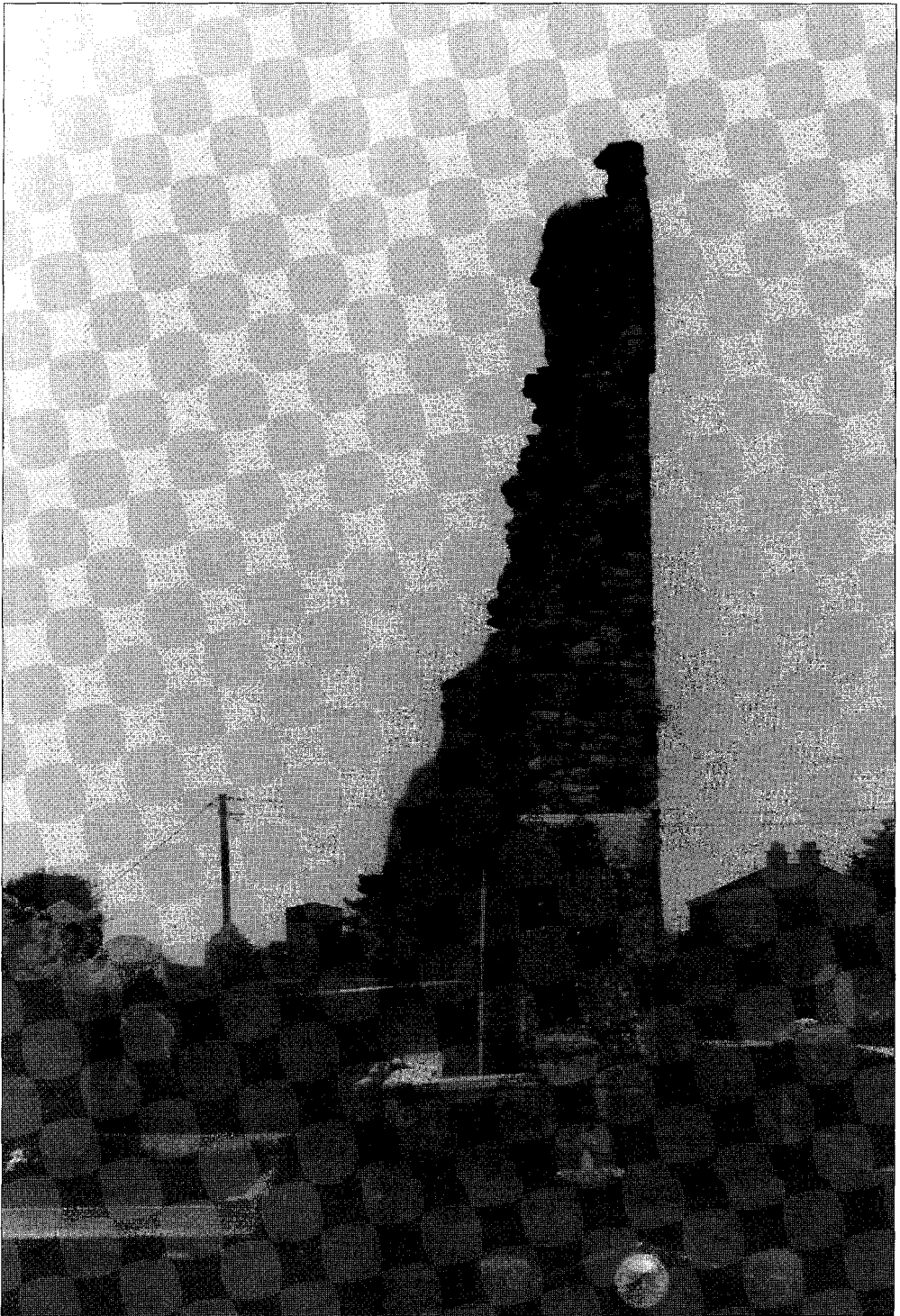


The tower's interior (from the South). © T. G. Fewer, 1988, 1996.

invocation of largely nameless or little known people living in obscure or forgotten locations', and is also thought to have been compiled at the monastery of Lismore, it might have been expected to mention a holy man named Áed living near the coast of eastern County Waterford.³⁹ Although a number of persons named Áed are recorded in *The Martyrology of Donegal*, the majority are identified with place-names outside eastern Waterford and there is also no index entry for *Cill-Aedh*. Nevertheless, it is always possible that certain unidentified individuals such as Aedh Oiléin ('Áed of the Island' [Oileán]) could have been the founder of Killea!⁴⁰

If, however, Áed was not a disciple of St Declan, then who might he have been? Perhaps another person from a later date was intended in the church's dedication. Of particular significance to County Waterford is St Áedán, abbot of Lismore, who died (according to the Annals of the Four Masters) in A.D. 761.⁴¹ Alternatively, Killea church might have been named after St Máedóc⁴² of Lismore (whose feast day is 29 December) or even after St Áedán (or Máedóc) of Ferns (County Wexford), who died in A.D. 626.⁴³ The founder of the sixth century monastery at Mothel in County Waterford is identified by some as a disciple of the latter.⁴⁴ If this is the case, then it seems possible that another impingement by Wexford holy men could have occurred at Killea which, overlooking as it does the entrance to Waterford Harbour, is much closer to County Wexford. Such intrusions were commonplace in early medieval Ireland. For example, during a period of interprovincial strife in the eleventh century, the Dál Cais dynasty of Munster entered into the affairs of Killeslin monastery in the kingdom of the Uí Bairrche (in what is now County Laois).

37. The 'Irish Litany of Pilgrim Saints' appears as 'Litany of Irish saints – II' in Rev. Charles Plummer (1925) *Irish litanies: text and translation* (Henry Bradshaw Society 62) (reprinted 1992, Woodbridge, Suffolk, & Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press for the Henry Bradshaw Society).
38. Sarah Sanderlin (1992) 'The monastery of Lismore A.D. 638-1111', in *Waterford: history and society*, pp. 27-48 (p. 41).
39. That St Declan himself is not included in this Lismore litany suggests that monastic politics were at work here. The monastic community at Lismore (founded by St Mochutu) may have wished to suppress knowledge of St Declan whose foundation at Ardmore would have competed with them for ecclesiastical territory. St Mochutu, on the other hand, is mentioned twice (Plummer, *Irish litanies*, pp. 60-1). Eventually, what became the diocese of Ardmore was absorbed into that of Lismore by the early thirteenth century (see Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock [1970] *Medieval religious houses of Ireland* [Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press] p. 62, and O'Keefe, 'Romanesque architecture and sculpture at Ardmore', p. 77). Incidentally, neither Declan nor his disciple Mac Liag (let alone one named Áed) are included in any other of the litanies edited by Plummer.
40. John O'Donovan (translator) and James Henthorn Todd and William Reeves, eds (1864) *The Martyrology of Donegal: A calendar of the saints of Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society) p. 97.
41. O'Donovan, ed., *The Four Masters: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, vol. i, p. 365. St Áedán's feast day is 16 March (Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Irish names*, p. 13).
42. Máedóc is a pet-form of Áed (Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Irish names*, p. 128).
43. Mac Niocaill, *Ireland before the Vikings*, p. 24; Michael Richter (1988) *Medieval Ireland: The enduring tradition* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan) p. 51.
44. Benedict O'Sullivan, O.P. (1987) 'The progress of Christianity in the Decies 500-600 A.D.', in *Decies 36*, pp. 34-8 (37-8). Gwynn and Hadcock (*Medieval religious houses of Ireland*, p. 188) agree with the date for the foundation but do not mention the view that the founder, St Brogan, may have been a disciple of St Máedóc of Ferns.



Killea Church from the East. © T. G. Fewer, 1988, 1996.

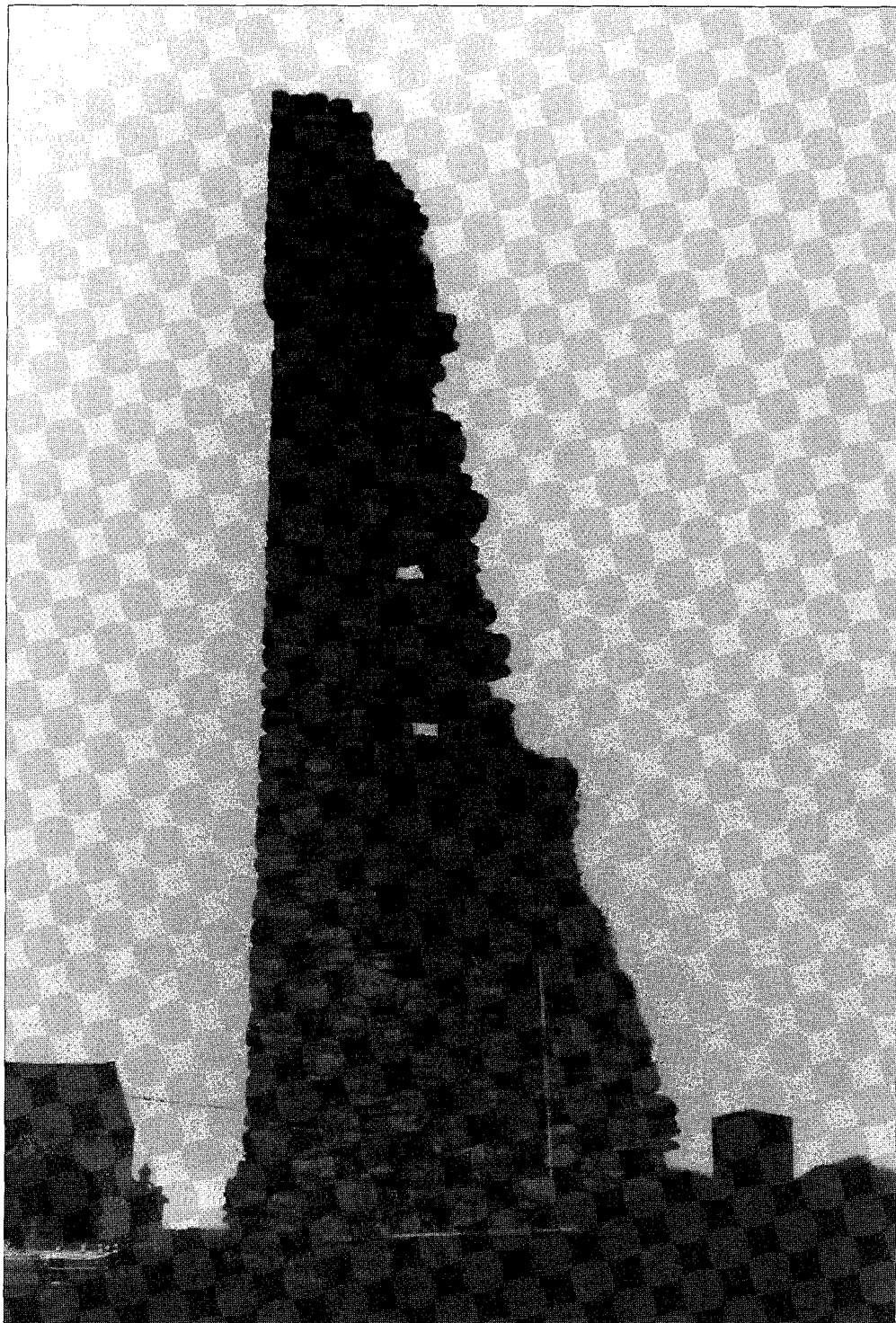
Though Killeshin had traditionally been founded by St Diarmait (or Modimóc) mac Siabairr, a member of a noble family of the Uí Bairrche, the Dál Cais made St Comgán (a member of their own family) the patron of Killeshin instead. Thus, 'Diarmait's status as patron or even co-patron of the monastery is virtually suppressed' in eleventh and twelfth century texts relating to Killeshin'.⁴⁵ Similarly, Eolang, the founder of a church at Aghabulloge in County Cork, is made subservient to St Finnbar of Cork in a twelfth century Life of the latter. In particular, Eolang is untruthfully stated to have conceded jurisdiction over Aghabulloge church to Finnbar according to this manuscript.⁴⁶

The first specific mention of the church at Killea occurs in November 1203, when a certain Heverbrict of Dunmor (sic) was granted, with other lands, the church of St Eóth (St Áed).⁴⁷ Probably not long after this, the church was re-dedicated by the Anglo-Normans to the invocation of the Holy Cross.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, the old name of Killea retained its popularity and is the one used in later historical documents.

In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6, the Church of Killeth [sic] and its vicarage was valued at 12 marks (£8) – much higher than most other churches in east Waterford at this time – out of which a tithe of 16 shillings (80p) was to be paid.⁴⁹ In 1318, the then vicar of Killegh [sic], William O'Flennogan [sic], was recorded as owing a 40 shilling (£2) fine for trespass (i.e., for committing an offence).⁵⁰ Both Meiler, son of David le Poer, and Stephen Fraunceys acted as security for its payment. O'Flennogan (as his name was now spelt) is similarly recorded for 1322, though the details of the reference do not survive – perhaps he was reluctant to pay the fine imposed on him previously.⁵¹ A silver groat minted in London which is thought to pre-date 1350 and which was possibly lost towards the end of the fourteenth century was found in Killea graveyard in 1987.⁵² Did it once belong to the then parish priest or to one of his parishioners, and what did the loss mean to the person? Such questions are of course impossible to answer, but the find shows that someone had money to spend (or lose) locally at a time of widespread warfare, famine and (from the 1340s) the Black Plague.

A papal letter dated June 1489 and addressed to the abbot of the monastery of SS Coan and Brogan, in Mothel, and to the archdeacon and a canon of the church of

45. Edel Bhreathnach (1994) 'Killeshin: an Irish monastery surveyed', in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 27, pp. 33-47 (p. 37).
46. Pádraig Ó Riain (1993) "'To be named is to exist": the instructive case of Achadh Bolg (Aghabulloge)', in Patrick O'Flanagan and Cornelius G. Buttimer, eds, *Cork history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin: Geography Publications), pp. 45-61 (pp. 54-5).
47. H. S. Sweetman, ed. (1875) *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. 1171-1251* (London: Longman & Co.) p. 30, no. 190.
48. Power, 'The Place-Names of the Decies', in *JWSEIAS* 9, p. 35.
49. H. S. Sweetman and G. F. Handcock, eds (1886) *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1302-1307* (London: Longman & Co.) p. 304. Cf. Feardorcha Funnell (1980) 'Calendar of documents relating to Gaultier from 1250 to 1350 (approx.)' in *Decies* 14, pp. 61-6 (p. 63).
50. *Public Record Office of Ireland Deputy Keeper's Report no. 42*, p. 28.
51. *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep. no. 42*, p. 40. This is the first priest of Killea for which William Rennison in his *Succession list of the bishops [etc.] of Waterford and Lismore* (Ardmore: privately printed, 1920) was able to find a documentary reference.
52. Will Forbes (1988) 'Coin find at Killea', in *Decies* 39, pp. 34-5.



Killea Church from the West. © T. G. Fewer, 1988, 1996.

Lismore, refers to some controversy regarding Killea.⁵³ It relates that ‘the perpetual vicarages of the parish churches of Kalleayg and Ratmelayn, which are canonically united, diocese [of] Waterford, are vacant and have been for so long that by the Lateran statutes their collation has devolved on the apostolic see, although Philip Ohyky, who claims to be a priest of the said diocese [i.e., presumably, Waterford], has detained them for a number of years, without title, *de facto*, as he still does’. The letter’s three recipients were to investigate the matter, and if they found the two vicarages vacant, they were to remove Ohyky ‘and any unlawful detainer’ from them and to collate and assign them to Cormac Orayly, a priest of the diocese of Lismore, by ‘inducing him etc’(!). Obviously, Killea and Rathmoylan were not popular among the clergy if they needed inducement to take up the position! Could this be evidence that the area around Killea suffered from a state of lawlessness at this time (hence necessitating the construction of the tower house attached to the church)? It is interesting that the letter gives the valuation of the joint-parishes as 10 marks (about £6.70) – a major drop in value from the figure given in the early 1300s, especially as the addition of Rathmoylan (worth 20 shillings [£1] in 1302-6) should have boosted Killea’s value.

Following the dissolution of the monasteries in 1541, William Wyse, esq., claimed the rectories of Killeagh and Rathmoylane – then subsumed into the rectory of Whalyng (corruption of [Rath-]Mhaolán [pronounced Whale-on]), as part of the possessions of the priory of St John the Evangelist in Waterford – which he held under a lease with the right of nominating clergymen to their vicarages.⁵⁴ The rectory of Killea passed through the hands of various lay tenants between the late sixteenth and the late seventeenth centuries. During his 1615 visitation, the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel confirmed a recent lease of the vicarages of Killea and Rathmoylan.⁵⁵ For a yearly rent of £3 for 99 years, the lessee (George Moore) was allowed to collect and keep the tithes due to these vicarages from the local parishioners. William Wyse had previously paid a rent of only 40 shillings (£2) for receipt of two-thirds of the tithes and altarages, the other third going to the vicar. Another document entitled ‘The Presentment of the Diocess [sic] of Waterford’ and dated 1615 considers the then ‘state of the Churches’ in this diocese. Though reasonably comprehensive, the document omits any reference to the church at Killea.⁵⁶

The *Civil Survey of Ireland* (1654-6) records the existence of a church at Killea,⁵⁷

53. Michael J. Haren, ed. (1978) *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Ireland: Papal letters, vol. xv. Innocent VIII: Lateran Registers 1484-1492* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission) p. 199, no. 402. Cf. Rennison, *Succession list of ... Waterford and Lismore*, p. 81, for an additional documentary reference to both Ohyky and Orayly.

54. Newport B. White, ed. (1943) *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541 from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission) p. 100.

55. Anonymous (1902) ‘Documents illustrating the history of Waterford (second series)’, in *JWSEIAS* 8, p. 113. A previous visitation by an archbishop of Cashel (Miler Magrath), in 1588 only recorded the names of the incumbent (John Quoayne) and the patron (James Wise) of the vicarage of Rathmolan and Killethe. See Rev. P. Power (1909) ‘Bishop Miler Magrath’s visitation of Waterford and Lismore, 1588’, in *JWSEIAS* 12, pp 155-61.

56. Rev. P. Power (1913) ‘Material condition of the churches of Waterford’, *JWSEIAS* 16, pp. 114-21.

while the terrier of its cartographic counterpart, the *Down Survey*,⁵⁸ merely mentions the 9 (plantation) acres (14.6 statute acres) of glebe land that then existed in the civil parish. Since neither document records the church as a ruin, it can only be presumed that the church was still in use, or, if abandoned, that it still retained its roof at this time and remained potentially usable. Some other churches in the same barony, such as those at Kilmacleague and Rathmoylan were stated to be 'old' and 'decayed' at this time.⁵⁹ However, it may be that Killea church had become unroofed by the late 1660s: the abstract of the 1671 will of William Power of Downmore suggests that the interior of the church was possibly already being used for burials since Power wished for his 'body to be buried in ... church of Killea'.⁶⁰ The wording of the abstract is not very clear here and it is impossible to check the original document as it was destroyed in the Four Courts fire of 1922. Whatever the case, the church's interior was certainly being used for burial by the eighteenth century as indicated by the dates on some of the gravestones there, the earliest being 1760.

Conclusion (and a plea for archaeological excavation)

Although a mid-seventeenth century date for the abandonment of Killea church as a usable building seems likely, little can be said of the time of its construction or of its founder from a study of either the documentary sources or of the site's extant architecture.

To learn more about this medieval church requires the archaeological excavation of those parts of the site not yet disturbed by modern burials (i.e., the western part of both the graveyard and the church's interior). Only excavation could reveal with any certainty the former existence of a wooden church, the construction date of the standing ruins, the type of roofing material used (for both the tower and the church itself), the traces of huts and other ancillary buildings, and the relationship of the tower house to the rest of the building (i.e., whether they were built simultaneously or at different periods). Ascertaining the date of the church's construction would greatly assist in the identification of its founder (such as whether he could have been either a sixth century disciple of St Declan or an eighth century abbot of Lismore). Details of the priest's living standards might be revealed by the presence (or absence) of pottery (e.g. imported French wine jugs), tableware and cooking utensils. Animal bones, shellfish and plant remains (such as burnt cereal grains) might tell us what kind of food was eaten in the presbytery. Also, considering the church's high early fourteenth century valuation, it may have had expensive floor tiles such as those found in St Peter's Church⁶¹ and at the French Church in Waterford.⁶² Was

57. R. C. Simington, ed. (1942) *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654-1656. County of Waterford. Vol. VI. With appendices: Muskerry Barony, Co. Cork: Kilkenny City and Liberties (Part). Also Valuations, circa 1663-64, for Waterford and Cork cities* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission) p. 157.

58. 'The Down Survey maps of Co. Waterford: the Barony of Gaultier', in *Decies* 44, pp. 23-38 (p. 34).

59. For these two churches, see my article 'A look at some antiquities of Corbally and Rathmoylan' in *The Munster Express* (part i) 9 July 1993, p. 32, cols 1-6; (part ii) 16 July 1993, p. 25, cols 1-7; and Andrew S. R. Gittins (1990) 'Investigation of Rathmoylan Church, Co. Waterford', in *Decies* 43, pp. 4-11.

60. *JWSEIAS* 10 (1907) pp. 71-2.

Killea church ever under attack, justifying the subsequent construction of the tower house, and if so, what kind of archaeological evidence might be found of such an event (areas of burning, scatters of arrowheads, broken weapons, slashed and shattered human bones)? Also, were St Áed's remains ever venerated in a tomb shrine like that of his supposed mentor St Declan which still survives at Ardmore?⁶³ A suspected (but badly ruined) tomb shrine was excavated within the ecclesiastical enclosure at Reask, County Kerry, and was assigned 'a broad fifth- to seventh-century A.D. date'. The excavator defined tomb-shrines as (partially) 'foci for some of the earliest burials, probably holding the translated remains of some local saint or holy man'.⁶⁴ That the presence of the tomb shrine at Reask was not known prior to excavation (it lay buried beneath the modern soil level), bears out the possibility that another example may lie under the rubble at Killea. Due to the high acidity of the soil at Reask only phosphate traces of human bones were found in the tomb shrine and the surrounding cemetery. If the cemetery at Killea suffers from a lower acidity level, excavations could reveal the remains of its putative founder.

Ideally, further human burial should be restricted within the vicinity of the ruins at Killea to preserve what little undisturbed archaeology is left beneath the soil. Each time a new grave is dug, archaeological features such as pits, post holes, graves, wall foundations and so on are damaged or destroyed. Artefacts can also be damaged or displaced to a new position that may make either the find, or the layer of soil to which it was moved, look older or newer. For example, a sherd of pottery dated stylistically to the twelfth century might end up in a tenth century layer of soil. If the sherd is the only reliable dating evidence on the site of the excavation, then other (undated) artefacts or architectural features from the layer into which the piece of pottery had been intruded would appear to date to the twelfth century. Of course, the simple removal of a find may prevent a particular soil layer from being dated at all.

The archaeological excavation of the site could lead to the church's partial conservation, making it more presentable and informative for the purposes of both tourism and education. Hopefully, some action will be taken soon before the remnants of this church fall into oblivion like so many of Ireland's field monuments.

61. A. S. R. Gittins (1987) 'St Peter's Church', Custom House B Ward', in Claire Cotter, ed., *Excavations 1986: Summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland* (Dublin: Wordwell Ltd & Organisation of Irish Archaeologists) pp. 35-6 (p. 36).
62. John Bradley (1983) 'Medieval floor tiles from the Franciscan Friary, Waterford', in *Decies* 24, pp. 40-1. However, neither the tiles recovered during the excavations of St Peter's Church nor those found in the Franciscan Friary were *in situ* at the time of their discovery, a situation frequently repeated elsewhere (see Claire Cotter [1992] 'Archaeological excavations at Dean Street, Kilkenny, 1990', in *Old Kilkenny Review* 4 [4], pp. 1065-76 [p. 1073] and references therein cited).
63. Power, ed., *Life of St Declan of Ardmore*, pp. xxii-xxiii; O'Keefe, 'Romanesque architecture', p. 75.
64. T. Fanning (1981) 'Excavations of an early Christian cemetery and settlement at Reask, County Kerry', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 81 C 3, pp. 67-172 (pp. 84-6, 152). The tomb shrine at Reask is, however, a much smaller and less elaborate construction than that of St Declan at Ardmore. For a broader discussion of tomb shrines, see Peter Harbison (1991) *Pilgrimage in Ireland: The monuments and the people* (London: Barrie & Jenkins) pp. 147-56.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the staff of the National Library of Ireland and of certain local libraries for their help and efficiency in giving me access to various editions of published works cited in the text. I would particularly like to thank the following individuals – Fr Edmund Cullinan (librarian, St John's College, Waterford), Mr Donald Brady (Waterford County librarian), Mr Richard Fennessy (Waterford City librarian) and Messrs Dermot Power and Michael O'Sullivan (Waterford Municipal Library). I would also like to thank my parents Thomas N. Fewer and Suzanne Cormier Fewer for their support, and my brother Pierre S. Fewer for providing me with a place to stay when researching in Dublin.

Monumental Inscriptions at the Abbey, Kilculliheen, Ferrybank, Waterford

Transcribed by Michael O'Sullivan

Part IV. Nos 252-322 (letters R to W)

252. **RAMBAUT:** In memory of William Woodville Rambaut, who departed this life IV January MDCCCLXVI aged XI years. Also of John Gerrard Rambaut, who died XIII April MDCCCLXIII aged eighteen months. The beloved children of the Reverend Edmund Rambaut.

253. **REA:** Sacred to the memory of the Reverend Joseph Christian Rea of Christendom and Cromwells Rock in the county of Kilkenny who departed this life the 15th day of September 1829. Sincerely and deservedly regretted. Aged 60 years.

Wat. Mirror, 19 Sept. 1829, p.3, c.4. Wednesday at his residence, Cromwells Rock in the Northern Liberties of Waterford, the Rev. Joseph Christian Rea, curate of Rathkyran in the Diocese of Ossory.

The Warden, 24 Jan. 1852, p.7, c.6. January 14th at New Swindon, Wilts., Joseph Christian Rea Esq., second son of the late Rev Joseph Christian Rea of Christendom, County Kilkenny.

REA: See Christian.

254. **READ:** Sacred to the memory of Thomas Elliott Read of Portland in the county of Dorset, master mariner, who departed this life 22nd of May 1852 aged 45 years. Also two children who died in their infancy. Erected by his wife.

Wat. News. Fri. 28 May 1852, p.3, c.6. On Friday the 21st at his residence, Thomas's Hill after a long and painful illness, aged 45, Captain Thomas Read of the schooner *Concordia*.

READ: See Angel.

READ: See Benfield.

255. **ROACH:** Erected by Margaret Roach in memory of her children, John aged 19, Patrick 19, and Catherine aged 21 years.

256. ROBINSON: Sacred to the memory of Lucretia, wife of William Robinson of Waterford who departed this life July 23 1816 aged 27 years.

Wat. Mirror, 27 July 1816. On Tuesday the lady of William Robinson Esq., William Street.

ROCHE: See Morris.

257. ROCHFORD: In the family vault of the Greenes of Greenville in this church lie interred the remains of Robert Rochfort late of Clogrennen in the county of Carlow Esquire. He dyed at Bishopp Hall the 14th of February 1757 in the 31st year of his age. (Marble tablet inside church).

258. ROGERS: Erected by Thomas Rogers of the city of Waterford in memory of his wife Catherine Rogers alias Sutton who departed this life May the 1st 1824 aged 33 years. Also two of his children who died young.

259. ROSS: In memory of Sarah Ross beloved wife of Thomas M. Ross. She died May 14th 1837 aged 24 years. Also in memory of Thomas M. Ross who died March 3rd 1849 aged 43 years. Margaret Ross who died October 8th 1855 aged 39 years. Robert Henry Ross son of Thomas M. and Margaret Ross who died July 12th 1867 aged 21 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Tues. 16 May 1837, p.4, c.3. On the 14th Sarah wife of Mr Thomas Merrick Ross and daughter of the late Samuel Morrison Esq. of this city.

Wat. News, Fri. 19 July 1867, p.2, c.4. At Portlaw on Friday last, Mr Robert Ross.

260. ROSS: In loving memory of Mary Louisa wife of Antony Merrick Ross who died 25th August 1911 aged 63 years and of Antony Merrick Ross born 22nd April 1843 died 28th October 1926 aged 83 years.

Wat. News, 29 Oct. 1926, p.1, c.1. 28th October at Provincial Bank House Athy. Anthony Merrick Ross, late of Canada Street.

261. ROTHWELL: Departed this life on the 18th of May 1839 in the 40th year of his age, Samuel Rothwell Esquire of Dingle. In his death the poor have lost a kind friend who was ever attentive to their wants, and it was on a mission of charity to this place that he was called to give up his spirit to the God who gave it. This stone is erected as a testimony of her affection by his wife Elizabeth Rothwell.

262. ROWAN: Harriet Rowan wife of Robert Rowan Esquire county of Antrim, departed this life fourth of April 1837.

Wat. Mirror, 5 Apr. 1837, p.3, c.4. Yesterday, Mrs Rowan, wife of Major Rowan, Governor of the Waterford District Lunatic Asylum.

263. ROWLANDS: Erected by Elizabeth Rowlands in memory of her brother in law Isaac Rowlands who departed this life November 15th 1846 aged 24 years.

264. ROYCRAFT: Here lieth the body of William Roycraft who departed this life 17th day of December 1815 aged 27 years.

265. **RUSSELL:** In loving memory of Brian J.A. Russell died 29th March 1947.
266. **RUSSELL:** In loving memory of Annie Jane Russell died 9th December 1945 in her 84th year.
- RYAN:** See Kenedy.
267. **SAGE:** Sacred to the memory of William Sage, Freeman of the city of Bristol, son of William and Ann Sage, born March 27th 1801, died December 3rd 1874. And his wife Susannah, daughter of William Elkanah and Susannah Perry of Wotton-Under-Edge, born March 7th 1801, died May 27th 1863.
268. **SAWYERS:** Sacred to the memory of Joseph Sawyers M.D., surgeon of the 86th Royal Regiment, who died 26th December 1862 aged 35 years. This monument is erected to his memory by his brother officers.
269. **SCOTT:** The burial place of John Scotts family 1825.
270. **SCOTT:** Sacred to the memory of Joseph Scott late Revenue Officer, who departed this life 29th June 1819 aged 29½ years.
Clonmel Advertiser, Wed. 7 July 1819. Died on Wednesday morning in Queen Street, Waterford, Mr Joseph Scott, officer of Excise.
- SCRIVEN:** See Lawrence.
271. **SHAW:** Sacred to the memory of Margaret wife of Christopher Shaw, who died November 8th 1860 aged 77 years.
272. **SHIPLEY:** In memory of Major Conway Carew Shipley late 24th Regiment, died Seaville, Tramore November 1st 1956. (Tablet inside church).
Wat. News, 9 Nov. 1956, p.3, c.1. At Sea Ville, Tramore, Major C.C. Shipley, husband of Mrs Margaret Shipley and father of Captain Anthony Shipley, Royal Artillery, Hong Kong, aged about 65.
273. **SHORT:** Erected by their daughter L.J. Kelly in memory of the late Thomas Harold Short, Bristol, died October 14th 1856. And his wife Marion died September 17th 1877. Also their son Benjamin died October 30th 1872.
Wat. News, Fri. 17 Oct. 1856, p.2, c.1. October 14th in Baileys New Street, Mr Thomas Short.
Wat. News, Fri. 21 Sept. 1877, p.2, c.7. On Monday, Mrs Mary Anne Short of the 'Lion' Hotel, Baileys New Street. Aged 58.
Wat. News, Fri. 8 Nov. 1872, p.2, c.6. On the 30th, at the residence of his mother, Baileys New Street, Benjamin son of the late Thomas Harold Short, formerly of Bristol.
274. **SHORTALLE:** Lord have mercy on the soul of James Shortalle who departed this life December the 10th 1798 aged 48 years.
275. **SMITH:** Erected by Thomas Smith the memory of his beloved son Thomas who departed this life 1843 [aged] 9 months.

276. **SMITH:** Erected by Thomas Smith in memory of his mother Frances Smith alias Coates, who departed this life October the 20th 1814 aged 57 years. Also his children, Mary Anne Smith died August 23rd 1835 aged 17 years. Frances Smith died July 15 1839 aged 21 years. Also his wife Charlotte died October 17th 1863 aged 81 years. Also the above Thomas Smith died October 5th 1865 aged 84 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Thurs. 18 July 1839, p.3, c.5. On Monday 15th aged 21 years, Frances second daughter of Mr Thomas Smith of Michael Street.

277. **SMITH:** Sacred to the memory of Arthur Smith Esquire (Leoville, Waterford) who departed this life June 30th 1861 aged 45 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 5 July 1861, p.2, c.3. On Sunday June 30th at his residence Leoville near this city, Arthur Smith Esq. Solicitor.

278. **SMITH:** Sacred to the memory of Sarah Smith who died in June 1820 aged 5 years. Also James Thomas Smith died December 1832 aged 7 months. Isabella Smith died December 21st 1833 aged 9 years. John Smith died December 15th 1834 aged 18 years. Their mother Mrs Margaret Smith (wife of Stephen Smith) died May 11th 1835 aged 40 years.

Wat. Mirror, 13th May 1835, p.3, c.3. Yesterday the wife of Mr Stephen Smith, Dockyard.

279. **SMITH:** In memory of Mary Jane, daughter of Stephen Smith and Emma Gaynor his wife who died May 30th 1856 aged 14 years.

SMITH: See Snow.

280. **SNOW:** Here lyeth the body of Robert Snow of Snow Hill in the county of Kilkenny, Esquire, who died the 7th of [April?]aged years. Also the body of [Mrs?] Anna Maria the above died [July?] the 9th [1767?] aged Also the body of Robert Snow (Jun?) Esquire who departed this life 12th of March aged 4 years. Also here lyeth the body of Anna Maria Snow wife the late Robert Snow Esquire Senior who departed this life the of October 1801 aged 94. Also here lieth the body of Harriet relict of the late Captain Smith and daughter of Robert Snow Senior Esquire who departed this life on the 17th day of September 1836 aged 92 years.

Freemans Journal, 24 to 28 Feb 1767 p.202. Mrs Maria Snow of Waterford.

Faulkners Dublin Journal, Tues. 15 June 1762. Died in Great Butter Lane, Robert Snow of the City of Waterford Esq.

Clarke Journal, Tues. 19 Nov. 1801. Died at Waterford aged 94, Mrs Snow relict of the late Robert Snow, Esq.

Wat. Mirror, 21 Sept. 1836, p.3, c.4. On the 17th at Waterford aged 92, Henrietta; relict of the late Captain Smyth, 64th Regiment, formerly of Ballynure in the County of Monaghan.

281. **SNOW:** To the memory of Sydenham Snow Esquire, late of Snowhaven County Kilkenny. Truth, honour and justice directed the course of his life. He was a tender and affectionate husband, an indulgent and prudent father, a sincere and steady friend. His disconsolate relict in testimony of her gratitude

and affection caused this monument to be erected at her sole expense. He died the 17th of July 1788 in the 52nd year of his age. Also the body of Mary Anne Snow second daughter of the above who departed this life the 18th July 1779 aged 13 years.

Clonmel Gazette, Mon. 21 July 1788. Last Wednesday died at his house in King Street, Sydenham Snow Esq.

282. **SNOW:** Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant Colonel William Snow, late of her majesty's 65th Regiment who departed this life the 24th of April 1857 in the 62nd year of his age. This tablet is erected by his widow (tablet inside church).

Wat. News, 1 May 1857, p.3, c.6. At his residence Rocklands, County Kilkenny, Colonel Snow, for many years on the directory of the Waterford and Limerick Railway.

283. **SNOW:** Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth Snow alias Wyse who departed this life June 4th (or 7th) 1798 aged 28 years.

284. **SNOW:** Here lyeth the body of Mrs Elizabeth Snow otherwise Carew, wife of Sydenham Snow of Snowhaven in the County of Kilkenny Esquire who departed this life ye 4th day of October 1716 aged 62 years. And also the body of the said Sydenham Snow of Snowhaven Esquire who departed this life the 9 day of February 1757 aged 73.

285. **SNOW:** Here resteth the mortal remains of Lieutenant Colonel William Snow, late of her majesty's 65th Regiment, who departed this life 24th of April 1857 in the 62 year of his age.

286. **SNOW:** Sacred to the memory of Penelope Snow otherwise Parker, wife of John Snow Esq. She departed this life universally regretted the fourteenth day of March 1829 aged 33 years. She was a friend to the poor and an advocate for the distressed. May God reward her. Amen.

287. **SNOW:** Sacred to the memory of John Snow Esquire of Larkfield Co. Kilkenny, late mayor of the City of Waterford, and upwards of twenty years one of his majesty's Justices of the Peace for the above named County. He departed this life on the 22nd day of November 1826 aged 59 years.

Wat. Mirror, Sat. 25 Nov. 1826, p.3, c.4. Wednesday morning at his seat Larkfield County Kilkenny, John Snow Esq., Alderman and late Mayor of this city, and a justice of the peace for the County Kilkenny.

SPARROW: See Weekes.

288. **SPENCER:** In memory of Thomas Collier Spencer J.P. born at Ticknall, Derbyshire, October 11 1817, died at Tower Hill, Waterford, July 22 1877.

Wat. News, Fri. 27 July 1877, p.2, c.5. On the 22nd at the residence of his son Tower Hill, Waterford, after a protracted illness, T.C. Spencer Esq., J.P. aged 59 years.

SPENCER: See Stephens.

- 289. STEPHENS:** (Marble tablet inside church). Sacred to the memory of Thomas William Stephens who died at his residence Killaspy House July 13th 1875 aged 36 years. Beloved and deeply lamented by all who knew him. This monument is erected by his widow Harriette Stephens. Also Henry Spencer infant son of the above died May 29th 1873.

Wat. News, Fri. 16 July 1875 p.2, c.6. July 13th at Kilaspey House, County Kilkenny, after a long illness aged 36, Thomas William Stephens Esq., merchant, second son of Abraham Stephens Esq. J.P.

Wat. News, Fri. 6 June 1873, p.2, c.6. May 31st at Kilaspey House, the infant of Thomas W. Stephens Esq., aged three months.

- 290. STRANGMAN:** In loving memory of Joseph Strangman who died May 2nd 1895 aged 65. Also of his beloved wife Caroline Ivie Strangman who died August 16th 1923 aged 74.

STRANGMAN: See Lloyd.

STUART: See Doolittle.

- 291. STUBBS:** In loving memory of Kathleen Mary Stubbs, wife of John Stubbs of Belle Lake House, Indian Civil Service, and daughter of Sir Edward and Lady Garraway, who died 21st June 1981 aged 66 years.

- 292. SULLIVAN:** In memory of William Sullivan who departed this life June 7th 1871 aged 58 years. Also his sons George and Henry who died young.

Wat. News, 9 June 1871, p.2, c.6. June 7th at his residence Merchants Quay, Mr William Sullivan, pump and block maker aged 58 years.

- 293. SUTHERLAND:** Erected to the memory of William Sutherland, a native of Wick but a citizen of Waterford, who died the 10th of October 1857 aged 53 years. Also his daughter Charlotte who died July 26th 1860 aged 11 years. Also Anne wife of the above named William Sutherland who died on the 3rd July 1879 aged 60 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 17 Oct. 1857, p.3, c.1. Mr Sutherland, a respectable fish dealer of this city and a native of Scotland, has disappeared from his residence since Saturday night last. Strong fears are entertained that the unfortunate man by some accident or other met with a watery grave.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 24 Oct. 1857, p.3, c.2. The body of Mr Sutherland who has been missing for the past fortnight was found floating in the river opposite the Quay on Thursday. He leaves a widow and three children to mourn his untimely end.

SUTTON: See Rogers.

- 294. TANDY:** Here lieth the body of Mary Ann Tandy otherwise Morris, wife of Charles Samuel Tandy of Sion Lodge in this parish, who departed this life the 25th day of May 1841 aged 52 years. Also of the above named Charles Samuel Tandy who departed this life on the 7th day of August 1850 aged 63 years. Also of William Morris Tandy of Sion Lodge the second son of Charles Samuel

Tandy and Mary Ann his wife who departed this life on the 23rd day of July 1856 aged 34 years. Also Charles Henry Tandy Esquire A.C. who died on 17 August 1882 aged 62 years. Elizabeth M. Tandy wife of Charles H. Tandy died 1st January 1893 aged 75 years.

Wat. Mirror, 26 May 1841, p.3, c.3. Yesterday morning at Sion Lodge in the Northern Liberties of Waterford, of a lingering illness, Mary Anne wife of Charles Samuel Tandy Esq.

Wat. Chronicle, Wed. 7 Aug. 1850 p.3, c.5. This morning at his residence Sion Hill, Charles S. Tandy Esq., solicitor.

Wat. News, Fri. 25 July 1856, p.2, c.4. On Wednesday an inquest was held on the body of William Tandy Esq., solicitor, who dropt dead while entering a house in William Street, about 11 o'clock the same morning. On the previous day Mr Tandy transacted his business at the assises in Kilkenny. A verdict of died from the visitation of God returned.

Wat. News, Fri. 18 Aug. 1882, p.2, c.6. August 17th at Tramore, where he had been staying in the hope of restoring his health, Charles Tandy Esq., Q.C., member of the Leinster Bar.

295. TANNER: Sacred to the memory of Mary, wife of Edward Tanner Esquire of H.M. Customs Waterford (late of the city of Rochester, Kent, England), departed this life March 27th 1845 aged 56 years.

296. THOMAS: Sacred to the memory of captain Robert Thomas who was born in North Wales, but for many years sailed out of and commanded several ships from the Port of Waterford. He departed this life on the 12th day of February 1837 aged 66 years. Their daughter Sheila Gwendoline Thomas 6.12.1912 - 27.12.1978. And her loving husband Harold Davey Thomas 29.7.1912 - 24.6.1989.

Wat. Mirror, 15 Feb. 1837, p.3, c.4. On Sunday evening, at his lodgings on the Quay, of the prevailing epidemic, Robert Thomas Esq., Master Mariner.

297. TIERNEY: The burial place of Patrick Tierney of the city of Waterford. Here lieth the remains of his daughter Martha who died the 2nd of May 1821 aged 10 1/2 years. Also the body of the above Patrick Tierney who departed this life October 7th 1832 aged 70 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Tues. 9 Oct. 1832, p.3, c.1. On Sunday evening at his house in Thomas Street, Patrick Tierney Esq.

298. TIMMINS: Sacred to the memory of John Timmins who departed this life June 6th 1821 aged 76 years.

Wat. Mirror, Wed. 6 June 1821, p.2, c.3. Yesterday in Great Bridge Street, at an advanced age, Mr John Timmins.

299. TIMPSON: Here lies the body of Robert Timpson Esquire, late a captain in his majesty's 22nd Regiment of Foot, who departed this life on the 25th of March 1793 in the 63rd year of his age.

Wat. Herald, Tues. 26 Mar. 1793. Yesterday evening in the 63rd year of his age, Robert Timpson Esq., late Captain in his Majesty's 22nd Regiment of Foot.

TIMPSON: See Hincks.

300. TIVY: Here lie the remains of Louisa daughter of the late John L. Tivy of Cork Esquire and Mary his wife who departed this life May 8th 1846 aged 17 years. Also Mary Pope eldest daughter of the above died December the 2nd 1848 aged 30 years.

301. TIVY: Here lie the remains of Sarah Laurence Tivy daughter of the late John L. Tivy and of Mary his wife who departed this life 4th day of April 1853 aged 29 years. Here lieth the remains of Mary wife of the late John Laurence Tivy who died February 5th 1872 aged 73 years. Also in memory of John Laurence Tivy her husband who died at Valpariso, Chili, in the year 1830 and their sons Peter John who died at Cork September 12th 1837 aged 20 years and Alexander Pope who died at Copiapo, Chili, September 12th 1868 aged 48 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 16 Sept. 1837, p.3, c.3. On the 12th at the residence of his grandfather at Richmond Hill, Peter Tivy junior of Cork. Aged 20 years.

TOTTENHAM: See Browne.

302. TRECY: Here lies the body of John Treacy who parted this life May the 29th 1755 aged 56 years. Also ye body of Laurence Treacy who parted this life ye 25th July 1763 aged 26 years.

TRECY: See Coghlan.

TULLOH: See Morris.

303. VALLANCE: Sacred to the memory of Mary Vallance of Newtown, Waterford, who died unmarried on the 11 of May 1854 at the advanced age of 80 years.

VEACOCK: See Gaven.

VIGORS: See Granger.

304. WADDELL: The family burial place of Robert Waddell.

305. WADDELL: In fond memory of Robert Waddell a native of Lanarkshire, Scotland who departed this life August 24th 1866 aged 65 years. This stone is erected by his affectionate widow Sarah Waddell. Also their eldest daughter Sarah died November 20th 1869 aged 17 years. Also Sarah wife of the above Robert Waddell entered into rest May 23rd 1899 aged 81 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 31 Aug. 1866, p.2, c.4. On the morning of the 25th at 121 Quay, Mr Robert Waddell.

Wat. News, Fri. 26 Nov. 1868, p.2, c.5. On Sunday morning, the 20th at 121 The Quay, aged 17, Sarah eldest daughter of the late Robert Waddell.

Wat. News, 26 May 1899, p.7, c.4. On Tuesday at Catherine Street, Waterford, Mrs Sarah Waddell aged 81.

306. **WALLACE:** Emily Wallace daughter of the late William B. Wallace Esquire of Dublin slept in Jesus on the 28th April 1849 on the 16 August 1851 her niece Harriett daughter of captain L. Dobbs.

307. **WALSH:** Here lies the body of Michael Walsh who departed this life May the 20th 1802 aged 38 years. Also his son Edmond aged 11 years.

WALSH: See Cannon.

WALSH: See Connery.

308. **WARING:** Sacred to the memory of Sarah Jane Waring, the beloved wife of John Waring Esquire of The Abbey House, who died October 31st 1867 aged 58 years. Also John Waring Esquire her husband born 1795 died 1887.

Wat. News, 1 Nov. 1867, p.2, c.6. October 31st, at Abbey House Waterford, after a long illness, Sarah Jane wife of John Waring Esq., aged 59.

Wat. News, 28 Jan. 1887, p.2, c.4. January 25th at his residence Dublin (John Waring married Mary Lee of Dublin when he was 23. He married Sarah Jane Green in 1842. See *Wat. News*, 2 February 1940 'The Warings of Springfield' by Matthew Butler).

309. **WEBB:** To the memory of Mr Thomas Webb who departed this life May the 3rd 1810 aged 37 years.

Wat. Mirror, 5 May 1810, p.3, c.3. On Thursday evening last on the Quay, Mr Thomas Webb, grocer.

310. **WEEKES:** William Weekes died at Ballymountain February 11th 1862 aged 66 years and his son Edward Sutton Weekes who died April 6th 1875 aged 54 years. Also Richard Weekes Sparrow died June 6 1866 aged 34 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 14 Feb. 1862, p.2, c.4. At his residence Ballymountain House, County Kilkenny, on Tuesday morning 11th February, after a short illness, William Weekes Esq., aged 66 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 9 Apr. 1875, p.2, c.5. On the 6th April at his residence Ballymountain, Edward Sutton Weekes Esq., aged 55 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 8 June 1866, p.2, c.5. On the 2nd at his residence Barronstrand Street of decline, Richard Weekes Sparrow, eldest son of Robert Sparrow Esq., of Wexford. Aged 34 years, after a long illness. The brethren of the 32 Royal Shamrock Masonic Lodge of which he was a brother marched in procession to the Abbey graveyard, where the interment took place.

WELSH: See Forhan.

311. **WHITE:** (Small brass plate near altar). To the glory of God and in loving memory of Norah Helen White who died in Algeria on March 24th 1948.

Wat. News, 2 Apr. 1948, p.1, c.1. March 24th 1948 at Blida, Algeria, North Africa of Mrs Edgar White late of Gortmore, Newtown, Waterford. The deceased left the city for health reasons, to spend the rest of spring with her brother Capt. Cherry, El Thampai, Algiers. A member of the Cherry family, New Ross, brewers. She was Hon. Secretary of the committee of the Burchall home in the city.

312. **WHITE:** (Small brass plate on pulpit). To the glory of God and in loving memory of John Newsom White and of Edgar White. This pulpit was erected in 1930.

313. **WHITE:** (Tablet inside church). In memory of Edgar White elder son of John Newsom White of Rocklands. Born 13th March 1878, died 9th March 1919.

Evening News, 10 Mar. 1919, p.3, c.2. March 9th at his residence Gortmore, Waterford, Edgar elder and only surviving son of the late John N. White aged 41 years.

314. **WHITE:** (Tablet inside church). In loving memory of Gerard White younger son of John Newsom White of Rocklands. Born 30th July 1879, died 2nd September 1914.

Wat News, 4 Sept. 1914, p.1, c.1. On September 2nd in a private nursing home in Dublin of Mr Gerard White, second son of Mr John N. White J.P. Rocklands.

315. **WHITE:** (Tablet inside church). In memory of John Newsom White of Rocklands, died 10th July 1916 in his 73rd year.

Munster Express, Sat. 15 July 1916, p.4, c.2. The death occurred early on Monday last in his 73rd year of Mr John Newsom White at his residence Rocklands, Ferrybank, Waterford. He was the younger son of the late Thomas Robinson White of Messrs White Brothers and Company, corn merchants. Shortly after the death of his elder brother Mr Samuel White in 1889, the firm was amalgamated with R. and H. Hall Ltd., when Mr White became one of the directors of this firm. Mr White was also connected officially with other undertakings such as the Waterford Steamship Co., Limerick Steamship Co., Graves Ltd., Waterford and Limerick Railway, Tramore Railway, W.F. Peare Ltd. A trustee of the Waterford Savings Bank, and was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and of the Harbour Board. He was a member of Waterford Corporation, and high sheriff for the county, and a magistrate for the county and city. He was for some years president of the Waterford Archaeological Society. Mr White was twice married, first to Miss Horne an English lady, who died on December 6th 1890, and by whom he had four daughters, two of whom are married, and two sons Mr Edgar White and Mr Gerald White. He married secondly in 1909 to Miss Russell.

316. **WHITE:** In memory of Edgar White of Gortmore, Waterford, born March 13th 1878 died March 9th 1919. Also of his wife Norah Helen White who died in Algiers on Mar. 24th 1948.

317. **WHITNEY:** Major B. Whitney, late of her majesty's 14th Regiment of Foot died 15th December 1861.

Wat. Chronicle, Fri. 20 Dec. 1861, p.3, c.6. On the 14th at his residence William Street, in the 74th year of his age, Major Whitney.

318. **WILLIAMS:** In memory of Eliza the beloved wife of Josiah Williams, River View, died 6th January 1855 aged 50 years. (Tablet inside Church).

Wat. News, Fri. 12 Jan. 1855, on Saturday 6th at Riverview, after a tedious illness, Eliza wife of Josiah Williams Esq.

319. **WILLIAMS:** The burying place of the family of Josiah Williams of Riverview in this parish. In this vault are deposited the remains of Eliza, beloved wife of

Josiah Williams, died 6th January 1855 aged 50 years. Also several of their children namely John, died 31st January 1831 aged 2 years. Mary Amelia died 27 August 1832 aged 1 month. Alexander George died 28th December 1833 aged 4 months. Emily Caroline died 28th March 1838 aged 11 months. Frederick died 12th April 1841 aged 3 years. Louisa Mathilda died 10 June 1841 aged 1 year. Josiah Coleman died 1st May 1853 aged 23 years. Victor Albert died 15th August 1854 aged 11 years. Martha died 8th August 1861 aged 33 years. Also the above Josiah Williams died 22nd of February 1863 aged 67 years. Also Richard Pope Williams, eldest son of Josiah Williams, aged 41 years died 23rd January 1868. Erected 1841.

Wat. News, 6 May 1853, p.3, c.6. On Sunday May 1st after a tedious illness aged 23, Josiah Coleman Williams Esq., second son of Josiah Williams Esq., Riverview near the city.

Wat. News, 9 Aug. 1861, p.2, c.4. At Riverview on Thursday 8th, Mārtha, eldest daughter of Josiah Williams.

Wat. News, 27 Feb. 1863, p.4, c.1. Died at his residence, Riverview near Waterford, on Sunday the 22nd, Josiah Williams Esq., J.P., ship and insurance agent. From the commencement of steam navigation at this port, he was one of the principal directors of the Waterford Steam Ship Company, in the office of Manager, which he held up to a very recent period. Previous to the passing of the Reform Act, he filled the office of sheriff of the city, and was an active member of the old Corporation, the doors of which he first succeeded in throwing open by moving and carrying the admission of the press into its deliberations. He was also a member of the Chamber of Commerce and the Harbour Board. He was well known in connection with the shipping interest of our port, discharging the duties faithfully as consul for the Kingdom of Belgium, vice-consul for the Ottoman Empire, the Kingdom of Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Prussia, Sardinia, Uruguay, Honduras and Portugal; also consular agent for Imperial Royal Austria, the United States of America, agent for Lloyds, London, Lloyds, Trieste, Liverpool and Glasgow underwriters etc.

Wat. News, 24 Jan. 1868, p.2, c.3. Yesterday morning at his residence, Rockshire, aged 42 years, Richard Pope Williams Esq., M.D., eldest son of the late Josiah Williams Esq. Dr Williams held the appointment of Medical Officer of the Waterford Dispensary. On the death of his father he took over his posts of consul and vice consul.

- 320. WILSON:** Sacred to the memory of Matilda Wilson who exchanged this life for a happy immortality on the 13th day of May 1848. Also to her brother Thomas Wilson who departed this life on the 5th day of January 1874. And of John Wilson, brother of the above, who entered into rest on the 11th day of June 1901. And Jane Sarah Adams their sister who died on the 15th of Sept. 1905. James Bond Head McCormick, brother-in-law of the above, died on the 5th day of July 1906. And Charlotte McCormick his wife who entered into rest on the 22nd October 1910.

Wat. News, 9 Jan. 1874, p.3, c.7. The death took place on Monday in London of Mr Thomas Wilson Esq., J.P., wine merchant, Parade Quay. As a magistrate, as high Sheriff, and then mayor; as a grand juror, a member of the boards of superintendence and guardians, and of the city council; a governor of Fannings and of the lunatic asylum - in all those relations, involving impartiality, attention and intelligence, Mr Wilson was remarkable for a genuine display of all those estimable qualities which go to form a useful citizen in life.

Wat. News, 14 June 1901, p.2, c.1. The death took place on Tuesday at his residence Spring Hill, Tramore, of Mr John Wilson J.P. aged 72 years. The deceased was a prominent wine merchant in the city, and on his retirement from business was succeeded by Messrs Bassett and Meredith of Parade Quay. On Tuesday the magistrates at Tramore petty sessions adjourned their business as a mark of respect to their deceased colleague. It is said that Mr Wilson died the possessor of much wealth, which a long life of commercial integrity had enabled him to amass.

321. **WINDER:** In memory of George Walter Winder died August 3rd 1952. Also his brother William George (Fred) Winder died October 31st 1958. Caroline Winder wife of George died 3rd April 1982.

Wat. News, 8 Aug. 1952, p.3, c.3. The death took place on Sunday at 8 Ard Mhuire, Ferrybank of Mr George Walter Winder, a native of Limerick. The deceased started his career with the railway 45 years ago. In 1924 he was transferred to Waterford and later became supervisor of the Loco Department, which he held up to his death. He is survived by his widow Mrs Caroline Winder and by Messrs John and Noel Winder (sons) Misses Muriel and Audrey Winder (daughters) Messrs Frank Winder (Galway) Frederick Winder (William Street, Waterford) and James Winder (Limerick) brothers, and by Miss Frances Winder (Limerick) sister.

322. **WOODS:** Sacred to the memory of Mr Samuel Woods late of the city of Waterford died the 18th day of October 1859 aged 59 years.

WYSE: See Snow.

[Concluded]

OBITUARIES

Lisa Gallagher

THE death occurred suddenly on 17 December 1995, a month short of her 82nd birthday, of Mrs. Lisa Gallagher, 17 William Street and formerly 12 Parnell Street, Waterford. She was a member for many years of this Society, serving ably on the committee since 1977, was Vice-Chairman in the period 1982-1992, and was still a committee member at her death. She had in her possession a complete set of the *Decies* journal from the initial pilot issue of January 1976. She always had a valuable contribution to make to the running of the Society which was one of her longstanding interests. She was a wise counsellor on any topic on which her advice was asked, a loyal friend and a discreet confidant.



Lisa was a member of Waterford Music Club since its foundation in 1942 by the late W. F. (Willie) Watt. She served as the highly efficient secretary of the Club for 21 years to 1983, was Vice-Chairman from 1983 to 1991, and Chairman until her death. She was a devotee of music and had kept all the programmes of the many performances she had attended, be it the Berlin Philharmonic under Furtwangler in Wiesbaden in 1949, the visiting Symphony Orchestras and Oratorio performances in Dublin, Cork and Waterford, and almost the complete programme record of her beloved Music Club since 1942.

Another of her interests was the Visual Arts. She was among a small group of citizens of Waterford in the late 1930s who came together to discuss the possibility of establishing an Art Gallery for the City. Funds were raised by appeals to friends and neighbours and by door-to-door canvassing. Five paintings were thus purchased to form the nucleus of the collection. Some Irish artists, hearing of the Committee's endeavour, donated a number of works, and Waterford Corporation then provided a room at the Carnegie Library in Lady Lane and on 14 July 1939, the Waterford Art Museum was opened by well-known artist Paul Henry. The Corporation then made an annual grant to the now named Waterford Art Advisory Committee, enabling the purchase, especially under the Arts Council 50% Grants Scheme, of many important works of art by early 20th century and by contemporary artists. Waterford

Corporation incidentally was the first municipal body to make such a grant to the Arts in Ireland. The collection, now over 200 pieces, is among the finest in the country. Lisa Gallagher was a member of that Committee since its formation, and was Chairman from 1981, taking over from her husband Roland at his death.

Born Elizabeth Gerhardt in Berlin on 24 January 1914, she was daughter of Alfred Gerhardt, an electrical engineer with Siemens and later AEG, and Margarete Hoffmann, who was a trained artist in graphics and etching. Both parents were descended from Pastor Paul Gerhardt, a famous hymn writer of the 17th century. During and after the Great War there was much privation and illness in Germany and many of her relations succumbed to the great influenza epidemic which swept Europe. Her father got into bad health and the family removed to the house at Warnemunde on the Baltic which he had built in 1910. He worked for AEG as a consultant until his early death in 1923. Her mother taught art at a local girls' school to supplement her small AEG pension.

Lisa graduated from Rostock Physical Education Academy in February 1932. She came to Newtown School, Waterford in September of that year to study for the University of Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency in English which she passed in all subjects in July 1933. Meanwhile, she was Sports Mistress at Newtown School, and during her time here she met Roland Gallagher, then a practising surgeon dentist in Waterford. After further study in Berlin, she returned to Ireland in 1935 to marry Roland in Cork.

The Germany that Lisa left was now coming under the domination of the Nazi Party and her only regrets were leaving her mother and sister Eva in Warnemunde. She was born into the Lutheran Evangelical tradition but became a Roman Catholic on her marriage, having taken instruction in Germany before her return to Ireland. She was deeply attached to the Mass and especially to the Liturgy of Eastertide and indeed was at daily Mass for most of her later life. She became an Irish citizen in 1936.

After the war the Communist regime came into power in East Germany and her family papers and documents were confiscated, always a matter of regret for Lisa. She visited her mother and sister on a number of occasions, always in great difficulties with visas and travel arrangements into a Communist country. She was home with her mother shortly before her death in 1956 and also on the death of her sister Dr. Eva Gerhardt in 1978.

Intensely proud of her adopted city and country, Lisa Gallagher realised her ambitions for her family, especially for her grandchildren who were her special concern. The recent establishment at City Hall of the Municipal Art Collection was a particular joy to her; the flourishing Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society and Waterford Music Club are enduring monuments to her active participation in these bodies. At the recent inauguration concert for the Music Club's new Steinway piano, Lisa's great contribution to the Club was acknowledged but regrettably she had died before hearing it played.

To her sons, Gerhardt and Leonard and their families, sincere sympathy is extended.

Pat Grogan

Noel Cassidy

THE sudden death in October 1995 of Noel Cassidy came as a great shock to his many friends in the Society. During the 1970s and 1980s Noel had been at the core of the Society's activities, and his energetic and genial personality made it a pleasure to take part in lectures and outings when one knew he would be there.

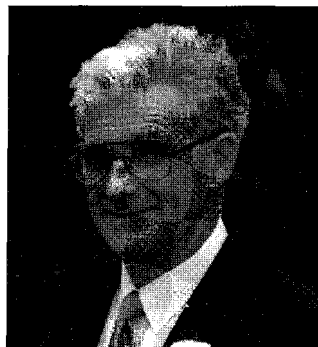
I first met Noel in 1977 when I was invited down from Dublin to give a lecture on the French Church. Noel took charge of my slides and made sure they ran through without hitch; he stuck my posters neatly to the walls and made sure they did not fall down; above all, his eager helpfulness put me at my ease and helped to make the evening a success. It was the start of a great friendship, and in the years to come I was to see him do the same for many another speaker. Through Noel I met other members of the Society such as Des Dowman, Tom Nolan and Dan Dowling, and in the years that followed we spent many happy days during school holidays exploring the countryside round Waterford. Noel was a marvellous companion – good-humoured and with an inexhaustible supply of anecdotes; sincere and forthright in his opinions; generous with his time and his patience.

Noel's contribution to the Society was enormous. He was one of the creators of *Decies*, and during the early years he and Des Cowman produced issue after issue of what soon became an impressive publication. His ingenuity and resourcefulness solved many a technical problem. Articles were solicited, edited, typed onto Gestetner sheets and printed off; then the sheets would be sorted by hand and bound with staples. The work of collation required the co-operation of the whole committee and other recruits, a tedious process enlivened by Noel's enthusiasm and which is recalled with nostalgia by the participants. The result was a publication which, though it lacked the professionalism of longer-standing journals, was more than justified by the quality of its contents.

Noel served on the Society's committee for many years. He was Vice-Chairman in 1980 and 1981, and Chairman in 1982 and 1983. During his term as Chairman the Society played an active part in the campaigns to save the Holy Ghost Hospital and St Martin's Castle, in both of which Noel provided able and determined leadership.

A native of county Roscommon, Noel taught for many years at the Central Technical Institute in Waterford. He earned enormous respect and affection from his colleagues and his students, as was shown by the huge attendance at his funeral.

Noel's interest in local history was not confined to the locality. His involvement in the Old Waterford Society led to his joining the Group for the Study of Irish



Historic Settlement when that group held its conference in Waterford in 1979. He loved to travel to weekend outings in all parts of the country from Nenagh to Ballyvaughan, from Dundrum (Co. Down) to the Hook, from Drogheda to Birr. Writing in the GSIHS Newsletter, Niamh Crowley aptly said of him:

Noel had all the wonder and enthusiasm for local history of the true 'amateur'. He just loved to spend all the spare time he had available on local history pursuits, whether reading or attending lectures indoors or exploring and revisiting historical sites outdoors. Outdoors was where he loved to be; whether walking in the mountains; exploring his native Roscommon; revisiting his own particular favourite sites, such as Mothel; discovering places he had read and heard about; or simply walking the dog. . . . He had retired from teaching and was enjoying his retirement greatly, providing him, as it did, with opportunities to read and pursue further his local historical interests.

Although Noel had participated less in the Society's activities during recent years, we are very much the poorer for his passing. To his wife Eileen and their family we extend our warmest sympathy.

Julian Walton

Membership W.A.H.S. Paid Up to June 15th, 1996

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, IN 46801-2270,
U.S.A.

Bayle, Mr. N., 48 John Street, Waterford.

Bourke, Mr. M., 17 Brook Lodge, Dublin 3.

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

Broderick, Mr. & Mrs. E., 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Avenue, Waterford.

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

Buckley, Mr. E., c/o A.I.B., Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Burns, Mrs. G.W., 97 Park Road, Lough Borough, 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.

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

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

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

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

Condon, Rev. Fr. E., P.P., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Condon, Mr. S., 52 The Maltings, Ballinakill.

Cooney, Mr. T., 145 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.

Cowman, Mr. D., Knockane, Anestown, Co. Waterford.

Coulter, Mr. & Mrs. D., "Selby", 46 Lower Newtown, Waterford.

Cranley, Mrs. J., 6 Parnell Street, Waterford.

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

Crowley, Mrs. M., "Fernhill", Ballyvooney, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.

Curham, Mr. L., 19 The Folly, Waterford.

Curran, Mr. C., 20 Friarsland Road, Goatstown, Co. Dublin.

Deady, M/s. P., 29 Lower Grange, Waterford.
Devlin, Dr. P., Grantstown, Waterford.
De Paor, Mr. G., 72 Temple Road, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
Dillon, Mr. F., "Trespan", The Folly, Waterford.
Doolan, Miss B., 25 John's Hill, Waterford.
Duggan, Mrs. M., 13 Tirconnell Close, Comeragh Heights, Waterford.
Dunne, Mrs. B., Faithlegge, Co. 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, Mrs. B., 71 Newtown, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Farrell, Mrs. M., "Trade Winds", John's Hill, Waterford.
Fay, Miss E., 3 St. Margaret's Avenue, Waterford.
Fay, Mr. G., 43 Pinewood Drive, Hillview, Waterford.
Fewer, Mr. G., "Les Revenants", Corballymore, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Field, M/s. J., "Corluddy Cottage", Corluddy, Carrigeen, via Waterford.
Finney, Miss J., Apt. 24, Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.
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Flood, Mr. P., 58 Terenure Road West, Dublin 6W.
Flynn, Mr. N., "White Meadows", Bawnfune, Butlerstown, Co. Waterford.
Fraher, Mr. W., 10 Ringnasilloogue Avenue, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Freyne-Kearney, Mrs. O., Savagetown, Kill, Co. Waterford.
Frisby, Mr. M., Knockanna, Newtown, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Garbett, Mrs. R., Benvoy, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
Gorwill, Mrs. C., 81 Seaforth Road, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7M 1E1.
Gossip, Mrs. P., Ballinakill, Waterford.
Grace, Mr. L., 5 Mulberry Close, Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Grace, Miss S., "Maryville", Grange Park Avenue, Waterford.
Greenan, Mr. R.F., 57 Mountain Avenue, Westwood, NJ. 07675, U.S.A.
Griffith, Mr. C., Newrath, Waterford.
Grogan, Mrs. M., 10 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Grogan, Mr. P., 22 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Guerin, M/s M., 11 Rocksprings, Waterford.
Gunning, Mr. T., c/o A.I.B., 30 O'Connell Street, Waterford.

Hearne, Mrs. E., "Mossleigh", Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Hearne, Miss M., 12 Spring Gardens, Waterford.
Hearne, Mr. M., 6 Ballinakill Vale, Waterford.
Hennessy, Mr. C., 84 St. John's Park, Waterford.
Hennessy, Mr. C.A., Berkeley Court, Maypark, Waterford.
Hennessy, Mr. J., P.O. Box 58, Riddells Creek, Victoria, Australia.
Heritage Council, 4-5 Harcourt Road, Dublin 2.
Heylin, Mr. F., Duagh, Tramore Road, Waterford (Hon.).

Hodge, Mr. D., Ballynane, Kilcloone, Co. Meath.
Hodge, Mr. J., "Avonlea", Ursuline Road, Waterford (Hon.).
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WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL 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. Eugene Broderick, 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Ave., Waterford.

The Society's annual publication *Decies* is issued free to all members. Back numbers of issues 1-51 (1976-1995) may be obtained from Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre, Jenkin's Lane, Waterford. The following issues are available: Nos 9, 11, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51.

WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

LECTURE SEASON 1996/1997

Lectures will be held in the Committee Room of the City Hall, Waterford, commencing at 8.00pm.

1996

27 September: *Charles Smith – Historian*: (Illustrated) Willie Fraher.

25 October: *Waterford Steamship Company*: (Illustrated) Bill Irish.

22 November: *Waterford, Lismore, and the Irish colleges in Europe*:
Monsignor Michael Olden.

1997

24 January: *The Merchant Monk: Edmund Rice*: Jack O'Neill.

14 February: *Waterford Politics 1800-1845*: John M. Hearne.

7 March: *The Famine in Waterford: a view from above*: Des Cowman.

18 April: *Do Penance or Perish: The Irish Good Shepherd Magdalen Asylums*:
Dr. Frances Finnegan.

Other Dates to Note:

Annual Lunch Sunday 1 December 1996*

Annual General Meeting 25 April 1997*

**Separate notice will be sent to members.*

Membership of the Society is open to all. The subscription for 1996 is £10, payable to the Hon. Treasurer.

WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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