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EDITORIAL

Over the last decade or so, historians and archaeologists have increasingly taken an interest in the Internet as a venue for publication and as an avenue (or should that be highway?) for research. Until 1993, most computer-literate scholars used the Internet as a means of communication in the form of electronic mail or for exchanging digital texts and data using File Transfer Protocol (FTP). In that year a new form of a computer program known as a browser and called Mosaic was developed. Its appearance was followed a year later by another browser called Netscape Navigator. These browsers allowed for a new aspect of the internet to be used by a broader range of people than the physicists who had dominated its use since about 1990 or 1991. This new aspect of the Internet is, of course, the World Wide Web. Because of its ability to combine pictures with variably-formatted text as well as video footage and digitised audio tracks, the Web's growth as a medium of publication has soared phenomenally in the last five years. This growth, which to some extent follows a rise in the ownership of personal computers, has also been reflected in the increasing use of the Web by archaeologists and historians.

Historians have commented on the value of the Internet - and especially the Web - in making more widely accessible a range of primary documents that are rare, fragile to handle or were hard to reach (because they are stored in a foreign country) by digitising them either as pictures or as text files. Meanwhile, archaeologists have realised the value of the Web as a medium for low-cost publication of highly specialised reports accompanied by *full colour* photographs and drawings.¹ However, in the mid-1990s some historians expressed the view that 'extensive primary research in history [was] not yet possible' because on-line 'resources of genuine historical interest [were] few and far between'.² Furthermore, some of the documentary sources made available over the Internet could be found commonly duplicated 'in the appendices of survey textbooks or in supplemental readings collections' for university courses.³ In addition to this, both archaeologists and historians have expressed concern over the selection criteria of the Web publishers, and the reliability of the digital versions of the documents now available on the Web and how

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- 1 Sara Campion (1995) 'Archaeology and the Internet', in *The Field Archaeologist*, 24, pp. 11-19.
 - 2 Andrew McMichael, Michael O'Malley & Roy Rosenzweig (1995) 'Historians and the Web: a beginner's guide', in *Perspectives* [American Historical Association], December (available on the Internet at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/chnm/beginner.html>); Alex Gibson (1995) 'WWW and the Internet; new opportunities for historical dis-

article reviewing Web sites useful for studying the archaeology of the Great Irish Famine,⁶ many of the Web addresses mentioned had either changed, or the pages to which they had pointed, were deleted by their owners. Thus, the article's immediate value as a current Internet guide has been severely curtailed, though it does remain as a critical record of the existence of certain former Web sites.

Many of these criticisms are still valid towards the end of 1998, but it has now become commonplace for historians and archaeologists (amateur or professional) to publish on the Web. Most university departments have - at this state - long-established Web pages providing details of the courses they offer as well as course reading lists and information about departmental staff. Some departments also make available both primary and secondary source material for teaching purposes, and even publish papers written by their own students. Similarly, antiquarian societies, some of them professional but the bulk of them local, have established their own Web sites detailing their activities and publications. A comprehensive list of these can be found on Thaddeus Breen's Irish Archaeology Home Page (<http://www.xs4all.nl/~tbreen/ireland.html>). Bibliographies form another useful resource that suits Web publication because they can be continually updated to take account of new writing.⁷

On-line journals, whereby articles and reviews are published exclusively over the Internet, have also mushroomed in the late 1990s, though the concept has been around for some time. Most of these journals can be accessed for free but some of them may require readers to register their names for a password (though no charge is made for this). Examples of on-line journals include *HOST? History of Science and Technology*,⁸ *Essays in History*,⁹ *Internet Archaeology* (<http://intarch.ac.uk/>), *assemblage: the Sheffield Graduate Journal of Archaeology* (<http://www.shef.ac.uk/~assem/>) and *Chronicon* (<http://www.ucc.ie/ucc/chronicon/>), a publication of National University of Ireland, Cork.

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- 4 McMichael, O'Malley & Rosenzweig, 'Historians and the Web', McCarthy, 'The historian and electronic research', Sebastian Rahtz (1994) 'Ranter's corner - World Wide what?', in *Archaeological Computing Newsletter*, **40**, pp. 1-2
 - 5 Gibson, 'WWW and the Internet'; Rahtz, 'Ranter's corner - World Wide what?'.
 - 6 Greg Fewer (1997) 'The Great Irish Famine and the Web', in *Archaeological Computing Newsletter*, **47**, pp. 10-15.
 - 7 Greg Fewer (1997) 'Irish mining history and the World Wide Web: a survey of current resources', in *Mining History Society of Ireland Newsletter*, **5**, pp. 6-8 (p. 7). A longer version of this article appeared as 'Mining history, Ireland and the World Wide Web: a survey of current resources', in *Shropshire Caving and Mining Club Annual Journal*, **5**, 1997, pp. 8-15 (pp. 8-12).
 - 8 McCarthy, 'The historian and electronic research'.
 - 9 McMichael, O'Malley & Rosenzweig, 'Historians and the Web',

Of course, anyone with access to the Web can set up his or her own site and publish historical or archaeological material on it. In the United States, the popularity of American Civil War history has led many amateur enthusiasts to set up Web sites specialising of this subject.¹⁰ Closer to home, the Dungarvan Museum Society (<http://members.tripod.com/~dungarvan/>) has recently set up a complex site with a pleasing design and informative content, while a university student has put up a substantial site called the Rathgormack Home Page (available at <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Plains/5416/>) that includes a lot of material culled from the works of Canon Power (though without proper attribution) relating to the parishes of Rathgormack and Clonea.

Perhaps it is now time for the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society to set up its own Web site and maybe to consider the possibility of publishing *Decies* there as well.¹¹ Although *Decies* will probably one day be exclusively published on the Web, it might be worth considering publishing the journal in on-line and conventional printed formats simultaneously over the next few years. Members of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society with access to the Internet could be given the option of receiving the printed journal or a password to view the on-line version instead. Alternatively, back issues of the journal that have gone out of print could be made available free on the Web as a resource for researchers in Waterford history. This would allow a wide range of people to gain access to the out-of-print issues of *Decies* from the comfort of one's own home or school classroom, a matter of considerable significance when either location is in a distant part of Ireland or even in another country.

Decies has already come a long way from the mid-1970s when the earliest issues were typed out on a typewriter and reproduced with a spirit duplicator, but the possibility of adding video footage (of a Society outing or of old film stock), or even just colour photos to accompany articles, are features that would greatly add to an on-line version of the journal. Moreover, the entire text of each digitised issue of the journal would then become fully searchable using keywords in the Web browser's 'Find' facility and would also be fully indexed by an Internet search engine. Thus, the contents of *Decies* would be opened up to both a local and an international audience in a way that could not have been foreseen when the journal was first published. We now stand at the edge of a new digital frontier - shall we take the plunge?

Eugene Broderick has an MA in history from National University of Ireland Cork. He has written a number of articles for *Decies* and has also contributed to such books as *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850* (1995) and *A history of Waterford and its mayors from the 12th century to the 20th century* (1995).

Des Cowman Edited *Decies* I to XXV; Associate Editor of *Waterford: History and Society* (1993). Amongst his published works are *The Abandoned Mines of West Carbery* (1987) and *Perceptions and Promotions: Waterford Chamber of Commerce 1792-1992* (1993).

William Dalton, a native of Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny, is a priest of the diocese of Ossory. On completing his studies in Rome in theology and church law, he became a member of staff at the seminary in St Kieran's College, Kilkenny, for the following fourteen years. He served as Catholic curate in Ferrybank in 1993-6 and is currently parish priest of Dunnamaggin, Co. Kilkenny. He is author of a number of books and articles on church law and theology.

Greg Fewer is a freelance archaeologist and historian with interdisciplinary research interests in gender, the Great Irish Famine, space heritage conservation, the folklore of archaeological sites, and other diverse subjects! He graduated from National University of Ireland Cork with a BA (Hons) in archaeology and history in 1989 and an MA in history in 1993. He is also the editor of *Decies* to which he has frequently contributed.

A. S. R. Gittins received his BA from Durham University in 1974. After travel in East Asia, he began work as a field-archaeologist and has directed excavations in the United Kingdom, Norway and the Republic of Ireland. During the years 1986-88, he directed the excavation of St Peter's Church, the adjacent undercroft to the west of the graveyard of this church and the Viking Age defences which pre-dated the undercroft in the same location.

John M. Hearne teaches at St Paul's Community College. He has an MA in history from National University of Ireland, Cork, where he is currently researching for a Doctorate in history.

Pat MacCarthy is a native of Waterford. He was educated at Mount Sion and at National University of Ireland Dublin where he graduated with a PhD in chemistry, and subsequently with an MBA. He is employed in the pharmaceuticals industry and has a particular interest in history. He is also correspondence secretary of the Military History Society of Ireland and has previously contributed to *Decies*.

Donal Moore is the city archivist in Waterford Corporation.

Michael Moore is an archaeologist with the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, part of the National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage, Culture and the Gaelteacht. Amongst other things he has conducted an archaeological survey of Co Waterford which will be published as an archaeological inventory late in 1998 or early in 1999.

Ben Murtagh received a BA in archaeology and history from UCD in 1979 and an MA in archaeology in 1982.

Sr Assumpta O'Neill is a Presentation Sister and retired teacher. Her M.A. thesis on the *Diocese of Waterford 1096-1363* was serialised in *Decies* 43 (1990) to 49 (1994).

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DECIES 55

Articles are invited for *Decies* 55 which will be published in 1999.

The closing date for receipt of articles is 30 April 1999.

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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.

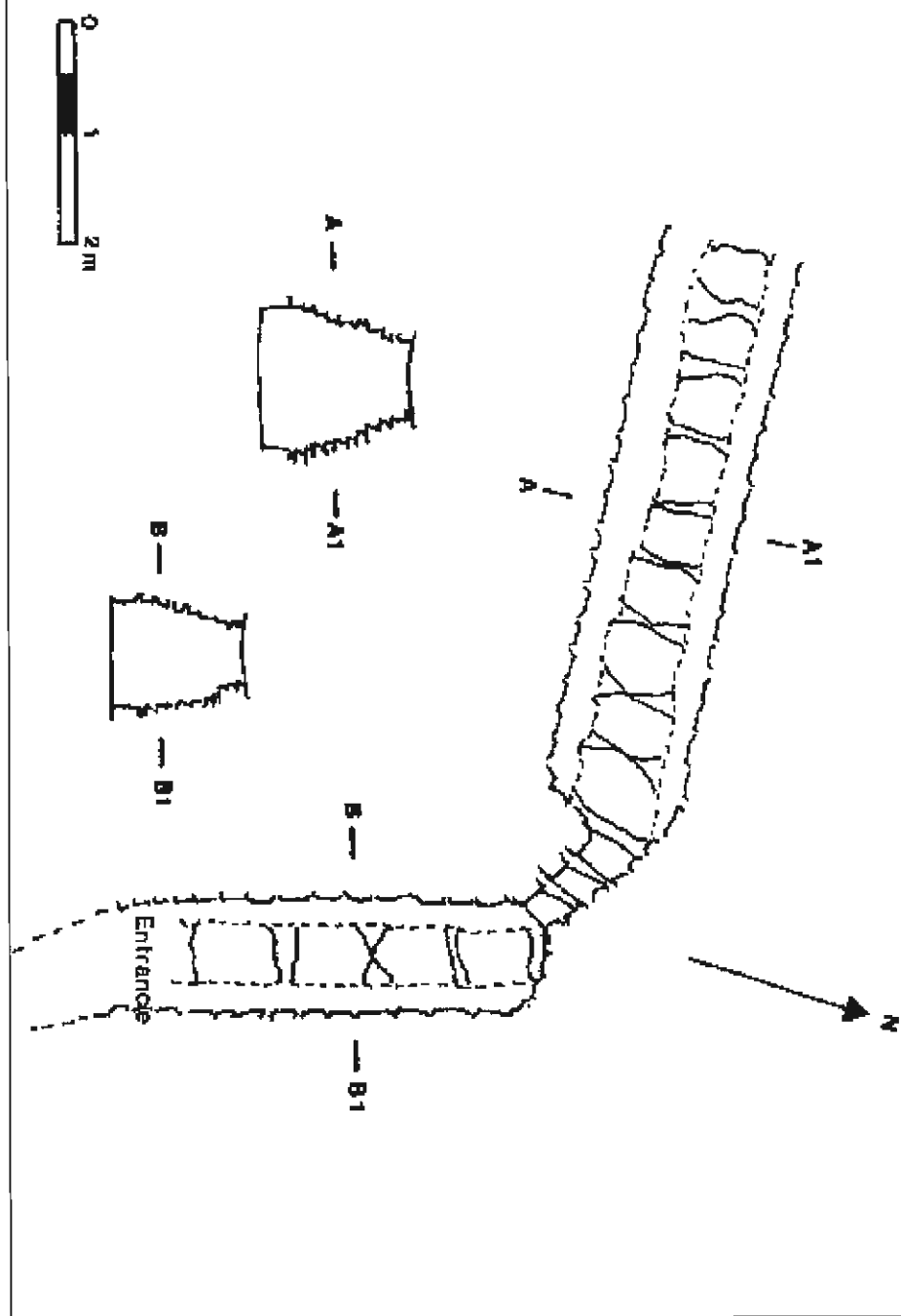


Fig 1. Sketch plan of the souterrain at Ballynagoul More.

Souterrain at Ballynagaul More, Ring, Co. Waterford

By Michael Moore

ON 4 June 1998, a workman preparing a site for two houses at Ballynagaul More, Ring, on Helvic Head, disturbed the roof of an underground chamber when a mechanical bucket lifted one of its lintels.¹ The County Council was informed and it ordered a temporary halt to the work. The Council then in turn, informed the National Monuments Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage, Culture and the Gaelteacht. I inspected the site the following day.

The souterrain was disturbed just at its entrance, and the opening was situated just north of the driveway for one of the houses. Once a record had been made, it could be closed by placing a stone over the opening, and the work could continue. The souterrain is in excellent condition. It has a ramp entrance which probably continued out another metre beyond the opening.

It consists of two passages, which are practically at right angles to one another, connected by the narrowest creep I have ever encountered. The local stone is a kind of shale which breaks into very small fragments, most of them about fist-sized. Both passages are constructed of these small stones, but those at the base of the walls are larger with dimensions of c. 0.3 m x 0.3 m. The stones of the inner passage are slightly larger than those of the outer passage.

The entrance passage is aligned north-north-west/south-south-east, is 1 m wide at the base and 1.2 m high. The walls batter in, and the passage is only 0.5 m wide at the top. The stones of the side walls are so small that the normal corbelling method of construction cannot have been used, and the weight of the lintels is the single factor which keeps the walls in place. The entrance passage is 3.45 m long and has four lintels. Some of the lintels are Old Red Sandstone, but at least one is of the local shale.

At the north end, there is a creep running north-west/south-east. It is 0.4 m wide, 0.5 m high and 0.95 m long. The side-walls are only a single course high with three stones on the south-west side and five on the north-east side, set up on their shorter axes. The creep is roofed with three lintels, but the central lintel is lower on the south-west side. This is not because the lintel has broken or slipped, but because the top of the side-stone at this point is lower than the rest of the side stones. This might be a deliberate feature, constricting the creep even further. It is very difficult to pass

inner passage just below the roof, with a ramp of fairly loose earth down to the floor level. The inner passage is oriented a little north of east-west and is at least 5.6 m long, 1.3 m wide at the base and 1.3 m high. Like the outer passage the walls batter in, and the width at the top is only 0.55 m. There are nine lintels of Old Red Sandstone or Old Red Sandstone conglomerate. They are 5-8 cm thick, and the widest one is 0.95 m wide. These stones must have been specially imported into the area for the specific purpose which they now serve, as the local stone cannot provide such large, thin slabs.

The souterrain is perfectly dry, but there is a little condensation on the walls of the inner passage. There is a hole close to the top of its north wall at the west end which lets in daylight. Only a single stone is missing, but there is also spoil blocking the end of this passage. The main road to Helvic Head curves around the north edge of the souterrain, just 2 m from this passage, and the road is about 2 m lower than ground level over the souterrain itself. Works connected with the building or maintenance of the road must be responsible for the damage to the inner passage.

The souterrain is situated on a north-facing slope, at a point just before the slope increases and becomes very steep down towards the sea to the north. This location, at the crest of a slope is typical siting for a ringfort, but there is no surface evidence of such a feature here now. Nor is there any record of such a monument, although circular enclosures, now removed, are recorded on the first edition of the OS map, dating from 1840, situated c. 200 m to the east, and about 400 m to the south-west.

There are about forty souterrains from Co. Waterford whose locations are known, and for which there is some form of record. About half of these are from within ringforts and, undoubtedly, many of the others might at one time have been within these circular enclosures. Souterrains could be used for storage as they maintain an even temperature, but it is more likely that they were places of refuge, since any pursuer would be placed at a distinct disadvantage. They date to the later part of the first millennium AD. A souterrain very like the Ballynagaul one, consisting of two passages connected by a creep was found at Ballyknock, near Youghal in 1983.²

2 C. Power, B. O'Donnabhain & M. O'Donnell (1984) 'A souterrain at Rhincrew, Co. Waterford', in *Decies*, 26, pp. 38-40.

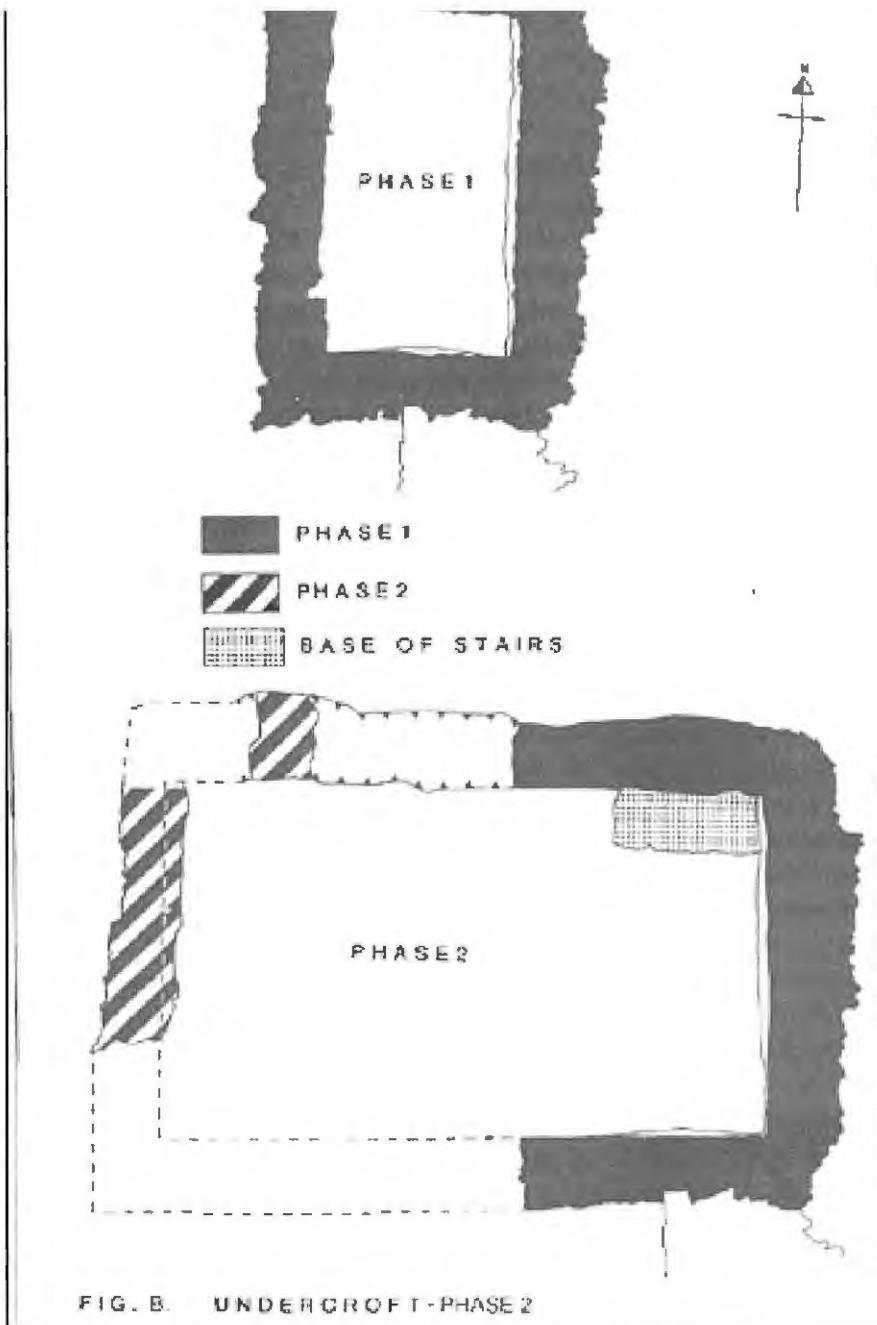
An alternative interpretation of a medieval undercroft excavated in Waterford

By A. S. R. Gittins

Introduction

In November 1997, the first major publication on Waterford's archaeology was launched in a limited edition entitled *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford, excavations 1986-1992*. In July 1998, as the director of the St Peter's church site, I received a complimentary copy of this work. Whilst the book contains valuable and scholarly contributions, my reading thus far has revealed the presence of serious errors in some of the excavation reports based on my own fieldwork. Since the above work will be widely consulted by scholars and, for the foreseeable future, it will be seen as the definitive work on Waterford's city centre excavations, I feel it would be a gross neglect of duty were I not to challenge the works I find to be in error. In this article, what I regard as a seriously flawed account is reconsidered and I now offer my own interpretation, based on my knowledge of the site which I excavated. The site in question is the undercroft coded PSS1 which is the subject of the first detailed report presented in Section 6(v): 'The stone undercrofts', by Orla Scully. The site was located to the west of St Peter's Church and the undercroft fronted onto Peter St near the corner of Bakehouse Lane.

Having excavated the complex of semi-basement structures collectively referred to as 'Undercroft PSS1' in 1988, I submitted a detailed stratigraphic report to Dúchas: The Heritage Service and to Waterford Corporation in 1994. For the benefit of readers who are not archaeologists, for any archaeological excavation in Ireland, the stratigraphic report is the primary account of an excavation. The report should be a detailed account of the layers and structures in the stratigraphic sequence and, in addition, it is normal (though not compulsory) for the author to offer such interpretations of the revealed features (soil layers, buildings, hearths, pits and so on), as he or she is able to formulate with regard to the observed and recorded facts. Needless to say, where interpretations of the features are made, they should be accompanied by the relevant evidence (both positive and negative). In this way, the reader can see how these conclusions were arrived at and decide whether or not they are valid. A copy of the stratigraphic report can be consulted at Waterford City Library (Gittins, 1994). Scholars who wish to delve yet further into the primary sources may apply to



Figures A-B. Phase 1-2 of undercroft

This is what Ms Scully has done on pp. 178-81 of the book. For the most part, her work is a straight-forward précis of the stratigraphic report but, in addition, she has elected to reinterpret the data. Perhaps, for reasons of conciseness, few of her interpretations are accompanied by details of supporting evidence but several of them - including her analysis of the all-important developmental sequence of the buildings - are demonstrably incorrect.

The development sequence

(Refer to Figures A-C and to Scully [1997: 178, fig. 6:129])

Ms Scully identifies three phases of development with the basement area expanding from north to south; i.e., from the street frontage towards the back of the burgage plot. In fact, there were four phases of building and the expansion was in the opposite direction.

The first basement-structure (phase I) was the small stone cellar (Fig. A) referred to by Ms Scully (1997: 179) as a cesspit; an assertion for which there is no evidence.

In phase II (see Fig. B), the west wall of the cellar was demolished and the adjacent walls extended westwards to produce a room about three times the size of the original.

In phase III (Ms Scully's phase I), the composite north wall was demolished and the basement was extended all the way to the street; nearly quadrupling the existing floor area. The new walls were much thicker than the earlier ones to the south, and to accommodate the extra thickness without any diminution in internal width, the side walls were staggered eastwards. At the same time, the demolished north wall of phase II was replaced by a timber sill and stud partition and an accompanying alignment of sill-beams ran north from this to the north wall (the northernmost stretch of this sill beam can be seen in Plate 2). The upright studs which were mortised into the latter would have provided medial support for the joists of the floor above.

In phase IV, the old south wall of the building was replaced by a massive wall containing a garderobe shaft (see Plate 4 and Scully [1997: fig 6:129, D-E, and fig. 6:130, D-E]) but there was no further expansion of the floor area after phase III.

That the major phase of expansion (phase III) consisted of an extension from south to north can be proven by reference to Scully (1997: fig. 6:129) and to Figure C. Consider the inner faces of the side walls of the northern bay. The clean, straight, and internally plastered inner faces (Scully, 1997: 178) ran unbroken and undisturbed across the line of the demolished transverse wall; the wall to the east continued more than half-way across the remains of the foundation and that to the west ran right across it, its outer face abutting the inner face of the west wall of the phase II structure. This proves that the demolished east/west wall pre-dated the northward-running walls.

If the expansion had been in the opposite (north-south) direction, the inner faces

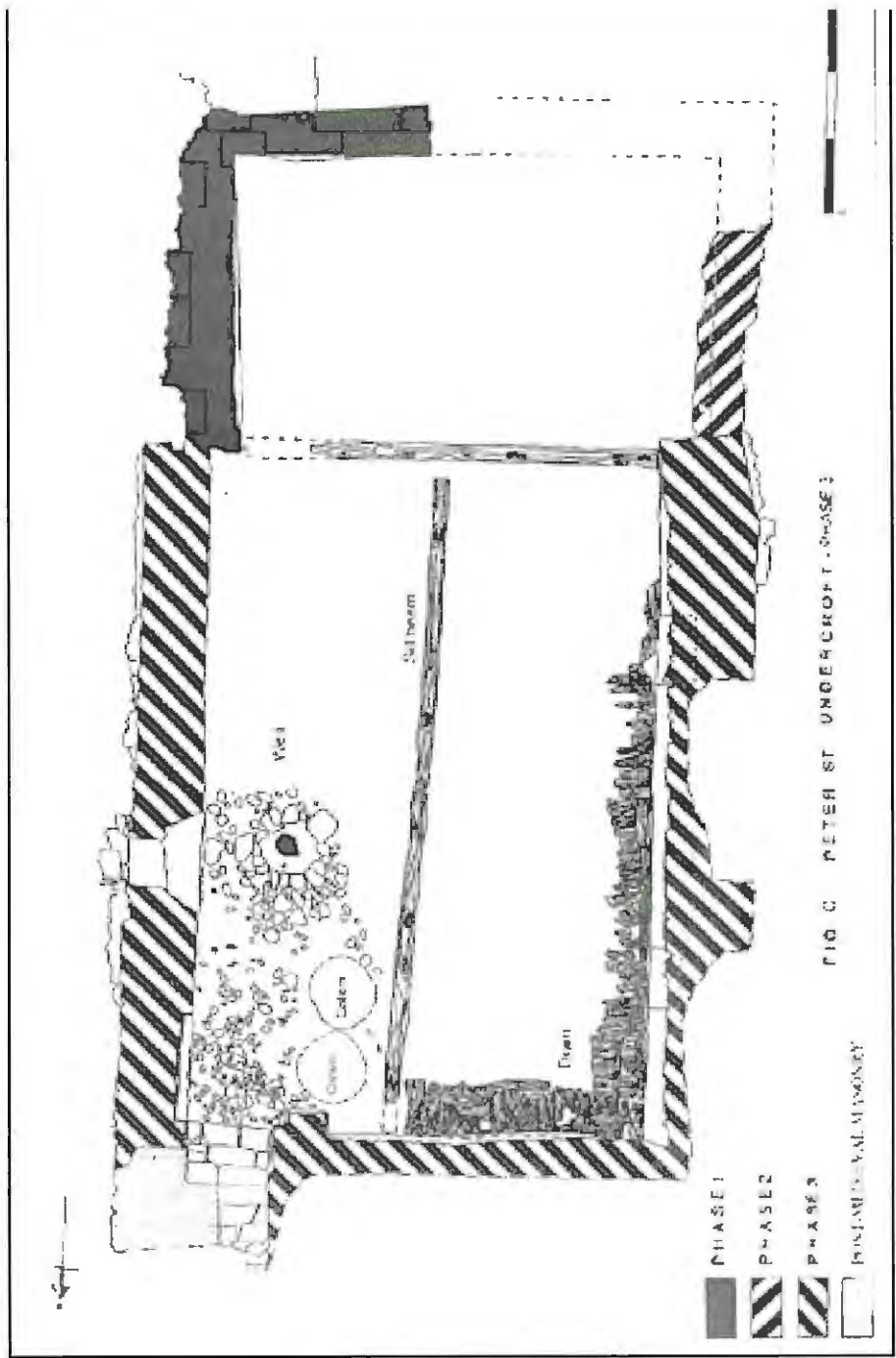


Fig. C. Phase 3 of undercroft

ing, the scar is clearly visible from point C to a point about 0.50 m south of it. Note also the vertical south end of the later (northerly) wall at point C compared to the ragged north end of the lower and earlier wall which it abutted.¹ The facts outlined above ought to be sufficient proof that the building was extended northwards, not southwards. For those as yet unconvinced, the same conclusion can be reached by following three alternative and independent lines of evidence.

Firstly, Ms Scully (1997: 180) describes how the sill-beam replacing the demolished wall between the northern and southern bays was overlain by the floor-deposits of the expanded building. This is true, but the corollary is that the northern bay had no hard floor until the wall between the north and south bays was demolished. If this wall belonged to the northern bay, we are forced to consider a large and well-built basement which functioned entirely without a floor. Since the construction pit of the building bottomed onto the uncompacted, organic (and probably foul-smelling), urban refuse which had previously accumulated below the former city wall, such a situation would be palpably absurd.

Secondly, in the same connection, it is clear that the walls of the northern bay were plastered only after the timber stud-walls were erected (Scully, 1997: 181; fig 6:130). Now we have a situation where the 'original' building lacked internal plaster (as well as a floor) until such time as its south wall was demolished. Given that all the stone buildings of medieval date I have excavated were plastered from new, Ms Scully's hypothesis becomes almost doubly absurd and so unlikely that it must surely be rejected.

Thirdly, the construction pits of the phase I cellar and the western extension of phase II were deeper than that of the phase III structure. The floor of the phase I cellar consisted of a mixture of stones, sand, crushed mortar and some organic material. This earliest floor deposit was subsequently buried by the phase II floor which consisted mainly of rubble and crushed mortar. The surface of the phase II floor was overlain by several large pieces of timber including some complete staves from a large cask or barrel, strewn around in a random fashion.

Whilst these remnants provide an interesting insight into the probable function of the basement, of more significance to the present argument were the remains of a stone structure placed on the surface of the same floor in the north-east corner of the building. These remains - of which there is no mention in Ms Scully's work - almost certainly represented a stone stairway by which the building was entered from above (see Fig. B and Plate 4)

1 The observant reader may have noticed that on fig. 6:129, the west face of the south-



Plate 1. View of the interior of the Phase 2 undercroft from the east. The large pit (cesspit) in the floor of the undercroft and thick wall on the left of the picture belong to Phase 4.

At a later stage - and logic dictates that this was when the building was extended northwards (phase III) - this stairway was almost completely demolished leaving only the basal course (the lowest step) in place. A further deposit of rubble and crushed mortar, with an average depth of c. 0.20 m, was then thrown into the interior of the building to bring up the ground level to just below the top of the surviving base of the stair. Next, after the east-west sill beam that replaced the demolished north wall was set in place, a layer of sterile clay was added, partially sealing the surface of the beam. Finally, the rubble and mortar floor was laid down in the phase III northern extension. This final deposit of rubble and mortar overlay the sterile clay which overlay the rubble and mortar fill in the southern bay which, in turn, overlay the original floor of the phase II structure which, in *its* turn, overlay the very first floor in the phase I cellar. This simple stratigraphic sequence provides clear proof that the southern bay of the undercroft complex was up and running well before the idea of extending northward was ever envisaged.

Today, if we extend our houses, we usually build onto the back, but I am asserting that these basements developed in the opposite direction. Why? Let's assume that a building fronting onto Peter Street with its lowest floor at contemporary ground level existed in the early thirteenth century. At some stage, the proprietor wanted to add a basement; maybe for cold storage. The easiest way to achieve this without disturbing the existing building would be to put the basement behind the house rather than beneath it. The phase I cellar could have been entered via a wooden stair but when the basement was expanded in phase II a stone stairway was constructed instead. This could have connected via a landing on ground floor level with a door in the south wall of the above-ground building. At a later stage again, the original house (which could well have been of timber) may have been due for renewal. It was then replaced in stone, and at this stage, the opportunity to extend the basement the full length of the building was availed of. This is only a theory, but it does have the virtue of explaining why a semi-sunken basement expanded from the rear to the front of a burgage plot, and it does not conflict with any of the recorded evidence.

Further comments

(a) 'Cesspit' (Scully, 1997: 179). I can find no evidence to support the statement that the small stone cellar of phase I was intended to function as a cesspit. Its horizontal dimensions along with its well-built and internally plastered walls and deliberately laid floor, do not point to such a lowly purpose. In fact, this building was of superior construction to that of most dwellings of the thirteenth century! In the same connection, it may be noted that the definite internal cesspit of phase IV (into which the garderobe-drain discharged), lacked any form of lining. Secondly, there was no evidence for any cess deposit within the structure. Ms Scully's allusion to a lami-

The internal dimensions of the so-called 'cesspit' of PSS1 are not difficult to assess. Demolished walls were indicated by intact foundations; not just foundation trenches, as stated on p. 179.

(b) West wall (Scully, 1997: 178). The foundation was not 0.95 m deep. The actual depth was tested at 3 points and it measured 0.28-0.47 m.

(c) East-west sill beam (Fig. C [Scully, 1997: 181; fig. 6:129]). The western end had *not* rotted; it was as good as new. The eastern end *had* rotted away but its form was preserved as a soft deposit of humus. There was unequivocal evidence for a fourth upright at this end (cf. **Gittins, 1994**, pp. 14-15).

Note. Evidence for the uprights mortised into the sills took the form of vertical columns of soft brown humus reaching up through the backfill deposits which had been thrown into the building after it was abandoned. This important evidence receives no mention in the book in spite of its clear exposition on pp. 14-15 of the stratigraphic report.

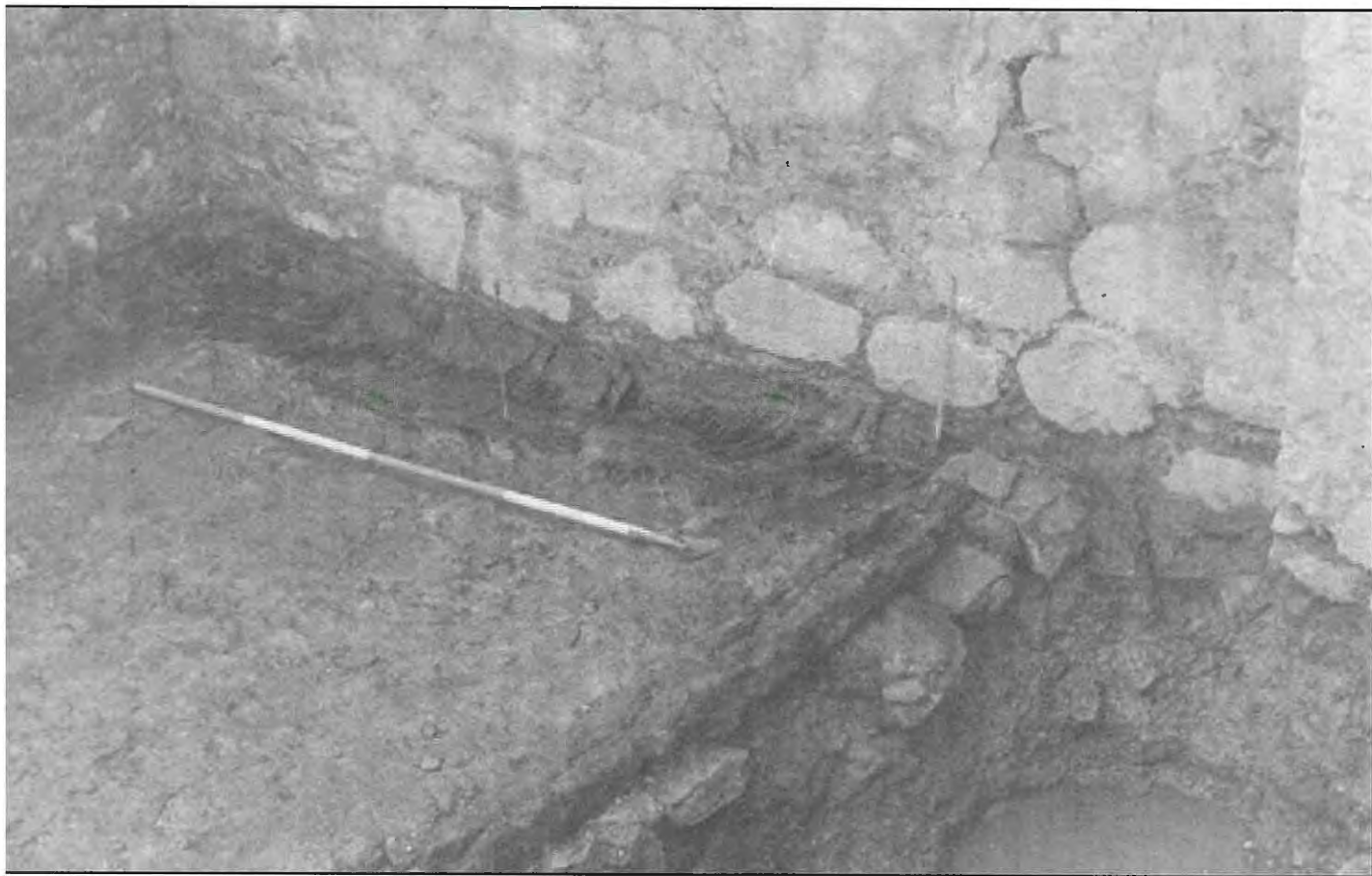
(d) The city wall (Scully, 1997: 181). The statement that the undercroft was built *on* the city wall is somewhat misleading. In fact, the construction pits of the phase I and III structures cut right through the city wall; the ground level to the west of the wall and bank having risen substantially in the interval between the abandonment of the defensive works and the cutting of these construction pits. Note that the upstanding remains of the city wall to the south of the undercroft can be seen on plate 4. The wall is in the upper right-hand corner of the photograph and there is a continuous plinth course at its foot.

(e) Drain (Fig. C; Plate 2 [Scully, 1997: 181]). There is no evidence that this was the *latest* construction. For example, the phase IV wall with the garderobe chute at the south end of the complex could have been the latest work on this building.

(f) Evidence for an upper storey (Scully, 1997: 177). There is no evidence to connect the fireplace lintel to this undercroft. However, the existence of the phase IV garderobe shaft (see Plate 4) does indicate an upper floor (assuming the building was completed before it was abandoned possibly due to the general population decline of the fourteenth century).

(g) Secondary south wall (Plates 1 & 4). This is described by Ms Scully (1997: 180; fig. 6:130, D-E) as contemporary with the walls of the northern bay; her 'phase I'. It belonged to phase IV and the masonry was inferior to that of the phase III walls.

(h) The well (Fig C, Plate 3). The cylindrical offset of ash seemed deliberately placed in the well. It would not have been inserted to raise the level of the water as stated by Ms Scully (1997: 179). Unless placed in a watertight container, water will always find its own level so the effort would have been fruitless, and anyway, as Ms Scully observes, when it was in place, water could not have been drawn from the well. Though I am no expert on medieval hydraulics, I would consider instead Maurice Hurley's suggestion that this timber may have supported a pump (Maurice Hurley, personal communication, 1988). Whilst I agree with Ms Scully's assertion



rod-covered internal drain running alongside the north and west walls of the Phase 3 undercroft with the northern end of the north/south sill beam in the centre of the picture. The pit to the right contained a sunken barrel used as a cistern.

deposits of rotting organic refuse which had been thrown down into the old city ditch (or moat), before the undercroft was built. The fact that the well was dug through almost impermeable boulder clay is not really relevant. As suggested in the paragraph above, a well, by its nature, must at some depth penetrate permeable strata; if not, it would not fill up with water.

As to the sunken barrels, also located in the east bay: if, as seems likely, these were cisterns, the water within them would have been polluted by contact with the slimy organic material which was packed between the barrels and the sides of the pit into which they were set. Again, I would consider Maurice Hurley's suggestion. These barrels may have been receptacles for water pumped, or otherwise transferred, from the well. Thus, the placement of the barrels in the east bay between the well and the entrance to the basement may have been primarily conditioned by the location of the well itself.

(i) Phase IV internal cesspit (Plates 1 & 4 [Scully, 1997: 180; fig. 6:129]). It is self-evident that this was deliberately backfilled. The thick layered deposits of sticky clay could not possibly have 'percolated through the garderobe chute' and even if this were physically possible, what was their origin? Furthermore, the absence of cess fill may suggest that the pit was deliberately backfilled with solid material and thereafter boarded over with scrap timber to allow for this corner of the building to be used for storing heavy goods such as barrels.

(j) The measurements given for the lengths of the east and west walls of the northern bay (Scully, 1997: 178-179) are all incorrect. The figures given for the internal lengths are about a metre short and this is clearly a reflection of Ms Scully's belief that these walls had originally adjoined the demolished east-west wall at their south ends. The short measurements given for the exterior faces are less easy to explain but the error probably lies with a broken east-west line drawn near the top of fig. 6:129. This line is presumably meant to indicate the approximate position of the north face of the north wall – I cannot imagine what else it could be – but if so, the reader will notice two inconsistencies: (a) the broken line cuts through the line of the east wall; and (b) it allows of a width of only 0.95 m for the north wall whereas the measurement obtained was 1.46 m (Scully, 1997: 178). In actual fact, the outer face of the east wall was 10.78 m long and the best estimate for that of the west wall is c. 11.00 m

(k) Dating – Sainonage ware (Scully, 1997: 181). The thirteen potsherds came from the construction trench of the secondary south wall – the one containing the garderobe shaft. In Ms Scully's scheme, they provide dating evidence for phase II but under my scheme, this wall, which *replaced* the south walls of phases I and II, belonged to phase IV. In addition to the potsherds, a piece of line-impressed paving tile was recovered from the trench and this points to a fourteenth century date for the phase IV wall and garderobe (Fanning, 1997:358).





Plate 4. The Phase 1/Phase 2 undercroft seen from the west. Note the demolition scar at the north end of the eastern Phase 2 wall where it meets the foundations of the demolished east-west wall. The eastern wall of the Phase 3 extension merely abuts the demolition scar. Alongside the east end of the demolished wall can be seen the base of the stairs of the Phase 2 undercroft. In the bottom right-hand corner of the photo can be seen the vertical aperture in the broad Phase 4 wall - this formed the chute for the garderobe.

Conclusion

Apart from the above, there may be other minor errors in the book's subsection under review, but I believe that I have addressed the most important points. I hope this short article will be of assistance to readers who may otherwise be misled by the text in the book.

Finally, as stated in the introduction, whilst Ms Scully has every right to interpret my records as she sees fit, since I was the excavator of the site and the author of the original report, I feel it is no less than my duty to the academic community and the general public to offer my own interpretation of the evidence.

Glossary

Sill and stud partition: A partition consisting of a horizontal beam laid on the ground to which upright posts are affixed. In modern buildings, these structures are usually lined with plasterboard and function as non-load-bearing walls. In the case of the undercroft, the sills were set in shallow trenches. There was no evidence that the spaces between the posts had ever been boarded over - they may have been, but it seems equally likely that these structures took the form of open arcades of posts which provided support for the first floor of the building.

Garderobe: A medieval lavatory consisting of a stone box with a wooden seat over a vertical shaft normally set in the thickness of an exterior wall. The effluent was ejected either directly onto the ground below the wall or else, as in this case, into a cesspit which could be emptied at intervals. The word is of Norman-French derivation and implies a wardrobe. It was the custom to hang expensive garments of fur or wool in the garderobe chambers since the ripe aroma was considered a useful deterrent to moths!

Construction pit: The deep rectangular hole excavated for the construction of an underground structure.

Undercroft: A semi-subterranean structure; i.e., a basement set so that its lower reaches lie beneath contemporary ground level but the upper parts of one or more of its walls lie above that level. By definition, an undercroft lies below the ground floor of a building.

Stratigraphy, stratification: A term employed by archaeologists and geologists to describe the sequence in which material is deposited at a given site. On an archaeological site, this material will normally consist of loose deposits such as layers of refuse and landfill, alternating perhaps with the surviving lower parts of buildings erected and demolished through the ages. By definition, the uppermost of two adjacent deposits must be the latest.

The stratigraphic sequence is crucial to the dating of deposits and structures. For example, if a layer - call it layer 1 - contains lots of thirteenth-century artefacts, but nothing later, and it is overlain by wall 2, then it can be said that wall 2 is of thirteenth-century date or later. It cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century.

M. B. Scully and Sarah W. J. McCutcheon, *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-1992* (Waterford: Waterford Corporation), pp. 355-9.

Gittins, A. S. R. (1994) E:343 - (Area PA) The undercroft complex: structures of phase IV A - D; abandonment phase V: stratigraphic report. Unpublished document. Waterford Municipal Library, item 45/1.

Scully, Orla M. B. (1997) 'The stone undercrofts', in Maurice F. Hurley, Orla M. B. Scully and Sarah W. J. McCutcheon, *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford: Excavations 1986-1992* (Waterford: Waterford Corporation), pp. 176-85.

A Waterford origin for the *Codex Salmanticensis*

By William O'Sullivan

Background

A palaeographical conference held in the Royal Library in Brussels in October 1995 provided an occasion to examine the *Codex Salmanticensis*, an important medieval Irish manuscript preserved there.¹ A collection of the lives of Irish saints in Latin, it acquired its name from a temporary presence in the Irish College in Salamanca at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. Founded by the Jesuits about 1592, the college drew most of its early students from the families of the south of Ireland. To such a degree was this the case that the Franciscan, Florence Conry (afterwards to be archbishop of Tuam, but then chaplain to Red Hugh O'Donnell), had his patron contact the Spanish king about the exclusion of students from Connaught and Ulster and called for the dismissal of Fr White, the college's rector.² The manuscript would most likely have been brought to the college by one of its students.

Meanwhile, a group of Jesuits in the Netherlands, later to be known as the Bollandists (after their first editor), had begun a vast (and still ongoing) study of saints' lives. Sometime, probably after 1613, the manuscript was transferred to them and they named it the *Codex Salmanticensis*.³ The suspension of the Jesuit order in the eighteenth century, followed by the confiscations of monastic property during the French Revolution, account for its present location in the Royal Library which it shares with many of the confiscated Irish Franciscan manuscripts from Louvain.⁴

The manuscript was rather different from what I had been led to expect by Dr Richard Sharpe, the latest scholar to study it intensively.⁵ Instead of a script of the late fourteenth century as he proposed, I found a hand displaying so many thirteenth-century symptoms that it could only be at latest early fourteenth century, a

1 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7672-4.

2 E. Hogan (1880) *Ibernia Ignatiana* (Dublin), pp. 106-8.

3 Paul Grosjean, quoted in R. Sharpe (1991) *Medieval Irish saints' lives* (Oxford), p. 228

a life of St Mac Cárthinn, Clogher's diocesan patron, otherwise known only from the lost register of that diocese.⁷

The register was compiled by Ruaidhrí Ó Caiside, archdeacon of Clogher, for Patrick Ó Cuillin (bishop 1517-34) between 1521 and 1525. In 1528, the bishop's own new edition of the office of the patron saint was added.⁸ Ó Cuillin was a celebrated preacher and formerly prior of the Dublin house of the Augustinian friars. He complained to the Pope that his bishopric was worth scarcely eighty ducats a year and got a dispensation to live elsewhere. As a result, he seems to have been out of the diocese between 1526 and 1528.⁹ We are told that the bishop based the new edition of the saint's life on old Augustinian books.¹⁰ If any books survived the devastating fire¹¹ that swept Clogher on 28 April 1395 he could have used them, but it is much more likely that he used materials freshly brought back from his travels in 1528, when he would naturally have visited other Augustinian houses. A contemporary description of Clogher by Quintin Ó hUiginn, OFM, bishop of Clonmacnoise, valued the bishopric at only fifty ducats and suggests great material simplicity. It notes that the episcopal city was unwalled, had forty houses occupied only in winter for, in summer, the inhabitants were herding in the mountains. The cathedral was built of stone roofed with wood and straw; Mass was celebrated only on Sunday; and it had one set of vestments, a wooden cross, a chalice, and a bell at ground level. There is no reference to the Augustinian abbey, but it had burned down again in 1507, so the canons may have occupied some of the forty houses.¹²

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- 6 Heist, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. xxi. I am greatly indebted to Dr Ian Doyle for a discussion of the script and for his gallant efforts to track down the few surviving manuscripts of the abbey of St Augustine's in Bristol in the hope of finding some parallels. Three Keynsham manuscripts survive - two in Trinity College Dublin and one in Taunton, but none is of the right date for comparison.
 - 7 P. Ó Riain (1992) 'Saints in the catalogue of bishops in the lost register of Clogher', in *The Clogher Record*, 14, pp. 69-71. Interestingly, a manuscript (Cambridge Corpus Christi College, MS 405) surviving from Kilbarry, a Templar (later Hospitaller) house on the other side of Waterford contains a life of St Tigernach, another Clogher saint.
 - 8 K. W. Nicholls (1971-2) 'The register of Clogher', in *ibid.*, 7, pp. 361-431.
 - 9 W. O'Sullivan (1994) 'Two Clogher constitutions', in *Essays and poems presented to Daniel Huws* (Aberystwyth), p.355 (now reprinted in part in *The Clogher Record* [1996], p.148), where I mistakenly accept that the bishop's source was in Clogher.
 - 10 O'Sullivan, 'Two Clogher constitutions', p.431.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 394.
 - 12 M. J. Haren (1985) 'A description of Clogher cathedral in the early sixteenth century', in *The Clogher Record*, 12, p.52; W. M. Hennessy (ed.) (1887-1901) *Annals of Ulster* (London), vol. 3, p. 483.

St Katherine of Alexandria and her cult in Waterford

One of the more surprising features of the collection of Irish saints' lives in the *Codex Salmanticensis* is that it includes the life of a single foreign saint, Katherine. The life, moreover, is one of the largest in the collection. This must surely indicate that it was produced in an Irish house dedicated to that saint. The cult of St Katherine of Alexandria, reputedly an early fourth-century martyr, seems to have reached the west as a consequence of the Crusades. Her alleged relics are first noticed about 800 AD, but the monastery later dedicated to her on Mount Sinai was in existence from 527 AD. Her cult, which became widespread in western Europe is believed to have spread out from Rouen in France during the twelfth century. Her popularity in Ireland at the end of the middle ages is attested by the translation of a different version of her life into Irish in the fifteenth century. Her feast on November 25, suppressed in 1969, appears in a Durham calendar dating from before 1170.¹³

The most prestigious Irish monastery dedicated to St Katherine lay directly outside the walls of Waterford to the east. According to tradition, it was founded by the Ostmen (the descendants of the Vikings) who were dispossessed by the Anglo-Normans under Strongbow in 1170. Two other dedications to the saint in Ireland include St Catherine's, Dublin, which is topographically situated rather similarly to that of Waterford since it stood outside the walls of the Viking city, and St Catherine's of Leixlip - located just inside the border of Co. Dublin. These may also have been foundations originally made by the Ostmen. The first extant reference to St Katherine's in Waterford is in a charter from Prince John of c.1190, where it is described merely as a church.¹⁴ It would have been the Anglo-Normans, who transformed it into a rich Augustinian priory, lavishly endowed with properties in the areas they had conquered not only in county Waterford, but also in counties Cork, Kilkenny and Tipperary.¹⁵ Only one of the founders is known by name, Elias the son of Norman Clater, who had himself helped to endow the great Cistercian abbey of St Mary's, Dublin.¹⁶ In 1207, he is described as a citizen of Dublin and the king ordered his release from prison in Bristol.¹⁷ His son, Elias, appears frequently as a witness in the surviving charters of the Period.¹⁸ The priory was certainly in exis-

13 Cambridge Jesus College, MS Q.13.6. See *English Benedictine calendars after 1100* (Henry Bradshaw Society).

14 A. Gwynn & R. N. Hadcock (1970) *Medieval religious houses Ireland* (London), p. 197; *Chartae privilegia et immunitates... 1171-1395* (Dublin, 1889), p. 9; a very useful account of the priory will be found in Sr Assumpta O'Neill (1993) 'Waterford diocese 1096-1363', in *Decies*, 47, pp. 42-4, where in particular she points out an important mistake in Sheehy's identification of placenames (see note 20 below).

15 *Extents of Irish monastic possessions*. 1540-1 (Dublin, 1943), pp. 341-7.

inating in the learned monastery of St Victor in Paris, founded by Abelard's master, William of Champeaux, in 1113.

There were very few such houses in Ireland, the most prominent being St Thomas', Dublin, which was founded by Henry II in 1177 in reparation for the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, and which adopted the Victorine rule c.1192.²¹ In England, the Victorines were also few and largely confined to the west, their most important house being the abbey of St Augustine's in Bristol.²² Since Henry II handed Dublin over to his men of Bristol, the Victorine influence in transforming St Thomas is understandable. Similarly, the Bristol merchants must have been the main colonists of the much nearer city of Waterford. St Katherine's adapted the rule of St Victor, perhaps as a daughter of the abbey of Keynsham which was situated only a few miles outside Bristol.²³ That house, unlike St Augustine's, had strong connections with County Waterford, owning many of the most important churches such as St Mary's Dungarvan.²⁴

The priory occupied an almost island site, surrounded by St John's River on the east, the River Suir on the north and a creek and marsh on the side towards the city²⁵. A path led from the city gate, known either as St Katherine's or Colbeck, across a bridge into the enclosure. A view of the monastery was recorded c. 1590 at the time that Edmund Yorke was employed to fortify the town against an expected Spanish invasion.²⁶ It shows a group of buildings surrounding a courtyard, with a tall tow-

19 *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1251*, no. 338.

20 M. P. Sheehy (1962) *Pontificia Hibernica* (Dublin), vol. 1, p. 143.

21 Gilbert, *Register of the Abbey of St Thomas Dublin*, p. xi.

22 D. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock (1953) *Medieval religious houses England and Wales* (London), p.130.

23 *Ibid.*, p.142.

24 Information from Mr Julian Walton, taken from a sixteenth-century deed belonging to the Marquess of Waterford.

25 It is referred to as Colbeck island in an Elizabethan Exchequer inquisition. This information is from M. Griffith, who is editing the Record Commission's calendars of these inquisitions in the National Archives.

26 The map, which belonged to the late John Hunt was for a number of years lost, but a photocopy which he allowed to be made, is preserved in Trinity College Dublin (MS 4877\2). This has been reproduced by P. M. Kerrigan in 'The fortifications of Waterford... 1495-1690', in *Decies*, 29, 1985, p. 18. Waterford Corporation has since purchased the original map. The absence of the fortifications around the priory on the Jobson map of 1591 (TCD MS 1207\64, reproduced in *Decies*, 10, 1979, p.25) suggests that they were never carried out. The tower is referred to as a bell tower in an Exchequer inquisition of Henry VIII's time (see note 25), which describes the site as containing a church, bell tower, cemetery, hall, 6 chambers, a cook house, stables, 6 orchards and other buildings. The present courthouse covers the site of the priory.

ered entrance gate, all probably unchanged from the time of the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539. Surrounding it, there seems to have been a hilly park planted with trees.

In the later middle ages, the priory came to play an important civic role in the city. Because of the growing hazards of the journey to Dublin, the mayor of Waterford was allowed to take his oath of office before the prior instead of in the Dublin exchequer.²⁷ Although Waterford was a strictly English and loyal city, Irishmen were clearly not excluded from the monastery in the fifteenth century. In 1469, the prior Tadhg Ó Muirghessa, while on a visit to Rome, was provided by the pope to the bishopric of Down and Connor.²⁸

The Sherlock connection

At the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539, the priory passed into the hands of the Sherlocks, a powerful local family long dominant in the commercial life of the city. James Sherlock's lease of the house and all of its property is dated 21 August 1540.²⁹ By 1544, he was dead leaving a widow (formerly Katherine Lombard) and two daughters.³⁰ In 1547, she married Walter Cowley, Ireland's first surveyor general, but was dead by the following year when Cowley owed arrears of rent due from her as executrix of her late husband.³¹ The priory then passed to Patrick, James Sherlock's brother, who received a new lease for 21 years on 4 July 1552.³² In 1557, during the Catholic restoration under Mary I, Robert Remon, a supporter of the earl of Desmond, got a papal provision of the priorship,³³ but it is unlikely that he dislodged Patrick, who managed to renew his lease in 1554-5, to start from 1562.³⁴ He renewed his lease again in 1575, this time for 31 years, and it was to begin when the previous lease ended.³⁵ In the 1560s, Patrick appears as a strong supporter of the earl of Ormond in the latter's quarrels with the earl of Desmond.³⁶ His son and heir, John, married Ellyce, a daughter of Walter Butler of Nodstown, Co. Tipperary, fourth son of the ninth earl of Ormond, which made her a niece of Black Tom, the current earl.³⁷

27 J. F. Lydon (1979) 'The city of Waterford in the later middle ages', in *Decies*, 12, p. 9.

28 A. Lynch (1992) 'A calendar of the reassembled register of John Bole, archbishop of Armagh, 1457-71', in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 15(1), pp. 175-6.

29 *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns* (repr. Dublin, 1994), Henry VIII, no. 530.

30 *Ibid.*, no. 546.

31 *Extents of Irish monastic possessions*, p. 347.

32 *Irish fiants*, Edw. VI, no. 1102.

33 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, 1509-73* (London, 1860), pp. 140, 144.

34 *Irish fiants*, Eliz., no. 2938.

February 1588.⁴⁰ This no longer included all the property, since other claimants were nibbling away at outlying portions, and by 1597, even the priory itself was the subject of a reversionary lease to a John Lye of Rathbride, Co. Kildare.⁴¹ However, the Sherlocks may have weathered through to the next generation. James Sherlock, Ellyce's older son, may be the James 'gent. deceased' referred to as the lessor of lands surrounding the priory held by various people in 1640 according to the Civil Survey.⁴² By the time that survey was taken in 1654-6, the priory itself was a ruin as were the several good houses on the lands, probably as a result of the Cromwellian siege.⁴³ The Sherlocks disappear from the scene in the course of the Cromwellian and Restoration confiscations.

Patrick Sherlock, student and teacher at Salamanca

Ellyce's second son, Walter, married Beatrice Leonard, a member of another long-established Waterford family, though she is described as of the diocese of Lismore, so her branch must have lived outside the city.⁴⁴ Walter had at least three sons - Patrick, born in Waterford in 1584; John, born in 1586; and Paul, born in 1595. Patrick had entered the Irish College in Salamanca before 18 October 1601 when he witnessed the admission to the college of John Wadding. Wadding had come from the Irish College in Douai in the company of David Rothe, a prefect of that college, having been dispatched to the Spanish court in the previous summer to seek the support of the king for the college⁴⁵. Rothe, later to be Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, is the earliest scholar to report on what he was to refer to in his letters to James Ussher as the Salamanca manuscript.⁴⁶ Elsewhere, I have mistakenly dated

38 Anon. (1907) 'Distinguished Waterford families', in *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, **10**, pp. 126-8. The author has, however, mistaken the mother's name.

39 *Irish fiants*, Eliz., no. 5316.

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*, no. 6039.

42 R. C. Simington (ed.) (1942) *The Civil Survey of County Waterford* (Dublin), pp. 192-3.

43 *Ibid.*

44 Information from Rev. Stephen Redmond, SJ, archivist to the Irish province of the Society of Jesus.

45 M. J. O'Doherty (1913) 'Students of the Irish College Salamanca, 1592-1619', in *Archivium Hibernicum*, **2**, pp. 9-10; J. Brady (1944) 'Fr Christopher Cusack and the Irish College of Douai', in S. O'Brien, OFM. (ed.) *Measgra Mhicíl Uí Chléirigh* (Dublin), p.102.

46 W. O'Sullivan (ed.) (1994-5) 'Correspondence of David Rothe and James Ussher, 1619-23', in *Collectanea Hibernica*, **36-7**, pp. 21, 30, 36.

his work on it to 1602, but by then, he had already begun his sojourn in Rome, which was to last until 1609.⁴⁷

As a man who is likely to have grown up in St Katherine's priory, Patrick Sherlock is the most probable carrier of the *Codex Salmanticensis* from Waterford to Spain. Patrick left the Irish College to join the Jesuits on 10 April 1602, read theology at the Royal College at Salamanca, was ordained in 1612, taught philosophy at Santiago and died there on 18 August 1614. His brother John entered the Irish College at Salamanca on 24 April 1604 and his brother Paul was to follow. He, like Patrick, joined the Jesuits in 1612 and had a very distinguished career in the Society of Jesus.⁴⁸

Richard Conway - recipient of the Codex at Salamanca?

The Counter-Reformation inspired a number of Irish scholars to become interested in the lives of the Irish saints. Well known is the part played by the Irish Franciscans in Louvain, working on the materials collected by Brother Michael Ó Cléirigh and others, which resulted in two large volumes edited by John Colgan.⁴⁹ However, the Irish Jesuits too were involved. Best remembered of these is Henry FitzSimon, who published the first calendar of Irish saints at Rome in 1611.⁵⁰ Another member of the Society, Richard Conway, published a '*libellus*', presumably in Spain. This was reprinted by Philip O'Sullivan Beare and it contained Conway's list of Irish saints, who worked abroad.⁵¹ One copy of the original '*libellus*', *Quaedam sanctorum quorundum et graviorum de sanctitate et literis Ibernorum testimonia* (no place or date of publication), survives in the Vatican Library.⁵² A copy of a list of Irish saints attributed to Conway and provided to Archbishop Ussher by the Jesuit, Christopher Holywood, remains among the archbishop's papers in Trinity College Dublin.⁵³

When Patrick Sherlock arrived at the Irish College in Salamanca he would have found Conway acting as vice-rector (he had been there since 1598). He is surely the man who would have inspired the Sherlock gift of the *Codex Salmanticensis* to the Irish College. The archives of the college are now in the Russell Library at Maynooth. Among them are many papers that seem to have passed through Conway's hands. What are probably his own compositions are generally in fair

47 *Ibid.*, p. 21, note 66; P. F. Moran (1883) 'The bishops of Ossory from the Anglo-Norman invasion', in *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society*, 2, p. 265.

48 See note 44 above; O'Doherty, 'Students of the Irish College Salamanca', p.17.

49 *Acta sanctorum... Hiberniae* (Louvain, 1645) and *Triadis thaumaturgae... acta* (Louvain, 1647).

50 Seemingly, the only copy of this first printing is now among Ussher's papers in TCD, MS 568.

51 *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae compendium* (Dublin. 1850). nn. 47-9.

hand. He wrote in two different styles - the current Irish hand he would have learned as a boy in New Ross (which he may have kept for writing English) and a contemporary continental hand, which he would have had to learn abroad for the sake of easy legibility. The papers range from an alphabetical index of Irish saints to draft treatises including one which is clearly a riposte to Ussher's *Gravissimae quaestio- nis de christianarum ecclesiarum...: successione et statu historica explicatio* (London, 1613), addressed to the Catholic clergy, nobility and people of Ireland and dated 7 March 1614.⁵⁴ Professor Pádraig Ó Riain has pointed out to me that it includes the text on the three orders of Irish saints extracted from the *Codex Salmanticensis*. Conway was rector of Salamanca between 1600 and 1613, when he was moved to be rector of Santiago.⁵⁵ It was probably his successor at Salamanca, Thomas Bryan, who sent the codex to the Jesuits in the Low Countries.

54 Maynooth, Salamanca archives, IX.4.6. I am greatly indebted to the Russell librarian, Penny Woods, for her help in examining the archives.

55 Again, I am indebted to the kindness of Fr Redmond for an account of Conway's career (see note 44).

A curious letter of 1744 from the pages of *The Gentleman's Magazine*

presented by Greg Fewer

Introduction

Following a recent posting to the British Archaeology (BRITARCH) electronic mailing list on the Internet,¹ I took a visit to the Internet Library of Early Journals on the World Wide Web. This digital 'library' is a joint project by the Universities of Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Oxford, and is funded under the Electronic Libraries Programme (eLib). The aim of the project is to 'create a full text resource of 120,000 digitised pages, with indexes, of substantial runs of three 18th and three 19th century journals, to make these available as widely as possible to the academic community, and to evaluate both the technology and the user perception'.² These images are stored in a keyword-searchable database which has been made freely available on the World Wide Web at <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ilej/> and are accompanied by their bibliographic details. The titles currently available through this service include *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vols 53-72 (1843-1852); *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vols 1-20 (1731-1750); *Notes and Queries*, 1st to 4th series (1849-1869); and *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vols 50-67 (1757-1777). *The Builder and the Annual Register* will soon be added.

The project not only provides greater access to rare early journals, but it also gives researchers the ability to search an entire body of this digitised collection almost instantly for individual words or phrases, thereby speeding up research in a hitherto impossible way. It will also allow scholars to carry out automatic textual analysis, while some electronic documents could be linked directly to other relevant on-line resources.³

Taking a look at the *Gentleman's Magazine* (as the earliest periodical digitised in this collection), I searched for the word 'Waterford' to see what I might come up with. Only one reference to the locality was found and this was in the form of a satirical letter addressed to the dean of Waterford that appeared in the January 1745

1 Mike Heyworth (1998) 'Internet Library of Early Journals', e-mail posting of 12 June 1998 12:13:18 +0100 to British Archaeology electronic mailing list (britarch@mailbase.ac.uk). (Author's e-mail address: m.heyworth@dial.pipex.com). More details of the BRITARCH mailing list may be found on the Web at <http://www.mailbase.ac.uk/lists/britarch/>

ec. 26, 1744.

Mr URBAN,⁵

The following letter was written to the Dean of Waterford⁶ by a widower, the father of six children, under the fictitious name of Elzevir:⁷ -- The design of it was to invite the dean and his company to supper; particularly Miss Elizabeth Marshall,⁸ a young lady of about 18 -- and whose fortune was 30,000 l. who was lodg'd in the

4 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 15, January 1745, p. 35.

5 Sylvanus Urban was the fictitious name used by the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. At this time, the editor was Edward Cave who founded the magazine in 1731 and continued to edit it till his death in 1754 (cf. James M. Kuist (1991) 'A collaboration in learning: *The Gentleman's magazine* and its ingenious contributors', in *Studies in Bibliography*, 44, pp. 303-18 [pp. 303-4]; C. S. Nicholls (ed.) (1996) *The Hutchinson encyclopaedia of biography* [Oxford: Helicon Publishing], p. 165).

6 This was the Rev. Hugh Bolton (c. 1683-1758) who was appointed dean of Waterford in 1723 after serving for a few years in ecclesiastical appointments within the Church of Ireland diocese of Ossory and the archdiocese of Cashel. He was an uncle of the generally unsuccessful entrepreneur Cornelius Bolton who built Faithlegg House in the 1780s. Hugh was a somewhat eccentric individual who took a seemingly instant dislike to his bishop at Waterford with whom he became involved in various disputes. For more information on the dean, see Julian C. Walton (1987) 'The Boltons of County Waterford, Part One', in *The Irish Genealogist*, 7(2), pp. 186-200 [pp. 197-8].

7 Elzevir is an 'edition of a classic author, published and printed by the family of Elzevir [between 1592 and 1626], and said to be immaculate' (E. Cobham Brewer [n.d.] *The dictionary of phrase and fable: classic edition* [Leicester: Galley Press], p. 416).

8 I have not been able to identify this young woman, but if she remained unmarried throughout her life, she might well have been the Miss Elizabeth Marshall whose death at Dangan (near Galway) was recorded in the *Clare Journal* of 17 January 1820 (cf. Rosemary ffolliott [n.d.] *Index to biographical notices in newspapers of Limerick, Ennis, Clonmel and Waterford 1758-1821* [microfiche available in Waterford Municipal Library]), but this is mere speculation. Perhaps a reader of *Decies* might be able to provide a more certain identification?

dean's study, he having much company at that time. As I think it may afford at this season some entertainment, I desire you will give it your readers,

and am, &c.

T. S.⁹

Rev. SIR,

I am told there is a book which lies in your study in sheets; and all who have seen it, admire that it should remain so long unbound: I think it is call'd *Martial's Epithalamium*,¹⁰ or some such name; but lest I should be mistaken in the title, I will describe it as well as I can.

It is a fair, and beautiful manuscript, the ink very black and shining on the whitest virgin vellum that can be imagin'd; the characters are so nice, and delicate, as to discover it to be the work of some masterly hand; and there is such symmetry, and exact proportion in all its parts, and the features (if I may so call them) are so just, and true, that it puts the reader often to a stand in admiring the beauties of them.

The book has an additional ornament, which it did not want, all the margin being flourish'd with gold; but that which commends it more is, that tho' it has been written full 18 years, as I have been inform'd, yet it is not sullied, nor stain'd; in so much, that one would think it was never once turn'd over by any man.

The volume itself does not appear to be of any great bulk, and yet I understand it has been valued at 30,000 l.

'Tis pity so valuable a piece should ever be lost; and the way to prevent this, is by increasing the copies of it. If, the author will give consent, and you will licence it, I will immediately put it into the press. I have all the necessary apparatus for the purpose, and a curious set of letters, that were never us'd, but in the impression of one book, and of this too, no more than half a dozen copies: So that you must imagine they are never the worse for wearing. For my part, I will spare no pains to embellish and adorn the whole, with the most natural and lively figures; and I shall not despair of producing an edition as beautiful in y[e] eyes of all men, as the dear original is at present in mine. -- Methinks I could read it with pleasure night and day.

9 The identity of this contributor to the magazine might have been ascertained in James M. Kuist (1982) *The Nichols File of "The Gentleman's Magazine"* (Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press). Alas! I have not been able to examine this work which, according to one writer, 'provided scholars of the periodical press with an indispensable resource: the identification of authorship of almost 13,000 hitherto anonymous articles, reviews, poems, and other items appearing in the *Gentleman's Magazine*' (cf. Emily Lorraine de Montluzin [1991] 'Attributions of authorship in the *Gentleman's*

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient servant, and faithful friend,

ELZEVIR

Quaker enterprise and the Waterford Glassworks, 1783-1851

By John M. Hearne

Background

Some of the most important sources of primary information regarding late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century industrialisation in Waterford are contained in the two volumes of letters and other correspondence pertinent to the Waterford Glassworks.¹ Spanning the years 1783 to 1851, these letters chronicle the difficulties which faced the owners of the enterprise in trying to survive the harsh economic environment ushered in by the Act of Union. They also give a fascinating, albeit rare, insight into the social structures and business ethics of the Quaker community in Waterford during these years. But what is clearly evident from these volumes of correspondence is that Quaker social structures provided the parameters within which Quaker enterprise operated.

In Ireland, the Quakers were a small isolated community and because of their refusal to take oaths, they were regarded with suspicion by the State. They were also actively persecuted for their refusal to pay tithes to the Established Church.² Being thus precluded from pursuing politics as a career, their one (and only) avenue of advancement was through mercantile activity. In Waterford, intermarriage over a period of some two hundred years had, by the nineteenth century, resulted in a strong family and social integration which stemmed from their shared convictions and was reinforced by a strict discipline imposed by the Society of Friends. These cohesive characteristics were evident in their commercial activities and business organisation which themselves were distinguished by the ability to endure and survive the difficult years of the nineteenth century. The predilection within Quaker enterprise for the formation of business partnerships was derived from their religious discipline of disownment or banishment from the Quaker community for marrying-out. Thus, Quaker business practice was permeated by a strict moral code which was intrinsically responsible for the durability and longevity of their business establishments.³ However, the prosperity engendered, especially during the nine-

1 The two volumes of letters - Gatchell Letters, Waterford Glassworks, Vol. 1, 1-78, and Vol. 2, 154-1956 - are contained in the National Museum of Ireland. My thanks to Ms Catherine McIvor, Curator, and her staff for their kind assistance in facilitating my research during 1994 and 1995

nerships, ultimately led to the demise of large-scale Quaker enterprise in Waterford by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In this respect, the two volumes of correspondence relevant to the Waterford Glassworks are of critical importance in that they illustrate the practical effects the unfolding of the above events had on one particular Quaker industry.

For much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, innovation and risk-taking characterised Quaker enterprise in Waterford. Initially involved in the triangular provisions trade, the American War of Independence forced many Quaker merchants to deviate into ancillary manufacturing enterprises. While the American War was to inflict terminal damage on Waterford's transatlantic provisions trade, it did ironically open (albeit indirectly) opportunities in other manufacturing areas for enterprising merchants.⁴ One such area was in glass manufacturing. In Waterford, opportunities which arose in glass manufacturing were quickly exploited by the Quaker uncle-and-nephew partnership of George and William Penrose.

During 1778, the English House of Commons moved that the Act prohibiting the export of Irish glass from Ireland be repealed. The Free Trade Act of 1780 lifted the 1639 and 1746 restrictions and gave permission for the exportation of 'glass bottles or glass of any kind or denomination whatsoever from or out of the Kingdom of Ireland'.⁵ The Irish glass industry was given further encouragement when, in the following year, coal imported for glass manufacture was exempted from duty. However, Irish glass manufacturing had already received a boost when, in 1777, as a means of financing her involvement in the American War of Independence, Britain doubled the excise duty on domestic glass production.⁶ English glass manufacturers, angry that Irish manufacturers were now exempt from these crippling taxes, contended that these duties prevented them 'from bringing their metal to the utmost degree of purity',⁷ thus putting them at a competitive disadvantage. Their fears were well founded. Many glass factories (or glass houses as they were then called) were established in Ireland during this time and were immediately success-

4 For a more comprehensive account on Waterford's transatlantic trade, see John Mannion (1978) 'The Waterford Merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland Provisions Trade 1770-1820', in L. M. Cullen et P. Butel (eds), *Negoce et industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIII et XIX siècles* (Bordeaux: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique).

5 M. Dunlevy (1989) *Penrose glass* (Dublin: National Museum Ireland), p. 12.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

ful in exploiting the prevailing advantages.⁸ With the prospects for English glass-makers looking grim, many left for foreign parts to pursue their profession in more promising surroundings. One such glass-maker was John Hill.⁹

The Penroses' Works (from 1783)

In October 1783, George and William Penrose advertised that their recently established glass manufactory could 'supply all kinds of plain or cut flint glass' and continued that when the public knew the low terms they would be supplied at, and consider the vast expense attending their weighty undertaking, they would not take offence at their selling 'for ready money only'.¹⁰ That this was a capital-intensive enterprise is contained in the Penrose petition to Parliament in 1784 seeking aid to continue their glass-making thus:

Petition of George and William Penrose of Waterford stating that they had with great difficulty, and at the expense of nearly £10,000, established a complete flint glass manufactory. The works employ from fifty to seventy manufacturers who have mostly been brought from England at heavy expense. Since the factory was erected, the imports of flint glass into that part of the Kingdom had entirely ceased and [the Penroses] therefore ask for aid to carry on the manufacture.¹¹

Later in the same year, the Penroses claimed that they had flint glass 'as fine a quality as any in Europe... and [have] a large number of the best manufacturers, cutters and engravers by which they can supply every article in the most elegant style, having spared no expense to bring business to the highest possible position'.¹² Indeed, much of the initial financial outlay had gone to procure some of the best glass-makers from the most reputable glass manufacturing district in Britain – Stourbridge. John Hill, a fellow Quaker, was the most renowned of these workers and came to Waterford with a high reputation as a glass compounder. He was employed by the Penroses as overseer of the Waterford Glassworks, and within a few years, he had established it as the premier manufacturer of lead crystal in Ireland and Britain.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 13. These taxes led to many skilled glass cutters and blowers leaving England and coming to Ireland, especially to Cork and Waterford. A. Bielenberg, in *Cork's industrial revolution 1780-1880: development or decline?* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1991), mentions that at the Hanover Street Glassworks 'the chief workmen who are all from Newcastle Upon Tyne, generally get fourteen shillings a day'.

9 *Ibid.* Hill brought between eight and ten of the best workmen with him.

have been falsely accused, he wrote to his friend Jonathan Gatchell, a clerk in the Penrose factory, who had sympathised with him:

Dear Jonathan

It is impossible for me to express the feelings of my poor mind when I acquaint thee that I am obliged to leave this Kingdom, my reasons I need not tell thee, but I sincerely wish I had been made acquainted with the base ingratitude of the worst of Villains sooner and probably that I might have remedied it, but now 'tis too late. I wish it was in my power to pay thee and all my Creditors but if ever fortune should put it in my power depend upon it I will satisfy every one - my mind is so hurt I scarcely know what I write. I sincerely wish thee every success and am the most miserable of mankind.

Thine very sincerely

J. Hill¹³

However, before leaving Ireland, Hill, in a gesture of appreciation for the friendship and sympathy afforded him by Jonathan Gatchell, entrusted him with the secret formula for compounding glass.¹⁴ This gesture was of major significance. It elevated Gatchell from the minor role of clerk to the pivotal role of compounder within the Penrose establishment. He held this position until 1799.

Between 1783 and 1799, the Waterford Glassworks gained an enviable reputation for its product. Under the stewardship of Hill and (from 1786) Gatchell, the Penrose firm prospered. Given that the Penroses had already well-established trade routes and a trusted network of agents in foreign ports, it was not surprising that glass exports exploited these advantages. From 1785 onwards, glass exports from the Penrose factory began arriving in Britain, Spain, New York and other parts of New England; as well as Newfoundland, Jersey, Madeira, France and Portugal.¹⁵ In 1797, 7,853 drinking glasses were sent to Newfoundland and 30,000 to New York. By 1805, exports of drinking glasses alone reached almost 85,000 and went mainly to America. This was 73% of the total Irish export of drinking glasses during that year.¹⁶ Indeed, as early as 1793, the English manufacturer Samuel Crumpe observed that:

13 Gatchell Letters, Waterford Glassworks, vol. 1, 1-78, Document 7(a).

14 This was perhaps the most important incident in the entire history of glass making in Waterford. Without the formulae, glass-making could not have continued.

15 Gatchell Letters, vol. 1, Doc. 3. Letter of 14 December 1785 from James Gatchell in Bristol to his brother Jonathan.

16 A. E. Murray (1903) *Commercial relations between Ireland and England* (London: P. S. King & Son), pp. 443-4 (Appendix B, Table VI. Glass Exported from Ireland 1801-23).

In the finer branches, the Waterford manufactory has improved and extended itself to an astonishing degree.¹⁷

Although exports were important, the Penroses realised that the ultimate success of their enterprise depended upon domestic demand - initially at any rate. In this regard, influential patronage was cultivated as a means of bestowing prestige on their product. In 1790, the viceroy's wife, the Countess of Westmoreland, along with the Bishop of Ossory and the Marchioness of Waterford, visited the glassworks.¹⁸ As early as 1788, the Dublin Chronicle had remarked that

A very curious service of glass has been sent over from Waterford to Milford for his majesty's use... where it has been much admired and does much credit to the manufacturers of this country.¹⁹

Gatchell's successors

Such favourable comments from royal circles served to enhance the firm's reputation and the prestige of its product. In 1802, the Lord Lieutenant, Hardwick, visited the factory.²⁰ By this time, however, both William and George Penrose had died,²¹ and the firm had been acquired by Jonathan Gatchell and two local politicians - James Ramsey and Ambrose Barcroft.²² This partnership lasted until 1810 when Ramsey died, and when, in the following year, Barcroft experienced personal financial difficulties, Gatchell assumed sole control of the Glassworks.²³ Nevertheless, in order to buy the stock of his partners, Gatchell was forced to mortgage the Glassworks (along with a plot of ground known as the Willow Gardens) to the influential Newport family for an annual rent of £300.²⁴ The twelve years of partnership had, however, been reasonably prosperous. Between 1799 and 1811, the Waterford Glassworks exported almost half a million drinking glasses along with more than £12,000 worth of other glass ware.²⁵

Jonathan Gatchell retained sole control of the firm until a few months before his death in 1823. By this time, however, the best days of the Glassworks were in the past. Although the Napoleonic Wars did not impinge to any great extent on the firm's economic growth, their ending ushered in a lengthy depression. After 1825, exorbitant duties rendered Irish glass production uneconomic and resulted in increased competition from a now more competitive British glass industry. Wages

17 S. Crumpe (1795) *Essay on the best means of providing employment for the poor* (London), p. 321 (quoted in Dunlevy, *Penrose Glass*, p. 17).

18 Westropp, *Irish glass*, p. 71.

19 *Ibid.*

20 Dunlevy, *Penrose glass*, p. 14.

most of them accruing in North America. In 1819, Jonathan Gatchell complained that he had received no payment for thirteen hogshead of glass sold in Charlestown, and about £1,100 remained unsettled in Philadelphia, with further sums in New York (£60), Halifax (£300), Newfoundland (nearly £600) and Québec (£150) was still outstanding. He also mentioned that he had sent twenty one hogshead of glass to Philadelphia.²⁷ Thus, the total debt outstanding at this time amounted to more than £3000, a considerable sum at the time. It was perhaps with this in mind, and whilst attempting to bring new capital to the enterprise, that Jonathan Gatchell formed a partnership with his brothers, Samuel and James, and his brother-in-law, Joseph Walpole. The firm was now to be known as Gatchells and Walpole.²⁸ However, shortly after the partnership was formed in July 1823, Jonathan Gatchell died. His will, dated 30 March 1823, was to have serious implications for the firm.²⁹

Jonathan Gatchell bequeathed to his wife, Sarah, the glass retail business which occupied a house on the quay. Upon her death this business was to be passed on to their children, George, Frances and Isabella. He also authorised that the partnership formed in 1823 be continued beyond its original seven-year term and until his son George reached his twenty-first birthday in 1835, whereupon he was to inherit the Glassworks. Furthermore, a sum not exceeding £80 from the profits of the Glassworks was to be applied towards the maintenance and education of his three children. A similar sum was also set aside for the same purpose for his four grandchildren. His brother-in-law, Nehemiah Wright (married to his sister Susanah) and Jonathan's own brother, Samuel, were appointed trustees.³⁰ By 1830, however, when all the original partners of 1823 were dead, the capital-draining nature of Quaker partnerships became clearly obvious. In 1824, Joseph Walpole died, his position as partner was filled by his wife Elizabeth (nee Gatchell). Samuel Gatchell died in 1825 and was succeeded by his brother, Nathan, but when James Gatchell died in 1830, his place was taken by his brother-in-law Nehemiah Wright. By this latter year, dependants of the late partners were in receipt of just over £745.³¹ Within two years, this had escalated to £3,785.³² By 1830, it was also evident that control of the Waterford Glassworks was now in the hands of the Wright family (Nehemiah

26 Westropp, *Irish glass*, p. 83. By 1825, the monthly wage bill had fallen to £200 and in 1829, it was only £160.

27 P. Warren (1970) *Irish glass. Waterford - Cork - Belfast in the Age of Exuberance* (London: Faber & Faber).

28 Joseph Walpole was married to Jonathan Gatchell's sister, Elizabeth.

29 Gatchell Letters, Vol. 1, Doc. 18c.

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*, Doc. 23. The sinking fund which was made up of 10% of the profits plus accumulated interest, was used for this purpose.

32 *Ibid.*, Doc. 53. This sets out in detail the claims affecting the Glass enterprise.

and his three sons, Jonathan, John and Nathan). It was this family, along with Elizabeth Walpole, who tried to guide the Waterford Glassworks through the difficult years between 1825 and 1835 - when George Gatchell would reach his majority and thereby would inherit the enterprise. Jonathan Gatchell's will did not make this an easy task, for two reasons. Firstly, there was no guarantee that after the twelve-year interregnum (1823-1835) that any of those entrusted with running the enterprise during these years would be retained once George Gatchell reached his majority. Secondly, the capital-draining nature of the various partnerships reduced the portion of any profit which could be ploughed back into the business. Dissolution of a partnership was a legal requirement following the death of a partner and any profit accruing to the dead partner was withdrawn from the business and distributed among his (or occasionally her) dependants. This led to a pool of cheap investment capital being lost to the enterprise as various partners died. These difficulties became more apparent following the imposition of crippling excise duties on Irish glass in 1825.

Difficulties, 1825-35

On 5 July 1825, under the provisions of the Act of Union, a duty of £12 10s. was placed on every thousand pounds weight of glass metal for flint or phial glass made in Great Britain and Ireland. Furthermore, proprietors of glass-houses were now subject to a licence of £20 a year.³³ These duties were to seriously inhibit the further expansion of the Irish glass industry. During their first full year in operation, the Waterford Glassworks paid over £3,910 in duties.³⁴ In the year ending January 1833, £3,002 was paid, and the total duties paid by the Waterford enterprise between 1831 and 1835 was £11,936 18s. 5d.³⁵ As weight was now the determinant of how much duty was paid, and with the Waterford enterprise producing around fifty tons of glass per annum, it now became a priority to reduce the weight of individual glass pieces. As a result, a six-horsepower steam engine was acquired in 1825.³⁶ This enabled deeper and more precise cutting (and consequently lighter glass), but it also dispensed with manual labour and led to the accumulation of stock. In 1829, accumulated stock was valued at £3,044 4s. 1d.³⁷ By 1833, this had risen to £4,736 3s. 0d.³⁸ When a furnace was installed in 1830 at a cost of £250, Jonathan Wright commented in a letter to his father, Nehemiah, that 'our stock is great but I expect we shall get out of it'.³⁹ He continued that sales had lately increased and that

33 Westropp, *Irish Glass*, p. 83.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

35 *Ibid.* The duty was reduced in 1835 but, by that time, the Irish glass industry was in terminal decline.

36 Most commentators give 1826 as the date which witnessed steam power arriving at the Waterford Glassworks. However, Samuel Lewis in his *Topographical dictionary of 1837* states that there was 'one Steam engine of 6 horsepower in 1825 for glass man-

To reduce the accumulated stock, members of the Wright family made 'ventures' to Britain to sell their goods. They had reasonable success. In April 1831, Jonathan could write to his father stating that 'our stock is very much decreased... we are better then we were twelve months ago... altogether I am not dissatisfied with the way we get on'.⁴¹ However, by late 1832, Elizabeth Walpole writing from Exeter to her cousin Jonathan Wright, expressed the view that he should get rid of the steam engine as too much glass was accumulating. '[W]hy with this in view', she continued, 'incur the expense of a boiler £32: if the cutting is to be done by hand in future, at least while the present partnership lasts, is it not a useless expenditure to my Uncle Nathan and to me to have a boiler put up for which no allowance will be made to us on our retirement'.⁴² There is certainly a hint of resentment in the last part of the sentence, perhaps referring to the terms of Jonathan Gatchell's will which put in place a temporary management structure until his son George reached his twenty-first birthday. This was now just two years away and, as the table below illustrates, the Glass enterprise was faced with a very difficult financial situation.

Table: A comparative statement at different periods. ⁴³

Date	Losses	Sinking Fund	Profits	Gross Profit	Stock of Glass Materials
31.10.1831	57.9.2	97.15.5	880	1035.4.7	4350.15.4
31.05.1832	113. 1. 1	25.6.3	230	368.7.4	445.17.9
31.05.1833	48.12.10	50.2.10	451.8.0	550.3.8	4736.3.0

When George Gatchell reached his twenty-first birthday on 14 October 1835, the partnership of Gatchell, Walpole & Co. was dissolved in accordance with the stipulations of Jonathan Gatchell's will.⁴⁴ During the following year, George formed a new partnership with a long-time employee of the firm, George Saunders. The Wrights were aware that young George was fearful that they might contemplate carrying on the glass enterprise elsewhere 'for he must know that we have the recipes',⁴⁵ i.e., the formulae for making the glass. However, by this time, the crippling excise

40 *Ibid.*, Doc. 39.

41 *Ibid.*, Letter of 19 April 1831.

42 *Ibid.*, Doc. 69.

43 *Ibid.*, Doc. 86.

44 *Dublin Gazette*, 15 October 1835. Notice of Dissolution of Partnership.

45 Quoted in Westropp, *Irish glass*, p. 97. This statement refers to the secret glass formulae and illustrates that some degree of tension existed between the Gatchells and the Wrights.

duties had all but destroyed the Irish glass industry. The most progressive of the Cork glass-houses, the Waterloo Glasshouse, closed in 1835. By 1841, glass production in Cork had ceased.⁴⁶ Even had the Wrights decided to carry on their glass business elsewhere the economic climate was no longer conducive to such a venture. Although George valiantly persevered with glass production in Waterford until 1851, it is clear that had the Wrights not assumed control of the enterprise in 1830 (following the death of James Gatchell), George himself would not have had an inheritance worth inheriting.

In a letter of December 1828 to his brother-in-law, Nathan Gatchell mentioned that 'Samuel Millar, a protestant and respectable, is now foreman of the glass-works'.⁴⁷ Millar was to play an important and crucial role during this period of technological change at the Waterford Glassworks. Having just acquired a steam engine, it was Millar who initiated the radical design changes necessary to accommodate the precision cutting allowed by steam power. However, by 1832, the Wrights had lost all confidence in Millar, and with good reason. Writing to his father in the same year, Jonathan Wright informed him that

we are applying to the Chancellor of having the partnership broken up as the stock of glass is accumulating - near £300 more than November last - this I entirely put down to Samuel Millars account... who withheld from you the time it takes to cut each article (saying it's a secret of the business not to be told but to the proprietors) thereby putting it out of our reach the power to make an efficient reduction for fear he will lose his situation.⁴⁸

Millar's position was, however, made untenable by Wright's allegation that he had put a 'fictitious value on the cutting'.⁴⁹ This was a very serious charge and it must be assumed that Millar lost his position within the firm, as there is no mention of his name in correspondence after this date. The swift and decisive action taken by the Wrights clearly illustrates that they were intent on preserving for young George a viable inheritance. Indeed, there can be no doubt that had the Wrights not taken control of the enterprise in 1830, it would not have survived much longer. In a letter written in the same year, illustrating clearly how the Wright family came to control the firm, Jonathan Wright commented that

the Glass-house was carried on for many years by the Gatchells but all died off leaving widows and minors who had to receive their portions out of what is realised. The concern was encumbered by a heavy mortgage and also by old debt amounting to £2000 much of it in debt due in America and

Elizabeth Walpole and it was only to save all from being managed by Nathan Gatchell and his two sons that they allowed the Wrights to take it up. Eventually because a partnership could not be avoided one was formed to represent all parties during the minority, the firm was Gatchell, Walpole & Co.⁵⁰

He concludes by stating that his father Nehemiah 'represented the minors without one penny advantage to himself'.⁵¹

While it would be easy to criticise those of the immediate Gatchell family - Nathan, Elizabeth and James (and their offspring) - for dissipating the wealth accumulated by their father, Jonathan, one must take due cognisance of the changed economic environment after 1825. Nevertheless, from the above correspondence it is evident that the strict moral code of the Quaker community had been compromised by this prosperity. The endeavours of the Wright family ensured that the terms of Jonathan Gatchell's will were adhered to. George Gatchell did inherit his father's enterprise; but by 1835, the Irish glass industry was already in terminal decline.

Survival 1835-51

The partnership formed between George Gatchell and George Saunders continued for twelve years. During that time, the company's products were exhibited at the Royal Dublin Society Exhibitions of 1835 and 1836, winning silver medals at both. In 1842, the company opened a warehouse in Limerick to sell and distribute their glass. The company also maintained a small level of exports throughout the 1840s.⁵² Indeed, according to John Francis Maguire 'from the year 1835 to the year of the potato blight the rate of profits made in [Gatchell's] concern ranged from twenty to forty percent on capital'.⁵³ In 1848, George Gatchell terminated the partnership and assumed sole control of the Waterford Glassworks as his father had done almost forty years earlier.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, he continued to exhibit his glassware. In 1850, he again displayed his crystal at the Royal Dublin Society Exhibition where his mas-

50 Gatchell Letters. Letter dated 7 July 1830. It is not clear from this document to whom this letter was addressed. It is also curious that its contents have never before been quoted.

51 *Ibid.*

52 The Waterford newspapers of this period carry weekly export lists from the port and flint glass is a regular albeit small export item.

53 J. F. Maguire (1853) *The industrial movement in Ireland* (Cork), p. 10.

54 *Waterford Evening News*, 22 December 1848. Notice of the dissolution of the Gatchell-Saunders partnership appears.

55 Waterford Crystal (1968) *Waterford Crystal* (Dublin: Brown & Nolan) Unpaginated.

sive crystal centre bowl with tripod stand was the main attraction. The following year, at the Great Exhibition in London's Crystal Palace, his contribution consisted of prisms, bowls, vases, decanters and a magnificent ornamental centre stand for a banqueting table, consisting of forty pieces of cut glass, so fitted to each other as to require no connecting sockets of any other material.⁵⁵ Gatchell also supplied blank glasses to other glass producers. In 1851, the Belfast Newsletter commented that Jane Cleland 'has imported from Waterford a quantity of plain flint glass which she has got cut to the newest and richest patterns'.⁵⁶ The following year was to witness the last public exhibition of glass from George Gatchell's Waterford Glassworks. At the Cork Exhibition of 1852, three individuals displayed pieces of Waterford glass from their private collections.⁵⁷ By this time, however, the Waterford Glassworks had been closed for almost a year.⁵⁸

Though the excise duties on glass were repealed in 1846, George Gatchell's attempts to keep his enterprise afloat proved fruitless. In August 1850, in a letter to his cousin Jonathan Wright, he stated that if he was to carry on, new capital would be needed and though he was going to advertise in English and Scottish papers, he went on to say:

I do not like to abandon the old concern without a further struggle, although suffering as regards remunerating power, from general depression and from want of capital, is still in full vigour of activity with a larger respectable and increasing connection, and (in my opinion perhaps better) as ever I have known it. But I must now either get a partner with adequate capital - sell or stop work finally in a few months.⁵⁹

Continuing, he states that debts were never at any time too large and

your judgement will enable you to guess correctly as to the *prima facie* eligibility of the party and of course he should be a Protestant.⁶⁰

His struggle was, however, in vain. Writing again to his cousin in 1851, he states that:

I may mention (in private) that I have quite concluded on giving up the business as soon as I possibly can, as I find it quite useless to strive against adverse

55 (1968) *Waterford Crystal* (Dublin: Brown & Nolan) Unpaginated.

56 *Belfast Newsletter*; 31 October 1851.

57 Maguire, *Industrial movement in Ireland*, p. 103. Messrs Carey, Norris and Sheehan of Cork lent their pieces of Waterford to the exhibition.

By October 1851, it was all over. On the 20th of that month, the stock was auctioned off and, in February, the seven-horsepower engine, along with office furniture and other material and tools, were sold.⁶²

Conclusion

The Gatchell letters give a unique and rare insight into the intricate workings of Quaker business enterprise during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the early years, the strict moral code and close family links which characterised the Quaker community proved to be enduring and cohesive elements in their business endeavours. However, as prosperity ensued, this moral foundation was sundered from their economic activities. This conflict between traditional Quaker morality and a more liberal expression of their beliefs being demanded by the younger generation was a struggle not just confined to Waterford, it was a conflict which was convulsing Quakerism in general at that time. Their partnerships, initially effective and indeed essential in generating a strong flow of cheap investment capital, were unable in the long run to contend with the uncertain economic and religious environment of the first half of the nineteenth century. The capital-draining nature of these partnerships left Quaker enterprises vulnerable to these forces. The Waterford Glassworks is a good example of how the moral conflict within Quakerism at this time combined with an already difficult domestic economic environment and ultimately contributed to its closure.

61 Letter from George Gatchell to Jonathan Wright, 21 April 1851.

62 See note 57 above.

APPENDIX 1

Recipes for making Flint and Enamel glass with additional notes.

FLINT

Lb.	Oz.	Gr.				
4	:	1	:	9	Sand	If too high coloured use a little arsenic and if too low add more manganese
3	:	0		10	Lead	
1	:	1		0	Ashes	
14	:	0		0	Saltpetre	
0	:	6		0	Manganese	

ENAMEL

Lb.	Oz.	Gr.		
2	0	20	Sand	May use enamel cullet if you have with batch
3	0	24	Lead	
3	14	0	Saltpetre	
24	0	0	Arsenic	

Gatchell Letters Doc. 7.



Plate 1. Nano Nagle (from an engraving by Charles Turner, 1774-1857).

The Presentation nuns in Waterford City – a bicentenary essay

By Sr. Assumpta O'Neill

THE building blocks of a city's life are the institutions which meet the needs of its citizens and embody their aims and aspirations. Two of Waterford's educational institutions are this year celebrating the second centenary of their founding. One is Newtown School and the other is Presentation. In this essay, I shall attempt to give a summary of the latter as it originated and developed in Waterford.

It seems to me that the story can be presented in three strands. One is the material or financial aspect, such as the provision of accommodation and funding for an effort which, for many decades, depended on voluntary as distinct from public funding. The second would be the educational aspect, since that was the *raison d'être* of the establishment. Thirdly, there is the faith story of a religious community, not very visible to the observer perhaps, but of vital importance nonetheless.

On 6 September 1798, three Waterford ladies arrived back from Cork where they had just completed three years' training as members of the Presentation order of teaching nuns. The order had been founded in Cork in 1777 by Honora Nagle, a native of the parish of Killavullen, outside Mallow.

In April 1795, Margaret Power (a widow whose maiden-name was Fanning), her unmarried sister (whose first name is unknown) and Eleanor Power (Margaret's sister-in-law) travelled from Waterford to begin their training in Cork. This would involve both practical work with the children in the schools and spiritual preparation for the taking of vows. The latter would involve a lifelong commitment not just of their property but of themselves in experiencing an austere and very demanding life of work among the poor. Halfway through their spell in Cork, Miss Fanning's health gave cause for concern and she returned home. The vacant place was filled by Mary Mullowney of Ballybrack, then in her fifties, who was to live to the age of 112!

A Place to live

Back in Waterford, a site for a convent and school had been obtained at Hennessy's

a waterfords man who had joined the Jesuits and after their suppression had continued to work in his native diocese. The new parish priest of St Patrick's, Fr Francis Hearn, recently returned from Louvain, agreed to let the nuns have the tenancy of his house until the Hennessy's Road building was completed. It must have been encouraging for the three ladies to know that someone felt they had a future. The whole venture was so new and so fragile after a century of hardship and varying degrees of persecution that every gesture of confidence was a boon. The distressed state of the country in that particular year (1798) must have made optimism rather difficult.

So, in October, the community moved to the building in Jenkins Lane now occupied by the Genealogical Centre and on 6 November, the first pupils were admitted. The following March, the building began at Hennessy's Road and, after twelve months, it was sufficiently advanced to be habitable. Older people in Waterford will remember it as a health clinic, demolished only when the housing estate known as Rice Park was being planned. This was the home of the Presentation nuns for almost fifty years. In 1848, they moved to the present convent at Slievekeale, designed by Augustus Welby Pugin. For forty years the school was located in the north wing of the building. When Waterford Corporation adopted the Compulsory Education Act in the 1890s, extra accommodation was needed and a new infant school was erected nearby. Twenty years later, that too was inadequate and a fine two-storey stone building was added. Free second-level education, combined with the expansion of the city to the west, led to an explosion of school numbers in the middle of this century. For the twenty years from the mid-nineteen-fifties to the mid-nineteen-seventies, five major building-projects were undertaken. A junior primary school, an assembly hall, a senior primary school, a secondary school and a sports hall were all built with state grants on sites provided by the Presentation community. In that way, the small farm which had supported a few cows and helped to supply fruit and vegetables, disappeared.

Financially, Waterford convent was never wealthy. The original group had between them an annual income of £108, at a time when the annual maintenance for one person in the community was calculated at £20. Thereafter, new members of the community were required to have a personal dowry at profession which could be invested for their support for the remainder of their lives. This was a necessary arrangement as long as there was no income from the schools. The financial constraints were lessened when the school was affiliated to the National Board of Education in the 1870s. This meant that grants were available for school equipment and for the payment of monitresses. Until then, funding for the school came from generous benefactors, both clerical and lay. Some were relatives of the nuns, others were well-to-do individuals whom today we would call socially aware. Anxious to share their wealth with their less fortunate fellow-citizens, they gave or bequeathed various sums of money for the poor children attending the schools. Food and cloth-



tioned in the convent's expense accounts which detail purchases of oatmeal, cotton and woollen materials, and shoes. Borrowing from diocesan funds or from Mr Rice kept things going when funds were really low. Not surprisingly, accountancy does not seem to have been a strong point with ladies of that generation and, in the first few years, the accounts were kept by Bishop John Power or Edmund Rice. Benefactors included Charles Bianconi, Mary Power (*nee* Merry) who bequeathed part of her fortune in equal shares to Presentation, Mount Sion and St John's College. Her family, naturally enough, contested the will but it was found to be legally valid. Another benefactor was a gentleman named John Thomas, affectionately known in Waterford as Black Johnnie. A protégé of Edmund Rice, his first job in Waterford was as messenger boy for the nuns - hardly a very remunerative position - but his opportunity of education provided at Mount Sion enabled him to become a successful businessman in the city.

On occasion, it was an entire body of citizens who came to the rescue. Such was the case in 1861 when the chaplain, Dr James Vincent Cleary, organised a city-wide appeal for funds to complete the convent chapel at Slievekeale, still unfinished even after thirteen years' occupation. A meeting of 'influential citizens' was held in the Cathedral sacristy at which the mayor was present and 'it was decided to make a public collection at the doors of all the churches of the City on Sunday, 9 June'. The appeal also appeared in the *Waterford Chronicle* and *Waterford Citizen* over the name of Dr Cleary. The appeal itself is a very interesting summary of Presentation history. Contributions ranging from £10 to half-a-crown were received and acknowledged. The result was that the sum of £317.3s.4d. was made available to the nuns. Forty years later, another appeal was launched, this time to pay off a debt incurred in the building of the Infant School. This time, the meeting was held in the Council Chamber of City Hall and led to the formation of a committee of 12 ladies and 22 gentlemen which published an appeal

by which they would remind the people of Waterford and the public generally that for one hundred years the Presentation Nuns have been working in their midst, quietly, unostentatiously, but effectively, that they are the oldest religious teaching body in the city, and for years were the only one. Their claims are strong then, especially when it is remembered that the condition of things necessitating this appeal was not caused by the Nuns themselves. [...] In supporting this appeal, and putting it before the public, the Committee are only fulfilling a trust imposed upon them by a large body of their fellow citizens, they willingly undertake it, feeling as they do the obligations and debt of gratitude due by Waterford to the Presentation nuns, and feeling assured the appeal now made in their name, to a grateful and charitable public, will meet with a hearty and generous response.

This time, the fund-raising took the form of a bazaar held in the Courthouse on two days in June 1901, in splendid weather and presenting 'a round of attractions

such as we have rarely witnessed at any bazaar held in Waterford over the past forty years.' Once again, the nuns must have been greatly heartened at this involvement of so many people in the work of the schools. It was particularly noted in the published report that support came from members of the Church of Ireland as well as from Catholics.

By 1923, another school building was taking shape, but funds for this were supplied mainly by relatives and friends of the community at the time. The building boom in the nineteen-fifties and nineteen-sixties was able to draw on state grants, with the local contribution made up from the salaries of the nuns, who at that time formed the majority of the school staff. By the nineteen-seventies, public fund-raising was again called for, and various projects were undertaken until all debts were cleared. By that time, the number of nuns in receipt of state salaries had dropped dramatically. This arose from the transfer of nuns to Presentation missions in the Philippines, Guatemala, Slovakia, Ecuador and Zimbabwe and from the decline in numbers of those joining the community. The positive side of this has been the ever-growing involvement of lay colleagues in the work of the community.

The Work of Education

The main work of the community was in the field of education, primarily of 'poor female children' as the Rule had it, surely the most vulnerable group in society. (In Cork in the lifetime of the foundress, the education of boys was included but this was not the case in Waterford, except for little boys preparing for First Communion.)

In the last months of 1799, when the move from St Patrick's to Hennessy's Road was imminent, application was made to the Church of Ireland bishop for a licence to teach school. The applicant on behalf of the community was Eleanor Power, one of the three founding members. Her suitability as 'a fit and proper person to teach females and keep a school' was vouched for by two Catholic clergymen, Thomas Keating and John Power, and by Peter St Ledger, a merchant. The licence was granted on 16 December 1799, and recommended to her that she should 'pay the greatest attention as well to the morals of such children as to teaching them the fear of God and keeping His commandments.' It concluded with a warning forbidding 'all other person or persons from teaching within the city, without our Licence or faculty first to them for the purpose granted, on pain of the law and contempt thereof.' This concluding sentence seems to contradict the opinion sometimes heard that the licence was no longer required in 1799. However, it is also true that Eleanor and her companions may not have found it at all strange to have to apply for it, since the Established Church fulfilled many of the functions of the state. In that way, the

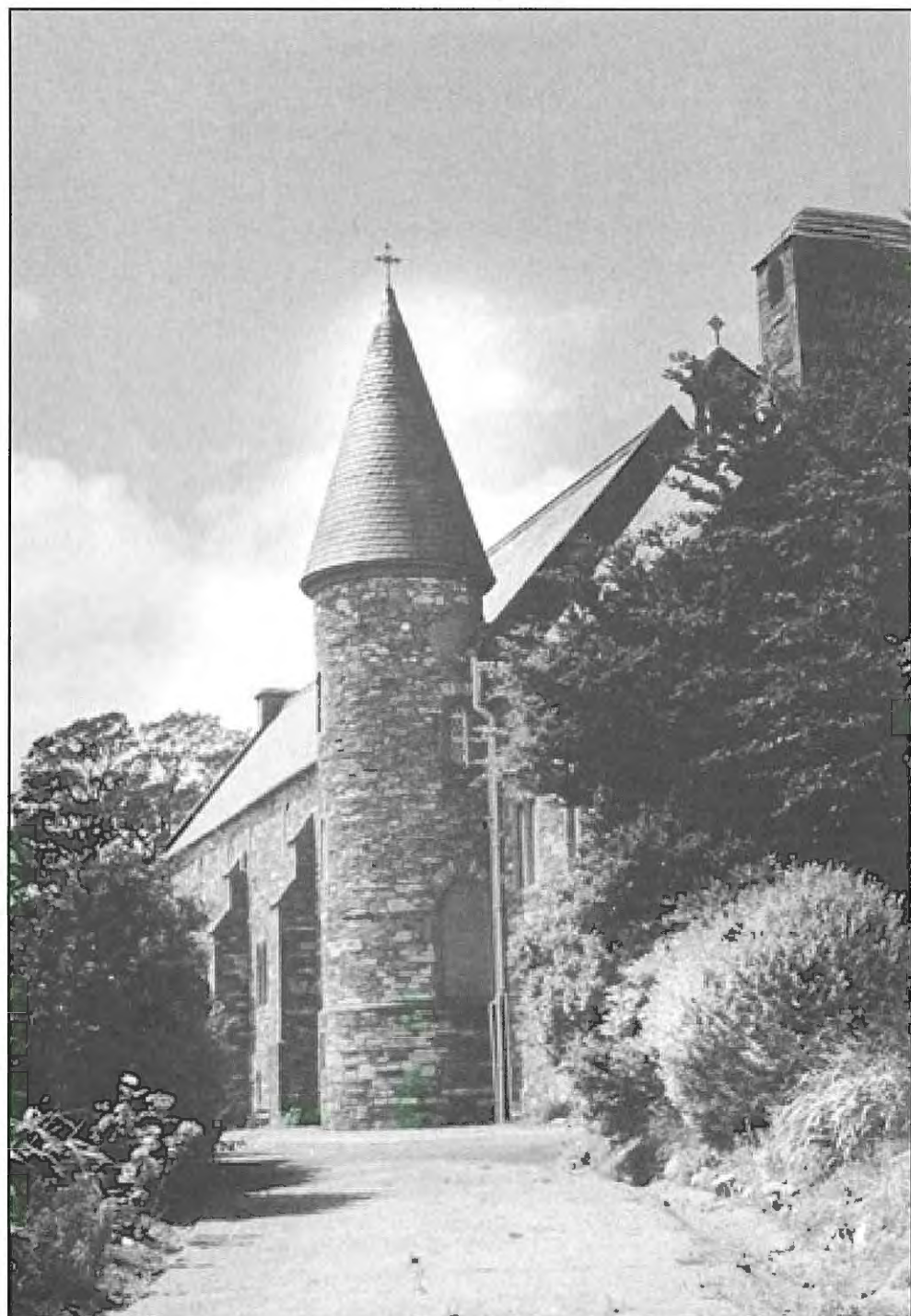
supplies listed in the accounts include needles and thread, staves and pencils, quills and paper, prayer books and catechisms, reading lessons and spelling lessons. A real devotion to the welfare of the children and of their parents was the ideal. In 1825, the Report of the Commissioners of Education was presented to both Houses of Parliament. They gave the following account of their impressions of Presentation schools.

We have visited these schools and found them well conducted with great order and regularity and the children are well supplied with books and every school requisite. The nuns are the teachers and devote themselves to the duty of instruction with the most unwearied assiduity and attention. We were much impressed with the appearance of affection and respect on the part of the pupils towards their teachers which characterise these institutions to a remarkable degree.

The *Directory* published from the mother house in Cork in 1850 leaves no doubt that the children were at the centre of the whole endeavour. It is a remarkable document for its time. The sister in charge of the school was to promote 'the sweetest union and good understanding' among the staff and, at the same time, the children are to be taught 'to treat their parents with the utmost respect and affection and to practise great civility and charity in their communications with each other.' In their work with the children, the teachers were required 'to study their natural dispositions, inclinations and capacities in order to treat them accordingly.' Corporal punishment was ruled out: 'They must never, through impatience or otherwise, strike or hurt them.'

As already mentioned, the school was affiliated to the National Board in the 1870s. From that time, the curriculum was largely decided by the Board. Around 1900, a new programme of teaching necessitated 'very expensive changes and improvements.' Later on, with the foundation of the State, the learning of Irish was required. The latter presented no small challenge to the teachers, one of whom felt she had cracked the code when she thought that '*Cad é sin?*' ('What is that?') meant a box! In 1938, a secondary school was established in order to give pupils the opportunity to take the state examinations. Expansion in recent years included the introduction of a pre-school unit and a post-Leaving Certificate programme. No new building was required for these, due to the present trend of declining numbers in the school-going population.

Apart from the education of children, adults were invited to attend on Sunday mornings for religious formation. In 1894, there were 130 adults attending. Later on, a lending library was set up containing 'works on mathematics, psychology, the sciences, home management, the history of our own country, of England, and of ancient Greece and Rome, and some of the best works of fiction.'



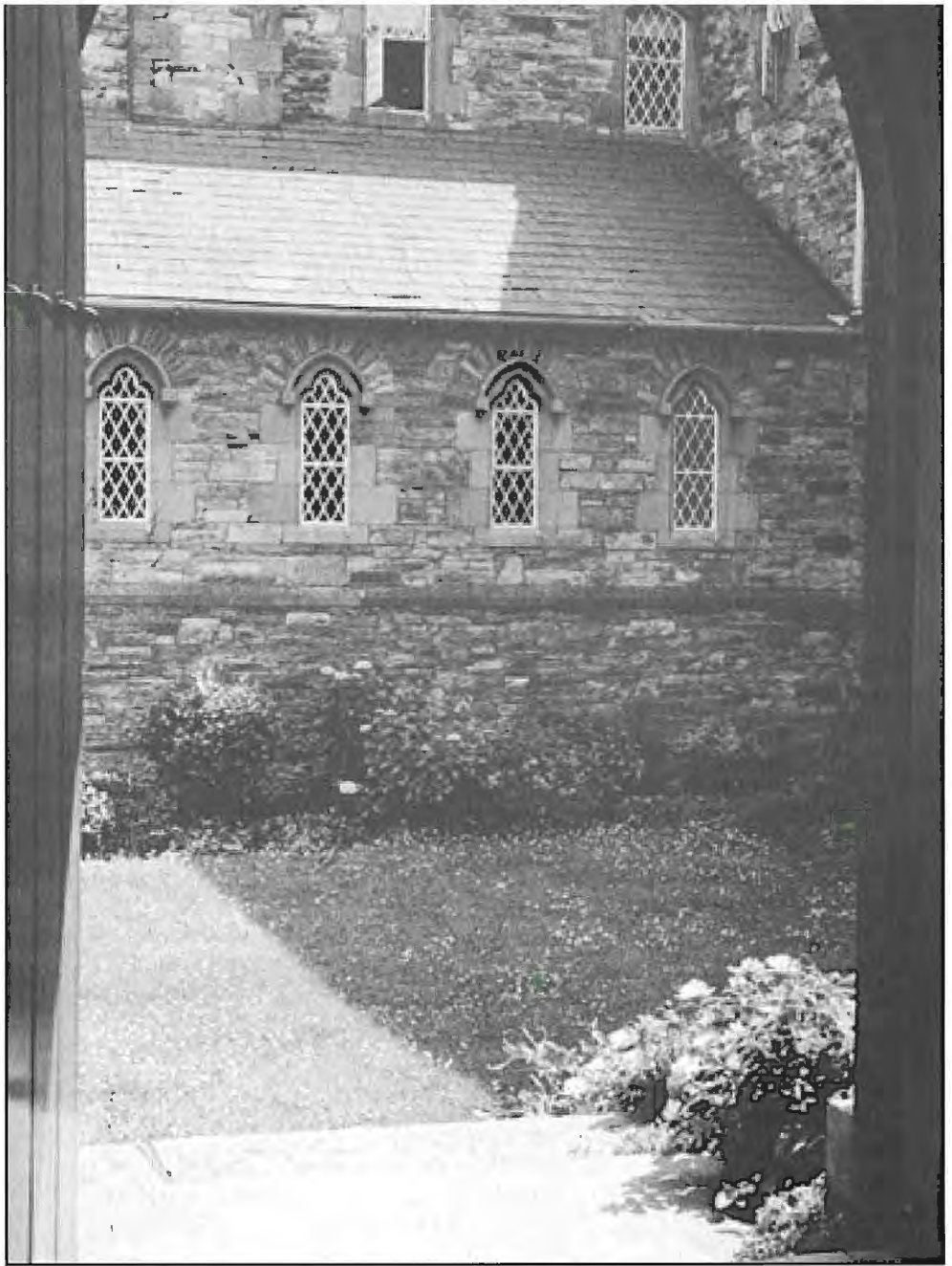


Plate 4. The cloister garth

(Photo: Seán McCarthy)

Behind the Scenes

Those who work behind the scenes at a show often feel that the real action is there! Somewhere in the background of a Presentation school is a religious community of women who have chosen a particular way of life and committed themselves to sharing it with each other. This third strand of the story is probably the most difficult to communicate, based as it is on the intangible but very real things that give meaning to life. The kernel of it has changed little, while the externals have undergone major changes, particularly in the second half of this century. Much of it is made up of simple everyday things, like baking bread, polishing floors, starching linen, welcoming guests, sharing meals, keeping candles burning or fires lighting, arranging flowers, caring for sick members, sharing an anecdote, bearing each other's burdens. Then, there is the business end of things to be looked after, maintenance and repairs, accounting, paying the bills, doing the shopping, answering the telephone. Deeper than that is the sharing of a life based on Christian faith and expressed in the daily routine of prayer together or alone, sharing Eucharist in the chapel and then throughout the day. The life and charism of the foundress continue to inspire today's community and influence the shape of things present and to come. The people whose ancestors were part of the story, whether as pupils in the schools or as good neighbours, continue to be just that - part of the story. For many years, the majority of the community were natives of Waterford city or county - two Knox sisters, a Tobin, two Keatings, two Walls, a Brophy and of course several Walshes and Powers! Many of them died young of tuberculosis, whilst some lived to be quite old. Two Cahill sisters from Tipperary were personal friends of Edmund Rice before they came to Waterford. In fact, he encouraged them to come, saying that Waterford needed themselves and their fortunes! Their niece joined the community in 1854 and lived there until 1923.

Separating the strands of the story, as I have done above, is obviously an artificial way of looking at various aspects of something that, when experienced, was knit into one. Days, seasons, years - all had (and have) their own rhythm of prayer, work, recreation, of life's little and big concerns, of joys and sorrows. Over the years, the community has varied in size from three to forty-two. At present, there are nineteen Presentation sisters in Waterford, four of whom live in the Larchville Estate.

On 28 March 1984, the late Seán Dunne presented *Thought for the Day* on RTÉ. I conclude this essay as he concluded his meditation in the convent cemetery:

Each one in her life affected other people; these people in turn affected others again until in turn everyone was included. In that way, the tiny graveyard was not confined to a space above the city. It had something to do with everything, the streets around it, the factories in the nearby Industrial Estate, the buses that

available in the Waterford Room of the Municipal Library. The *Directory of the Religious of the Presentation Order* was published from the Parent House (sic) in Cork. It has 288 pages. The full text of Seán Dunne's *Thought for the Day* is available from RTE. There are many *Lives* of Nano Nagle. The first dates from 1794, ten years after her death. Others appeared in 1845 and 1875. Detailed references to these and other minor biographies are given in what is undoubtedly the most comprehensive account, ie T. J. Walsh *Nano Nagle and the Presentation Sisters* (Dublin 1959) pp. 427. In 1997, The Presentation Sisters reprinted a *Life* done by Mary Anne Bianconi (daughter of Carlo Bianconi). It was first published in 1889.



Plate 5. The 1923 school

(Photo: Seán McCarthy)

Devotions at holy wells: an aspect of popular religion in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore before the Famine

By Eugene Broderick

Introduction

CANON Patrick Power has observed that scant attention has been paid to the study of Irish holy wells. This he attributed to the subject's difficulty and obscurity. Moreover, he has commented, with some acerbity, that 'the few writers who have essayed treatment of the matter have succeeded mainly in demonstration of their own ignorance'.¹ In the forty or so years since Power penned these remarks, scholars have been more attentive in their study of holy wells and have produced works of considerable merit.² Nevertheless, it is still a relatively neglected area of historical research. This essay will seek to examine the devotions practised at some of the wells in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore and how the changing religious and social climate in the decades before the Great Famine impacted on such devotions.

Popularity of devotions at wells

Writing of their tour of Ireland in 1840, Mr and Mrs Charles Hall (Charles and Anna Maria Hall) observed that 'nearly every district of the country contains some object of peculiar sanctity to which ignorance attributes the power of curing diseases and frequently of remitting sins.... These places are, for the most part, wells';³ while a

1 Patrick Power (1950) *The story of Mothel* (Waterford), p. 1.

2 For an excellent general work on holy wells see Patrick Logan (1980) *The holy wells of Ireland* (London: Colin Smythe). For more academic works see Walter Brenneman & Mary Brenneman (1995) *Crossing the circle at the holy wells of Ireland* (Virginia: Virginia University Press) and Janet Bord & Colin Bord (1985) *Sacred water* (London). Scholars have also written county and regional studies of wells. For examples of such works, see P. J. Hartnett (1947) 'Holy wells of East Muskerry, Co. Cork', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, **52**, pp. 5-17; Caoimhín Ó Danachair (1955) 'The holy wells of Co. Limerick', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, **85**, pp 193 - 217; *ibid.* (1958-59) 'The holy wells of County

time in the past. The distinguished scholar of folk belief, W. G. Wood Martin, has stated that there are at least 3,000 wells throughout the country.⁵ On the evidence of Canon Power's *Parochial history of Waterford and Lismore*, the diocese had at least 64 wells.⁶ All but six parishes are recorded as having at least one well.⁷ The majority had at least two wells, while two parishes (Clashmore and Knockanore) had five and six, respectively.⁸

Many holy wells attracted large numbers of devotees, especially on a 'pattern day', i.e., on the feast of the well's patron. The most important pattern in the diocese was that of Saint Declan of Ardmore, celebrated on 24 July. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, a vast concourse of people assembled in Ardmore on this day. Philip Dixon Hardy, the author of a book on holy wells published in 1836, described the scene thus:

Several thousand persons of all ages and sexes assemble upon this occasion. The greater part of the extensive strand which forms the western part of Ardmore Bay is literally covered by a dense mass of people.⁹

The Halls quoted an observer who put a figure of between 12,000 and 15,000 on the attendance on the day.¹⁰ The pattern of Mothel, in honour of Saint Cuán, celebrated on 10 July, was second only to that of Ardmore. It was attended by thousands.¹¹ The Halls described an immense bustle around the neighbourhood, with people coming a great distance to visit the well.¹² In a remote corner of the parish of Ballyduff, a well styled Tubbernahulla (the Well of the Penitential Station) was visited, in Canon Power's words, 'by multitudes from the counties of Limerick, Cork and Tipperary' on September 29, its pattern day.¹³ Most other wells attracted smaller, though significant, crowds that were drawn from their immediate localities.

4 Quoted in J. Bonwick (n.d.) *Irish druids and old Irish religions* (Dorset Press), p. 243.

5 W. G. Wood Martin (1902) *Traces of the elder faiths in Ireland* (London, 2 vols), vol. 1, p. 47.

6 Patrick Power (1912) *Parochial history of Waterford and Lismore* (Waterford). This book was originally published anonymously.

7 These parishes are Ardfinnan, Ballyporeen, Tallow, Tooraneena, St. John's and Ballygunner, and St. Patrick's. This list is based on Power's *Parochial history*, on the basis of the diocesan parochial boundaries as they then were.

8 Power, *Parochial history*, passim.

9 Philip Dixon Hardy (1836) *The holy wells of Ireland* (London), pp 58-9.

10 Hall & Hall, *Ireland*, p. 284.

11 Patrick Power (1952) *The place-names of the Decies* (Cork: Cork University Press), p. 404.

12 Hall & Hall, *Ireland*, p.282.

13 Power, *Parochial history*, p.19.

Rituals at wells

A holy well was visited for three main reasons: to do penance, to give thanks for favours received and to ask for favours. While the ritual might have varied at different wells, it generally entailed prayers being recited as the pilgrims made 'rounds', i.e., they walked around the well on a fixed beaten path. The prayers were the traditional Catholic ones - *paters*, *aves* and *glorias* - and sometimes a special prayer peculiar to a particular well. The pilgrims always made the circuit clockwise (*deiseal*). Introductory or concluding prayers might be said kneeling beside the well. The drinking of water and the bathing of diseased parts of the body were important components of the ceremonies. Finally, a token or offering was left. Such tokens often took the form of a small piece of cloth hung on a bush or tree beside the well.¹⁴

Canon Power has written an account of the traditional devotions practised at Saint Declan's Well and it may be seen that these included most of the elements described above:

The 'Rounds' begin with seven *paters* and *aves* recited kneeling before the well; then the pilgrim walks slowly three times around the ruin - proceeding *deiseal* - and during his ambulation he says the rosary (five decades) on his beads. Having completed the third circuit, he again kneels before the well, where he finishes, if he has not already completed, his rosary. A second series of seven *paters* and *aves* is then added, after which the client of St Declan may bathe sore limbs, eyes, etc. Finally, as a record of the devotions, the pilgrim scratches with a piece of slate the outline of a cross upon a stone... at the east end of the ruin.¹⁵

Holy wells and cures

One of the reasons, as stated above, for undertaking pilgrimages to wells was to cure an ailment. The Halls wrote that 'tedious and wearisome journeys have often been made for the purpose of drinking water from some specified fountain, by persons who were apparently hardly able to crawl a few yards from their own thresholds'.¹⁶ They described pilgrims at Mothel thus:

Among them are to be seen persons afflicted with almost every disorder... There may be seen labouring up the acclivity the father, and more often the mother, bending beneath the weight of the grown up son or daughter, who have been rendered by illness unable to perform the pilgrimage for themselves, and

14 Caoimhín Ó Danachair (1960) 'Holy well legends in Ireland', in *Saga och Sed*, pp. 35

While most wells were attributed with general healing powers, some were believed to be specially effective in the cure of particular diseases. Research has revealed at least seventy-five separate illnesses which specific holy wells in Ireland were thought to relieve.¹⁸ In Waterford and Lismore, Woodhouse Well (Kilmolash parish) was resorted to for the cure of headaches,¹⁹ as was St Martin's Well at Adamstown,²⁰ while a holy well at Kilcarron, in the parish of Clogheen, was regarded as efficacious in the cure of failing eyes.²¹ Most pilgrims, however, were not seeking a cure. Penance and devotions were their primary concerns, though there was a widespread belief that the waters might preserve them from future illnesses.

Devotees attributed any cures to miraculous intervention and not to any physical properties the water might have possessed.²² Lady Wilde wrote that 'the curative efficacy is wholly due to the observance of the ritual in honour of the saint'.²³ Accordingly, the prescribed rituals at wells had to be strictly adhered to by the pilgrims.

Significance of the rituals

What was the significance of the rituals? Many owed their origins to pagan beliefs. The practice of clockwise circumambulation (*deiseal*) has been identified as a remnant of paganism.²⁴ The rationale behind *deiseal* was that it imitated the daily motion of the sun.

It reflected the need once universally felt to live in harmony with cosmic forces, represented in this case by the sun as the ultimate generator of life. To circumambulate clockwise was to identify with the sun's diurnal course, regarded as life-enhancing and bringing luck.²⁵

The custom of leaving rags as offerings originated in the notion of the scapegoat, that is, the transfer of disease or misfortune to another object. By rubbing the dis-

17 *Ibid.*, p. 282.

18 Bord & Bord, *Sacred water*; p.35.

19 Power, *Place names*, p. 95.

20 *Ibid.*, p.368.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 321.

22 W. S. Corder (1946) 'The cult of the holy well', in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Third Series, 9, p. 29.

23 Lady Wilde (1887) *Ancient legends of Ireland* (London, 2 vols), vol. 2, p. 163.

24 W. G. Wood-Martin (1895) *Pagan Ireland: an archaeological sketch* (London), p. 145.

25 Bord & Bord, *Sacred Water*; p. 63.

eased body with a rag, the ailment was transferred to it and gradually left the body as the piece of cloth rotted away. In 1855, a visitor to St Bartholomew's Well, at Piltown, County Kilkenny, observed:

The venerable thorns which overshadowed it, bore a motley appearance, being covered with red, blue, and green ribbons and rags, as if torn from the dresses of pilgrims, and tied up as a finale to their 'rounds' and prayers. An old crone engaged in going her 'rounds', said that 'they were tied by each, to leave all the sickness of the year behind them'.²⁶

The Halls recorded that pilgrims at Mothel believed that the two saints associated with the locality - Cuán and Brógán - appeared in the well in the shape of two small fish;²⁷ while Canon Power wrote of a sacred trout being associated with the place.²⁸ Similar manifestations were to be found at other wells throughout the country.²⁹ Sacred fish were an important feature of Celtic mythology.³⁰ Moreover, again at Mothel the Halls commented on a tree being 'a particular object of veneration' for the pilgrims.³¹ Sacred trees were not unusual at holy wells,³² and this was an echo of the pagan Celtic reverence for trees.³³

That many beliefs associated with wells had a pagan aspect is not surprising. Scholars have commented upon the universalising tendency of Christianity which attempts to convert or absorb those cultural forms which are counter to its own.³⁴ The first expounders of the Christian faith in Ireland accommodated their teaching

26 Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, pp. 159-60.

27 Hall & Hall, *Ireland*, pp. 281-2.

28 Power, *The story of Mothel*, p. 2.

29 Logan, *Holy wells*, pp. 121-27; Corder, 'The cult of the holy well', p. 30; Wood Martin, *Traces of the elder faiths*, vol. 1, pp. 110-12.

30 Brenneman & Brenneman, *Crossing the circle at the holy wells of Ireland*, pp. 76-77. For example, according to Celtic mythology, a sacred salmon dwelt in the Otherworld in the Well of Segais. Whoever would eat the salmon would gain wisdom. Finn Mac Cumhaill did this and so became a very wise man.

31 Hall & Hall, *Ireland*, p. 282.

32 Logan, *Holy wells*, pp. 89-97; A.T. Lucas, 'The sacred trees of Ireland', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 68, (1963), pp. 40-42. Lucas has analysed the incidence of the various species of trees and bushes at a random sample of 210 holy wells scattered over the whole country (p. 42). His results were as follows: whitethorn (103) ash (75), oak (7), willow (6), elder (5), holly (4), rowan (3), alder (3), elm (2), yew (1), and fir (1).

33 Wood Martin, *Traces of the elder faiths*, pp. 154-58; Lucas, 'The sacred trees of Ireland', pp 16-45; Brenneman & Brenneman. *Crossing the circle at the holy wells of Ireland*

power believed to reside in wells to the service of their church, for the Celts were practitioners of well worship,³⁶ the well being described by two American scholars as the centre of Irish Celtic spirituality.³⁷ As the influence of the Christian faith spread across the land, the old customs were overlaid by Christian observances and the pagan aspects of beliefs and customs associated with wells were hidden behind the facade of the new faith.³⁸ However,

although the Christian church was quite successful in taking over holy wells, the Celtic water cult was by no means totally absorbed. Many wells were dedicated to saints, but the rituals performed and the hopes expressed had no Christian religious connection and were not in any way regulated by a Christian priest.³⁹

Many of the beliefs associated with holy wells were part of a wider belief system prevalent in pre-Famine Ireland. Fairies, changelings, charms and spells were very real in the mental world of a large number of Catholics.⁴⁰ There was 'a pervasive presence throughout the early nineteenth century of practices not recognised by the canon of Tridentine, let alone neo-ultramontane, Catholicism'.⁴¹ It has been argued by Professor Seán Connolly that for a real understanding of Irish Catholicism in the pre-Famine period, it is necessary to look beyond official church doctrines and rituals to another set of beliefs and practices, some of them identifiable as survivals from earlier religious traditions, others examples of the type of magical and supernatural beliefs which can be found at any time in societies below a certain threshold of economic and social development.⁴² In effect, canonically-sanctioned Catholic practices were complemented by rituals and beliefs which were often survivals of the pre-Christian Celtic religion.⁴³ Thus, the whole atmosphere of pre-Famine Catholicism was ambiguous.⁴⁴ Nowhere was this ambiguity more

35 Wood Martin, *Traces of the elder faiths*, vol. 1, p. 48.

36 Bonwick, *Irish druids and old Irish religions*, pp. 238-44.

37 Brennehan & Brennehan, *Crossing the circle*, p. 81.

38 Bord & Bord, *Sacred Water*, p. 19.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

40 See S. J. Connolly (1982) *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan), pp 100-108; W. Y. Evans Wentz (1911) *The fairy-faith in Celtic countries* (Oxford); E. Estyn Evans (1957) *Irish folk ways* (London: Routledge), pp. 295-307. For a consideration of the significance of popular beliefs, see David W. Miller (1975) 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', in *Journal of Social History*, 9, pp. 90-94.

41 K. Theodore Hoppen (1984) *Elections, politics, and society in Ireland 1832-1885* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 211.

42 Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland*, pp. 100-108.

43 Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', p. 89.

44 Hoppen, *Elections, politics and society*, p. 216.

apparent than at the holy well, for it was at the well that Celt and Christian met.⁴⁵ Therefore, it was here that the beliefs of paganism and Christianity continued to co-exist.

Yet, in considering these beliefs, some scholars have tended to concentrate their attention on the influence of paganism, and in so doing, have tended to relegate the importance of Christianity. For example, the distinguished geographer and folklorist, E. Estyn Evans, has written that 'countless holy wells resorted to for cures owe their virtue to an older magic. A strong whiff of the supernatural hangs around them'.⁴⁶ It is equally valid to observe that a strong whiff of Christianity, of the Roman Catholic variety, hangs around them. After all, wells were visited for the Christian purpose of doing penance. Moreover, the prayers recited at all stages of the ritual were traditional Catholic ones. Many wells had prayers unique to them and such prayers were strong expressions of Catholic beliefs. At Ardmore, pilgrims prayed:

*Go mbeannaí Dia dhuit, a Dhealgain naofa,
Go mbeannaí Muire agus beannaim féin duit
Is go dtí a thanga mé ag gearán mo scéil duit
Chun tusa a insint agus a Réiteach.*

*Go mbeannaí Did dhuit, a Dhealgain naofa,
Go mbeannaí Muire agus beannaim féin duit
Is chugat - sa a thanga, ag gearán mo phéine
Le coinne go bhfaighim asbíóid im ghníomhartha go léireach*

(May God bless you, Saint Declan
May Mary bless you and I bless you
It is to you I came with my complaints
To tell you that God may solve them.

May God bless you, Saint Declan,
May Mary bless you and I bless you
It is to you I come to complain of my suffering
In the hope I may get full relief during my devotions.)⁴⁷

45 Brenneman & Brenneman, *Crossing the circle*, p. 76.

46 E. Estyn Evans (1977) 'Peasant Beliefs in Nineteenth Century Ireland', in Daniel Casey & Robert Rhodes (eds), *Views of the Irish Peasantry 1800-1916* (Connecticut: Archon Books). p. 44.

and actions would negate the efficacy of the devotions. The fact is that, for devotees, the rites of pagan origin had entirely lost their original significance, and in the words of Lady Wilde, 'were only practised as ancient customs, for which the Irish have a great reverence, as having come down to them from their forefathers'.⁴⁸ There was no conflict in their minds between beliefs and rituals of a Christian and a non-Christian character. No contradiction was seen in combining prayers learned from the Catholic Church with the sympathetic magic of a piece of cloth tied to a bush; in reciting the rosary while adhering to the *deiseal* of pagan origin; and in believing that saints appeared as fish.⁴⁹ The primary concern of those who visited wells was to show respect for the sacredness of the place by doing exactly what earlier generations had done at these sites.

It was a firm belief that disrespect for a well brought dire retribution on the head of the guilty party. There is a story from Waterford's folklore which illustrates this conviction. An English officer had a horse which went blind. He offered £10 to a man to take the animal to the holy well at Modeligo in the hope of a cure. The man refused as taking an animal to the well would have been an act of great disrespect. Another accepted the money, bringing the horse to the well and completing the rounds. The horse was cured - but the man leading it was struck blind.⁵⁰

Holy wells and formal religious practices

The importance of holy wells in the spiritual life of people prior to the Famine assumes a greater significance when one considers the rate of mass attendance recorded in 1834. The *First report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction* (1835) reveals that little over half the population of Waterford and Lismore attended church on Sundays.

48 Lady Wilde (1887) *Ancient Ireland*, vol. 2 (London), p. 162.

49 Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 110.

50 Pádraig Ó Milleadha (1936) 'Seanchas Sliabh gcua', *Irish Folklore*, 6, pp. 231-2.

Religions affiliation and Mass attendance rates in the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore in 1834⁵¹

Religious affiliation					
Diocese	Population	Catholic	Established Church	Other non-Catholics	Mass Attendance Rates ^a
Waterford	49,215	43,371	5,301	543	69%
Lismore	216,236	209,720	5,970	546	48%
Total	265,452	253,091	11,271	1,089	52%

Catholic parish	Mass attendance rates shown as percentage	Mass attendance rates shown Catholic parish	as percentage
Killea, Crooke and Faithlegg ^b	14	Kilsheelan and Kilcash	49
Aglish and Ballinameela	18	Modeligo & Affane	50
Ardfinnan, Grange & Ballybacon	19	Ballylooby & Tubrid	50
Portlaw and Ballyduff ^c	21	Cahir	51
Mothel and Rathgormack	26	Abbeysided & Ballinroad ^d	55
Ardmore, Grange and Ballymacart	27	Dungarvan ^d	55
Clashmore and Piltown	21	Powerstown & Lisronagh	67
Newcastle and Fourmilewater	28	Kill and New-town	69
Kilrossanty and Fews	29	Touraneena and Knockaune	73
Kilgobinet and Colligan	34	Saint 'Mary's (Clonmel)	77
Knockanore, Kilwatermoy & Glendine	35	Carrickbeg ^d & Windgap ^d	81
Ballyporeen	38	Carrick-on-Suir & Newtown	
Ring	40	Lennon	81
Lismore ^d	45	Tallow	81
Cappoquin ^d	45	The City^b	
Clogheen & Burncourt	46	Holy Trinity Without and Butlerstown ^d	81
Dunhill & Fenor ^c	46	Holy Trinity Within ^d	81
Stradbally & Ballylaneen	48	St John's & Ballygunner ^d	81
Ballyneal & Grangemockler	48	Saint Patrick's ^d	81
		Tramore & Corbally ^b	84

Note a. Shown as percentage of recorded population.

Note b. Parishes in diocese of Waterford.

Note c. Parishes in both dioceses.

Note d. Individual Mass attendance rates cannot be clearly distinguished.

country's population did not go to mass because the precept of attendance did not bind them. Those exempt included children under seven, the aged, the sick, and the otherwise impeded - mothers caring for children, for example.⁵³ Monsignor Ignatius Murphy agreed with Corish that his estimate is too low, particularly for people living in rural areas. Murphy points out that statistics for the 1841 census show that 18 per cent of the population was under the age of seven. The aged, the sick and mothers caring for children constituted a sizeable, though statistically indeterminable, group in the 1830s.⁵⁴ Whatever about the finer points of statistical interpretations of Mass attendance figures, it is clear that a not inconsiderable number of Catholics failed to satisfy the canonical obligation of attending church on Sundays.

In the diocese of Lismore, it is possible to identify two distinct areas with relatively low Mass attendance rates. One stretched from Ardfinnan, across the Comeragh Mountains to the parish of Portlaw, and included the parishes of Newcastle, Kilgobinet, and Mothel.⁵⁵ The second area extended through southern County Waterford, from Knockanore to Ardmore.⁵⁶

The latter area is of particular interest in the context of this study. The holdings of small farmers and cottiers made up a majority of all farms in Waterford before the Famine. Together with the large number of labourers (including casual ones, or spalpeens), they were numerically the dominant element in the population.⁵⁷ Around Ardmore, the highest incidence of agricultural labourers was to be found.⁵⁸ It has

51 See M. B. Kiely & W. Nolan (1992) 'Politics, land and rural conflict in County Waterford, c. 1830-1845', in William Nolan, Thomas P. Power & Des Cowman (eds), *Waterford: history & society*, (Dublin: Geography Publications), p. 485. Kiely's and Nolan's data is based on the *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland*. [45, 46], H.C. 1835, xxxiii, r. 829, pp 24-5, 3C-11C, 13C-17C.

52 Miller's 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine' was the first serious attempt to analyse this report, but his arguments have been criticised by other scholars. For example, see E. Hynes (1978) 'The Great Hunger and Irish Catholicism', *Societas*, 8, pp 137-56.

53 Patrick Corish (1985) *The Irish Catholic experience: a historical survey* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan), p. 167.

54 Monsignor Murphy makes this point in *The Diocese of Killaloe 1800-1850* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1992), pp. 345-6.

55 Kiely & Nolan, 'Politics, land and rural conflict', p. 487.

56 *Ibid.*

57 Jack Burtchaell (1995) 'The Demographic Impact of the Famine in County Waterford', in Des Cowman & Donald Brady (eds), *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850: Teachta na bprataí dubha* (Dublin: Geography Publications/Waterford County Council), p. 265.

58 Kiely & Nolan, 'Politics, land and rural conflict', p. 487.

been argued that participation in the formal services of the church was weakest among labourers and cottiers.⁵⁹ This can be explained by the fact that attendance at Mass in the years before the Famine had not become the criterion of the practising Catholic it was later to become (with the tighter organisation of the Church in the second half of the nineteenth century).⁶⁰ Poverty was also a significant factor in influencing church attendance. There were frequent reports nationally of people being unwilling to attend Mass because they did not possess decent clothes in which to appear. A County Cork labourer told the Poor Inquiry Commission in the 1830s:

When a man has nothing but rags on him he has not the courage to go among the people. If he went in among the clean and decent congregation on a Sunday, all the eyes of the chapel would be on him, and he could never stand it.⁶¹

If poorest for Mass attendance, labourers and cottiers were the main participants in devotions at wells.⁶² Therefore, it was no accident that the pattern of Ardmore was 'the most dramatic annual exposition of popular religious culture',⁶³ given the social composition of the area's hinterland. It would appear that canonical Catholicism did not exhaust the possibilities for religious practice open to peasants. Professor Miller has observed that it is meaningful to treat the practices at wells as part of the peasants' religious life since these performed some of the functions which sociologists attribute to religion.⁶⁴ Many of those who made pilgrimages to wells were motivated by a real sense of spirituality. Commenting in 1827 on pilgrims at a Donegal well, the Rev. Cesar Otway wrote that one could 'detect the germ of fervid devotional religion, and bursts of genuine piety are to be observed which bespeaks hearts capable of high attainment in Christian holiness'.⁶⁵ The same might have been said

59 *Ibid.*

60 Donal Kerr (1982) *Peel, priests and politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 48. Professor Kerr makes the important point that the practice of the 'stations' - the celebration of Mass in private dwellings in various parts of a parish - gave more people the opportunity of attending Mass and receiving the sacraments than the attendance at parish churches would suggest.

61 Quoted in Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 89. See also Murphy, *Diocese of Killaloe*, pp. 346-7.

62 Hoppen, *Elections, politics and society in Ireland*, p. 211.

63 Kiely & Nolan, 'Politics, land and rural conflict', p. 487.

64 Miller, 'Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine', p. 89.

65 Cesar Otway (1827) *Sketches in Ireland: descriptive of interesting, and hitherto unno-*

Canonics, as some scholars would do. To do so, is to adopt modern and rigid criteria in any assessment of their religiosity and to be too dismissive of their devotions. They were not always orthodox Catholics but Waterford's peasants were generally a religious people, who found at wells a spiritual consolation which they did not always find, for whatever reason, in the formal rituals of the Church. Dr Thomas McGrath has written:

From what perspective do we examine pre-Famine Catholicism? Do we examine it from the standpoint of twentieth-century Catholic norms or do we seek to understand it within its own terms? Do we draw a sharp distinction between official and popular religion as was often done in synodal legislation if not in practice? Do we acknowledge a valid role for popular religion or do we look on the venerable devotions of popular religion with their now seemingly incongruous mixture of the sacred and the profane as merely superstitions or as evidence that these people were not practising Catholics at all? To do so would be a condescending dismissal and a dangerous misreading of the vibrant heritage of Irish Catholicism.⁶⁷

Patterns as social events

If patterns were important religious festivals, they were also major social events in the lives of many people in the decades before the Famine. They were occasions on which the participants could meet to socialise and amuse themselves. Patterns attracted hawkers and entertainers who set up stalls and tents near the sites of the devotions to provide food, drink, and music for dancing. In effect, this aspect of patterns resembled fairs. However, like many social events before the Famine, particularly those popular with the poorer elements of society, the carnival side of the pattern was usually attended with what has been described as 'a characteristic devotion

66 For example, E. Estyn Evans has written that 'In his sense of oneness with the living past and in his intimate relations with the forces of nature, the Irish peasant or the Irish countryman, during the first half of the century, at any rate, was pagan rather than Christian' (see his 'Peasant beliefs in nineteenth-century Ireland', p. 54). The most influential and forceful critique of pre-Famine Catholicism is that of Professor Emmet Larkin, according to whom: 'Most of the two million Irish who emigrated between 1847 and 1860 were part of the pre-Famine generation of non-practising Catholics, if indeed they were Catholics at all'. (Emmet Larkin [1972] 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *American Historical Review*, 77, p. 651).

67 T. G. McGrath (1990) 'The Tridentine Evolution of Modern Irish Catholicism, 1563-1962: a re-examination of the 'Devotional Revolution' Thesis', in Réamonn Ó Muirí (ed.), *Irish church history today* (Armagh), p. 98. Dr McGrath's excellent contribution to, among other things, the nature of pre-Famine Catholicism rightly rejects the tendency of some modern scholars to characterise the beliefs of the majority of the population in these decades as being more pagan than Christian.

to whiskey and free fights'.⁶⁸ Thus the pattern, one of the most prominent features of social life in pre-Famine Ireland became one of the most criticised.

Philip Dixon Hardy, describing the festivities of the Ardmore pattern, wrote:

The sanctity of the day... did not prevent its night being passed in riot and debauchery. The tents which, throughout the day, the duties owing to the patron saint had caused to be empty, at evening became thronged with the devotionalists of the morning, and resounded till day-break with the oath of the blasphemer, and the shouts of the drunkard.⁶⁹

The Halls recounted a scene at Ardmore of rioting, quarrelling, and drunkenness, asserting that rarely did a pattern pass without the loss of lives. They included in their account the observations of a gentleman described as being of 'high attainments and undoubted veracity'.

The tents, sixty-four in number, are now complete, [and] eating, drinking, [and] dancing, occupy the multitude. One figure is walking about with a boiled leg of mutton and salt in one hand, a big knife in the other, vociferating 'a cut for a penny! a cut for a penny!'. Here cheese and fish are selling; some tents contain gaming-tables... Seven o'clock - All now appears confusion, every man is drunk, and every woman is holding a man back from the deadly combat; bloody knees from devotion, and bloody heads from fighting are not

68 Bonwick, *Irish druids and old Irish religions*, p. 241. That violence was all too common in nineteenth-century Ireland is illustrated by the observations of the French traveller Alexis de Tocqueville on the occasion of his visit to the County Waterford Assizes on 22 and 23 July 1835. He wrote: '16 cases of murder. All these affairs turned out to be voluntary manslaughter or negligent homicide. But in all these affairs, I believe, a man had been killed. These assizes gave us the very clear impression that the lower classes of this county are very prone to quarrelling and fighting; that nearly every village forms a kind of faction, which has a sobriquet. Factions that began nobody knows when and continue nobody knows why, without taking on any political significance. When men of these different factions meet each other at a fair, a wedding, or elsewhere, it is rare they do not come to blows for the sole pleasure of the excitement that a fight gives. In general a man's life here seems of very little value. This is the result of our observations and also of all that we hear.' (Emmet Larkin, ed. (1990) *Alexis de Tocqueville's journey in Ireland, July-August, 1835* [Dublin], p. 53). That there existed a problem of excessive drinking may be seen from the fact that over eleven million gallons of whiskey were distilled annually, of which only 320,744 gallons were exported. It was estimated that thirteen pints of spirits were consumed per person in Ireland in 1838, compared to seven pints per person in England. In Waterford by 1838 6 000 gallons of legal whiskey were consumed annually. This statistic does not

Such scenes were hardly surprising when one considers that 300 tierces of porter were consumed at the pattern in 1840.⁷¹

Unrestrained conduct was a normal accompaniment of pre-Famine folk gatherings. Professor Evans has written that 'such moral holidays were a feature of many societies which had not been greatly influenced by urban ways and values' and that their purpose was 'cathartic'.⁷² Catholic clerics, however, regarded it as a profanity that religious devotions could be accompanied by such gross and improper conduct. Their response was decisive and concerted.

Clerical suppression of patterns

Priests set about suppressing patterns at holy wells. The one held at St John the Baptist well in the townland of Park (Rathgormack parish) was suppressed in 1825 by the parish priest.⁷³ In the 1830s, patterns were abolished in the parishes of Aglish⁷⁴ and Ring. The latter was celebrated at St Nicholas' Well and the abolition was due to what Canon Power termed 'abuses'.⁷⁵ Power does not give precise dates for the suppression of other patterns but it is reasonable to assume that this happened in the 1830s and 1840s. The pattern of Tubbernahulla in Ballyduff parish was interdicted by the parish priest, Dr Fogarty, because 'crying abuses' had crept in.⁷⁶ The pattern in honour of St Gobinet in the parish of Kilgobinet degenerated into such scenes of drunkenness and faction fighting that, in Power's words, 'war was declared upon it' by the clergy and it was discontinued.⁷⁷ The determination of the Church to assert its authority over patterns is evident when, in 1838, the bishop of the diocese, Nicholas Foran, suppressed (at the beginning of his episcopate) the pattern at Ardmore, as it was 'considered a nuisance of the very worst description and at which all sorts of vices were practised'.⁷⁸

70 Hall & Hall, *Ireland*, pp. 283-4.

71 Ó Ceallacháin, 'Temperance movements in Waterford', p. 86.

72 Evans, *Irish Folkways*, p. 256.

73 Power, *Place Names*, p. 416.

74 John O' Donovan, *Ordnance Survey letters*, p. 58. Writing on 23 July 1841 at Lismore, O'Donovan observed that the Aglish 'patroons' had been celebrated on 2 August and 4 October 'till about six years since, when they were abolished'.

75 Power, *Parochial history*, p. 189. Writing at Dungarvan on 15 June 1841, O'Donovan noted that a pattern was held annually at the well on 6 December 'until about ten years ago, when it was abolished by the clergy'. (*Ordnance Survey letters*, p. 46).

76 Power, *Parochial history*, p. 19. According to Power, Dr Fogarty was parish priest from March 1838 to July 1866 (*Parochial history*, p. 156).

77 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

78 Kiely and Nolan, 'Politics, land and rural conflict', p. 489.

Earlier attempts by the Church to act on a national basis against patterns had not been very successful.⁷⁹ The efforts of the 1830s and 1840s enjoyed a considerable level of success, at least in Waterford and Lismore, on the evidence of Canon Power and the Ordnance Survey letters of John O'Donovan. This was due to the fact that the social status of the priest had increased enormously by the late 1820s. This reflected his improved income⁸⁰ and lifestyle,⁸¹ and the prestige which had accrued to priests due to the active leadership displayed by the clergy in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation.⁸² Deference to social superiors was common and this deference influenced the relationship between priests and laity. The French traveller, Alexis de Tocqueville, described a journey in the west of Ireland in the 1830s in the company of a priest:

On seeing him the women courteseyed and crossed themselves devoutly, the men respectfully took off their hats. He saluted nobody and did not seem to notice the respect with which he was received.⁸³

The situation in Waterford and Lismore would have been little different and this social respect greatly facilitated the campaign against patterns.

Clergy and social discipline

The attitude to patterns was part of a wider campaign in which priests were seeking to exercise a greater control over members of the Church by enforcing a tighter social discipline. The most important manifestations of this desire were clerical par-

79 Connolly, *Priests and people*, pp. 140-2.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 50-1. See also Hoppen, *Elections, politics and society in Ireland*, pp. 224-5.

81 The diarist, Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin, gives us a valuable insight into the lifestyle of the Catholic clergy in County Kilkenny. In his *Cin lae Amhlaoibh*, he recounts a meal he had with his parish priest (Father Seamas Hennebry) on 28 September 1828. There were three dishes: tripes done in milk and butter; bacon with beef kidney and white cabbage; and roast duck with green peas (Tomás de Bhaldraithe, ed. (1970) *Cin lae Amhlaoibh* [Dublin], p. 46). On St Patrick's Day in 1829, he dined with the priest again. This time, the meal consisted of cod's head, smoked salmon, and fresh trout, with cabbage and cheese. They had plenty of drink in the form of wine, port, whiskey and punch (*Cin lae*, p. 54). Professor de Bhaldraithe has translated sections of the *Cin lae* and published them under the title *The diary of an Irish countryman* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1979). The relevant pages of this publication are 61 and 70.

about the phenomenon known as the Second Reformation. This referred to a particularly aggressive phase of Protestant missionary activity which began in the 1820s and continued, with varying degrees of intensity, until the 1860s. It had, as its objective, the conversion of Irish Catholics to the reformed faith.⁸⁶ The Second Reformation enjoyed the support of the *Waterford Mail*, the organ of Protestant opinion in Waterford. This journal declared that the Second Reformation was 'the brightest day that has ever beamed upon the moral regeneration of Ireland'.⁸⁷ This comment reflected the evangelical Protestant view that the main source of Irish economic, social, and political problems was the Roman Catholic religion.⁸⁸ The *Mail* declared that 'Popery was the root of all the evils which afflict this country'.⁸⁹ Catholicism was seen by ardent evangelicals as a pernicious faith, based on superstitions and heresies that were perpetuated by a priesthood steeped in ignorance and obscurantism, its members holding a tyrannical sway over their congregations, who

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- 84 For an account of the temperance campaign, see Colm Kerrigan (1992) *Father Mathew and the Irish Temperance Movement* (Cork: Cork University Press). For an account of the campaign in Waterford, see Ó Ceallacháin, 'Temperance Movements in Waterford', pp. 57-93. For a brief account of temperance activities in Waterford City, see Eugene Broderick (1995) 'A decade of agitation and strife: Thomas Meagher - mayor, 1843, 1844', in Eamonn McEaney (ed.), *A history of Waterford and its mayors from the 12th century to the 20th century* (Waterford), pp. 188-191.
- 85 For clerical attitudes to practices at wakes, see Connolly, *Priests and people*, pp. 148-65; Seán Ó Súilleabháin (1967) *Irish wake amusements* (Cork), pp. 146-57. Clerical opposition was due to the fact that many games were regarded as irreverent and not in keeping with the proper funeral rites for the dead. For a description of some games, see Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish wake amusements*, pp. 75-99.
- 86 For an account of the activities of evangelical missionary efforts and the Second Reformation, see Desmond Bowen (1978) *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70: A study of Catholic-Protestant relations between the Act of Union and Disestablishment* (Dublin & Montréal: Gill & Macmillan). For a discussion of how the Second Reformation impacted on Waterford, see Eugene Broderick (1995) 'The Famine and religious controversy in Waterford, 1847-1850', *Decies*, 51, pp. 11-25; especially pp. 11-13. The term 'Second Reformation' may be attributed to the Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin, William Magee, who encouraged proselytism in the 1820s. Addressing a Parliamentary commission in 1825, he stated: 'In truth, with respect to Ireland, the Reformation may, strictly speaking, be said only now to have begun.' In effect, he was suggesting that the 'Second Reformation' would succeed where the earlier one had failed.
- 87 *Waterford Mail*, 10 January 1827. The same journal later declared (on 10 March 1827) that 'never did so bright an era of moral and political generation dawn upon Ireland'.
- 88 Irene Whelan (1995) 'The Stigma of Souperism', in Cathal Poirteir, ed., *The Great Famine* (Cork: Mercier Press), p.136.
- 89 *Waterford Mail*, 30 December 1826.

were reduced to a state of spiritual thralldom.⁹⁰

The practices at holy wells were regarded by evangelicals as proof of their deeply held convictions as to the superstitious nature of Catholicism and confirmed them in their campaign to vanquish Popery. In the introduction to his book, *The Holy Wells of Ireland*, Philip Dixon Hardy declared

that the object I have in view is simply, by holding up to the eye of the public the superstitious and degrading practices I have described, by thus bringing public attention to bear upon them in their true colours, clearly to demonstrate, that they are really the prolific sources of much of the irreligion, immorality, and vice which at present prevail to such an awful extent through so many portions of our highly favoured land.⁹¹

In support of his argument, he quoted an observer of the Ardmore pattern who stated: 'I visited Ardmore, and am sorry to say, that the superstitious practices of the people there exceeded anything I had before witnessed'.⁹² The observer lamented that the pilgrims were 'wholly given to idolatry'.⁹³ Hardy attacked the Catholic clergy, asserting that

the simple fact of numerous Holy Wells, Patterns, and Stations... must appear proof positive, that they are still considered [by the priests] as a part and portion of the machinery with which they maintain their dominion over the minds of the ignorant and uninformed.⁹⁴

Whatever about these criticisms, it was in the matter of the social aspect of patterns that priests felt particularly vulnerable to evangelical attacks. These religious devotions revealed a disconcerting intermingling of the sacred and the profane. Accordingly, in the words of Monsignor Murphy, 'in the atmosphere of religious controversy of the 1820s, priests who had major patterns in their parishes did not want to leave themselves and the Catholic Church exposed to criticism because of activities over which they had little or no control and which they felt unable to defend'.⁹⁵ Devotees of the suppressed pattern at Gougane Barra in Cork believed that it was fear of the Protestants which had prompted the clergy to act against this occasion of popular piety.⁹⁶

90 Broderick, 'The Famine and religious controversy in Waterford', pp. 11-2.

91 Hardy, *Holy wells of Ireland*, p. iv.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

shows that they were highest in those areas in which the commercial farming class was strongest.⁹⁷ The farmer class, however, was more influenced by social considerations than by religious ones in its opposition to patterns.

The later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries covered a period when the Catholic laity was regaining middle-class status, and much of the code of behaviour which seemed to them appropriate to their new condition was borrowed from their middle-class Protestant neighbours who were not merely puritan but also largely out of sympathy with the manners and modes of the 'peasantry'.⁹⁸

It has been observed that in Waterford the strong farmers adopted increasingly, as the century progressed, the language, dress, and moral code of the landlord.⁹⁹ In effect, they sought to be as respectable as those they regarded as their social superiors, who were, as has been noted, very often Protestants. Indeed, writing in 1849, Sir William Wilde remarked that 'The tone of society in Ireland is becoming more and more 'Protestant' every year.¹⁰⁰ Protestant opinion was hostile to patterns; consequently, they were anathema to any farmer striving after respectability. It therefore comes as no surprise to find that the suppression of the pattern at Ardmore 'gave very general satisfaction to the gentry, clergy and farmers in the neighbourhood'.¹⁰¹

Moreover, priests were drawn mainly from the farming class. In 1808, Bishop Power of Waterford and Lismore maintained that 'the majority of our priests are the sons of honest farmers... generally of the better sort of farmers'.¹⁰² Only those whose families enjoyed a reasonable income could hope to consider entering the priesthood as a clerical education was costly.¹⁰³ In the absence of a significant non-farming middle class, the sons of farmers filled the ranks of the clergy. They had absorbed the values of their class, including the social ones which placed a significant emphasis on respectability. It was this fact, together with a determination by the clergy to assert authority over their flocks in response to what was regarded as Protestant evangelical aggression that dictated a vigorous attitude to patterns. The

97 Hynes, 'The Great Hunger and Irish Catholicism', p. 143.

98 Kevin Danaher (1972) *The year in Ireland* (Cork), p. 184.

99 Jack Burtchaell (1985) 'Nineteenth-century society in County Waterford', *Decies* 30, p. 33.

100 Quoted in Danaher, *The year in Ireland*, p. 184.

101 Kiely and Nolan, 'Politics, land and rural conflict', p. 489.

102 Quoted in Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 37.

103 James O'Shea (1983) *Priests, politics and society in post-Famine Ireland: a study of County Tipperary 1850-1891* (Dublin: Wolfhound), p. 14.

'Protestant' tone of society, as observed by Wilde, also affected the clergy. He wrote:

even the priests are becoming more Protestant in their conversation and manners. They have condemned all the holy wells and resorts of pilgrims, with the single exception of Lough Derg, and of this they are ashamed; for, whenever a Protestant goes upon the island, the ceremonies are stopped.¹⁰⁴

Discontented devotees at Gougane Barra were quoted by Otway as saying that 'the old priests were asier and dacenter, and they were jollier than those cross crathurs who came from the new College',¹⁰⁵ and that 'the times have begun to look black and the priests voteen and sour'.¹⁰⁶ Such sentiments were likely shared by some of the pilgrims at Waterford's suppressed patterns.

Allegations of physical intimidation

There were claims that some clergy employed physical force in pursuit of their objectives. At Ardmore, it was alleged that on some occasions the priests had horse-whipped pilgrims.¹⁰⁷ It is difficult to assess the veracity of such allegations. Intimidatory methods were employed by clerics in their campaign to impose greater discipline on the laity. For example, in June 1840, Bishop Foran informed members of the Temperance Society in Waterford City that he intended to convene special meetings of teetotallers at Christmas and Easter to demand proof of all members that they had fulfilled their obligations to attend confession and receive communion as the laws of the Church required. In addition to this, members were bound to inform him of the names of those 'base, immoral, profligate abandoned wretches... whose company is that of the unfortunate females of the town'.¹⁰⁸

It is possible that some clerics employed physical intimidation in certain circumstances. In their attitude towards the urban and rural poor, some priests might have betrayed an arrogance of class, based on their socially superior position and

104 Quoted in Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 113.

105 Otway, *Sketches in Ireland*, p. 313. Otway recorded the pilgrims' affection for one of the 'old' priests, named Fr Nevil. According to them, 'he never stopped our patron; no, the good crathur used to come and look in on us here, and just slip into a tent, and take a drop; for sure said he all was done for God's honour; and now his soul's in glory, and rounds are gone about his own grave at Inchigeela, and the clay is blessed over his holy bones; which is more than will ever happen to the dark and crabbed men who

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.¹¹⁰

Resistance

In spite of a concerted campaign, there is evidence of resistance to clerical efforts to suppress patterns. Dr Foran's episcopal prohibition of 1838 against the Ardmore pattern was ignored by some pilgrims in 1840 when the Halls visited the locality. They commented that on the 'gross observances that so long prevailed at Ardmore, and which to some extent still continue'.¹¹¹ In July 1846, the *Mail* reported:

The pattern [of Ardmore] was held, as usual, on the 24th July, and continued till Monday, the 27th, notwithstanding that the priests in all the neighbouring chapels warned the people against attending.... [T]he streets and roads were in every direction blocked up and rendered impassable by reason of ginger-bread

109 Allegations of clerical assault were made against the Catholic priesthood by various people at different times. In 1825, the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan told a select committee inquiring into the state of Ireland that priests frequently assaulted parishioners of the lower classes as a means of exercising influence over their flocks (*Fourth report on the state of Ireland*, p. 459). In a book published in 1835, Henry D. Inglis claimed that physical violence was used as a sanction on Catholics who failed to contribute to the construction of the Catholic church at Cahir. He wrote '...and one man, the priest, stood just within the gate, armed with a shillelah. *No one was admitted who did not contribute!* I saw a man attempt to pass without contributing; and I saw the priest push and buffet the man, and, at length, strike him several times with his stick, and knock his hat off his head! This is no matter of hearsay. I saw it' (*A journey throughout Ireland during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1834* (London, 1835), vol. 1, pp. 125-6. (The italics are those as used by Inglis). The veracity of the allegations, as noted above, is often difficult to determine. It will be noted that the allegations related to assaults of poorer Catholics. This may be consistent with feelings of clerical social superiority. The objectivity of the accusers, however, can be difficult to evaluate. O'Sullivan was a convert to Protestantism and was very critical of the Catholic Church (see Bowen, *The Protestant crusade in Ireland*, pp. 117-22). Inglis wrote: 'I am not one of those who ascribe all the evils of Ireland to Popery; but I am one of those who think Protestantism the better religion (Inglis, *A journey throughout Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 164). Their religious prejudices may negate the value of their opinions. Notwithstanding these reservations, it is likely that some overly arrogant clergy, prompted by feelings of social superiority did, in fact, assault poorer Catholics.

110 Ó Ceallacháin, 'Temperance movements in Waterford', p. 73.

111 Hall & Hall, *Ireland*, p. 282.

stands etc. There was some rioting and fighting on Sunday evening.... Several unlicensed persons were also permitted to sell porter and whiskey.¹¹²

While there were inevitably recalcitrant devotees, the clergy had succeeded in imposing a greater discipline at the devotions to St Declan. The Halls acknowledged this fact when they wrote that

the Roman Catholic clergy now 'set their faces' directly against practices which, for ages, they tolerated generally, and encouraged partially; and which consequently are destined - we trust ere long - to be numbered among things of the past.¹¹³

Impact of the famine

The Great Famine resulted in the destruction of the cottier and labourer classes. It was these sections of society which suffered most from the failure of the potato. Sir William Wilde was acutely aware of the combined impact of famine on, and clerical opposition to, popular beliefs in relation to wells.

The pilgrimages formerly undertaken to holy wells and sacred shrines for cures and penances have been strenuously interdicted; the wells themselves neglected, festival days of their saints passed by, and their virtues forgotten; their legends, too, often of great interest to the topographer and historian, and many of which were recounted by the bards and annalists of earlier times, are untold; and the very sites of many of these localities are at present unknown.¹¹⁴

The decline in the numbers of cottiers and labourers had affected those most resistant to orthodox Catholic beliefs and practices. The strong farmers were now the dominant class in the Irish countryside, and their moral and religious values, mediated by their priestly scions, prevailed. When the pattern of Ardmore was revived in the 1870s, it reflected this changed climate. The revival received clerical approval and, later, an indulgence from the Holy See. The behaviour of the pilgrims was described as 'in a high degree, orderly and devotional'.¹¹⁵ Thus, the pattern had become a public manifestation of a clerically-controlled, ultramontane church. To quote a recent scholar of patterns: 'In those places of pilgrimage which continue to flourish, the official liturgy has become central under a rigorous ecclesiastical control'.¹¹⁶

112 *Waterford Mail*, 29 July 1846.

113 Hall & Hall, *Ireland*, p. 282.

for reasons of devotion, penance, and the search for a cure. Rituals were observed which were a mixture of Christian and pagan practices. The devotions, nevertheless, were an expression of genuine Christian religiosity. The attendant social dimension of the patterns, characterised too often by excessive drinking and violence, prompted a clerical reaction to suppress these occasions of popular piety. The campaign of the priests was an important part of other initiatives to impose a greater discipline on the laity in the face of Protestant proselytising activities. Supported by the strong farmer class, which was motivated primarily by social considerations, the clerical endeavours enjoyed a significant measure of success. The advent of the Famine decimated the labourer and cottier classes, and with their demise went many of the popular religious devotions at holy wells. The 'respectability' of the farming class now prevailed, and this class (in Patrick Kavanagh's words) 'laughed at ancient holiness'¹¹⁷ - the piety of those who were their social inferiors and whose religious beliefs were strangled in the climate of a post-Famine clericalist, ultramontane Catholic Church. Such patterns as were revived were subjected to strict regulation in accordance with orthodox Catholic practice and doctrine.

117 Patrick Kavanagh, 'Pilgrimage', in *idem.*, *Collected Prose*, p. 70. Quoted in Donal Kerr, 'The Early Nineteenth Century Patterns of Change', in Michael Maher, ed., *Irish spirituality*, p. 135.

Ferrybank Church: The Bishops and the Barrons

By Rev. William Dalton

AS the stones of the old church in Ferrybank were being taken down, Canon Carrigan was putting the finishing touches to his monumental history of the diocese of Ossory.¹ According to Carrigan, the work of demolishing the old church was already under way in the early summer of 1903. The foundation stone for the present church was laid by Dr Abraham Brownrigg, Bishop of Ossory, on 13 April 1904, and the church's construction was completed in 1906.² A plaque located in the porch over the main entrance to the church testifies to this:

This church was erected by Sir Henry Page Turner Barron, Bart. to the honour and glory of God and in memory of his relations, deceased, 1906.

However, it is the story and intrigue behind the plaque that makes for interesting reading. Carefully concealed behind this plaque lies a power struggle between successive bishops of Ossory and different members of the Barron family of Belmont Park. This struggle reached a new turning point when Sir Henry Page Turner Barron of Belmont Park died on 12 September 1900 at Stuttgart after a distinguished career in Her Majesty's Foreign Service. In his will, he left a bequest of £6,000 for the building of a new church in Ferrybank and £3,000 towards the building of a mausoleum adjoining it. It took more than three years to iron out the intricacies of Barron's will and for the bishop to issue his sanction for the erection of the new church as required by the will.

However, long before the contents of Barron's will became known, relations between the benefactor and successive bishops of Ossory had been far from cordial. Evidence of strained relations can be gleaned from correspondence dating back to Bishop Moran's time, i.e., from c. 1875 onwards.

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- 1 Canon Carrigan was a priest of the diocese of Ossory who went from parish to parish documenting the history of each area. His four-volume work, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory* (1905), is highly regarded among scholars.
 - 2 Despite an exhaustive search of the local papers of the period (including *The Munster*

ordinate churches within a parish. Such churches were constructed specifically to meet the pastoral and spiritual needs of people at a time when the only form of transport was shanks mare. Ferrybank remained a 'chapel of ease' to Slieverue until it was constituted a parish in its own right by Most Rev. Dr Peter Birch, Bishop of Ossory, in 1970. Father Michael McGrath, who had been appointed parish priest of Slieverue in December 1964, became its first parish priest. In constituting Ferrybank an autonomous parish, the late Dr Birch was merely following ecclesiastical precedent. Until 1846, Slieverue and Glenmore had formed one parochial union.³ In that year, the parish priest of Slieverue, Very Rev. Edward Walsh, became Bishop of Ossory. After his elevation to the episcopacy, he separated Glenmore from Slieverue.⁴ Four years earlier, in 1842, Mullinavat had been severed from Kilmacow.⁵

The Old Church in Ferrybank

On the site of the present church stood an older one which, according to Carrigan, had been completed about 1834, i.e., some 34 years after the completion of the mother church in Slieverue. Little is known of the shape or design of this original church, but the lease providing the site for its construction is still extant in the Diocesan Archives in Kilkenny. This lease was entered into by John Congreve of Mount Congreve, County Waterford, and Dr William Kinsella, Bishop of Ossory, on 24 August 1830, and sets down in detail the terms of the agreement. The size of the holding measured 'two roods and nineteen perches plantation measure' and was situated in 'the parish of Kilculliheen, Barony of Ida, County of Kilkenny, and the Liberties of the City of Waterford'. It was entered into for a period of five hundred years at the sum 'of six pence sterling to be paid by two equal half-yearly payments on every twenty-ninth day of September and twenty-fifth day of March'.⁶ The lease was granted 'upon the express condition and understanding, that the said demised premises be used for no other purpose than that of public worship according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church and as a place of interment belonging to the chapel erected thereon'. In the event of its being used for any other purposes than those specified, it would 'revert and become the property of the said John Congreve'.⁷

3 Carrigan, *History and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, vol. 4, p. 88.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

6 As a matter of interest, the said rent is still being collected twice yearly, in March and September. The sum charged has, with inflation, increased to £1 yearly and is now collected by Waterford Corporation.

7 Ossory Diocesan Archives, *Ferrybank Parish*.

The lease itself contains an outline sketch of a church building (see Plate 1) for the purpose of indicating the exact location on which the chapel was to be constructed. There is no indication as to the shape or specification of the church itself within the lease, but it is almost certain that its location coincided more or less exactly with that of the present church. The need to re-locate those graves immediately adjoining the old church in order to make space for the new one would point in this direction, whilst letters exchanged at the time between Bishop Brownrigg and his legal advisers would seem to confirm this. In the lease, the property to the right and to the rear of the church is designated as 'lands occupied by R. Walsh', while on the left were 'lands occupied by St Leger'. In front of the church ran 'the Ross Road', as it still does.

The Barrons of Belmont Park – who were they?

Tracing one's family roots is never easy. It is particularly taxing and difficult if one happens to bear the name 'Barron' or 'Baron'! As the latter spelling suggests, the designation was more a feudal title than a name. Several Anglo-Norman families would seem to have appropriated this title as their surname through the centuries.⁸ Among the more noted families to do so were the Geraldines of Kilkenny, descendants of Maurice Fitzgerald (died 1177) who led the second band of Norman invaders to Ireland to assist Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, in regaining his kingdom.

In due course, the Fitzgerald clan (or 'Barrons' as they would subsequently be known) split into different branches and occupied vast tracts of land in County Kilkenny. Among those who lost their estates in the county by forfeiture during the political upheavals of the seventeenth century were seven gentlemen by the name of Fitzgerald.⁹ Those who possessed the largest estates had their principal seats at Brownsfort, Gurteens, and Burnchurch,¹⁰ respectively. The Gurteens branch of the

8 Cf. G. D. Burtchaell (1892) 'The Geraldines of County Kilkenny, Part I - the Barons of Burnchurch', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, **2**, pp. 359-62.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 358.

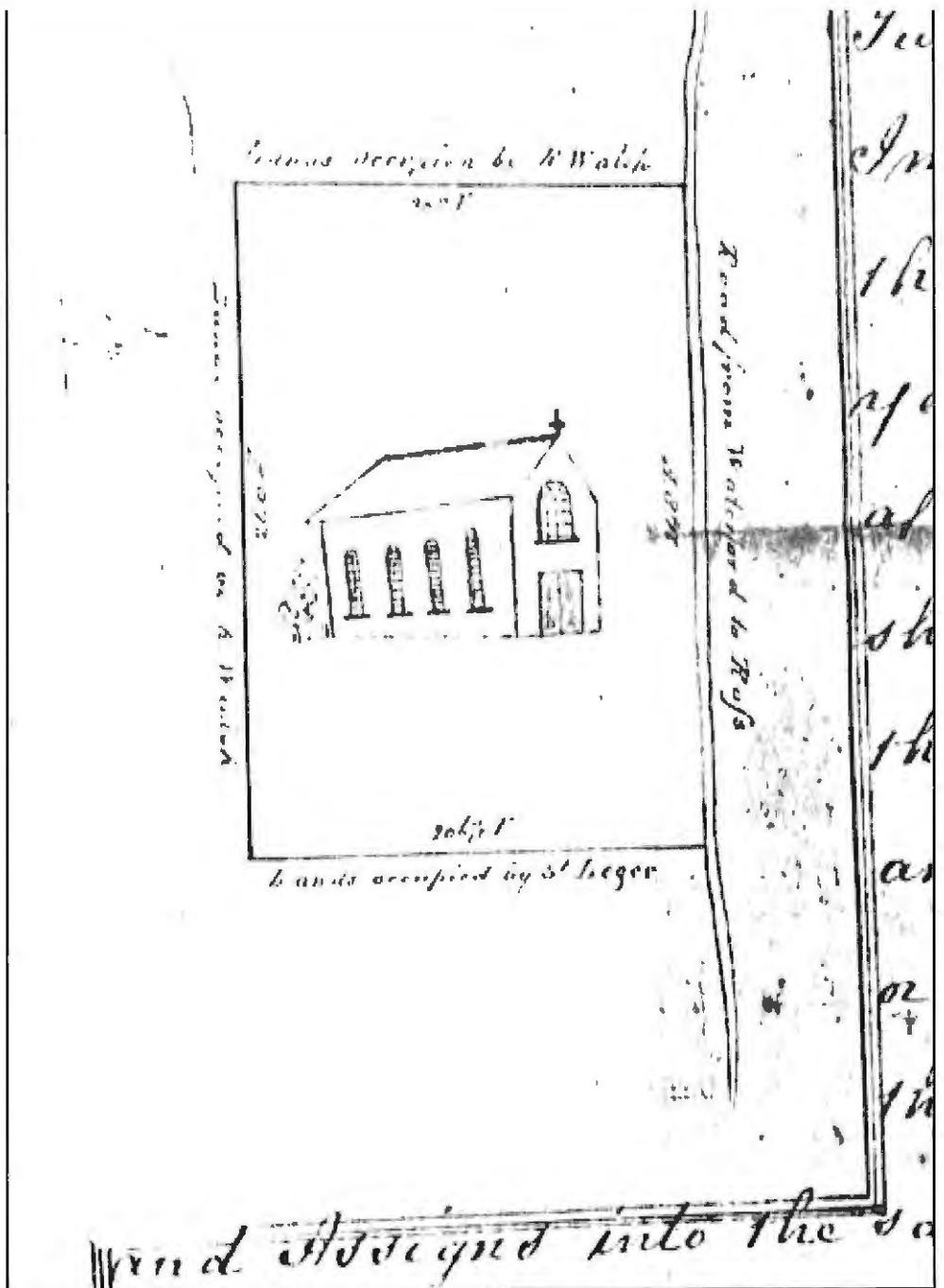
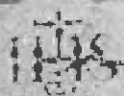


Plate 1. Drawing of church and plot boundaries on the lease of 1830.
(Ossory Diocesan Archives)



In the adjoining aisle of this Church

lie the mortal remains
of

The Rev^d WALTER BRENSAN

Who died in the 14th of October A. D. 1856
in the 45th year of his age and the 18th of his ministry.

This Chapel and Cemetery

Are among the many proofs of his active zeal
& humble, sincere and ingenious

Having a heart always alive to the wants of the poor
He bequeathed to them all he possessed here below

Afflicted for many years with a heavy illness
Which he contracted in a laborious mission

He was purified for that place
Where nothing defiled entereth.

Requiescat in pace.

Park Barrons back to the Barrons of Fanagh, Co. Waterford." However, John O'Donovan (whom George Dames Burtchaell referred to as 'no mean authority upon Kilkenny families') probably sums up best the difficulty of tracing the roots of the Barrons of Belmont Park. Writing in 1839, O'Donovan says 'Henry Winston Barron, M.P. is the supposed representative of this ancient family, but as his family have sprung up into respectability at a comparatively recent period their pedigree is unknown or uncertain, and it is now perhaps impossible to show how, i.e., whether legitimately or illegitimately, they descend from the Barons of Burnchurch'.¹¹

Whatever dispute there might be about the pedigree and origins of the Barrons of Belmont Park, their immense material well-being and religious devotion were beyond doubt. Like their ancestors the Fitzgeralds, they too were fervent in their faith and religious devotion. That devotion extended to acts of extraordinary generosity when it came to building churches and schools. One of the principal beneficiaries of this *largesse* were the people of Ferrybank.

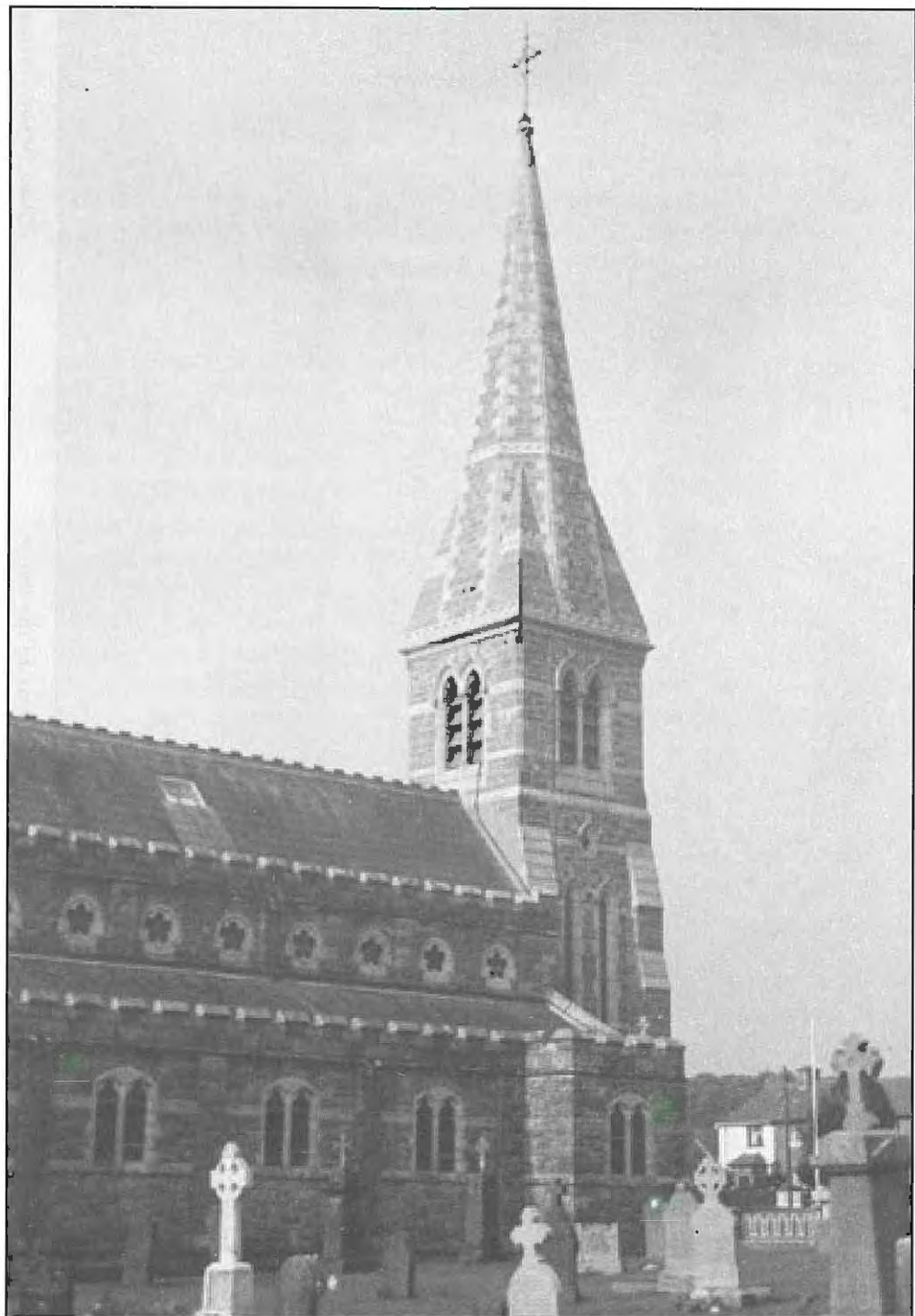
The first instance of this *largesse* with reference to Ferrybank that I have been able to locate is to be found in *The Waterford News* of 3 September 1926. In its column on Waterford a century earlier, it carried an interesting insert from *The Clonmel Advertiser* of 23 August 1826:

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- 11 In *The Munster Express Christmas Supplement*, 1984, Michael Walsh of Kilmolylan, Kilmacthomas, alleges (p. 3) that the Barrons of Belmont Park were part of the Gurteens branch of the Fitzgerald family:

In the early years of the 18th century, a branch of the family occupied Kilmurry Castle, Gurteens, ... in south Kilkenny. From Kilmurry, they moved to Ballyneale also in County Kilkenny close to New Boss, an area that had conferred with possession of it, the feudal title of 'Baron of Ballyneale'. The family became known as the 'Barrons of Ballyneale', and the name being equal to the rank and status achieved by the family, they adopted the name, and, hence the family name Barron.

The confusion may be explained by the fact that the Barron family also occupied a manor house in a place called Ballyneill or Ballyneale, near Rathgormack, Co. Waterford.

- 12 Cf. Stephen Barron (1914) 'Distinguished Waterford families, II', in *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 17, pp. 149-50. Father Barron was relying on 'the pedigree of Waterford Barrons as set forth and authenticated by Sir Bernard Burke - Ulster King of Arms, each sheet of which bore the stamp of the Herald's office imprinted on it ...' (*ibid.*, p. 48). The inscription on Sir Henry Winston Barron's monument in St John's Church, Waterford, would seem to link this branch of the Barrons with Ballyneale, Co. Waterford, unless the inscription at the time of its making was intended for Ferrybank Church and no alterations were made when it found a resting place in St. John's, Waterford.
- 13 Burtchaell, 'The Geraldines of County Kilkenny', p. 376.



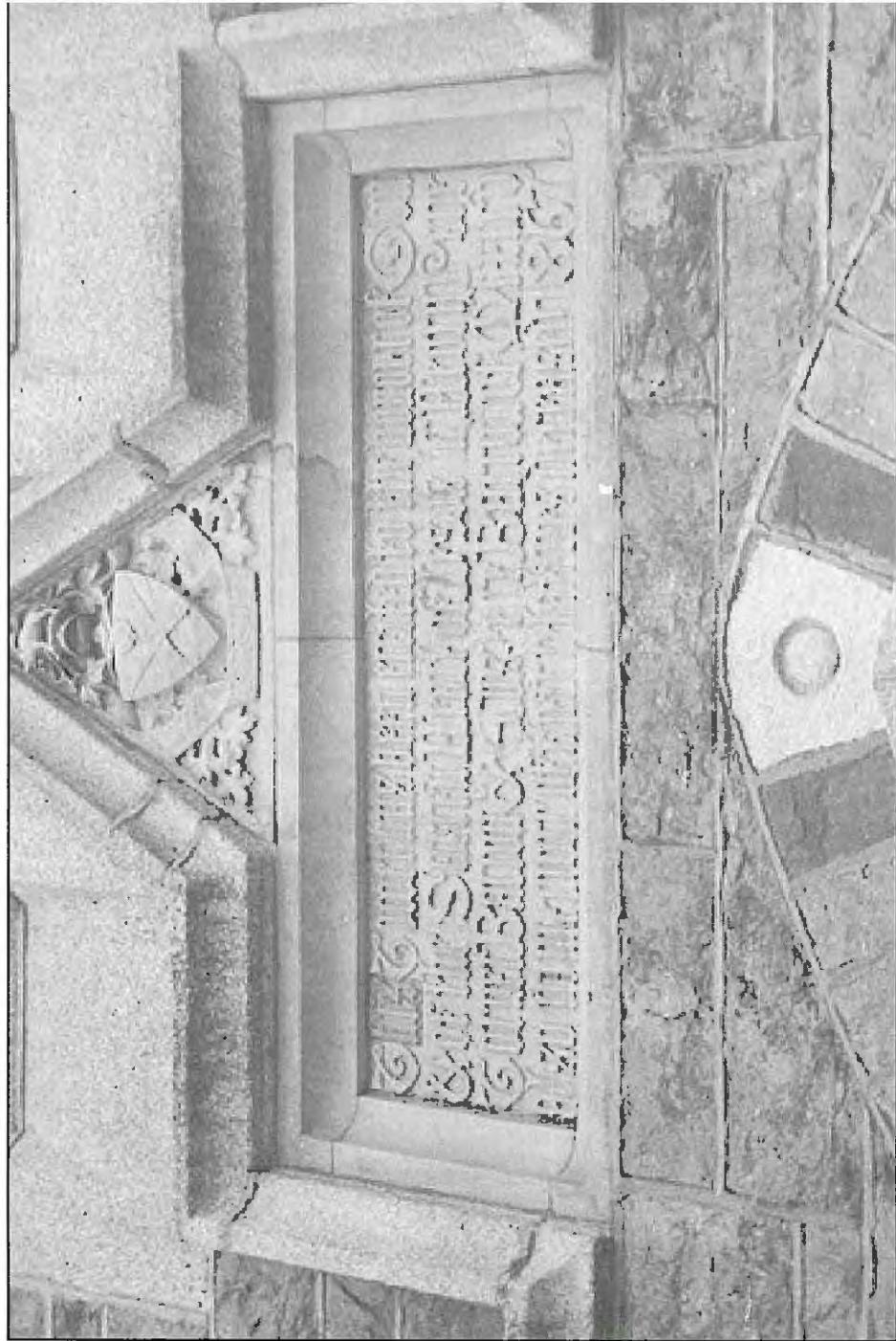
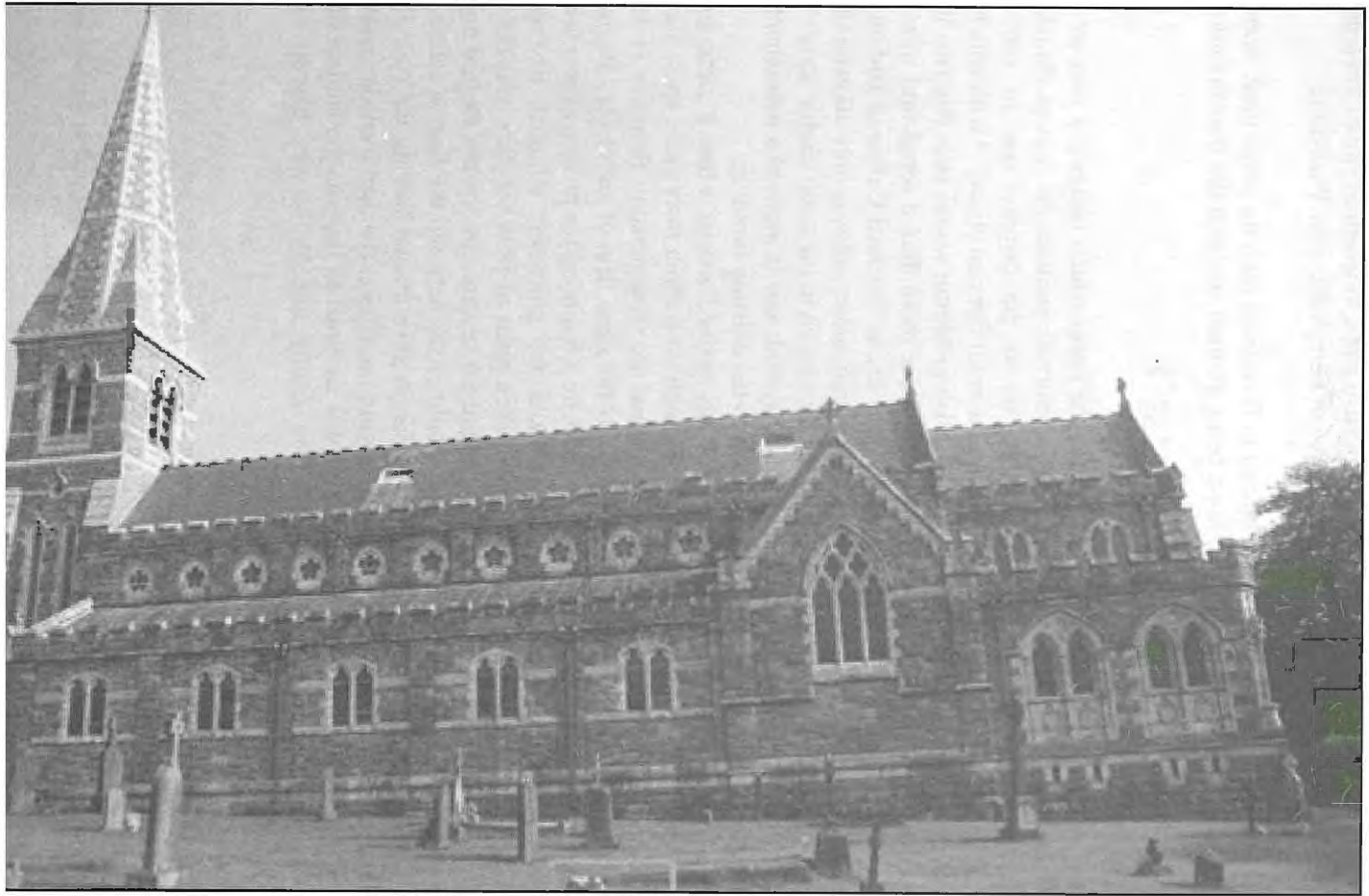


Plate 4. Barron inscription over the church's entrance at the base of the tower:

(Photo: Sonn



Ferrybank church from the south (the Barron vault is attached at the

church's east end).

(Photo: Sonny

It is probable that the matter of a chapel in Ferrybank had, for some time, been the subject of discussion prior to the lease being granted, and that the Barron family were key players in promoting the idea.

The 1867 tower and belfry

The entrance to the present church is through the tower which supports a very elegant Gothic spire or belfry (see Plate 3). This structure predates the present church by about forty years, having been added on to the original one in 1867. Architecturally Gothic, it was 'built in front of a small Grecian chapel',¹⁴ with which it must have appeared aesthetically at odds. Bishop Moran would later describe it in less than complimentary terms - it was 'nothing more than a sepulchral mausoleum of the Barrons'.¹⁵ In a robust reply to his uncle, Cardinal Cullen of Dublin, he dismisses the whole tower project as 'simply ridiculous and was only allowed in consequence of promises made of re-erecting the church in the same Gothic style'.¹⁶ It was little wonder then that the people of Ferrybank saw it more as a monument to the Barrons than as a positive contribution to the existing building.

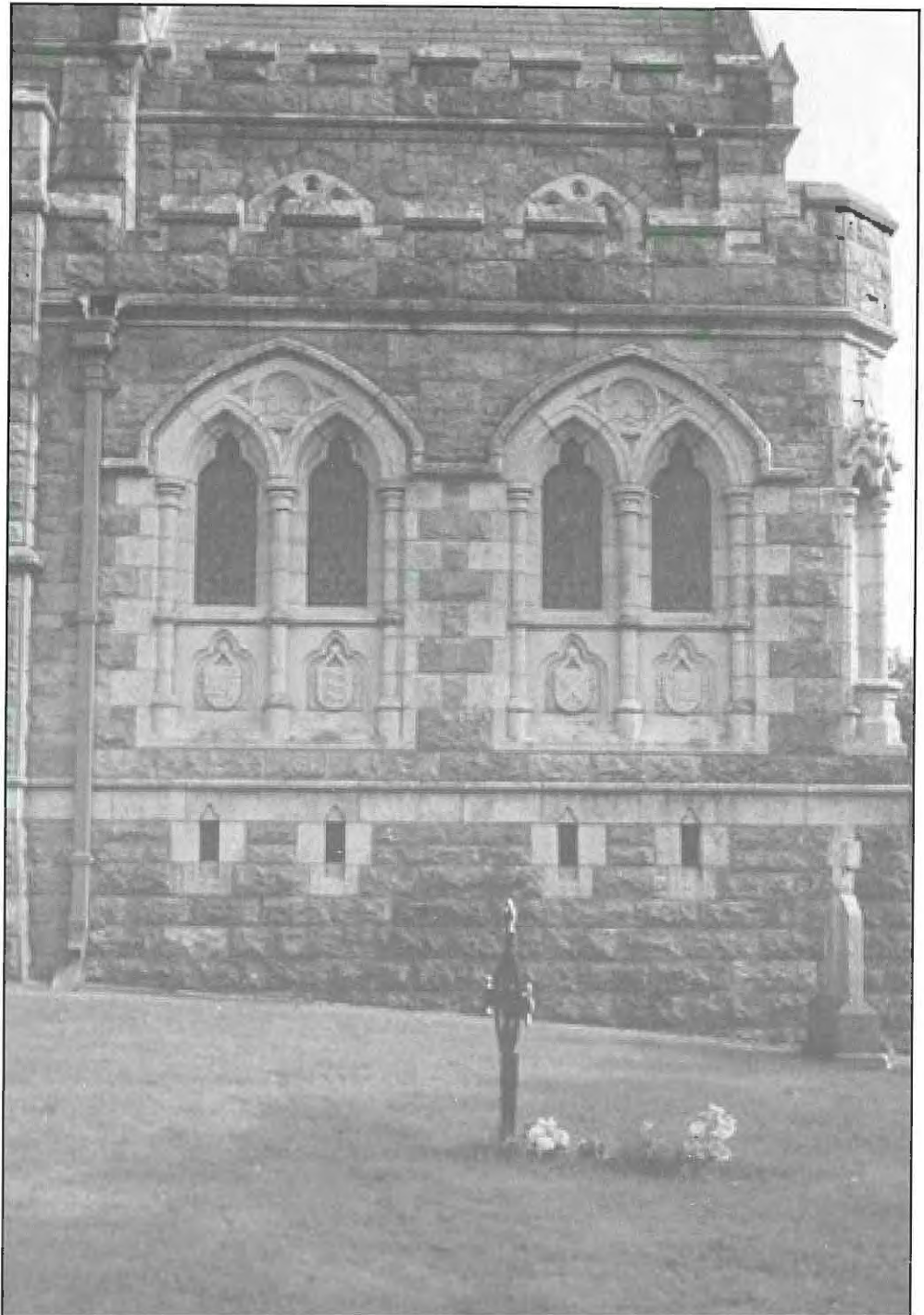
Yet, the pre-existence of the tower probably proved crucial when it came to designing and adding the present church.¹⁷ Though built about forty years apart, the benefactor of both tower and church was one and the same person - Henry or H. P. T. Barron. Both constructions were designed by the same firm of architects - Pugin and Ashlin. When H. P. T. Barron died in 1900, he left among his private papers the sketch of the church that would be re-worked and ultimately adopted. Bishop Moran was already aware of the existence of such plans in 1876 but they were destined to remain on the architect's drawing board for several more years. Before the church would be built, much controversy would ensue between the Barron family and successive bishops of Ossory. The commemorative plaque bearing the coat of arms of the Barron family and its accompanying inscription (located over the main door as one enters the porch - see Plate 4) was destined to become the subject of acrimonious exchanges between the Barron family and Dr Moran, Bishop of Ossory. The inscription reads as follows:

14 Moran to Cullen, 21 May 1876. All correspondence cited is to be found in the Ossory Diocesan Archives, Ferrybank Parish, unless otherwise noted.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 The architect's plans relating to the tower are to be found in the Ashlin & Coleman Collection in the Irish Architectural Archives. One drawing, dated 5 June 1866, lists James Scanlon as contractor (cf. 76/1.94/27).



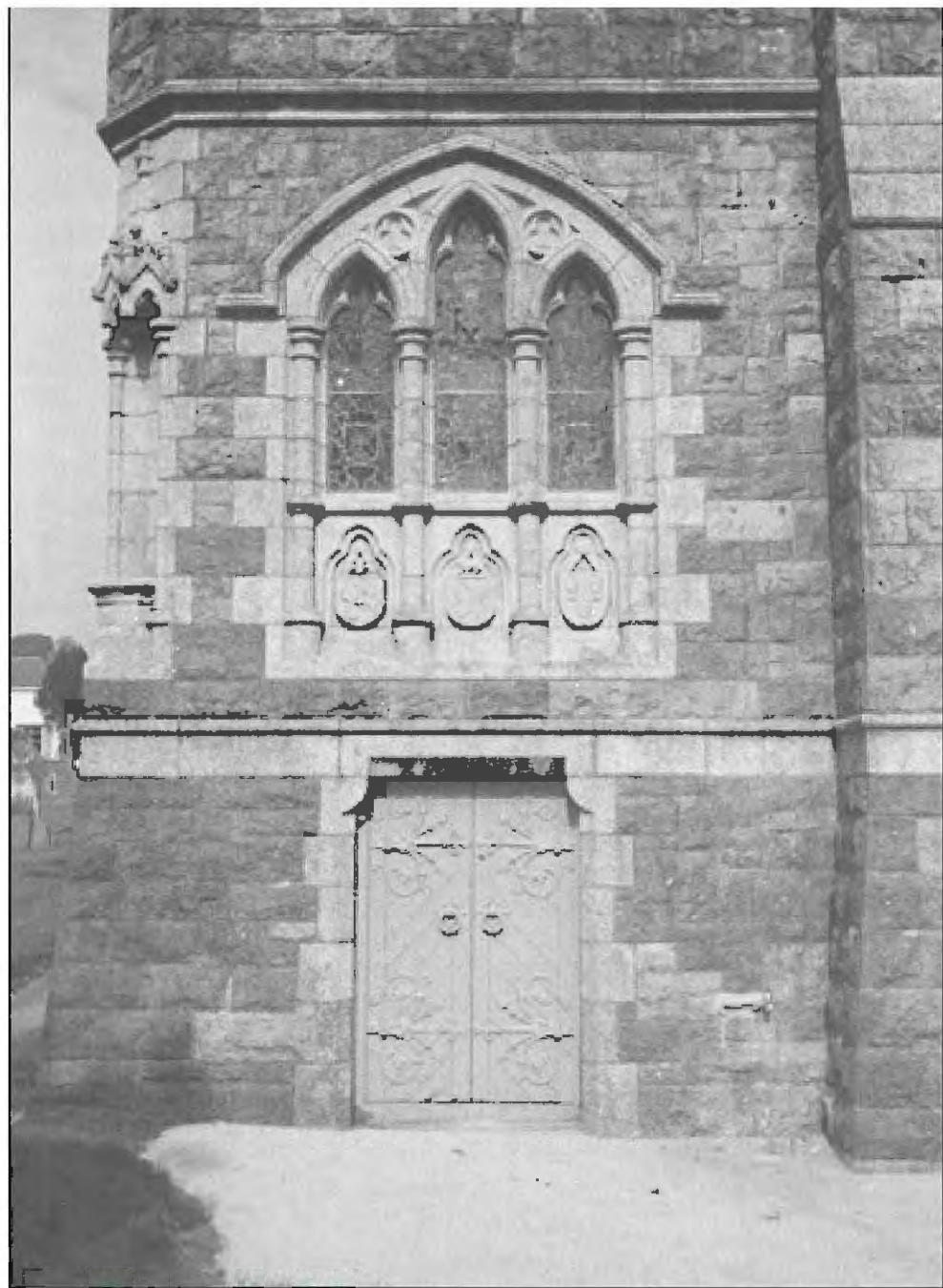
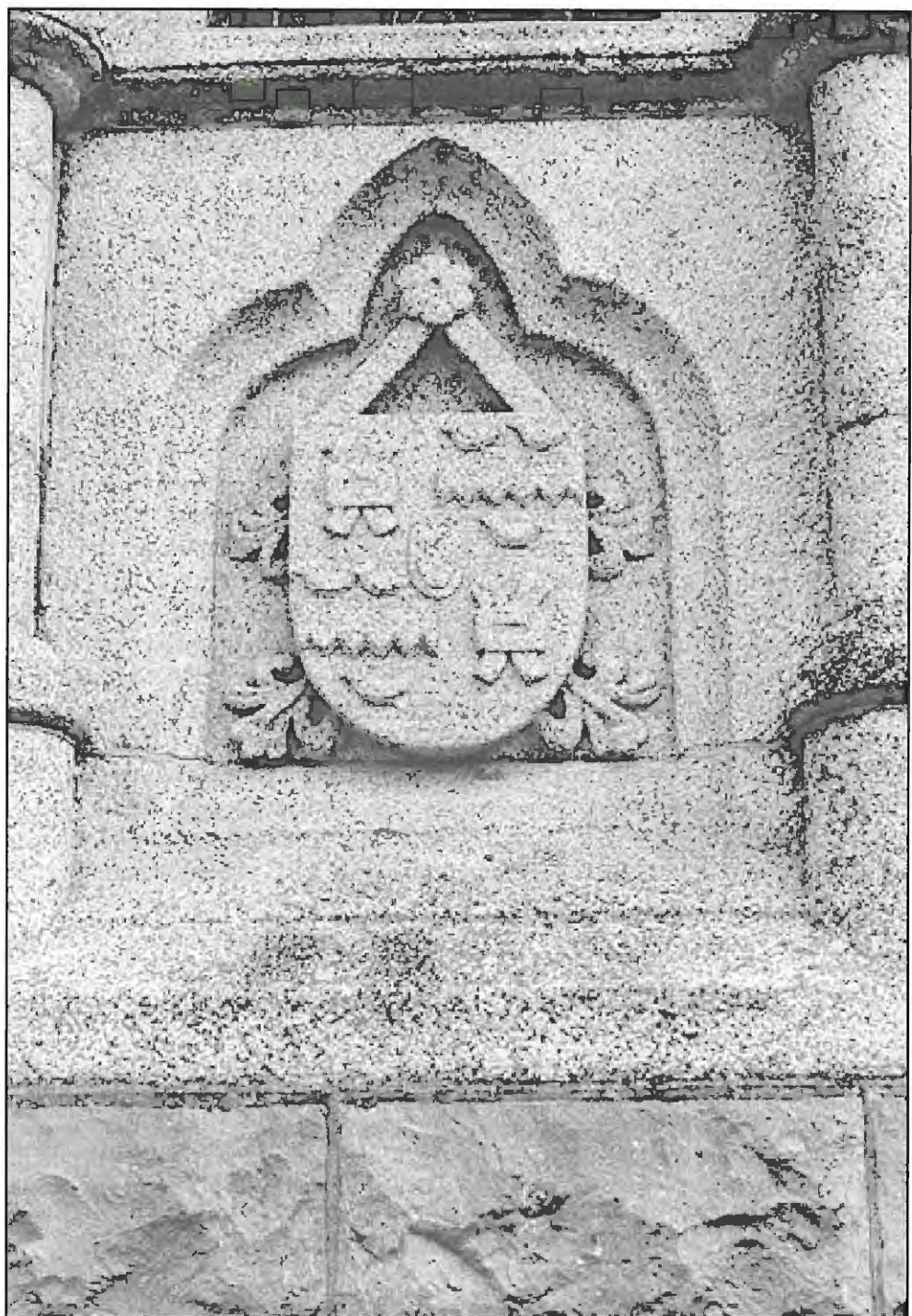


Plate 7. Sir Henry P. T. Barron's vault from the north.

(Photo: Sonny Condon)



Though in itself pretty inoffensive, the very idea of a monument to a particular family within a church building and the allegedly devious way in which it was executed would seem to have been the root cause for the misunderstanding between Moran and Barron. This monument was subsequently invoked by Bishop Moran as an excuse for barring all further Barron monuments from Ferrybank Church.

Prelude to building the present church: a Barron monument in search of a home...

Being remembered for posterity would seem to have ranked high in the Barron list of priorities. When Sir Henry Winston Barron, Baronet, died in 1872, his immediate relatives - his second cousin, Pierce Marcus Barron of Belmont Park, and his son, Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron (at that time attached to the British Legation in Brussels) - lost no time in ensuring that this 'popular, public man and good Catholic'¹⁹ would be appropriately remembered. Within a month of his father's death, Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron 'personally obtained permission from Dr O'Brien, Bishop of Waterford,... to erect a monument to [his] father Sir Henry W. Barron in either the Cathedral or the Church of St John at Waterford'.²⁰ St John's was subsequently designated to host the mural monument. As a gesture of goodwill, the donor 'immediately gave £30 towards the stained glass windows of St John's, and ordered an expensive Gothic monument in harmony with the architecture of the church'.²¹ However, Sir Henry Barron's plans were dashed when Dr O'Brien's successor in Waterford, Dr Power, flatly refused 'to admit this monument of a layman to any church in his diocese'.²² The Dominicans, who were building their church at the time, would willingly have found a niche 'for this ornamental addition but for the Bishop's unaccountable veto'.²³ As it turned out, the Dominicans were to be the

18 This would seem to contradict Jeremy Williams' account as to the donor of the tower and spire. In his monumental work, *Architecture in Ireland 1837-1921* (Irish Academic Press, 1994), he attributes the building of these to 'Pierce Marcus Barron, who intended to rebuild the rest of the church' (cf. p. 364). The inscription within the tower itself, plus subsequent correspondence between H. P. T. Barron and Bishop Moran would point to the former as the principal donor of the tower, spire and church. Pierce Marcus Barron is not credited with being donor to any of the above mentioned.

19 Sir Henry Winston Barron, Baronet (1795-1872), was elected MP for Waterford in 1832, 1835, 1837, 1841, 1848, 1865 and 1869. He married twice, in 1822 and 1863.

20 H. P. T. Barron to Cullen, 4 March 1876 (Dublin Diocesan Archives).

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*

main losers - being forbidden to afford refuge to the Barron monument probably meant forfeiting the £200 which Barron had promised towards their building fund.

Undaunted by Dr Power's refusal, Henry Barron appealed to Cardinal Cullen of Dublin to use his high office and influence to have the new bishop of Waterford honour his predecessor's word, but this was all to no avail. Even Barron's threat of suing for compensation to the tune of £315 (the cost of the monument) failed to move the implacable bishop.

When it became obvious that they were not going to find a home for the monument to Sir Henry Winston Barron in any church in Waterford diocese, the Barron family now switched its attention across the River Suir to Ferrybank. Pierce Marcus Barron of Belmont Park made contact with the Bishop of Ossory, Dr Moran, in 1875, but the latter was not in favour of the proposal. Having visited the chapel and consulted with the local clergy, Moran, in a letter dated 19 July 1875, flatly refused to countenance any such request on the grounds that 'the erection of the proposed monument would seriously inconvenience the congregation and the proposed inscription on the monument would occasion grave scandal to the parishioners, if permitted within the chapel walls'. Moran elaborates further on the reasons for his refusal:

[S]ome of the parishioners have complained of the inscription and coat of arms placed in the tower over the entrance. The venerable P.P. informed me that he knew nothing of its erection till after it was done.²⁴

Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron then entered the fray - he was not prepared to take no for an answer. He in turn he appealed to Cardinal Cullen, this time asking him to use his high office and influence with the Bishop of Ossory, Dr Moran, so that the said monument could be erected in the chapel of Ferrybank where he is interred.²⁵ Clearly, Ferrybank had not been his first choice for the monument to his father, nor even his second. Cullen made contact with Moran who, at this stage, would seem to have softened in his opposition to Barron's request. He told Cullen, his uncle, that he had informed Mr Barron that it was 'a diocesan rule in Ossory that such monuments [were] not permitted inside our churches, except in the case of special benefactors'. Implicit in this statement was Moran's readiness to do business, but at a price. In Moran's book, special benefactors had to be for real - he wasn't one

24 Moran to P. M. Barron, 19 July 1875. Pierce Marcus Barron of Belmont Park died in 1879 and is buried in Ferrybank cemetery on the right of the main entrance to the present church.

25 H.P.T. Barron to Cullen, 10 May 1878 (Dublin Diocesan Archives). There is no mon-

We have some important parochial works on hands at present at Ferrybank, such as the erection of new schools and a parochial house. If the Barron family wishes to become benefactors by investing a sum of say £500 towards rebuilding the church or towards the parochial purposes at present on hands, or any sum that will fairly constitute them special benefactors of the parish, I will do everything that I can to meet Mr Barron's wishes.²⁶

Cullen would obviously be pleased - Moran's mellowing would get him off the hook. Waterford diocese, having originally agreed to provide a home for the Barron monument had, with the change of bishops, reneged on that commitment, but Ossory's initial outright opposition was diminishing. It was now a matter for the Barron family to prove that they were genuine benefactors by making a contribution to parochial funds. Cullen, not wanting to get embroiled in the affairs of another diocese and especially when the bishop of that other diocese happened to be his own nephew, replied both tentatively and diplomatically, 'that monuments are permitted in churches in the case of special benefactors', and re-assured Barron of the high esteem in which he was held by his nephew the Bishop of Ossory.²⁷ All that remained now was for Barron to prove to Moran that he was, in fact, a special benefactor and a £500 donation would secure him that grace. Barron now felt that he had a foot in the door and wasted no time in setting down all the reasons why he should already qualify as a special benefactor and thereby be entitled to erect a monument to his liking, complete with inscription, inside the church. He wrote to Moran pointing out why he should qualify not merely as a benefactor but, in his own words, 'as the main benefactor of this little village church':

my father contributed £100 towards the erection of the present front, besides the stones with which it is built... I am still a greater benefactor by giving a belfry, which is not the less useful and ornamental because it serves also as a memorial of my family....

Barron went to great pains to refute the claim being made by Moran that the belfry was allowed only on the strength of his promising to re-build the church at a later date.²⁸ He had made no such promise, nor had he authorised anybody to make such a commitment on his behalf. What he had promised, however, was 'a liberal

26 Moran to Cullen, 21 May 1876.

27 H. P. T. Barron to Moran, 10th June 1876.

28 Jeremy Williams implies that it was Pierce Marcus Barron who had made such a promise (cf. *Architecture in Ireland 1837-1921*, p. 364). It is possible that such a promise could have been made by somebody as detailed plans for the proposed church were found among H. P. T. Barron's private papers after his death.

donation towards the rebuilding of the church', not in order to curry favour with ecclesiastical authorities, 'but simply as a spontaneous and disinterested act of generosity' on his part. He goes on to inform the truculent bishop that he had already, in his will, 'bequeathed £1,500 towards the building of a new church at Ferrybank', that he had not yet revoked this bequest and that he sincerely hoped that he 'would not be driven to such a step' because of the shabby way in which he was now being treated.²⁹ He concluded his long letter by appealing to the Bishop's

sense of justice to allow the erection of this monument in the church of Ferrybank on the simple grounds that Sir H. Barron and I have been large benefactors of the same church. Whenever it is thought fit to rebuild this church I shall be ready to contribute £500 towards that purpose certainly not as a 'matter of business' but as a free act of liberality.

Moran, however, was not impressed. Although he badly needed Barron's money for the building of schools and a parochial house,³⁰ he would not be bullied by threats of forfeiting future legacies and donations. He thanked Barron for the 'kind promise of £500 towards rebuilding the Ferrybank parochial church, and when that sum is received [he] will be justly reckoned among the special benefactors of that church'.³¹ Nevertheless, all this was in the future as far as Moran was concerned. He wanted the money straight away while Barron was only prepared to promise it in the future. The compromise that Cullen thought was in sight now came unstuck - Moran's refusal to entertain the Barron monument had become more trenchant than ever.

Initially, he was prepared to overlook the fact that 'some Protestant members of the [Barron] family' had been interred in the tower or porch and that it was 'filled with inscriptions about the deceased who [were] interred there' (see Plates 9-11).³² Moran then went on the attack. In a letter to Barron, he reiterated the reasons he had already given for not granting permission for the erection of the monument, as well as taking exception to the other plaques in the porch stating that these 'have but little of that piety which should characterise church monuments'. The bishop concluded his stinging letter by reminding Barron that there was 'a good deal of angry feeling in the parish of Slieverue on the matter of these monuments' and that he had 'neither the inclination nor the leisure' for engaging in further controversy with him.

29 H. P. T. Barron to Moran, 10 June 1876.

30 He was then in the process of trying to woo the Holy Faith Sisters to Ferrybank to

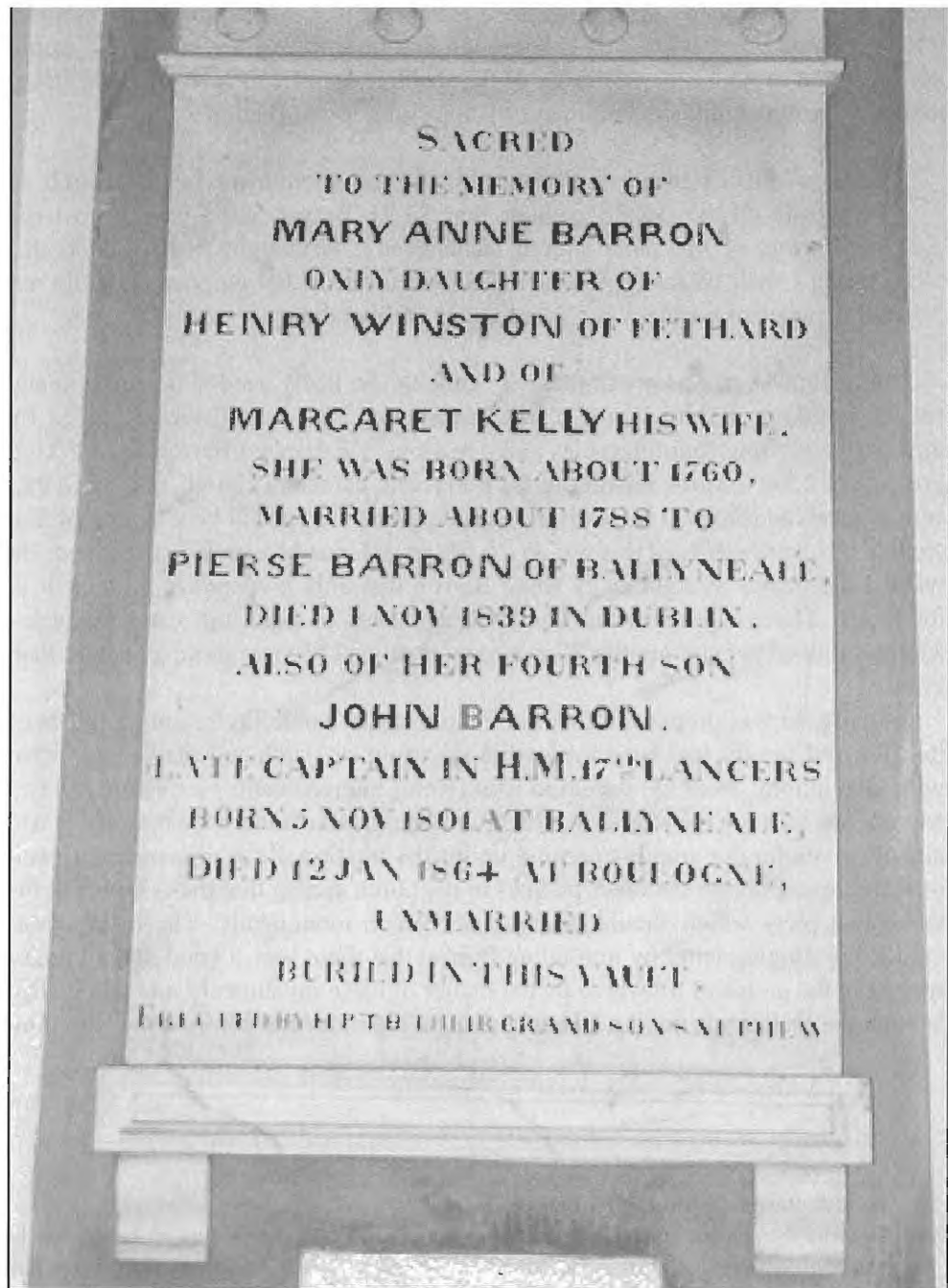
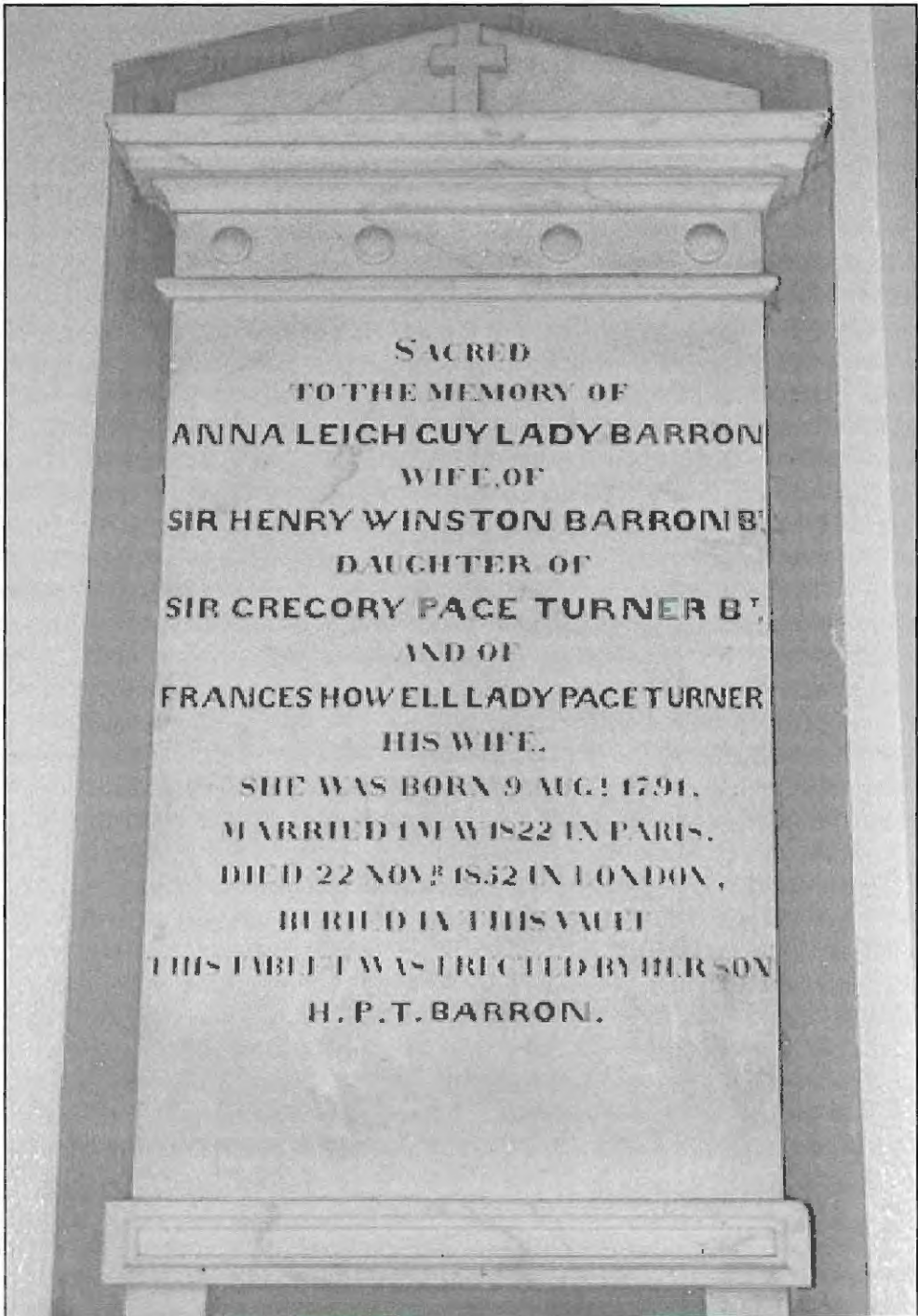


Plate 9. Memorial tablet in the tower (Mary Anne Barron)

(Photo: Sonny Condon)



SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ANNA LEIGH CUY LADY BARRON
WIFE OF
SIR HENRY WINSTON BARRON B.
DAUGHTER OF
SIR CRECORY PACE TURNER B.
AND OF
FRANCES HOWELL LADY PACE TURNER
HIS WIFE.

SHE WAS BORN 9 AUG. 1791.
MARRIED 14 MARCH 1822 IN PARIS.
DIED 22 NOV. 1852 IN LONDON,
BURIED IN THIS VAULT
THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED BY HER SON
H. P. T. BARRON.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
KATE LUCINDA BARRON,
THE DEARLY BELOVED WIFE OF
PIERSE MARCUS BARRON ESQ^R
DEPUTY LIEUTENANT
AND JUSTICE OF THE PEACE
OF BELMONT PARK FERRY BANK
COUNTY WATERFORD,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
ON THE 12^T JANUARY 1870,
FORTIFIED WITH THE RITES OF
THE HOLY ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH,
DEEPLY REGRETTED
BY HER HUSBAND CHILDREN & FAMILY
A DEVOTED WIFE AND FOND MOTHER
THE TRUE FRIEND OF THE POOR
THE WIDOW AND THE ORPHAN,
OF YOUR CHARITY
PRAY FOR THE REPOSE OF HER SOUL.
R. I. P.
AMEN.

Plate 11. Memorial tablet in the tower (Kate Lucinda Barron, wife of Pierse Marcus Barron).
(Photo: Sonny Condon)

Barron demands a 'new trial'

Barron did his utmost to have a monument erected to his father, Sir Henry Winston Barron, inside the old church in Ferrybank but he failed to break down the bishop's opposition. Having failed in Ossory, he now directed his attention once again across the river to Waterford. On 19 June 1878,³³ he wrote in a rather conciliatory tone to the new bishop of Waterford, Dr Power, requesting a 'new trial' and pointing out the understanding that he and the late bishop of Waterford had arrived at with regard to the erection of the now completed monument in St John's Church. No doubt, Barron had marshalled all these same arguments three years earlier when the said bishop had flatly refused him permission to erect the said monument in any church in the diocese of Waterford. What Barron was now offering in addition to his arguments was his money - 'I am willing to donate a further sum of £100 to the erection of a stained glass memorial window, if your Lordship will grant the permission'.³⁴ What probably proved decisive in removing the bishop's opposition was a post-script to the above letter: 'If this affair is now settled in friendly spirit, my benefactions to your Lordship's diocese shall not be limited to the above contribution'.³⁵ No bishop could afford to ignore such a promise laced in silver lining from a man as wealthy as H. P. T. Barron. When Barron's will was finally published, the Catholic bishop of Waterford was one of its principal beneficiaries (he received £2,000), while hospitals and charitable institutions in Waterford benefited to the tune of £4,000.

It is little wonder, then, that we find ensconced in the wall of the right aisle of St John's Church a gothic monument bearing the inscription:

Sacred to the memory of Sir Henry Winston Barron, Bar.,
born Oct. 15, 1795 at Ballyneale in this county.
Elected M. P. for Waterford 1832; 1835; 1837;
1848; 1865; 1869.
Died 19 Aug. 1872, R.I. P.

It is the only such monument in the church.

How the present church came to be built and Sir Henry P. T. Barron's will

On 12 September 1900, Sir Henry Page-Turner Barron died in Stuttgart at the age of seventy-five following a distinguished career in Queen Victoria's Foreign Service. In his will, he left a generous bequest for Ferrybank Church far in excess of what he had promised twenty-five years earlier when he was trying to have a monument erected inside the old church to the memory of his father. Whether it was

will proved something of a grudge-sword to Moran's successor in Ossory, Dr Abraham Brownrigg.

When Sir Henry P. T. Barron was in the throes of controversy with Dr Moran over the erection of a monument to his father inside Ferrybank church, he had already allocated in his will the sum of £1,500 towards the rebuilding of the same church. When the will was ultimately notified, this sum had been increased to £9,000.³⁶ There were, however, strings attached in the form of conditions built into the will. The relevant sections of the will are contained in Clauses 13 & 14 and read as follows:

13. The sum of six thousand pounds is allotted to my Trustees for the erection and decoration of a new Catholic Church to be built on the site of the present church at Ferrybank adjoining the belfry which was erected by Eustace Barron and myself in 1867. My name is to be inscribed over the front door as the founder of the church. All the wall space on one side of the church is to be preserved for the insertion of monumental tablets commemorative of the members of my (the Ballyneal) branch of the Barron Family. The appropriation of this space is to be vested in my Irish heir. The church is to be of the Gothic style of architecture, harmonising with the existing belfry. Before undertaking this work the written sanction of the Catholic Bishop of that diocese is to be obtained for the erection of this church and of the adjoining mausoleum as directed in clause 14 of this Testament. If this sanction is withheld or coupled with conditions deemed by my Trustees to be unreasonable, they will erect the church and mausoleum or the mausoleum alone in some other place in the neighbourhood of Waterford but in such a manner as not to violate the Mortmain Acts.

14. I allot the above sum of three thousand pounds to the erection of a mausoleum commemorative of the Barron family (Ballyneal branch). It is to be

36 In 1884, Bishop Moran was appointed Archbishop of Sydney, Australia. The following year, he was elevated to the College of Cardinals and went on to become one of Australia's most illustrious churchmen.

37 The will in question was made on 9 January 1877.

38 This figure represented but a drop in the ocean of Sir Henry's overall wealth. At the time of his death, his estate was valued at £306,472 5s. 1d. Among the other beneficiaries were the Catholic bishop of Waterford who received £2,000; hospitals and charitable institutions in Waterford £4,000; and, in Dublin, £3,000; the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster for Catholic institutions in his diocese; the Irish Association for the Prevention of Intemperance; the Distressed Irish Ladies' Fund, £1,000; and the Irish Unionists' Alliance, £3,000 (cf. *The Waterford News*, 14 December 1900, p. , col. 4).

built abutting on or adjoining the church directed to be built if possible at Ferrybank and to be connected with that church internally. I desire that a mural tablet of black and white marbles shall be erected upon the inner wall of this mausoleum commemorative of myself. It is to bear an inscription in leaden so-called "indelible" letters recording the following events of my life:

Born 27th December, 1824 at Belmont Park in the parish of Slieverue, alias Killoteran.

Attaché to Her Majesty's Legation at Berne, Turin, Florence and Berlin.

Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation at Berne, Turin, Florence and Berlin.

Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation and Embassy at Lisbon, Bruxelles and Constantinople.

Her Majesty's Minister-Resident to the King of Wurtemberg, October 1883.

Died at on³⁹

The matter of interpreting and executing the will was entrusted to three trustees whose 'unanimous decision' was

binding absolutely and without appeal in all questions arising from [the] Will and on all persons interested therein. Any beneficiary attempting to controvert that decision by legal proceedings shall forfeit all interest under this... Will.⁴⁰

Execution of the Barron will

The execution of the will proved problematic. On 1 January 1901, Garrard James & Wolfe, a London-based firm of solicitors, wrote to Bishop Brownrigg informing him of the contents of the Barron will and indicating that

the Trustees have provisionally set aside securities to answer the two legacies, and are now considering taking the preliminary steps to comply with Sir Henry's wishes, but, before doing anything further in the matter, they desire to communicate with you in view to ascertaining (as is required by the will) whether you, as the Bishop of the Diocese in which Ferrybank is situated, sanction the erection of the church and mausoleum at Ferrybank in accordance with the directions in the will. The Trustees have not, of course, decided what architects they will employ, but, among Sir Henry's papers we have found a sketch and ground plan prepared to Messrs Pugin & Ashlin at the time, we believe, when the belfry referred to in Clause 12 was built in 1867, and probably they may think it well to employ those gentlemen. This sketch does not, however, contemplate the mausoleum.

the church by the Barron family for the purpose of erecting commemorative tablets constituted a major stumbling block. The inclusion of a mausoleum abutting on, or adjoining, the church - and connected to it internally - complicated matters even further. £3,000 had been allocated for this part of the project. It was now a matter of getting around the terms of the will in order not to let slip such a large sum of money. It was an offer no bishop could afford to let slip through his hands. In addition, there were other compelling reasons for not spurning such an offer - it made good structural, aesthetic and economic sense. The erection of the tower in 1867 had, in the words of Bishop Brownrigg's predecessor, Doctor Moran, presented 'an anomaly unique in the diocese' because of 'the different style of architecture in the porch and the little church itself'. Furthermore, 'the front wall of the church [had] been seriously damaged by the erection of the tower, the result being that a portion of the church suffer[ed] considerably from damp'.⁴¹ Financially, the people of Ferrybank could not have afforded much at the time and so could ill afford to miss out on a bonanza of £9,000.

Social, Religious and Economic Conditions in 'the little village' in 1900

There is little reason for believing that things would have changed significantly on the economic and social front from what they had been a quarter of a century earlier. In his efforts to woo the Holy Faith Sisters to Ferrybank, Dr Moran, writing to their Foundress Margaret Aylward in 1876, gives a vivid description of the fabric of village life at the time:

the poor people at Ferrybank require some spiritual care and training as badly as any in the whole diocese. The husbands are, for the most part, engaged in the harbour or on the railway and mothers are terribly negligent in sending their children to school. Indeed, I don't know any part of Ireland where a convent would do more good than [for] these poor people.⁴²

In the end, it was the Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary (RSHMs) who came in 1879 at the invitation of Father Dunphy, the then administrator of the parish. The financial arrangement finally agreed to between the bishop, the parish and the Sisters gives a good idea of what people were able to afford at the time. The original arrangement was for the parish to provide the 'poor schools', with the Mother house contributing £3,000 towards the building of the convent and the parish coming up with the balance. The architect's estimate for the convent project was £4,250. The raising of the additional £1,250 was more than the parish could bear at the time. The Mother Superior in France suggested running 'a lottery or a bazaar', but Father

41 Moran to H. P. T. Barron, 12 June 1876.

42 Moran to Aylward, 5 August 1876.

Dunphy lamented that 'the people were tired of them' and that the bishop of Waterford would never permit any fund-raising for the RSHMs in his city since he would think it 'in opposition to his Ursuline convent'.⁴³ Eventually, the Sisters agreed to bear the full cost of building the convent and to pay an annual rent of £48 8s. 0d. to the diocese for the six-and-a-half acres leased to them.

The foundation stone for the convent was laid by Dr Moran in 1878. Sometime later, the bishop commented to his friend, Msgr Thomas Kirby, Rector of the Irish College in Rome:

There is now a large population there, mostly fishermen and those connected with the line of railway. I think it is the most abandoned part of this diocese and that it stands in the most need of some awakening of the spirit of practical piety. We will have a mission for them, conducted by Redemptorists in June. The nuns will afterwards keep alive their fervour and make them, I trust, everyday better.⁴⁴

Jack Burtchaell, in a talk entitled 'Ferrybank in 1900' (given under the auspices of *Éigse Sliabh Rua* in November 1995⁴⁵), paints a similar picture of social deprivation. In 1901, the population of the village was 853 and most of the people there earned a living on the docks or on the railway. Typical occupations were that of labourer, dressmaker, domestic servant, ship's carpenter, tailor and publican. John Fleming of Mount Misery (now the site of Jury's Hotel) was the only farmer in Ferrybank at the time.

These social and economic conditions made it all the more imperative for the bishop to do business if at all possible with the trustees of Barron's estate. The church building now being proposed would be simply out of the question but for Barron's bequest. Its elegant cut-stone exterior, its splendid stained-glass windows, coupled with its overall architectural harmony and proportion, would have made it the envy of many. It certainly contrasted sharply with the mother-church in Slieverue and those of neighbouring parishes.

Interpreting the Barron will

In his bid to interpret Barron's will, Brownrigg first turned to his ecclesiastical superiors for advice. He was wondering if complying with the terms of the will would be tantamount to agreeing to the erection of a semi-private oratory over which he or his successors would have little control. He wrote to Dr William Walsh (Archbishop of Dublin) and to Cardinal Logue of Armagh. The Cardinal didn't feel competent to advise the bishop one way or another, nor did he really advert to the

to lose the grant', he wrote, and 'with regard to the mausoleum it affords a splendid opportunity of adding a magnificent chapel to the church, if the Trustees would agree to it'.⁴⁶ This, he felt, 'would completely carry out the intentions of the testator'.

The reply of the Archbishop of Dublin was more directive and it was as trenchant as it was cunning. He warned his suffragan bishop against leaving a 'legacy of confusion' to his successors. Sanctioning the erection of monuments inside the church and allowing inscriptions to be placed on them would be a recipe for 'future difficulty and unpleasantness'. What if the Irish heir should at some future time be a Protestant and insist on putting up an inscription offensive to Catholics? 'Could any Catholic proprietor suppose that the Bishop would or could, allow a church to be used for public worship in which an inscription of a Protestant, and possibly even offensively anti-Catholic character was put before the eyes of the people?'⁴⁷ The tone of the archbishop's letter was alarmist, to say the least. He went on to tell Bishop Brownrigg in no uncertain terms that 'of course there could be no question of consecrating a church, with such legal rights secured in lay hands' and 'if the Bishop's right to control the inscriptions, monuments etc., be not recognised, there is inevitably a possibility that the church might at some time have to be closed'.

However, such an eventuality was something that the archbishop did not seriously contemplate. He suggested to Bishop Brownrigg that he should tell the trustees of Barron's will that 'the only difficulty to be got over was one of a legal kind arising out of the ecclesiastical law' even though he did 'not know of any canonical obstacle in the way of the Bishop's sanctioning the building of the church'. What he suggested was that 'the matter [be] handed over to two lawyers, each party nominating one, who would no doubt be able, after half-an-hour's talk, to draw up a form of settlement that both sides would regard as satisfactory'. He even offered to put Bishop Brownrigg in touch with a 'legal friend in whose knowledge and skill [he] could confide'. Whether Bishop Brownrigg scrupulously followed the advice of his metropolitan is not clear. What we do know for certain, however, is that he sought legal advice, and lots of it.

Legal Counsel

Within a week of receiving Archbishop Walsh's letter, Bishop Brownrigg was in receipt of legal advice from a Dublin-based solicitor by the name of MacDermot. It would appear that the bishop had written to MacDermot seeking a legal construction for a number of terms and categories as used in the will. In particular, he wanted to know that if he were to sanction the reservation and appropriation of one wall

46 Logue to Brownrigg, 23 October 1902.

47 Walsh to Brownrigg, 22 October 1902.

of the church for tablets and inscriptions commemorative of the Barron family, would not this in effect be conferring on the Irish heir and his successors the right in law to claim 'the exclusive use of the surface of the said wall on the inside and on the outside of the church for the purpose named, so that no pictures could be hung on said wall unless with permission from the heir'. What was there, then, to stop the heir from carving 'inscriptions... even of an irreligious, heretical or pagan character' on the said tablets?

Nevertheless, the greatest concern of the bishop was how such a concession would affect the ownership of the church. Would it make it for all intents and purposes a 'private chapel' over which he or his successors would have little control? Finally, the matter of the mausoleum was a cause for concern. Would it mean that the testator and members of his family would now have the right to be buried in it or even in the church itself? 'If one of the Barron family died a Protestant, would we be obliged by civil law to allow his remains to be buried or deposited in the mausoleum?'⁴⁸ The big difficulty here, as the bishop saw it, was the 'strict ecclesiastical law against burying heretics in Catholic burial ground', not to mention burying them inside the precincts of a Catholic church building. The bishop was wondering if he could exact a guarantee from the trustees that no Protestant descendants would be interred in the mausoleum and that no inscription hostile to Catholic sentiment would be erected on the walls of the church. The scenario that Brownrigg wanted to avoid at all costs was the withholding of his sanction which would, in effect, give the trustees a free hand in proceeding to build a church nearby and without any interference whatever from the bishop.

The queries raised by Brownrigg stretched the legal acumen of MacDermot. In a series of letters to the bishop, he seemed less certain of his legal footing as time went on. At first, he suggested that the mere fact the proposed church would be built on the site of the existing one would be enough to secure its legal title for the people of Ferrybank. He assumed that the 1830 lease of the land on which the church stood would have been vested in the trustees of the parish. In a letter dated 31 October 1902, the solicitor wrote to the bishop:

it seems to me on a survey of the case that having regard to the lease of 1830 which I assume is vested in Trustees for the Parish that if the church *qua* church is erected in *lieu* and replacement or even in substitution for the existing church and built on the site leased for the former church there is no peril that the parochial control of the church can at any future time be successfully assailed.

The solicitor abandoned this proposed escape route from the legal quagmire of Barron's will when the bishop wrote back reminding him that the existing church was not in fact vested in trustees for the parish and that no rent had ever been asked

in conformity with the provisions of the will, should from time to time become void be subject to the sanction of the Catholic Bishop of the diocese for the time being as to their character and nature'.⁴⁹ The bishop, however, was not impressed. It would appear that he was anxious to take his difficulties to a higher court.

On 24 October 1902, he formulated a number of 'Points for Counsel's Opinion' arising from the Barron will. Counsel responded at some length on 17 March 1903. With regard to the vexed question of appropriating wall space on one wall of the church for the purpose of erecting tablets bearing inscriptions, counsel was of the opinion that this meant 'the internal wall surface on one side... the Irish heir would be entitled to appropriate any portion or portions of this space to the erection of one or more tablet or tablets'. In the event, however, of an objectionable inscription being proposed, 'the Bishop, if aware of the intention to erect such a tablet would of course not permit its erection; and under such circumstances an injunction would not be granted to compel its being allowed to be erected'. The best way of ensuring compliance in this regard was 'to have a short agreement or deed executed between the Most Rev. Dr Brownrigg on the one part and the Trustees on the other' whereby 'no inscription or mural tablet shall be placed in any part of the church or mausoleum without the previous approval in writing of the Bishop of Ossory for the time being'. Such agreement would not convey any 'property' rights to the Irish heir. This legal advice would seem to have set the bishop's mind at ease.

Nonetheless, the matter of the mausoleum was still extant. In particular, the bishop was concerned about the burial rights that would accrue to the Barron family as a result of its construction. Would the bishop be entitled to bar a member of the Barron family who might have become Protestant from being buried therein? The opinion of legal counsel was that if 'the mausoleum be erected with the sanction of the Bishop he would... be bound to permit the remains of the Testator to be interred therein and (b) to permit several members of the Ballyneale branch of the Barron family as they die off to be interred in the mausoleum'.

The Bishop was in a 'no win' situation and was under attack on several fronts. While the content and location of mural inscriptions were matters that pertained to the future (and could be taken care of as they arose), the mausoleum issue had to be settled right now before any building could get under way. £3,000 had been allocated for this part of the project and there was no way it could be written out of the script. Once in place, members of the Barron family (Catholic or Protestant) had a legal right to be interred there should they so wish. While this legal advice would not have been to the bishop's liking, he was nevertheless conscious of the terms of the will. The trustees had absolute discretion in determining whether the conditions being imposed by the bishop were unreasonable or otherwise. Should they decide

49 MacDermot to Brownrigg, 3 November, 1902.

that such conditions were unreasonable, they were then obliged to proceed with building a church and mausoleum nearby over which the bishop would have absolutely no control. This was the very last thing any bishop would have wanted.

Getting round the 'mausoleum issue'

Having gone down the legal road as far as he could go, Bishop Brownrigg now turned to his architect, Mr Byrne. The final accommodation between the bishop and the trustees would seem to have drawn on a combination of the legal advice already obtained and the skills of the two sets of architects working in unison. A gentlemanly agreement between the two sets of architects was obviously arrived at because on 12 April 1903, Bishop Brownrigg was able to write to the trustees of Barron's will giving his sanction for the building of the present church:

With reference to the legacies of £6,000 and £3,000 given to you by said will, the former being for the erection of a Catholic Church at Ferrybank, County Waterford, Ireland, according to the directions specified in clause 13 of the said will, and the latter being for the erection of a mausoleum commemorative of the testator's family as provided for by clause 14 of the said will I the undersigned the Right Reverend Abraham Brownrigg, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, within whose diocese Ferrybank is situate hereby testify my sanction (as required by clause 13 of the said will) for the erection of the said church and of the said mausoleum adjoining as directed by clause 14 of the said will in accordance with the plans and specifications prepared by Mr. G. E. Ashlin, your architect, with such modifications thereof as you may from time to time in the course of construction find necessary and desirable, the said plans and specifications having for the purposes and identification been signed by him on your behalf and by Mr. Byrne as architect on my behalf.

Dated this 6th day of April 1903
+ Abraham Brownrigg,
Bishop of Ossory.

The document carrying the bishop's sanction for the building of the new church is remarkable for its brevity and generality. There is no reference to the appropriation of wall space for plaques or monuments, and it would appear that the two sets of architects worked to a suitable plan and specification to which both the bishop and the trustees were able to agree. They were empowered to make the necessary modifications as might be deemed necessary during the course of the construction.⁵⁰ The mausoleum would seem to have been accommodated through the inclusion of

abstract mosaic and delicately stained glass is a miniature version of Mynihan (Co. Carlow).⁵¹ Underneath the vaulted chapel is a purpose-built vault or burial place but no member of the Barron family would ever seem to have been buried there. In the architect's plans, the revised design for the floor of the mausoleum is dated May 1908 and the details of the shelves to the mausoleum⁵² are dated July 1911.

The only commemorative plaque to H. P. T. Barron is neatly tucked away in an alcove in what used to be the baptistery on the left as one enters the church. It was relocated there from the mausoleum by Fr McGrath in the post-Vatican II alterations of the church. The monument is certainly less conspicuous and more aesthetically impressive than the one to his father in St John's Church, Waterford, and it bears the exact inscription as specified in the will (see Plate 12).

Why no member of the Barron family should ever seem to have been buried in the mausoleum is not clear. After all, much time and effort had been expended in trying to meet the terms of the Barron will with regard to it. Oral tradition in Ferrybank proffers its own explanation; the story is told that when Dr Brownrigg was ready to proceed with the consecration of the new church, a messenger arrived from the Irish heir of the Barron family requesting that the ceremony be delayed for half an hour so that he might be present. The bishop ignored the plea and started at the pre-arranged time. The Barron representatives were so incensed by this indignity that they vowed to have nothing further to do with the church. Whether the story is true or apocryphal we may never know.

Surrender of Grave Spaces

When it became apparent that the new church was going to be built, it was necessary that those who owned graves or burial rights adjacent to the old church on its east side would surrender these in part, or in whole, so as not to impede the development. In all, about fifteen families were affected. Fr Thomas Brophy, CC, approached each of the families in turn and obtained their consent, informing Bishop Brownrigg of same by letter on 16 March 1903. Among those affected were the following (or their representatives):

John and Ellen Fitzpatrick, Newrath
Edward Phelan, 4 Sion Row
Walter Walsh, Hennessy's Road
Michael and Margaret Shalloe, The Quay, Waterford
John Hicks, Ferrybank

51 Williams, *Architecture in Ireland 1837-1921*, p. 364 and pp. 41-2.

52 These shelves survived intact until 1992 when they were removed to make way for the installation of new toilets.



IN MEMORY OF
SIR HENRY PAGE-GURNER BARRON BARRÉ
BORN 27TH DEC. 1824, AT BELMONT PARK
IN THE PARISH OF SLIVERUE ALIAS KILLOTERAN
ATTACHÉ TO HER MAJESTY'S LEGATION
AT BERNE, GURIN, FLORENCE AND BERLIN
SECRETARY TO HER MAJESTY'S LEGATION
AT BERNE, GURIN, FLORENCE AND BERLIN
SECRETARY TO HER MAJESTY'S LEGATION & EMBASSY
AT LISBON, BRUSSELS AND CONSTANTINOPLE
HER MAJESTY'S MINISTER-RESIDENT
TO THE KING OF WURTEMBERG, OCT. 1883.
DIED AT STUTTGARD 12TH SEPTEMBER 1900.

Edward Phelan, 4 Sion Row
P. Nolan, 9 Sion Row,
Thomas Walsh, 5 St Ignatius Street
M. Phelan, Ferrybank.

In several cases, all that was surrendered was 12-18 inches, leading one to suspect that the old church occupied more or less the same space as the present one.

The bishop could now issue his sanction, all hurdles having been cleared. The work of taking down the old church began a few months later, or as Carrigan relates, in the early summer of 1903. The motto of the Barron family 'audaces fortuna juvat' (fortune favours the bold)⁵³ might well be applied not only to the family to which it belongs but indeed to all who played a part in ensuring that the conditions of Barron's will would not prove insurmountable. Credit is due in particular to Bishop Abraham Brownrigg who navigated his way through a legal minefield and secured for Ferrybank an aesthetic masterpiece - the Church of the Sacred Heart.

53 This motto would seem to be taken from the rallying cry Maurice Fitzgerald gave to his troops when he and Strongbow found themselves besieged by King Roderick O'Connor at the head of 30,000 men (cf. Barron, 'Distinguished Waterford Families, II', p. 141).

James Francis Xavier O'Brien (1828-1905): Dungarvan-born Fenian

By Pat McCarthy

EARLY in March 1867, the leadership of the Fenian movement in Cork met to discuss their part in the planned rising. Among those present was James Francis Xavier O'Brien even though he was not among the principal Fenian leaders in Cork city. Aware that not more than one hundred of the Cork Fenians had arms of any kind and suspecting that the promised arms dumps were illusory, O'Brien argued strongly against participation in the rising. The vote went against him but, nevertheless, he was among the approximately 2,000 Fenians who assembled outside Cork city on the night of 5 March (Shrove Tuesday). Despite his reservations, O'Brien's natural leadership skills emerged and he became the *de facto* leader of the Cork Fenians, leading them in the attack and capture of Ballyknockane RIC barracks before ordering his men to disperse when faced with a strong military column near Mallow. He was subsequently captured, tried and condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered - the last person to be so condemned in the United Kingdom. However, his sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

The Fenian incident is only one episode in the extraordinary life of James Francis Xavier O'Brien. Born in Dungarvan in 1828 of a prosperous mercantile family, he was educated at a private school in Dungarvan and at St John's College, Waterford. In 1848, he organised a strongly nationalist group in Dungarvan but was too late to take part in the 1849 attack on Cappoquin RIC barracks. A warrant was issued for his arrest but he escaped to Wales on one of his father's ships. He later studied medicine before emigrating to New Orleans, from where he sailed with William Walker's filibustering expedition to Nicaragua. A brief spell in the army of the Confederate States of America in 1861 followed before he returned to Ireland and his involvement with Fenianism.

In 1869, O'Brien benefited from Gladstone's Amnesty Act and was released from prison. He promptly resumed the role in the Irish Republican Brotherhood, becoming for a time president of that organisation's Supreme Council. In the 1870s, he became increasingly disillusioned with the use of physical force and with separatism and was gradually drawn into Parliamentary politics. In 1885, O'Brien was elected Nationalist MP for South Mayo, which constituency he represented until 1895 when he became MP for Cork city and retained that seat until his death in 1905. In the Parnellite split, he followed the majority and opposed Charles Stewart Parnell (the leader of the Nationalist Party)

Family background, growing up in Dungarvan and early education

In O'Brien's own words:

My father kept a draper's shop in one part of the town and in another part he carried on the business of a general merchant dealing in corn, butter, timber, slates, coal, etc.

I cannot understand why my father and mother did not bring up their children in the practice of our own tongue for they had been all their lives more accustomed to speak Irish than English. Their own parents were farmers and probably spoke nothing but Irish in their day. At all events, we the children spoke only English; my father and mother when they wished to speak of private affairs, spoke in Irish in our presence. My eldest sister and my older brother gradually acquired the vernacular while assisting in the business. I regret very much that I did not then appreciate the value of Irish. I might easily have acquired a facility of speaking it, of which in after years I would have been very proud. No better place for acquiring it than a shop such as ours. Most people spoke only Irish or chiefly used the old language. The sons of the better off farmers and of course the sons of the shopkeepers had been for some time growing up in the practice of speaking English while most of the small farmers and labourers living in the country spoke very little or no English.²

Of the date of my birth I cannot speak with any pretence to accuracy. I have an indistinct recollection of having asked my mother a question on this subject when I was about twelve years old and soon after received from her an old savings bank pass-book - on the leaf of which my name was written and the date 2nd December 1831. I have lately been told by my cousin James Vincent Cleary, now Archbishop of Kingston, Canada, that when he was Parish Priest of Dungarvan he had examined the register of births and that I was nearly two years older than I imagined.³

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- 1 National Library of Ireland, MS 16,695. Quotations from this manuscript are by kind permission of the Council of Trustees, National Library of Ireland. The current ownership of the copyright to the manuscript is not known, but it is hoped that the owner will pardon the presumed permission to reproduce extracts from the autobiography of his or her illustrious ancestor. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations are from this manuscript.
 - 2 This is one of the very few references to the decline of the Irish language in nineteenth-century autobiographies. Seán de Fréine, in his study *The Great Silence*, (Dublin:Foilseachtáin Naisunta Teoranta, 1965) analyses this silence of a major social and linguistic change.
 - 3 The confusion over O'Brien's birth-date is evident in the RIC file of 1867 which gives his age on conviction as thirty-five years, indicating 1831 or 1832 as the year of his birth.

My father was Timothy O'Brien, my grandfather Christopher O'Brien. He farmed some eighty acres of land at Duckspool, a short mile from Dungarvan. Of my father's brothers I remember the names of John, Jeremiah, James and Patrick. John and Jeremiah had gone to America before my birth, one to Ohio, the other to New Brunswick or Newfoundland. The tombstone of my grandfather Christopher was, I suppose still is, in front of the principal entrance to the church of Abbeyside.

William Smith O'Brien whom I met in New Orleans, about 1859, told me that a short time before his visit to America he had spent a day or so with my brother Christopher at Dungarvan, and having talked over the history of the O'Brien family with him on his return home he had looked up documents and had satisfied himself that our family was descended from that branch of the Thomond O'Briens settled in Waterford County (Comeragh O'Briens).

My father died in 1853. My mother who died in Belfast in 1873, whose remains I brought to Dungarvan, was daughter of Matthew O'Brien a prosperous farmer who lived at Ballyquiry, three miles from Dungarvan on the left side of the valley leading to Cappoquin. He died at Aglish house, then the residence of his only son James O'Brien. The age of my maternal grandfather was variously estimated at 108 to 112 years.

I remember being carried on the back of a man in my father's employment to an infant school kept by an old lady named Mrs. Cassin. My next teacher was Mrs. O'Dwyer. Her husband taught a senior boys' school in the same house.

I became ambitious to win a respectable place in my class. At an early age I was proud of my name and descent from an illustrious race and the desire to do nothing unbecoming of such a descent was strong in me. In this way my love for Ireland gradually grew and I felt as one dedicated to her service - 'till to live or die for her was my one controlling desire.

When I was 8 or 9 years old Father Matthew, the great Apostle of Temperance visited Dungarvan. Without asking permission from anyone I took two sisters who were younger than myself to the Church where Father Matthew was administering the Temperance Pledge. We children went on our knees among the crowds in the Church yard and took the pledge. This I observed 'till I was about 23.

I was no more than 10 or 11 when my acquaintance with John O'Leary' began. John O'Leary's father was a merchant in Tipperary and for some years members of the family regularly visited Dungarvan for sea bathing. I think he attended at Mr. Dwyer's school for three or six months or more about this time. Our families became intimate. From the beginning I looked up to him and admired him. His intellectual capacity I recognised as considerably above mine.

music. The enthusiasm of the crowds that followed was extraordinary. An effort was made to arouse the people to greater spirit. The faith in O'Connell was almost as strong as our religious faith. We believed as if he could not fail, that if his moral force tactics did not succeed that he would then fall back on physical force which had in truth greater attractions for the masses.

However, O'Brien's belief that O'Connell might resort to physical force was misplaced and he writes of growing discontent and disillusionment, along with a switch in popular support to men like Davis, Smith O'Brien and Duffy. He makes no mention, however, of Waterfordian Thomas Francis Meagher.

The Great Famine then hit the country and as a clerk in his father's business, O'Brien was well placed to observe the economic and social impact of that disaster, especially on prices:

The potato crop of 1844 had been abundant in quantity if not in quality. Food was very cheap. Beef was as low as 3d. per lb., potatoes 2d. per stone, a hake weighing about 8 lbs might have been had for 1_d. or 2d. I have seen heaps of small potatoes possibly picked from those to be stored in the pits lying by the ditch left to rot. The month of February was the only fine month in the year 1845. There was no Summer weather after that. I remember distinctly walking in the country near Dungarvan in the early part of July having noticed an extraordinary stench as from rotting vegetable matter.⁵ A vapour hung over the countryside.

There had been little if any talk of potato disease before that. Each person was hoping that his own crop would escape but before long it was found that the disaster was widespread. I record only what I saw with my own eyes. I speak not of the effects produced in other parts of the country.

The workhouses had been built a few years before this.⁶ They had been practically unused. It was an insult to the poorest beggar to urge him to take shelter in one. But now ere long the pangs of hunger - ruthless starvation - broke

5 It is possible that O'Brien's recollection may be at fault here. According to Jack Burtchaell, it was not until September 1845 that the blight made its first appearance in County Waterford ('An overview of the famine in Waterford', in Des Cowman & Donald Brady (eds) *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850: teacht na bprátaí dubha* [Dublin: Geography Publications in association with Waterford County Council, 1995], pp. 25-32 [p. 25]).

6 For a history of the Dungarvan Workhouse, see William Fraher, Bernadette Sheridan, Seosamh Ó Loinsigh & Willie Whelan (1997) *Desperate haven: the Poor Law, famine and aftermath in Dungarvan Union* (Dungarvan: Dungarvan Museum Society).

down the pride not only of the ordinary beggar but of countless thousands of labourers who had previously maintained their families partly by working for hire; mainly by cultivating patches of potatoes on conacre.

I have seen the workhouse - hitherto an object of contempt - besieged by thousands of starving creatures, a terrible encampment, each wretched family in a little group. None were admitted without certain formalities. Many died before the doors were open to them. Perhaps more perished soon after they had entered. Their poor bodies had been completely famished and wasted and they were unable to digest Indian Meal - which the workhouse cooks did not at first know how to prepare. From day to day starving men, women and children were seen on the footways of the town unable to move, lying, I might say, in the agonies of death. It was a terrible time. But how carefully the rights of property were guarded. Poor creatures found taking turnips from a field were promptly sent to jail by the magistrate.

Dungarvan was in communication with the South Wales seaports, vessels carrying over corn and bringing back coal from Cardiff, Newport and Swansea. Thus South Wales afforded a refuge to many from our town and neighbourhood. I say nothing of the untold suffering of the countless numbers who died in their own poor homes of famine and typhus fever. While our district was thus desolated as many as twenty or more carts each laden with about a ton of wheat or oats would come for shipment from inland towns escorted by military or police.⁷ Occasionally a crowd of desperate men and women would make a dash upon the convoys at the risk of their lives carrying off a bag of corn. Lives were lost, injuries sustained and arrests made. Surely not even the Sultan of Turkey would export the food of his people while famine raged among them. There was abundance of food in Ireland - but it was of the best kind - the kind that would sell for money and would produce the rent for landlords. A native Government would have seen to the lives of the people first. The foreign Government concerned itself about the landlords' rent. Few more hideous crimes stain the pages of history!

What might have happened in 1848, if the famine had not fallen upon the country and the people had not been utterly broken and dispirited?

In the Autumn of 1848 John O'Mahony⁸ was reported to have taken the field with 1,000 followers in the neighbourhood of Portlaw and to be moving towards Dungarvan. Many burned with anxiety to join him. I know I was ready

7 The memory of food being exported from Ireland was to prove one of the most enduring and powerful images of the Great Famine. To many, it seemed to be 'a Famine in the midst of plenty', and as the mid-nineteenth-century nationalist journalist and Young Irelander John Mitchell put it, 'God sent the potato blight but the English made the Famine'

priest and I enlisted in the Diocesan Seminary at Waterford as an ecclesiastical student.

I had not been long in Waterford College when rumours began to come in of an improved spirit among the people and of contemplated Risings. Before leaving college for the summer vacation or soon after my return home I had joined with all my heart the conspiracy set on foot by James Fintan Lalor of Tinakilly, Queen's County.¹⁰

During the vacation, I went with three others - some, if not all fellow-students - to Carrick-on-Suir for the purpose of bringing back pike-heads. We called at the house of one, Hickey, at Carrickbeg where we were expected. We met there Thomas Clerk Luby.¹¹ He appeared to be quite a swell, stretched on the grass outside the house reading a book on military tactics. He paid no attention to us. I next saw Luby at Portland Convict Prison in 1868 in the Autumn of the year. I heard nothing of the attack on the police barrack at Cappelquin until it had passed off. Joe Brennan was the leader in that affair. Brennan was a '48 man. I met him 9 years after in New Orleans. I was not present at the Cappelquin affair - I had received no notice of it 'till after the event. I suppose notice was not given me because of my youth.

I had however enrolled about 100 in the conspiracy in my native town. My activity in this direction came to the knowledge of the police authorities and a warrant was issued for my arrest. This I easily evaded by crossing to England in a vessel belonging to my father.

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- 9 For a description of this period in Waterford, see Dermot Power (1995) 'The politicisation of the people? Strange episodes in 1848-49', in Cowman & Brady, *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850: teacht na bprátaí dubha*, pp. 291-310. The planned Rising of 1849 organised by James Fintan Lalor centred on simultaneous outbreaks in Waterford, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Limerick and Clare on 18 September 1849. Lalor himself was to lead an attack on Cashel. That night, he assembled a band of about 150 outside the town and was later joined by about another 50 men led by John O'Leary. For some reason, disappointed perhaps by the lack of support, he declined to order an attack on the town. The following morning, he ordered his men to disperse. The only action in this second phase of the Young Ireland movement was the attack on Cappelquin RIC barracks led by J. Brennan. It is typical of the dispersed and disorganised nature of the conspiracy that no word or plans appear to have been sent to O'Brien who claimed to have organised and armed 100 men in Dungarvan.
- 10 James Fintan Lalor (1807-49). Born in Co. Laois, he suffered from poor health all his life. He joined the Young Ireland movement and after the collapse of the 1848 Rising, he tried to organise another one which failed in 1849. He died shortly afterwards.
- 11 Thomas Clerk Luby (1822-1901). Born in Dublin, the son of a Church of Ireland clergyman, he studied law and became prominent in the Young Ireland movement. He later founded the Fenian movement in 1858 with James Stephens. Arrested in 1865 and convicted of treason-felony, he consequently served four years in prison, before emigrating to the United States where he died (in New Jersey) in 1902.

Medical studies and American adventure

When I had spent a few weeks in the south of England my people considered it safe to return to Ireland but not to Dungarvan. John Walton, my brother-in-law was in business at Fermoy buying oats and butter for export - I went to Fermoy and assisted him for about six months. Then my father took premises in Lismore putting me in charge and there I bought oats which I sent to Dungarvan for shipment on board my father's vessels. After one year in Lismore my father sent me to Clonmel in the same capacity. There I remained 'till his death in 1853. Then as my brother appeared inclined to assume the entire control of the business I decided upon taking up the study of medicine.

Despite a five-year absence from formal education, O'Brien sat for (and obtained) the matriculation examination in Galway in the summer of 1854. He then commenced his medical studies. By his own account, he was a diligent student. While on vacation in the summer of 1855, he decided to continue his studies in Paris, a move which, in his own words, was 'not to be for the good of my medical career'.

Whether I met John O'Leary then and learned in person of his intention to go to Paris in October accompanied by his brother Arthur or whether I learned this from correspondence I do not recollect. Arthur was to study art, John to read anything and everything in aimless fashion. I set off in the Autumn of 1855, I took a room in an old house in the Rue Lacepede for which I paid thirty francs a month. My resources were limited and I economised rigidly. I attended lectures at the Ecole de Medicines as well as clinical courses at various hospitals - La Pitie, La Charité, Hotel Dieu. I read and dissected diligently.

I was but a few weeks in Paris when John O'Leary and his younger brother Arthur came over. They appear to have met en route James Whistler - the afterwards distinguished painter and etcher. Whistler was a funny-looking chap - about 5 ft 3 in, pale sallow face, features in no way striking or pleasing. An abundance of black curling hair, slight moustache, eyes dark laughing, impudent looking, perky cock-sparrow style. He sang the 'Ratcatcher's Daughter' and wore a low crowned black felt hat on the side of his head. Scarcely a day passed of which I did not spend a portion with John O'Leary and his brother. I frequently met Whistler in their rooms.

In June 1856, O'Brien returned to Dungarvan, noting:

The effect upon my health of even less than twenty months close study and

St Dominic Corrigan's advice the plan I laid out for myself was to endeavour to gain some military experience which might prove of use in Ireland's cause, I decided to join Walker in Nicaragua.

William Walker of Nashville, Tennessee, having tried medicine, law and journalism, had decided to become a *conquistador*. Recruiting a force of about three hundred men, he soon made himself dictator of Nicaragua. His behaviour forced President Franklin Pierce of the United States to intervene. Despite being forced out of Nicaragua, Walker continued his filibustering career and organised several more expeditions. It was one of those being organised in New Orleans that O'Brien joined. When he arrived in New Orleans, he made contact with Joseph Brennan (the leader of the Cappoquin attack in 1849) who introduced him to Pierre Soule. The latter gave O'Brien an appointment as a staff officer to Walker and in the spring of 1857, the expedition sailed. The expedition (not to mention O'Brien's part in it) was a fiasco. By the time it reached Nicaragua, Walker had surrendered to the United States Navy. O'Brien, meanwhile, had quarrelled with a Colonel Anderson and with a brother of Walker. One night after another altercation, O'Brien was forced to flee for his life from the camp. In desperation, he sought refuge in the house of the British consul. He described his feelings thus:

The idea of seeking the protection of the British Consul and the British Flag was hateful to me but I could see no other way out of the difficulty. I decided that under the circumstances I should submit to this 'humiliation' the greatest of my whole life, so, full of shame and indignation I made for the accursed flag.

Safe under the protection of the Union Jack, O'Brien had only to wait for a day or two before embarking for New Orleans where he again called on Joseph Brennan. Brennan put him in contact with another '48 man, D'Alton Williams,¹² who was at this time teaching at a Jesuit college in Baton Rouge. Williams was anxious to leave, so O'Brien offered to substitute, an offer that was readily accepted. His teaching career was brief:

Having spent four months as a teacher at Baton Rouge and having, in my own opinion at least, put the school into a creditable state, I made up my own mind I did not care to act the pedagogue any longer and I went down to New Orleans intending to look for an opening in the Commercial world.

Through Joe Brennan, I came to know a Mr. M. J. Brennan who was

12 D'Alton Williams (1822-62). A poet and a major contributor to John Mitchell's newspaper, *The United Irishman*, he was arrested on a charge of treason-felony in 1848 but was acquitted. He subsequently emigrated to the United States.

engaged in the wholesale provision trade in partnership with a Mr. Place and through M. J. Brennan I became acquainted with a Mr. Kingsland and others in the same trade.

It was from Kingsland he eventually got employment. Within a short time, he proved his worth and soon progressed from a clerkship at \$20 a month to a partnership worth \$3,000 a year.

I was now on the high road to fortune when everything went down before the War storm which for a considerable time had been brewing. I had [been] married a few years and now had two children (a stepson and one of my own) as well as a wife to provide for. My wife¹³ had been the widow of a young man named Patrick O'Brien, a native of Waterford City. I met them at the Boarding house at which I had been living. The yellow fever was very bad the following Summer and it carried off poor O'Brien and the widow was left in straitened circumstances.

When I had first settled down to work and was able to make a living one of my painful thoughts was to find out whether any work was being done for Ireland with the desire to take a part in it. The only prominent Irishman in the States of who[m] much was then heard was John Mitchell. After turning the matter over in my mind I decided to write to him. I believe he was then living in Tennessee. In due time I received his reply, advising me to attend to my own business and cease troubling about Ireland! Such an advice, and from John Mitchell, shocked and grieved me, but in no way allayed my enthusiasm or altered my plans.¹⁴

Thoughts for Ireland were soon out in abeyance, at least temporarily, with the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861.

When the vote was taken for and against secession, everyone was amazed at the majority in favour of secession. There was immense enthusiasm in New Orleans on that occasion. Immediately Regiments of Volunteer Militia were enrolled. In the Third District where I then lived a regiment was formed of married men, largely if not entirely Irish. I joined and when it was known that I had been a medical student for some years I was selected for the post of

13 Mary Louisa O'Brien. Born in Taghmon, Co. Wexford, her maiden name was Cullimore. One son, Clare, was born of this marriage and he would later be ordained for the diocese of Dublin.

14 John Mitchell (1815-75). As leader of the Young Ireland movement, he was arrested and convicted of treason-felony in 1848. Deported to Van Diemen's Land and later to

service and became a portion of the regular Army of the Confederacy having to conform to the regular military discipline. One of the first regiments that left New Orleans [to join the Army of Northern Virginia] was largely Irish. Its Senior Captain was named Nolan.¹⁵ If I remember right he was a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society - to which I also belonged. He was also president of the New Orleans Branch of the Fenian Organisation with which of course I had been closely connected. This branch had been formed on the occasion of a visit by James Stephens¹⁶ in 1858. This was the first time I had met him.

Most of the Louisiana Infantry Regiments were ordered north to Virginia where they distinguished themselves under Robert E. Lee. Renowned for their fighting qualities, both in battle and in camp, they were often used as 'shock' troops and suffered severe casualties. O'Brien does not give any reason why he stayed in New Orleans and he was in the city when it fell to union troops. Possessing only Confederate money, now worthless, and having lent freely to his friends, O'Brien was now bankrupt. Although he stayed in New Orleans for a while, and observed the fortunes that were made and lost on cotton in the early part of the war, he now decided to return to Ireland via New York. He managed to secure a pass from General Butler, Commanding Officer of the Union troops and left New Orleans on 22 October 1862. In New York, O'Brien met John O'Mahony and after a brief stay took the first steamer to Queenstown (Cobh) and from there made his way to Cork.

Cork and Fenianism

O'Brien's first task was to find employment to support his family, his second to immerse himself in the Fenian movement which was now gaining ground in Ireland.

I at once set about finding employment and after a week, in December 1862, was engaged as book-keeper by James Clery and Co. - Wholesale Tea and Wine Merchants. As General Manager as well as book-keeper I attended so

15 Michael Nolan commanded the Montgomery Guards, a company of the First Louisiana Volunteers, with the rank of captain. This company was 77% Irish and had a remarkably low desertion rate. Promoted to Lt Colonel and Regimental Commander, he was killed leading his men in attack on the second day of the Battle of Gettysburg (3 July 1863).

16 James Stephens (1824-1901). Born in Kilkenny, he fled to Paris following his participation in the 1848 Rising and from thence to the United States. He returned to Ireland in 1858 and founded the Fenian movement, but he was later criticised for not ordering a Rising when the movement was at its strongest in 1865. He died in Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

well to my work and gave so much satisfaction that when the 6th of March 1867 came around my remuneration was about three times the salary at which I had been first engaged.

The way now opened for pursuing the main object of my life - devotion to an attempt to shake off the tyranny of England and assert the nationality of my country. All my life led up to it.

I do not remember how I came in touch with the I.R.B. men in Cork - possibly it was through John O'Leary. At all events in the course of a year or so I came to know most of the active of them - Bryan Dillon, John Kennealy, James Barrett, Michael Murphy, John J. Geary, Dominick O'Mahony. Bryan Dillon was a solicitor's clerk. He was somewhat deformed yet ready to do and dare anything for Ireland. Dillon had the most active mind; the others rather followed his initiative. Michael Murphy was a hatter and kept a shop in Great George's Street where I undertook to give rudimentary lessons in drill to a few men. I then lived in a small house in North Abbey Square.

In 1864, the Fenians founded the newspaper, the *Irish People*, with John O'Leary as editor. O'Brien became a notable contributor to its columns, frequently taking issue with the Catholic clergy when they sought to give political direction or to condemn Fenianism - this despite his own devout and sincere Catholicism. In his memoirs, he comments unfavourably on the semi-secret way that the IRB was being run despite the complicated system of oaths and circles designed to preserve secrecy. When he was reorganising the movement after the Rising of 1867, this was one mistake that he made sure not to repeat.

Word had gone out that James Stephens was to meet the leading men of the County at the house of John J. Geary. The way this was talked about openly at every gathering amazed me. It was simply impossible that the police could be ignorant of what was in contemplation. I had occasionally to meet some of the principal Cork leaders, sometimes at my house, more often at public houses which were the usual rendez-vous. There I was shocked to observe how recklessly the affairs of the Organisation were discussed. There was no pretence of reticence unless a policeman in uniform were present. It was plain that to know all that was going on a policeman had to exchange but for the ordinary dress of a working man or artisan and go around the public houses. I called attention to this state of affairs but to no purpose.

On the occasion of Stephens' visit to Cork, the day before and the day or two he remained, the northern end of the North Main Street, in which Geary's public house was situated was in a manner openly patrolled by numbers of the leading men who had come in from outlying parts of the County. And yet we were engaged in a conspiracy in which secrecy was essential. At least it

I was not at all satisfied with what I saw of the working of the Organisation. I asked some questions as to what provision was being made for arming the people - I say people advisably, for without any doubt the vast bulk of them were heart and soul with the conspiracy. In reply to my questions I was told that Stephens had undertaken the charge of providing everything necessary and that depots of arms were being prepared in various places. There were rumours of vessels landing them from America.

However, I wrote to John O'Leary suggesting that it could do no harm if the masses were encouraged to provide arms for themselves. After a while I received a reply to the effect that he had spoken with Stephens on the subject who could not consent - he, Stephens, would provide them.

O'Brien was not at this time prominent in the Fenian Organisation in Cork and hence was not invited to meet Stephens when next he visited the city. He is, however, very critical of the autocratic style of Stephens' leadership and says 'even the leading men of the County did not presume to have opinions of their own'. He does, however, note that 'it was after the Stephens' gathering of 1864 that I made a tour with Rossa¹⁷ to Dungarvan and other places in the County Waterford for the purpose of strengthening the organisation there'. Obviously, O'Brien's local knowledge would have been an advantage for such a trip. He was not to meet O'Donovan Rossa again until they were in the same prison in 1868.

After the police swoop in September 1865 which captured many of the Fenian leaders and closed offices of the *Irish People*, O'Brien went to Dublin to see if he could be of any assistance in 'keeping the organisation going'. While he was in Dublin, the police arrested the Cork leaders. O'Brien stayed with Joseph Denieffe,¹⁸ but seeing that he could be of little assistance, he decided to return to Cork. An hour after he left Denieffe's house, it too was raided by the police. A week following his return to Cork, a resident magistrate and a police inspector interviewed O'Brien at his work place and questioned him about his contacts with Stephens. After they had

17 Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa (1831-1915). One of the most enduring symbols of Fenianism, he suffered harrowing imprisonment as he fought for political status in 1866-71. On his release, he emigrated to the United States where he continued to be active in IRB circles, including the organising of bombing campaigns in London in the 1880s.

18 Joseph Denieffe (d. 1915). Born in Kilkenny, he emigrated to the United States, but returned to play a major part in organising Fenianism. Following the collapse of the Rising of 1867, he returned to the States. His autobiography, *Recollections of an Irish revolutionary brotherhood*, (published serially in *The Gael* [New York] in 1904) is one of the best descriptions of the Fenian movement. It was later published as *A Personal Narrative of the Irish Revolutionary brotherhood* (New York: The Gael Publishing Co., 1906).

left, O'Brien was able to assure his employers that the police had no grounds for suspicion. O'Brien was anxious for an immediate rising, placing his trust in the '8,000 of the soldiers in various garrisons in Ireland who had joined the Organisation' and also in

the Irish American soldiers who had seen service in the Great Civil War. It was supposed that there were over 3,000 in Ireland waiting for the day.

However, the Fenian leadership, still dominated by Stephens, allowed the moment to pass. O'Brien consequently had very bitter words to say about him:

By postponing the time for the Rising it became impossible, childish in fact - much worse indeed - on the part of the man who knew all the circumstances, of course I mean Stephens. The attempt [to rise up] became more childish, impossible, criminal. He got away to France and to America. he left us in ignorance. As to what he did there my knowledge is very slight. As far as I afterwards gathered it would appear that his inaction and procrastination were severely condemned by our friends there - that finally they became imperative and insisted that he should fix a day for the Rising.

In August 1866, O'Brien's wife, Mary Louisa, died, but despite now having the sole responsibility for two young children, he was still determined to play his part in any rising.

The Rising of 1867

In 1867 two ladies came to Cork bringing a letter from James Stephens ordering the Rising. Mr. Stephens in that letter promised to be with us. The ladies were Miss Duffy - sister of Ned Duffy¹⁹ - and Miss O'Leary, sister of John O'Leary. It was rumoured that depots of arms had been accumulated at various points; Mallow and Limerick junction among others.

I do not remember whether there was any reference to these depots in that letter from Stephens - but when the question to be decided was: - *a Rising*, I strongly opposed it. I did not believe in the depots and I could not approve a Rising of unarmed men. The question was however carried against me. Two of those whose votes decided the question in favour when the hour came did not appear; one of them is dead - God be merciful to him!

Of course I felt honour bound to see the matter out. I had made every prepa-

19 Edward Duffy (1840-68) Born in Ballaghaderreen, co. Roscommon, he became the

on Warren's Place, and from this on the night of 5 March 1867 I took a cab to Prayer Hill.

So now at Prayer Hill on the Blarney Road, on the evening of 5 March 1867 that to which I had looked forward all my life had become a reality - I was in arms for Ireland: against my better judgement it is true. Some 1,500 men had answered the call. I was told that two other bodies were leaving by different roads and that the total muster was about 5,000.

It saddens me to think of that crowd on Prayer Hill, every moment expecting the appearance of a qualified leader, but we waited in vain. I have already said that my position in the I.R.B. did not entitle me to assist at the discussion as to whether Stephens' order to rise should be complied with. I held no position in the I.R.B. so that when I joined the Rising I was - except to a very few - an unknown volunteer. After waiting for the best part of an hour after I reached Prayer Hill it was at length decided, by whom I did not know, that we should move towards Mallow. There was an idea among some of the men that there was a depot of arms thereabouts. The men struggled along the road a mere rabble. I did think that although we had not the experienced Irish American officers expected that we nevertheless had among us some men who from their positions in the organisation would come to the front and lead in some fashion.

When about to start the armament was counted up and the equipment of this body, 1,500 to 1,800 men, was found to be

2 shot guns
1 rifle
5 revolvers
18 pikes

When we had been an hour on the march two men were pointed out to me who, it was supposed, had seen some service in America - Michael O'Brien (one of the 'noble-hearted three' hanged at Manchester the next year) and Captain Mackey.²⁰ I spoke to each of them and suggested that they ought to take charge. Both declined. Later I suggested that with their assent I myself

20 Captain Mackey (1841-84). Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, of Irish parents, his full name was William Mackey Lomasney. He served with the Federal Army during the American Civil War and returned to Ireland to participate in the Rising. He escaped arrest in 1867 and continued to act as a Fenian agent until his arrest the following year when he was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. Released in 1871, he continued his revolutionary work, taking part in the London bombing campaign of the 1880s. He was killed when his bomb exploded as he placed it under London Bridge.

would take charge of such men as might be willing to fall in under my direction. This they approved. Of course a revolution could not take place on these terms. From the first I had little doubt that we were engaged in one of the most forlorn of forlorn hopes.

O'Brien then insisted that they form fours and march in formation. On passing through a little village he insisted that any food should be paid for. He himself paid for food for those of the group, now somewhat reduced, who had no money. When a house along the way was raided for arms, a receipt was given for the two guns taken. In the following extract, O'Brien describes the attack on 'Ballyknockin'²¹ police barracks.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning we came to a place where a road to the left led on towards Ballyknockin some half-mile off where there was a police barrack. A halt was called and after a consultation by a few who knew the district it was decided that fifty men under Captain Mackey should attack the barrack. When we were within a few hundred yards from the barrack I observed one or two policemen on the road outside the house. As we advanced they retired and closed the door. It was rather a long, low storied house with a frontage of 30 or 40 feet. The door was at the end by which we approached. The house was some 12 paces back from the road, and the space between fenced in by a low wall with an opening in the middle. When we came up Mackey - having in his hand a gun, taken from one of the party for he had previously only a revolver - advanced to the door at which he knocked with the butt of his weapon. There was no answer. He knocked again and in a loud voice he demanded the surrender of the policemen in the name of the Irish Republic. They refused to surrender.

Among the fifty who volunteered to come with Capt. Mackey I had noticed some were boys not more than 15 years of age. At this point when the police refused to surrender some of them took up a position in front of the barrack and flung stones at the windows. I made them retire from such an exposed position and take the shelter of the low wall. Mackey now endeavoured to break in the door with the butt of his gun and again with a piece of wood; but his efforts were ineffectual. He exposed himself, recklessly as I thought, taking up position in the middle of the space between the house and the road. However, feeling it unbecoming that another should be more daring than myself I took a place beside him. A shot from the barrack enveloped Mackey in smoke. He turned half round with the shock - but he did not stir from the spot. I held my place beside him. Mackey, failing his efforts to break into the barrack proposed to give it up, but I said we should be ashamed to turn our back on such an affair.

horseman ride off towards Mallow some six miles distant. He then called on Fr. Neville, the local curate, to intervene. Fr. Neville asked the policemen 'Well my men, have you done your best?' When they replied that they had, he told them 'If you can do no more you are not bound to lose your lives'. Comforted by this advice, the policemen surrendered. O'Brien noticed that the Fenians were handling the surrendered police rifles rather clumsily but before he could intervene, a shot was discharged wounding one of them, named Coughlan, in the shoulder. O'Brien now used his medical training (possibly for the only time in his life) and bound up the wound. The major question for O'Brien now was what to do next:

We now retired to Bottle Hill which was about half-a-mile from the barrack. Some of our people wished to take the police along as prisoners, but to this I would not consent, nor would I allow some of them to join us, for I felt that we were not going to do any good. We were now close to Mallow and there was no word of the depot of arms. It was best to give the police no unnecessary opportunity of identifying individuals; nor could I allow them to ruin themselves by joining us. Of course I would have had their help with pleasure if there was any sign of our being in a position to make a decent stand. At this stage of the business I heard myself addressed as Colonel O'Brien and it was one of the aliases in the indictment of my trial.

We now moved on to Bottle Hill where it was hoped we might learn something of the other bodies of men who had left Cork by other roads. We had not rested more than 20 minutes when we perceived advancing from the Mallow direction a body of infantry about 80 or 100. Between the hill and the road was a large square field with fences from four to six feet high. The soldiers came on through this field which would have been a death trap for them if we had had a supply of arms and ammunition. Unarmed as we were we could do nothing but scatter. And this we did so thoroughly that at the end of two hours I found myself alone with a lad named Murphy, a boy of 17 or 18, who said he was apprentice to his uncle, a coach builder. I told this boy that I intended making for Limerick Junction; which I understood to be the rendez-vous for Munster and that if I found nothing there I would try to get to America; and he was welcome to come with me if so inclined. He agreed to join me.

Slowly and carefully, the two made their way northwards towards Limerick Junction. O'Brien was at this stage nearly exhausted and unused to physical exertion. They by-passed Buttevant and Charleville and approached Kilmallock which had been the scene of a major attack by the Fenians on the Royal Irish Constabulary post there and the neighbourhood was a hive of police and military activity. About three miles from the town, the two were stopped by a cavalry patrol. O'Brien tried to escape into a nearby field but was easily captured. A cursory search found his

revolver and he was immediately arrested and taken, along with Murphy, to the RIC barracks in Kilmallock. O'Brien was handled very roughly by the RIC before being transferred to Cork County Jail to await trial before the Cork Special Commission on a charge of High Treason.

Trial and imprisonment

The Cork Special Commission, set up to try Fenian prisoners, was presided over by Lord Chief Justice Monaghan with Justices Keogh and George also sitting. It held its first hearings on 2 and 3 May 1867 before adjourning until 21 May. The prosecution was led by the Attorney-General, Hedges Eyre Chatterton, MP, whilst Caulfield Heron, QC, was assigned to O'Brien's defence. In all, some sixty-three prisoners were arraigned, most of them members of the East Cork Fenians. Six of the Ballyknockane attackers were put on trial.

Because of his low profile in the organisation before the Rising there was little police evidence against O'Brien. The prosecution relied almost entirely on witness evidence of his participation in the attack on Ballyknockane police barracks. The defence attacked the identification and argued that proper procedure was not followed in the identification parades. The defence was futile. On Friday 24 May, O'Brien was found guilty. On the following Monday, he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered, and the day of the execution was fixed for 19 June. Four of his co-accused, all east Cork Fenians - John McClure, John Edward Kelly, David Joyce and Thomas Cullinane - were also sentenced to death.

Of my trial I have not much to say. There was no attempt made to connect me with the conspiracy. And to business people in Cork, to whom I had become known during the previous four years, my presence in the dock was a surprise; for I had been a hardworking man and I had paid close attention to my business. The Ballyknockin policemen swore manfully for they had plenty of opportunities for identifying me in the prisons.

The general tale was that they were attacked by 150 men - every man having a rifle and a knapsack. The sole foundation for the 150 knapsacks was a small handbag, to which I had a strap affixed and which was carried as a knapsack by a young man of the party. This gentleman was I believe a medical student. he has for many years been - and still is - a doctor in a town in Lancashire.²²

The most remarkable point concerning the trial was the language of Judge Keogh in passing sentence - the complimentary terms he sued towards me. One phrase struck me as, under the circumstances, grotesque. He spoke of me

22. This was apparently J. W. O'Brien's friend, M. J. O'Brien, who was a doctor in Lancashire.

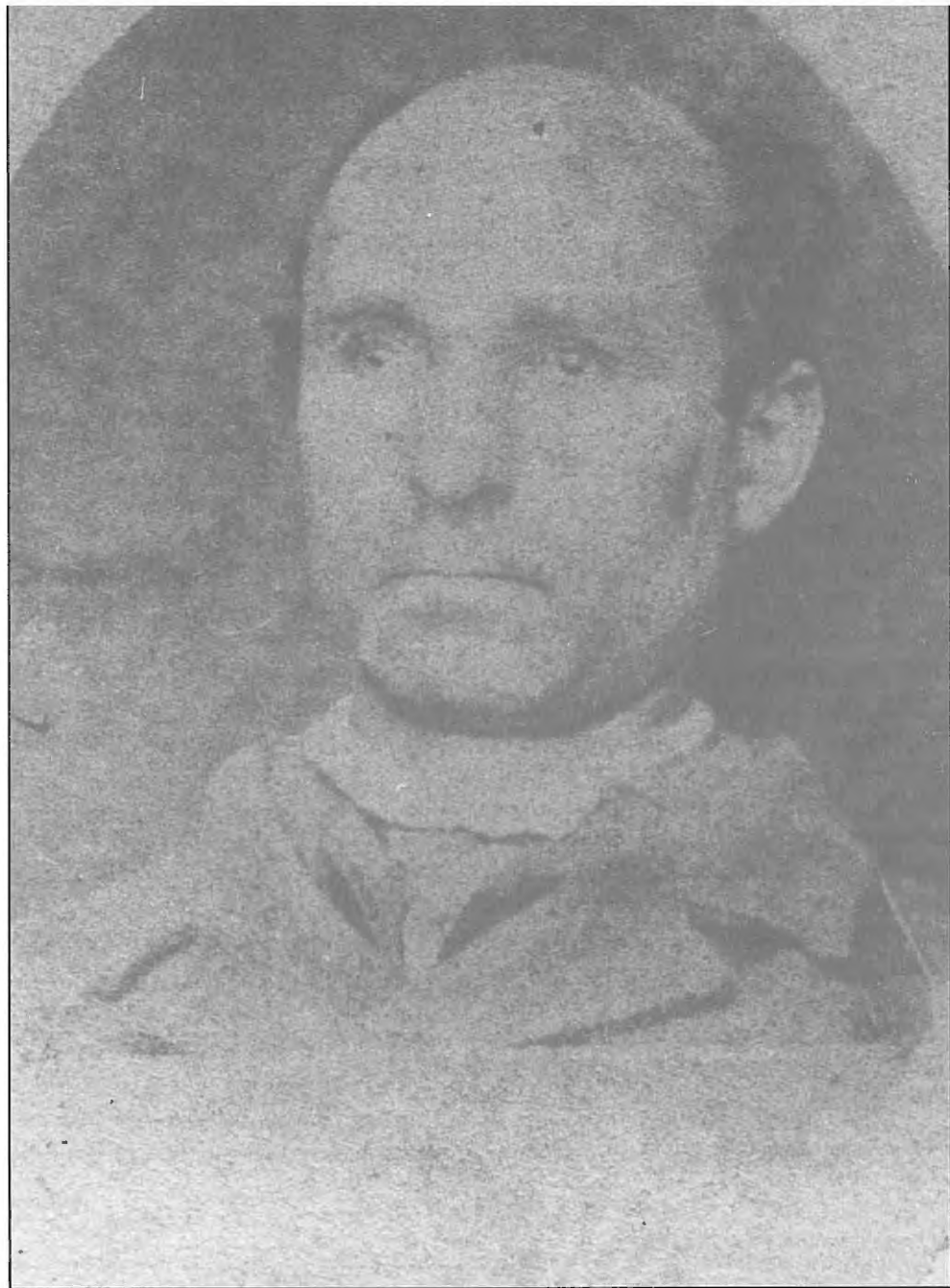


Plate 1. J. F. X. O'Brien as a Fenian prisoner in 1867. His beard was shaven on arrival at Mountjoy. (Photo courtesy of the National Archives of Ireland)

as a man of *well balanced mind*. I, having been a few minutes before found guilty of high treason and the evidence showing conclusively that the attempted Rising had not the least chance. During the trial I felt quite at ease. I had done my part and I looked forward to the inevitable result with perfect equanimity.

When asked whether I had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon me, my remarks were few. I had prepared an address dealing with the misgovernment of the country, and this, as a matter of courtesy I had given to my solicitor Michael Collins. When I wanted to get it back, he put me off from day to day saying that it was in the hands of my counsel and he would let me have it in good time. But he never returned it. When the time came I was quite unable to say more than a few words. Sentence was passed in due form:- that upon a certain day two or three weeks hence I was to be hanged, drawn and quartered. This was I believe the only sentence for high treason of which I had been corrected. Under sentence of death, I was entitled to several indulgences in diet and relaxation of discipline of which I availed very willingly. Among these favours were long visits from the chaplain to prepare me for death.

Upon my four companions, and some days earlier upon General Thomas F. Burke²³ and Captain McCafferty²⁴ in Dublin, like sentences had been passed but as far as I could gather no one expected they would be carried out. As well as I can recollect the chaplain and I treated the sentence as a formality so that I enjoyed his visits and the visits of the few who ventured or cared to call on me; and they were few.

The other high treason trials were soon gone through and then the five of us were allowed to spend the day together, at exercise together or in a large room. We were all about 'as merry as crickets', though upon what authority we accept the statement as to the merriment of crickets I do not in the least know. It reminds me of Rev. D. Cahill, who in the fifties was a remarkable man as a priest, a lecturer, a politician and a newspaper proprietor. I remember attending lectures on Electricity he delivered in aid of the Presentation Convent in Dungarvan. He several times in the course of his lecture would say 'if you ask

23 General Thomas F. Burke (1840-89). Born in Fethard, Co. Tipperary, he joined the Fenian movement in the States. After serving in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War, he returned to Tipperary where he led the Rising in 1867. He was arrested and sentence to death but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Released in 1871, he returned to the States and later ended his days in New York.

24 Captain McCafferty (1838- ?). Born in Sandusky, Ohio, of Irish parents, he fought with Morgan's Guerrillas on the Confederate side during the American Civil War.



Plate 2. The constabulary barracks at Ballyknockane captured by the Fenians in 1867. (Photo: the author)



Plate 3. Plaque unveiled at Ballyknockane in 1967. By this time, the part played by J. F. X. O'Brien in the Rising had been forgotten while the exploits of Captain Mackey (William Lomasney) had lived on in folk memory. This amnesia may have been caused by O'Brien's subsequent career as a parliamentarian.

(Photo: the author)

me to give you a reason for this I can only tell you it is an ultimate fact'. In the same way - instead of raising questions as to whether crickets are merry or not I think we may accept it as an ultimate fact.

O'Brien then gives vivid word-pictures of the others who were sentenced to death. He was particularly taken by McCafferty - 'A man of great courage and daring and had the circumstances afforded him an opportunity he would have made his mark in a campaign for Ireland'. He also returns to a recurring theme - the courage of the ordinary members of the Fenian Brotherhood.

It lifts my heart even now to think of the heroism - the splendid courage of our men! It was the most desperate of 'forlorn hopes', but they went into it with light hearts and cool daring that could not be surpassed. And what is far more - they bore the penalty of long terms of penal servitude - the worst punishment, in my opinion, that can be inflicted on men of active minds (as we Irish are) with a quiet, uncomplaining endurance and resignation to the Will of God which was still more heroic. Ninety-eight, forty-eight and sixty-seven have given proof of the determination - which I believe will ever be found in the hearts of the Irish people: that Ireland must be a self-governing Country; and that the struggle for this sacred cause must be carried on by such means as may be available until success is attained.

The halcyon days - while we remained under sentence of death - quickly came to end; and one morning I was notified that Her Majesty's clemency had been exercised in my case; that my sentence had been commuted to one of *Penal Servitude for Life*. This impressed me with a sense of grim reality that the original sentence did not carry with it. I was brought to a portion of the prison I had not seen before, I had to resign my own clothes, to take bath and put on the prison dress I later wore of coarse drab tweed - with its large black stripes and broad arrow in black. With the prison dress I was subjected to strict prison discipline. No more chumming now, no more friendly chats with my comrades. We were that very day removed to Mountjoy prison, Dublin. Immediately after I had exchanged my own clothes for the prison dress my beard and hair were cut close.

After a month in Mountjoy, about thirty Fenian prisoners - including O'Brien - were chained together and transferred to Millbank prison in London. In all, some seventy Fenians were imprisoned there and subjected to the full rigours of the penal system. Although acutely aware that they regarded themselves as political prisoners, the vast majority accepted their treatment as ordinary criminals with a stoic silence. Not so O'Donovan Rossa who at this point began his long and harrowing campaign for political status. Sometime in 1867, it was decided to give some of the Fenian prisoners the option of serving their sentences in Western Australia, where they would be employed in road making and enjoy certain privileges, etc. certain

Where Convicted, Cork County Cork
 At what Assizes or Sessions Special Commission
 Date of Conviction, 3rd May 1867
 Crime High Treason
 Sentence, Death Commuted to Life P.
 Age on Conviction, 35 years
 Head and Write, Blk.
 Religion, R.C.
 Married or Single, Widower Number of Children, 2
 Trade or Calling, Clerk
 Prison Trade, Nil
 Where Born, Dungarvon Co. Waterford
 Where Resident before Conviction, —
 Where his friends reside, Baginbun Co. Wexford

DESCRIPTION.

Hair, Brown
 Eyes, Grey
 Eyebrows, Brown
 Nose, Straight
 Mouth, Ordinary
 Complexion, Fresh
 Visage, Round
 Make, Average
 Height, 5 ft 11 3/4 in
 Marks on Person, —

REMARKS.

Received at Mountjoy from Cork Co. Jail 15th June 1867
Removed to England - - - - 3rd July 1867

Plate 4. Details of J. F. X. O'Brien from the Mountjoy prison records.
 (Courtesy of National Archives of Ireland)

I believe I was the only one who declined the offer. I declined because somehow I had convinced myself that my imprisonment would not be long and I thought that to be released in Western Australia with empty pockets, while I had a mother and two children in Ireland would be worse than release in England.

There is no doubt that O'Brien suffered greatly from the draconian regime and petty cruelties of the penal system despite his avowed intention 'that there should be no excuse for subjecting me to any humiliating punishments'. He found the physical labour extremely trying but managed to avoid the punishment cells and the bread-and-water diet except for once, when a scrap of newspaper was found in his cell.

The prison discipline is not unendurable for those for whom it has been devised, for between them and the warders there is almost a feeling of friendship; they were old friends. As a rule, once a convict always a convict, at least that was the impression made upon me from what I heard and saw, and the prison was like a home to which these returned after a brief run of pleasure, and the warders received them and treated them like old friends. The allotted task of picking Oakum or Coir became easy to them. The old hands had discovered easy ways of performing the required amount of work. But for us, we saw in every look and every word that we were in the hands of hereditary enemies. We could not, at our utmost, accomplish the task work and were brow beaten and abused constantly. Did we ask a question, the reply was ungracious and insulting. Even at night, we were never long free from persecution, and it was downright persecution, superadded to the prison discipline, as we found afterwards. At night, scarce an hour would pass without the cell being visited and the bull's eye lantern flashed in my face. During the day, the constant loud banging of the cell door was in itself a torture. To this day, such a noise affects my nerves. I verily believe the intention was to kill us by this system of torture. It did break down many, especially the strong able-bodied men who, in addition to the persecution described were also starved. Several of our number became insane under this treatment. Solitary confinement alone, continued for long (fourteen months I had of it), is a terrible strain upon the mind.

After about a year in solitary confinement in Millbank, O'Brien was transferred to Portland Prison where, to his delight, he met fellow Fenian prisoners - John O'Leary and James Clerk Luby. The work in Portland was mainly stone-dressing and there were ample, if illicit, opportunities for conversation, on subjects ranging from religion to politics and, in particular, O'Brien seems to have developed his ill-feeling and bitterness towards James Stephens. He also noted with distress that of

prison governor:

A warder came to the quarries where we worked. He called out from a paper the names of five prisoners - hitherto we had been known by numbers. The first name was James Walsh to which no one answered. I guess it meant myself - for that was the name I gave when I was arrested. I did not however venture to make any observation lest I should be mistaken and though I had nothing upon which to base my supposition - beyond the fact that for some short time previously we had been less harshly treated - the idea came to me that those who were called were about to be released.

Having gone over the five names and four only having replied the warder again called 'James Walsh alias O'Brien' and then I answered; here. Having advanced to where the warder stood he said we were to follow him to the Governor's office.

None of the others appeared to have any suspicion as to why we were sent for; but the idea was so strong in my mind that even at the risk of being mistaken I ventured to convey my suspicion to them and to warn them in case my expectations were realised to control features and tongues and not to indulge in any signs of rejoicing - and above all - to offer thanks to the Governor.

We were led into the Governor's office and placed before a high desk at which he sat. The Governor read out from a paper the instructions he had received from the Home Office to the effect that free pardon had been extended to all of us and we were to be released at once. He raised his head and looked at us - evidently expecting to see us beside ourselves with joy and he was in no doubt ready to receive our thanks. He was visibly astounded when we offered not a word of thanks or showed emotion of any kind. Seven were released that day: five from Portland and two from Dartmoor - Kickham²⁵ and another. Two of the others started for the South of Ireland with me via Bristol. A suit of clothes and some three pounds was given to each of us. I gave an equal sum for the poor through the Sisters of Charity on my arrival in Cork.

The clothes were the same as those ordinarily supplied to released convicts and taken in conjunction with our closely cropped heads and our generally unkempt condition I have no doubt we were easily recognised as released jail birds and, as was natural, were looked upon with suspicion at the Hotel in

25 Charles J. Kickham (1828-82). Born in Mullinahone, Co. Tipperary, he was largely deaf and blind as a result of a powder flask when he was thirteen. One of the chief writers on the Irish People, he was sentenced to fourteen years penal servitude in 1867, but was released two years later. He succeeded J. F. X. O'Brien as president of the Supreme Council of the IRB. He was also the author of many novels, notably *Knocknagow* (1870; reprinted 1988 by Anna Livia Press, Dublin).

Bristol where we put up.

Freedom - and renewed Fenian involvement

And so this fine morning in the year of grace 1869 my two companions and I took steamers from Bristol - they for Cork and I for Waterford. My cousin Rev. Dr. Cleary (now Archbishop of Kingston, Canada) was then the President or Vice-President of St. John's College Waterford. He met me at the steamboat landing and brought me at once to the Presentation Convent (one of my sisters was a member of that Order in another town), and there I was glad to don the suit of clothes which I had worn during my trial. I was then made partake of the hospitality of the Convent and introduced to each member of the Community. If I had been the favourite brother of each of the nuns my welcome could not have been warmer or more kindly. After I had been all refreshed, Dr. Cleary drove me about Waterford and introduced me to some of his friends.²⁶

During these troublous times a Committee existed which collected money to make provision for political prisoners on their release. My feeling was that there were many of the prisoners whose need of such assistance was greater than mine. For while I had not a penny I could call my own I could at once go to work and provide for my wants. I now went to Cork where I was received with a triumphal procession. I was at once received back into the employment of Clery and Co. Ltd., for whom I had been doing business up to the night of the 'Rising' with this difference: while I was previously Manager, my occupation was necessarily sedentary and within doors; in order to restore my health I accepted the position of commercial traveller, and was impelled by another reason which will soon be apparent!

In 1868, the IRB had split. While Stephens, now resident in Paris, insisted that he was still the one and only Fenian chief, a body calling itself the Supreme Council claimed to represent the Fenian movement in Ireland. The released prisoners had a choice which faction to support. It is no surprise that, led by O'Brien, they threw their weight and prestige behind the Supreme Council. Sometime in 1869, this body adopted a new constitution which prescribed that the Supreme Council should have eleven members, one chosen by each of the IRB's seven organisational divisions (the four provinces of Ireland, the south of England, the north of England, and Scotland) and four co-opted members. Three officials, a president, a secretary and

26 Although some of the prisoners received public receptions on their arrival home, as did O'Brien when he went on to Cork, there seems to have been no public demonstra-

the Supreme Council and for a time was president. When he resigned in 1877, he was succeeded by Charles J. Kickham.

The week that intervened before taking up my duties as Traveller was by no means an idle one for me. Almost immediately after my return to Cork I had interviews with representative men connected by the I.R.B. Organisation in Munster and other parts of Ireland. I was delighted to learn that the collapse of '67 had not at all disheartened the rank and file of the Organisation and that it still maintained its ranks unbroken under the direction of a Supreme Council.

Without hesitation I once more threw in my lot with the Organisation and I decided to take advantage of the facilities my position as Commercial Traveller afforded me to advance the Cause. The ground I travelled over included all Ireland except Ulster. I found the Organisation vigorous and healthy almost everywhere.

I think I never met anyone so unfit for the duties of a Commercial Traveller than myself. If my success or failure as a traveller had depended on my natural capability for the position I would quickly have proved a complete failure. I felt this painfully - but a fair amount of business was obtained for me through the good offices of the men of the I.R.B., some of whom were in business in almost every town while others had influence with the people in business. Those who gave me their orders gave them either as I.R.B. men or as sympathisers or at least as a recognition of the power and strength of the Organisation. In this way I extended the operations of the Cork firm beyond its former limits.

In the summer of 1869, O'Brien was to play a key role in promoting O'Donovan Rossa as a candidate for the Parliamentary vacancy in Tipperary. Although as an imprisoned convict, Rossa would be disqualified if elected, many felt that his candidacy would be a powerful way of drawing attention to the appalling suffering of Rossa in prison.

Some two months after I began work I visited Mullinahone where resided C. J. Kickham. After my first visit to Mullinahone and my exchange of views with Kickham I travelled through the greater part of the County of Tipperary and probably about July or August I arrived at Roscrea Railway Station at noon. I there met Mr. Davis Caulfield Heron who had been my leading counsel at my trial. He told me that there was then a vacancy for the Parliamentary representation of Tipperary, that he was himself a candidate and was about to begin a canvass of the County. He asked me to 'put in a good word for him'. I made no reply. I made no delay at Roscrea but went on to Nenagh putting up at Synan's Hotel.

I had not been long there when a number of the young men of the town called to see me. One of the party, but no longer a young man was Peter Gill, a very remarkable character. He was then proprietor and conductor of a newspaper published at Nenagh - *The Tipperary Advocate*. In political matters Peter Gill was for years quite a power in Tipperary. He was always in the National Camp in the sense that he was at least a sympathetic if not more or less an active supporter of the National Programme at each epoch from 1840 to the day of his death.

My visitors remained about an hour discussing the general politics of the day - especially that phase with which I was known to be connected. The vacancy for the Parliamentary representation of the County was touched upon. Peter Gill suggested that O'Donovan Rossa ought to be put forward. No one however appeared to take any notice of this suggestion. It struck me at once as a capital idea, and the young men having gone away I turned to Gill who remained saying 'I have been thinking of your suggestion of starting Rossa for Tipperary; it is an excellent idea. From what I have seen - having just travelled through a large portion of the County I believe it can be made a success'. Peter was delighted that I had taken up his random suggestion made perhaps with little thought.

'Sit down' I said 'and draft something that will serve as Rossa's address to the electors'. Peter excused himself, he could make a speech as long as desired but did not feel equal to the writing. Thereupon - having ordered pens, ink and paper I wrote it myself. This production was denounced in the *Times* a little later as a rhapsody.

I sent copies of 'Rossa's Address' to Cork and Dublin to be printed. I wished to make sure that if a hitch occurred in one place the work would be done in the other.

Perhaps I ought to say here that in starting this election I went beyond the duties of the position I had lately taken up in the I.R.B. Organisation. I ought to have consulted my colleagues before taking such a step. There was however no time for consultation; not a day to be lost. Action was to be taken that evening at Nenagh or not at all. Had there been time for consultation it was possible Rossa would not have been started - for having promptly informed Kickham of what I had done he did not approve considering that it could not be made a success. I however having recently travelled through the County was better able to gauge the state of feeling. Imagine what must have been the chagrin of poor Mr. Heron when he learned what I had done on the evening of that day on the morning of which he asked me to 'put in a good word for him'.

without his own consent. On 28 February 1870, Heron won by just four votes. It might be said that O'Brien was instrumental in starting the tradition of using the election of political prisoners to Westminster as a protest, a tradition that continued down to the election of Bobby Sands in 1981.

Not all of O'Brien's travels had a political or commercial motive. Late in 1869, during a visit to Mayo, he met Maria O'Malley, sister of prominent Nationalist priest Fr John O'Malley. A year later, they were married, and Kickham was best man at the wedding. In his autobiography, in one of the few personal allusions, he says about his marriage 'I will only say few men have been blest with a better wife and perhaps fewer still have enjoyed a happier married life'. In succeeding years, James and Maria had five children - three daughters and two sons.

I continued my occupation as Commercial Traveller - though I utterly detested it. That I was not entirely unsuccessful was due to the friends who canvassed orders for me. My position was of course one of danger, for while I carried on the organisation of the I.R.B. I had also to keep up correspondence with the Secretary in Dublin and with persons over the country - my address changing every day. During the four years or so that I spent travelling the country; 1869 to 1873; my comings and goings were carefully noted by the police. Sometimes I would make one town my headquarters for a week visiting neighbouring towns by car. On such occasions the police would try to learn from my driver what way I intended to go that day. I was frequently followed by them on another car. When I had gone into a shop on business soon one would come in to ask some trivial question or ask for change of a piece of silver or gold. But I took no notice of these tactics.

Dr Mark Ryan²⁷ recalled an episode which gives an insight into O'Brien as a commercial traveller. When they met in Tuam, O'Brien complained that in the train he had been insulted by a commercial traveller from the north of Ireland. Ryan saw to it that the offending commercial traveller was dealt with physically and when the latter complained to the RIC, the local head constable told him that he was dealing with well-known Fenians and that it would not be advisable for him to take any action against them. J.F.X. himself was now beginning to question the continuing usefulness of Feniansim.

A Secret Organisation that must be kept up for a number of years has in

²⁷ Dr Mark Ryan (1844-1940). Born in Galway. After qualifying as a doctor in England, he became leader of the English-based Fenians for many years. He later wrote an autobiography entitled *Fenian memories* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son Ltd., 1945).

itself sources of weakness tending to disintegration. I should say the I.R.B. was at its full strength, vigour and activity up to 1871. It was unavoidable but still regrettable that public houses were almost the only places in which the men could without suspicion meet each other. I have observed various instances of men truly patriotic who would be delighted and proud to lay down their lives for the cause - yet who were strange to say close fistled when it became a question of parting with a little money even when they were able to spare it. In truth many placed a higher value on their money than on their lives.

The work of the I.R.B. during those years chiefly consisted of importing rifles and revolvers with the necessary ammunition - by every kind of secret means that could be devised. This was attended with no little risk. It was for his share in this work that Michael Davitt²⁸ suffered nine years or more of penal servitude. It was in 1870, as well I remember that I first met Davitt in connection with the purchase of arms in England and sending them to Ireland.

In the early 1870s, O'Brien was involved in a number of disputes with other members of the Supreme Council. In 1870, a Home Government Association was formed in Dublin to press for Home Rule by parliamentary means. While O'Brien would not openly support the Association neither would he oppose it. Some of the more extreme Fenians wanted to take direct action and to actively disrupt any public meetings. As he says, 'if it had not been for my opposition the motion of a certain party would have been carried, not to allow the protestant home rulers to hold meetings, and that steps should be taken to make it impossible for them to hold a meeting anywhere? In the words of William O'Brien,²⁹ J. F. X. O'Brien 'displayed even more moral courage in insisting for a fair field for the new movement and putting down the clamour of fanatical physical force men than he had done under the bullets of the policemen or before the black cap of Judge Keogh'. He was also deeply involved in efforts to prevent splits within the IRB, especially in preventing the Cork Fenians from forming their own organisation. However, he was gradually becoming disillusioned with Fenianism and eventually he decided to resign.

I think it was in the month of December 1874 that I decided to retire from

28 Michael Davitt (1846-1906). Born in Straide, Co. Mayo, his family was evicted in 1850 before emigrating to Lancashire. In 1855, at the age of nine, Michael went to work but two years later lost his right arm in a mill accident. Joining the Fenian movement, he was arrested in 1870 and served seven years of a fifteen-year sentence. He founded the Land league in 1879 and transformed rural society by beginning the transfer of land ownership to tenant farmers. In 1895, J. F. X. O'Brien transferred to Cork city from Mayo to facilitate Davitt's election there to the House of Commons.

places where they rusted and became worthless. I came to the conclusion that we were paying too high a price in money and energy for such work. It was gradually borne in upon me that the I.R.B. had ceased to be a useful organisation. At length I concluded that it would be wrong for me to continue in the position I held when I saw we were doing no good, while we were exposing good men to great risk. What had also been brought to my knowledge the fact that an alarming condition of things had manifested itself in several places - men of good records were becoming demoralised.

I therefore went to Dublin to meet my colleagues to acquaint them with my intention and to resign my position. When my friends in Cork learned what I had done, the very men who not long before upbraided me with my rashness in still carrying on the work took a very curious turn. They decided that I should not be allowed to leave the Organisation. Two of them drove to my house, I was then living on Blackrock Road, Rose Cottage. But I met them on the way. They said they were deputed to inform me that I would not be allowed to retire. This was of course a menace. I despised the idea that I could be influenced by threats. I did not give them much chance for talking and without a word I walked away.

With that gesture, James Francis Xavier O'Brien turned his back on more than a quarter of a century's dedicated service to the cause of armed rebellion.

The Parliamentarian

Unlike others who left the IRB about this time, J. F. X. O'Brien did not immediately enter parliamentary politics. Fittingly, the title he gave to the next section of his autobiography is 'Rest before further travail'. By now, he was employed by the Cork Gas Co., and he was able to devote his considerable abilities to his family and his business interests. In 1882, the O'Briens moved to Dublin where J. F. X. became a partner in the tea and wine business of W. H. O'Sullivan, in Gloucester Street.

For a man of O'Brien's ideals and patriotism, it was unlikely that he would for long remain detached from the events of the turbulent 1880s. Through his wife, he was related to Fr John O'Malley who was very prominent in the Land League. Although he himself was not prominent in the Land War, his belief in the possibility of Home Rule led him to seek a parliamentary nomination for South Mayo in the general election of 1885. At a convention held in Castlebar on 3 November 1885, and presided over by John Dillon and Charles Stewart Parnell, O'Brien was nominated despite a certain amount of local resentment at the 'blow-in'. Once nominated, however, all nationalists rallied to his support. His Fenian past stood to him and in the election, he received 4,953 votes while his conservative opponent George O'Malley, local landlord and Crown Prosecutor for Mayo received a derisory 75

votes. O'Brien was to represent South Mayo unopposed until 1895 when he transferred to the Cork city constituency which he represented until his death in 1905.

O'Brien did not make a major impact as a parliamentarian. Perhaps his Fenian ideals and long commitment to physical force meant that he never felt at home in the House of Commons. His most valuable work was done behind the scenes. From 1888 to his death, he was treasurer of the Irish National League of Great Britain, and from 1890, he was also its secretary and treasurer of the Parliamentary Party. It is perhaps typical of the man that he engrossed himself in the minutiae of organisation and left platform rhetoric to others. With his help, the League became an important factor in English politics, helping to decide marginal constituencies. In 1888, his wife and three young daughters joined him and he lived the remainder of his life in London.

Unlike most Fenians, he opposed Parnell when the party split. In the emotion-charged debates in Committee Room 15 in December 1890, O'Brien made his contribution on the second day of the meeting. Tim Healy, not always a reliable witness, wrote a running commentary on the debate to his wife:

J. F. X. O'Brien now begins to talk. Having said that the standard of Ireland fell in the divorce court, Parnell muttered 'that is plain speaking anyhow'. there is great tumult over it. O'Brien is speaking stoutly against Parnell, and with extraordinary courage.³⁰

In his study of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Conor Cruise O'Brien says that J. F. X. O'Brien started a thoroughly unprofitable wrangle by the claim that Parnell had been re-elected as chairman on the understanding that he would resign.³¹ Whatever about the merits of his contribution to the debate when the vote was taken, O'Brien voted with the majority and against Parnell. In the increasingly bitter by-election campaigns that followed in Ireland, O'Brien took no part, preferring instead to continue his work of managing the party's affairs in England. Throughout the 1890s, the internecine feuding between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites continued. The death of Parnell only exacerbated the conflict. Moreover, the anti-Parnell group showed an alarming tendency to fragment as some members were sickened by the activities of Tim Healy and his supporters.

At last, in 1900, using the vehicle of William O'Brien's United Irish League, the party was re-united even though Healy continued as a source of dissension. James F. X. O'Brien was appointed secretary of the United Irish League in Britain whilst retaining his position as treasurer of the party. In the general election of 1900, Tim Healy's brother, Maurice, opposed O'Brien in Cork. O'Brien returned to Ireland to

30. Healy speaking to his wife, quoted in Frank Colman (1992) *The Parnell Years 1880*

ing from public life. He sold his house in London and was in the process of handing over the party management to F. L. Crilly who had been appointed to succeed him as secretary of the United Irish League. Unfortunately, his health was failing and before he could complete the handover and return, he died on 28 May 1905.

His death was the occasion of many tributes by the press, his parliamentary colleagues and many public bodies in Ireland. Among the latter who passed votes of sympathy were Dungarvan UDC, Waterford County Council and Waterford Corporation.

As a native of Dungarvan, it is perhaps fitting to quote only from the tributes paid to him in his native town. Thomas O'Connor, speaking at a meeting of the Urban District Council, said:

It was not necessary for him to tell what part James F. X. O'Brien took in the '67 movement. He - as they knew - stood in the dock for one of the noblest acts that an Irishman could be guilty of; he offered to open arms against Her Majesty the Queen. In reply as to why sentence should not be passed on him he said he was convicted by a packed jury, a perjured sheriff and a partisan judge. The Court got upset and James O'Brien stood unmoved, and he said he was convicted because he endeavoured to free the country from the traitors, the murderers and the persecutors of his people. The only thing he said he regretted in the transaction was that it was not on the battlefield and that place he was giving his life for Ireland.³³

The chairman, Mr F. Stuart, seconded the motion and it was passed unanimously. James F. X. O'Brien was buried in Glasnevin on 1 June, 1905.



*Plate 5. J. F. X. O'Brien
when MP for Cork city,
1895-1905.*

(Photo courtesy of W.
McGrath, Cork).

32 Edmund Power was the leader of the United Irishmen in the Dungarvan area. Arrested, he was tried in Waterford where he was condemned to death and was then hanged in the Market Square in Dungarvan on 23 October 1798.

33 *Waterford News*, 3 June 1905.

Personal reminiscences of a life spent at Newtown School

By Alan Pim

On 17 June 1998, Alan Pim, a teacher at Newtown School, gave a short lecture to members of our society on a visit to commemorate the school's bicentenary. We present here an edited version of Mr Pim's talk which concentrates on his own family origins and his lifetime experience at the school (both as a pupil and later as a staff member there), though, in his lecture, he also provided an outline of the school's history from its foundation in 1798. Since the school's history can be read in considerable detail in Maurice Wigham's recent book (which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue of Decies), it was felt that Mr Pim's own personal reminiscences of the school over the last fifty years or so merited its own interest as oral history and that it would complement the official account offered by the late Mr Wigham. Ed.

Family origins and the Quaker milieu in Waterford

I would like to begin by saying something about myself and where I come from. My father's ancestors originally came from Leicestershire in the middle of the seventeenth century and were Quakers probably fleeing from persecution for refusing to pay tithes to the Established Church. The family settled in Laois (then Queen's County) where, records indicate, they were merchants and farmers. My great-grandfather, Samuel Pim, produced 'light ales and porter' as the water at the time was probably not safe to drink. Rumour has it that the 'lightness' of the drinks referred to its low alcohol content and was intended to prevent intoxication, something that was not approved of by Quakers! I wonder was this the case with Cherry's or Strangman's breweries as well, considering that they survived a lot longer than 'Samuel Pim's'! As for my father, he served on Newtown School's committee for a long period and always had the well-being of the establishment at heart.

My mother's family (Jacob) also came from England around the same time, arriving at Cork, and then going on to Limerick and Waterford before settling in Dublin earlier this century. (Some of them got left behind in Waterford as the current 051 telephone directory lists 64 Jacob entries). The Jacob family from which I descend have been Quakers for about 300 years. My mother's grandfather William, together with his brother Robert (who was to die in a tragic climbing accident on the Tremore cliffs), began baking the ship's biscuits from their factory in Bridge

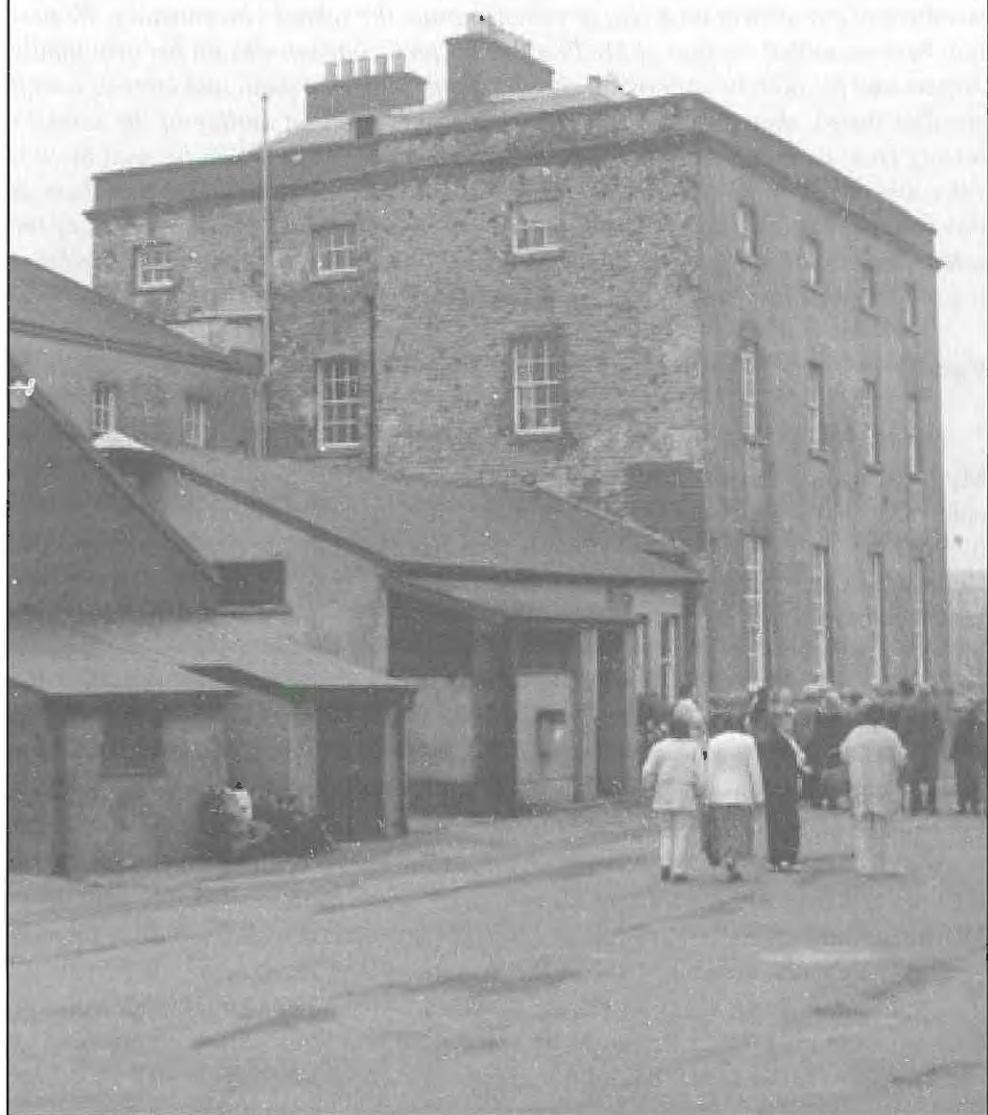


Plate 1. The original school building said to have been the birthplace of 19th-century educationalist Sir Thomas Wyse

(Photo: Greg Fewer)

My own family (three sons, a daughter and my wife) are all Quaker too. My wife Susan is the sister of Roger Johnson, the current assistant principal at Newtown School, and they are descendants of the well-known Quaker Bewley family. Their parents, like mine, also served on the school committee for a long number of years. Since the number of Quakers in the country is quite small (at present about 1,600), so many of the well-known families have married into each other. For example, I have both Bewley and Wigham relations and am, in fact, a third cousin of the late Maurice Wigham and also of my wife, who (in turn) has Pim and Rowntree blood in her veins.

Quaker history in the Waterford region began in the 1650s, but it was not for twenty or thirty years before they became accepted by the local community. Eventually the Quakers were recognised for what they hopefully still are - honest and trustworthy citizens "whose Yea is Yea and whose Nay is Nay". Quakers, because of their religion, were (like Catholics) banned from going to British universities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so they were unable to join the professional classes. This meant that many became merchants and traders and it was in this guise, that they established themselves in the Waterford area, spreading along the Suir to Portlaw, Carrick, Clonmel and Cahir. Honesty and fair trade was their hallmark at a time when bartering was the way many of them did business. Quakers were among the first to fix prices (and I don't mean in the modern sense). Among the major firms set up in and around Waterford were the tanneries in Portlaw, the jute factory, the woollen mills and the iron foundry. Retailers and artisans within the city included ironmongers, plumbers, ship's chandlers, chemists, salt importers, brewers and printers. Well-remembered names among these businesses included Henry Bell, George Chapman, William Cherry, Thomas Harvey, Charles J. Hill, Thomas Jacob, William Malcomson, John Penrose, Samuel Strangman, George Walpole and George White. Henry Bell was the first person in Waterford (and possibly of Ireland) to sell petrol, while the Jacob connection was in ironmongery, plumbing and the chandlery business before some members of this family entered the biscuit trade in Bridge Street. It is interesting to note that Isaac Jacob (who moved to Waterford in 1722) had only one surviving son, Joseph, who married Hannah Strangman and had 15 children before dying at the tender age of 44. It is back to this man that the present Jacob families of Waterford can be traced.

In tracing the history of many of these families, I found that they lived in a number of well-known houses, several of which still remain to the present. These included (among others) Rockville, Gauls Mill and Zion lodge (in Ferrybank); Gracedieu villa, Oakvilla, Milford and Mayfield houses in Portlaw; Fairview, Quarrymount, Selborne, Everest, Faithlegg House; and (in Tramore) Pickardstown House, Ardview and Easton. These were all listed as residents in 1894, but twenty years earlier, most Quakers seemed to have lived in the city, either above or nearby their premises.



Plate 2. View of part of the school grounds. The building in the centre background houses the Centenary Library built in
(Photo: C

Life as a pupil at Newtown

I came to Newtown as a boarder at the tender age of ten in September 1949. I have, therefore, almost fifty years of Newtown under my skin, though I suppose the school's indoctrination began a few years earlier. During the Second World War, my family and I spent some holiday periods in Tramore and visited the school several times. My first memory there was of watching a gym display including the building (and demise) of a human pyramid on the cricket lawn. Also, my four siblings, all older than myself, had gone to school at Newtown. Two of them were still there when I entered those hallowed gates.

In those dim and distant days, there were a number of farm animals wandering around the playing fields. They appeared able to go wherever they pleased and their 'calling cards' always seemed to be on the rugby field where one was tackled! The animals were housed in the farmyard at the back of the school where there was loads of hay for children to play in. I remember with great fondness the tiered lecture room with its magnificent parquet floor that has fortunately been retained in the recent redevelopment of that area of the school, and the wonderful Centenary Library which is still fortunately with us as well. There was a warmth and quietness about that room where Whitsuntide concerts, Sunday evening Meetings, lectures, and a lot more besides, were held. The separation of boys and girls in the evening often proved difficult for one's love life, but with stealth and the cover of darkness, that was often overcome! Occasionally, one got caught, and I remember one particular time when about eight couples, holding hands, had to parade over and back across the gravel space in the front of the school for half an hour before morning assembly!

John Brigham, who was headmaster during the early 1940s, had been very keen on planting trees. There had been a forestry club in those days and the young forest was a real haven for illegal activities, though by modern standards of illegal behaviour, these were very innocent. The wooden hut used by the club had old bus seats in it - guess what went on there!

There were wonderful teachers then and these included characters like William Blair, whose skills with woodworking tools have yet (perhaps) to be surpassed; or Jimmy Frazer, the PT man from Dungarvan who loved to walk on his hands on the parallel bars. He would always do this on his birthday, but since he loved showing us so much how it was done, it seemed that he had lots of birthdays in the year!

There were history, art, and other school outings, Old Scholars' Association excursions and (best of all) school walks. The latter began after assembly at 9.00 a.m., and it was always a beautiful morning. The headmaster (who took assembly) would announce that since it was such a lovely morning, we would have a school walk. These walks often took us out the Dunmore Road (without the traffic in those

in Kerry. This was (and is) a permanent camp - now a lovely stone building at the edge of Caragh Lake - to which Wilson Strangman (a wonderfully kind bachelor Quaker who gave generously of his time and money to the school) used to take groups of six or eight boys for holidays. They were great times, and the isolation, the lake's peaceful setting, and the fishing, swimming and walking, were all magical.

Teaching at Newtown

This last topic takes me through to those years when I came back to teach at Newtown. My wife Sue and I carried on these holidays for pupils for twenty-six years, hopefully giving back to the next generation of children some of the pleasures that I had gained from my time spent in the wilds of Kerry. In the later years, these children included a number of girls too, though the camp was, for the most part, exclusively male early on.

Newtown School and its pupils have been considerably influenced in the recent past by three great Quaker headmasters - Arnold Marsh, William Glynn and Maurice Wigham. I knew Arnold Marsh only when he was an elderly Quaker, so I had never been under his leadership. Liam Glynn, on the other hand, was the headmaster who influenced me as a boy whilst Maurice (foolishly or otherwise) took me on as a young teacher and gave me a job of a lifetime, both literally and metaphorically. These two men portrayed, exemplified and taught Quaker values, which as a pupil and later as a member of staff, I absorbed and learnt from. An appreciation of their attitudes, as well as their approach to life, has had a major influence on my thinking and behaviour. I have always remembered the quiet approach both men had to pupils who stood out of line. The softly-softly method generally works far better in the long run than the clip across the ear, or the slipper (or gym shoe) across the bum, though the latter had their place too.

In the last thirty years, there have been major developments following the big fire in 1966 when part of the school burned down (though I wasn't here at the time of this disaster). New dormitories, changing rooms, a dining room and kitchen, all-weather pitches, the swimming pool, the Foy Hall, numerous classrooms and (most recently) the Astroturf pitch, have all added to the well being of the school and (hopefully) aided the welfare of the pupils.

There have been many trips and excursions, some of which I have been responsible for, and many I have not. During one skiing holiday to Austria, when passing through Oostende, we lost two children whom we hoped had got on another train. When we got to Brussels, we reported the loss to the stationmaster, who said he had found three children and asked us could these be ours? Definitely not, we thought - we had only lost two! However, we had lost three after all, and the children found by the stationmaster were indeed ours!

In the early 1970s, the children did not go home for St Patrick's Day, so some of the staff would bring them out for a day trip to the Mahon Falls and elsewhere,

bringing frying pans and other gear with us for great cook ups in the hills. Life at Newtown seems to be full of outings for the children still. They go to the Burren, the Saltees, the Point Theatre, Cork Opera House. the Gaeltacht, the Comeraghs, Wicklow, Austria, Italy and - this year - a special bicentenary trip to Canada to play rugby and hockey.

Numbers of pupils in the school have changed considerably over the years. The first intake of 38 pupils in 1798 grew to about 90 by the end of the nineteenth century. There were about 120 at the school's 150th anniversary and now, at its bicentenary, the number stands at about 320. These numbers are by no means huge and Newtown is thus regarded as one of the smaller schools, but the numbers are quite adequate to retain a family atmosphere and influence on most of its pupils. By far the greatest change in the size of the school occurred when Bishop Foy School closed its doors in the 1960s and a number of its pupils enrolled at Newtown.

What has been the school policy regarding academic subjects when compared with those of the arts and crafts? Newtown has always had a tradition for sport and those gifted in this way, have benefited from the education provided. There has always been a recognition of the value of the so-called less academic subjects and of their availability to all pupils. As the academic side is becoming far more (and far too) important in today's world, especially with the need for more and more third level entrance points, these more practical subjects are being squeezed out. Do we think less highly of a person with 'A's in art, home economics, music, construction studies and woodwork than we do of those with 'A's in maths, languages or the sciences? Hopefully not! We still need to make more room in the curriculum for music appreciation, drama, pottery, photography, video work, and (say) journalism? What of civics and religious education? All these subjects are of as much, if not more, value than those of the 'core' curriculum.

Finally, I have decided to mention the aims of the school. These, in brief, include:

1. To promote a sense of caring for others, including pupils, teachers and ancillary staff, as well as the local community and the outside world at large.
2. To seek to provide a sound, liberal education for life.
3. To communicate a set of real values which reflects a balance between the material and the spiritual aspects of life.
4. To make a pupil realise his or her own value as a person, with his or her own unique talents, and to help them develop these talents to the best of their ability and to allow them a full opportunity to do this.

Newtown School has - over its two hundred-year-history - contributed much to the Waterford community, but I shall not give a detailed account of this here. However, suffice to say that the school has, through its influence, exposed the city to enormous numbers of people, both from Ireland and from overseas. Nowadays,

Quaker), visiting opponents in sport, international school exchanges and many individuals who have been to the school for a host of other reasons.

It is well known that family firms only tend to last for three generations, but due to the foresight and thinking of the management committee over the years, the school has kept going into its third century. It remains for us to wish it well, knowing that it is in very good hands with both the present committee and the current headmaster, Henry Collins.



Plate 3. View of part of the new AstroTurf pitch

(Photo: Greg Fewer)

Waterford City Archives

– a new service

By Donal Moore

ONE of the most obvious and insurmountable problems for local history and genealogical research in Ireland has been the unavailability or inaccessibility of records created at local level. In particular, Ireland lacks an equivalent to the network of County Record Offices that researchers in England, Scotland and Wales take for granted. As a result, large quantities of material have been destroyed, transferred to central repositories or have passed into private hands. At the same time, the level of interest in local historical and genealogical research has reached unprecedented levels. In many areas, local studies rooms in county and city libraries have done much good work to fill this gap, as have local heritage centres, but up to now, there has been no organised, national, approach to the retention (under internationally accepted archival standards) of records and archives at a local level.

Until very recently, local authorities did not have a statutory obligation to preserve and make public their own records or to establish a facility that could serve as a secure home for private or corporate records created locally. This situation finally changed when Section 65 of the 1994 Local Government Act charged local authorities '...to make arrangements for the proper management, custody, care and conservation of local records and local archives and for inspection by the public of local archives.' Following this legislation, which encouraged local authority archival services to collect archival material of local interest currently in the possession of other bodies or individuals, a nation-wide survey of surviving local authority records was carried out by the National Archives. Following this survey, detailed guidelines for the establishment of local archives were circulated to local authorities by the Department of the Environment.

Waterford Corporation was the first local authority to appoint an archivist under this legislation. Mary Fitzpatrick was appointed as city archivist in December 1995 with the initial brief of finding a suitable building for an archives service, identifying and transferring material to this facility and preparing appropriate finding aids. Ms Fitzpatrick left the post in September 1997 and was replaced by the present archivist. A premises was made available by the Corporation on High Street and was converted to provide workspace (*Fig. 1*) and secure storage (*Fig. 2*). This work

After material has been transferred to the Archives, some items may be cleaned, sorted and stored in archival quality folders and boxes. The city archivist is assisted in this work by four Community Employment trainees employed as part of the Corporation's Arts and Heritage Scheme and by students during the summer months. Lists are being prepared on computer using *Microsoft Access*. It is planned that these lists will be available in both computer-accessible and 'hard copy' form in the reading room. It is also intended to establish a Web site which will allow access to the Archives' lists for those who cannot readily visit Waterford and which will also act as a conduit for research queries.

What records does the City Archives hold? As already mentioned, material is being listed on an ongoing basis so that the list that follows is really only a 'snapshot' of what has been identified to date. Not all the categories below may yet be fully listed and accessible. Collections, either large or small, are also regularly being obtained by the archives. In addition, it should be noted that the Archives hopes eventually to 'repatriate' some local material presently held by other repositories.

- *Records of Waterford Corporation.* This is by far the largest section of the Archives. It includes material from the Town Clerk's, Engineer's, Finance, Housing and Estate sections of the administration reaching back to the seventeenth century. Much of this material has already been listed. A database of approximately 1,000 expired leases dating back to the mid-seventeenth century has recently been prepared. This will be of great interest to students interested in the growth and development of the city.
- *Arts Advisory Committee.* This is a small but significant collection which traces the development of a very important aspect of the city's culture. This material had become dispersed over time and is only gradually being reassembled from various sources. As recently as the day that this article was being written, the 'missing' first minute book of this committee turned up totally unexpectedly! This material is listed.
- *Maps and Plans.* At present, the Archives holds over one hundred large-scale maps, plans and drawings of the city and its environs dating back to the late eighteenth century. These are all listed on a database.

2 British Standards Institution (1977) *BS 5454: Recommendations For The Storage And Exhibition of Archival Documents* (British Standards Institution).

3 Society of Archivists, Irish Region (1997) *Standards For The Development of Archives Services In Ireland* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press).

- *Photographs.* The Archives currently holds over 700 prints dating back to the late nineteenth century. Of particular interest, are a series of photographs of buildings and streets in the city which no longer exist and a collection of Waterford Boat Club photographs stretching back to 1878. These prints are all listed on a database.
- *Private and Institutional Collections.* Although this constitutes a very small part of the Archives, its contents are extremely varied and interesting. At present, the Archives holds over forty private or institutional collections. These vary in size from single items to substantial business collections and the date range extends from the late sixteenth century to this century. These include records of such charities as The Fanning Institute and Michael Walsh Asylum. Business is represented by records of The Clyde Shipping Company, White's Chemist and Morris's Coal yard, amongst others. Family papers include Penrose and Bolton papers. Of particular interest, is a transcript by Canon Power of the 1821 Census return (original since destroyed) for the townland of Callaghane⁴ and a document of sale by five Cromwellian soldiers of land in Co. Kilkenny to a Waterford brewer. There is also a scrapbook, or manuscript memoir, of Thomas Francis Meagher compiled by Michael Cavanagh in the late nineteenth century. Recently, the Archives was presented with a minute book of the South-Eastern Region of the Irish Cycling Association, which commences in 1895. At present, not all of this material is listed.
- *Archaeologically-related documentation.* The Archives holds all the paperwork (finds registers, context sheets, photographs etc.) from the 1986-1992 city centre excavations.

As the first steps in an Outreach programme, the Archives has organised or hosted several exhibitions, both 'in-house' or courtesy of the National Archives. In addition, various interested groups have visited the repository and the Archivist has addressed several others at both local and national levels on the work being undertaken in Waterford.

The Archives has an active collection policy and is interested in providing a safe long-term home for any material relating to all aspects of the history, economy, culture and life of the city. The city archivist would be delighted to hear from anyone who may have material that they would consider donating to the Archives.

Waterford Corporation has demonstrated a long-term commitment to the development of the city's heritage infrastructure. The City Archives is but a small part of this commitment but serves as a precedent which should be followed by ALL other local authorities. It is planned that the Archives will become a long-term feature of Waterford's heritage scene.

As a substantial amount of material has now been satisfactorily listed, and as

applied to local authority archival services under the Department of the Environment's guidelines. Initially, access will be by appointment, but it is envisaged that more extended and regular hours will be introduced on a phased basis.

This article is not intended as a final description of the City Archives but rather as an introduction to a new research facility. For further information, the city archivist can be contacted at City Hall, The Mall, Waterford, or by telephone at (051) 843123.



Figure 1: The Workroom, Waterford City Archives

John Power, Waterford Corporation Arts & Heritage Scheme



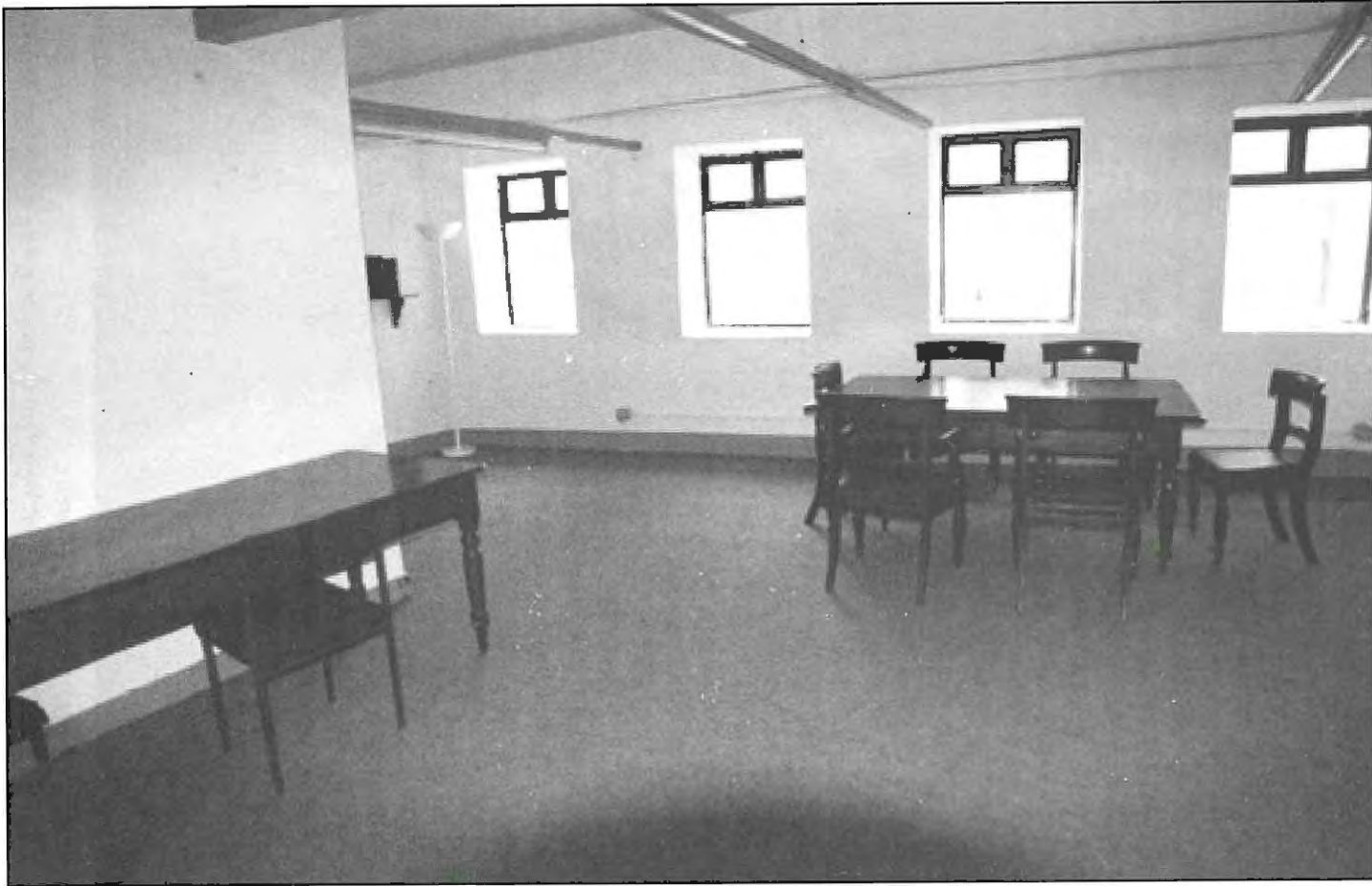


Figure 3: View of the proposed reading room.

John Power, Waterford Corporation Arts & Herita

1798 was not just about rebellion...

By Greg Fewer

AS many readers will be aware, neither Waterford city nor county featured prominently in the Insurrection of 1798. However, in that year, the city gained two new schools which are now commemorating their bicentenaries. Each school has brought out a book on its two hundred-year history and these are reviewed below.

Newtown School, Waterford: a history 1798-1998 by Maurice J. Wigham. Waterford: Newtown School, 1998. Pp. viii, 282. Price £20.00 (hardback: ISBN 0 9532371 09). [A specially bound and cased deluxe edition is also available directly from Newtown School, priced £65.00.]

This is a well-bound and lavishly illustrated book on the history of one of Waterford's oldest schools. As a photo album of the school's history alone, the book offers fascinating vistas of the school's buildings, staff and pupils from as early as the 1860s which (together with earlier drawings - one of them dated 1849) allow the reader to view how much has changed (for example, clothing fashions) yet has remained the same (such as some of the buildings). If that wasn't enough, the book's dust jacket (designed by Jarlath Hayes) bears a copy of a painting of the school by portrait painter Hilda Roberts RHA, the wife of Arnold Marsh who was headmaster of Newtown from 1925 to 1939. Maurice Wigham rightly acknowledges (p. 142) the role played by Hilda and Arnold in bringing about the Waterford Municipal Art Collection, the roots of which commenced with the holding of the earliest Waterford Art Exhibition in the gymnasium of Newtown School in the spring of 1935.¹

Wigham, who sadly died not long before his book's publication, offers an interesting narrative account of Newtown's history from the school's opening on 1 August 1798 to the present day. He commences with the school's foundation by the Religious Society of Friends (or Quakers) and places it in the context of a wider interest in education by the Quakers in Ireland, Britain and America during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Various details about the school curriculum, discipline, 'Quaker language and dress', the school's library, teachers and leisure time follow, organised under each successive term of office of the 'superintendents' (or principals). As the book progresses, entire chapters are devoted to a superintendents or a headmaster's tenure. Throughout the first third or so of the book, Wigham

1. For more detail on the origins of the Waterford Municipal Art Collection. see Peter

of Wigham's work, though it is evident from the text itself that Wigham had carried out much original research in writing it. Even so, he points out in his 'final word' (p. 270) that 'many accessible pieces of research have hardly been touched on' and points toward some potentially rewarding themes that could be taken up by a latter-day historian of the school.

As the narrative advances further and further into the twentieth century, increasing emphasis appears to be placed on the use of personal reminiscences not only of Maurice Wigham himself (he was headmaster of the school from 1961 to 1978) but of other teachers and occasionally of former pupils as well. For the most part, Wigham is preoccupied with chronicling the administrative and curricular matters of the school, including the succession of headmasters, the appointment of teachers, the construction of new buildings, concerns over funding, the adoption of new subjects, and so on, which does not make for very exciting reading, especially for anyone who has not had some involvement with the school. Possibly, this concern over recording the routine arises from the sheer weight of recent information available when compared with that for the nineteenth century. Luckily, the rather dry nature of this aspect of the book is offset by the interspersal of more unusual events such as the fire that gutted one section of the school in 1966 (pp. 203-9). Of course, one might wryly note how typical it might be for an Old Scholar (Newtown's euphemism for past pupil) - as this reviewer is - to take particular interest in a moment of ill-fortune that befell the school!

Though the co-educational character of Newtown has long been an important dimension of the school, it may seem surprising to learn that it was opened only to boys throughout the second half of the nineteenth century (pp. 100-2). It also had for many years its own farmyard (complete with livestock), a long tradition of pupils' gardens (pp. 34-5, 74, 159) and even its own Literary and Scientific Association that was founded in 1850 and which met regularly to hear essays read by the boys or lectures given by visiting speakers (p. 61). Corporal punishment (in the form of 'slipperings') also had an official place in the school until about 1970, though as Wigham recognises, 'it may be that the new regulation [banning its use at that time] was not always adhered to' (p. 219). Indeed, I witnessed very occasional incidents of corporal punishment when I was a pupil there in the early 1980s.

The book is filled with many other interesting snippets of school life, especially for the nineteenth century, but the emphasis of the book is on the institution of the school rather than on the many pupils who have passed through its doors. Though some Old Scholars such as Erskine Childers, Jr (who worked for the United Nations and was a son of the late president of Ireland), historian Roy Foster and rugby player Nick Popplewell receive a passing mention, other noteworthy past pupils such as pop singer Sinéad O'Connor do not. For more information on these and many other Newtowners past and present, one needs to turn to the pages of the Old Scholars' Association's annual *Report* which for the past ten years or so has been incorporat-

ed into the pupils' yearly magazine, the *Newtown Review*. Recently, the school established an archive for the use of anyone researching aspects of the school's history and a number of back issues of these publications may be found there.

Overall, this is an interesting and well-produced book with a good index by Helen Litton. Whilst more could have been said about individual pupils or the schoolchild's viewpoint of life at Newtown (and perhaps less about routine aspects of school administration), this book is an important contribution to the history of education in Ireland and especially in Waterford. Historians of other aspects of Waterford city's past, such as the locally under-represented area of medical and science history,² could make profitable use of Wigham's book in the study of (for example) the historical incidence and treatment of diseases such as ringworm, measles, scarlet fever and influenza, all of them having made their presence felt at Newtown at one time or another (pp. 63, 138, 197). However, the readers who will perhaps gain the most from this book will be those who either attended Newtown as a pupil or had taught there, and both categories of reader may justly take pride in their school's two hundred-year history.

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2. The lack of research on this topic in Waterford has been pointed out by me previously. See Thomas G. Fewer (1992) 'Decies 1986-1992: index of articles in issues XXXI-45', in *Decies*, 46, pp. 61-8 (p. 63).Introduction



Sr Assumpta O'NEIL'S *History of the Presentation Community in Waterford* since it opened up a school for poor girls in 1798 is a much shorter book than that of Wigham (indeed, Sr Assumpta calls it 'a very brief sketch' in her concluding paragraph), so direct comparisons between the two works are a little unfair. Nevertheless, Sr Assumpta's book offers an interesting narrative account of the Presentation Community and its school which moved from what is now Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre in Jenkins Lane to a purpose-built structure on Hennessy's Road in 1800, and from thence to new premises in Lisduggan in 1848. The core of the current school edifice (now itself 150 years old), along with its later chapel, was based on a design by the celebrated Gothic Revivalist architect A. W. Pugin (who had collaborated on the design of the British Houses of Parliament), though Sr Assumpta points out (p. 43) that part of the building was unfortunately altered in the 1960s and the gate lodge was demolished in 1988.

It is interesting to read how the convent's history coincided in some ways with that of Newtown, whilst contrasting with it in others. For example, the Lisduggan property was leased from the same Thomas Wyse whose family had once lived in the Georgian house that forms the old core of Newtown School. Like Newtown, the convent had (after 1848) its own farmyard where cows, pigs and chickens were raised, and fruit, vegetables and flowers were cultivated (p. 43). The convent even had its own butter churn which remained in use down to the 1960s. On the other hand, it's refreshing to read (on p. 30) that the Presentation Order in Waterford had always (officially at least) eschewed the use of corporal punishment on its school-children, whilst all subjects were taught through Irish in the convent's secondary school from the 1930s (p. 42).

It's also interesting to learn (pp. 29-31) that adults were given religious instruction in the school on Sunday mornings, a service that came to be managed as part of the Jesuit-run Sodality of Our Lady after 1882. The sodality built up a library for the use of its members and included not only religious works, but also books on science, history and literature. Meanwhile, we find in a facsimile of a page from the school register for 1880 that eleven- to thirteen-year-old girls enrolling at the school in that year had not previously attended primary school - how much has changed since then!

Sr Assumpta points out (pp. 22-3) that during the Great Famine, the nuns gave much assistance to the needy and that, consequently, the yearly expenditure on each nun dropped by 39% between 1840 and 1849. A 'chance reference' indicates that the nuns had operated a soup kitchen at Hennessy's Road, which premises the nuns vacated in 1848 so that it could be used as an auxiliary workhouse by the Poor Law commissioners, even though the new convent at Lisduggan was not yet ready for habitation.

Evidently based on original documentary research, the book, however, lacks both a bibliography and an index (though the first omission is now mitigated by Sr

Assumpta's article in this issue of *Decies*). Like Wigham's book, the part dealing with the twentieth century is (to me) less interesting because of its concentration on funding concerns and building phases. Early photographs also seem scarce, the earliest being that of the nuns commemorating their community's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1873 (p. 24), while the oldest picture shown depicting schoolchildren dates only from 1914 (p. 36). Nevertheless, this short book could form the basis for further research on the Presentation community and its activities in Waterford, and the brief snippet that Sr Assumpta gives on the period of the Famine is just one topic of many that may be worth expanding. It is clear, however, from Sr Assumpta's book that the nuns, lay staff and pupils of the Presentation convent in Waterford have much to take pride in as the school embarks upon its third century.



Desperate Famine

By Miriam Tarbett

IN recent years, a number of books have been published on the theme of the Great Famine, whether from a local, national, or even international perspective. County Waterford has itself produced its fair share of books, articles and leaflets on the theme and two of the former are reviewed below.

The Famine in Waterford: teacht na bprátaí dubha edited by Des Cowman and Donald Brady. Dublin: Geography Publications in association with Waterford County Council, 1995. Pp. xvi, 344. Price £9.95 (paperback: ISBN 0 906602 60 2), £20.00 (hardback: ISBN 0 906602 55 6).

In his preface, Des Cowman apologises for this book being 'incomplete', due to a lack of surviving evidence and a lack of time. Once one reads even a few of the essays, the apology might seem superfluous, as the book is an invaluable trove of information. It reveals contemporary attitudes among the gentry and the middle classes to the unfolding disaster and depicts the sufferings of the destitute. Moreover, it shows that *plus ça change, plus c'est pareil*.

The pre-Famine social and economic picture is so clearly presented by Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin's essay that we can well understand what will follow the blight. Thirty-five per cent of land-holdings in Waterford did not exceed 35 acres and only 20% exceeded 30 acres. Leases were not granted by the likes of Arthur Kiely Ussher who evicted entire households before the Famine and *during* it. However, the most wretched of all were the landless labourers. Their pauperism increased during the 1820s due to the failure of their staple diet, the potato.

Jack Burtchaell's overview of the Famine in Waterford is more than a simple foretaste of the book's content. Its succinctly presented facts are harrowing in tone and lucidly supported. For example, 66.7% of Lismore Union depended on relief (a scale similar to that in Connacht and in west Munster). Over all, 45-50% of Co. Waterford was at risk. The reasons for such a situation are clinically explained. The blight destroyed 40% of the potato crop by spring 1846 and most of it again in the autumn. The Public Works system for relief was inefficient. Mr Burtchaell comments that 'government disengagement' began with the ending of the public works and the transferring of most of its financial responsibility for relief to the local poor law unions. He adds that the Temporary Relief Act, which brought about the provision of soup kitchens, saved some but came 'too late for many'. Even more scathing is his comment that this Act's Gregory clause had 'malice aforethought', as landlords avoided paying rates by ridding land of tenants who only now became eligible for relief. The 'exodus of the rural poor' was the far-reaching result. In a further essay, Mr Burtchaell considers the impact of the Famine on the local population, and the impact of the Famine on the local population, and the impact of the Famine on the local population.

households that had died out or emigrated by 1851, but it is incontestable that the majority of deaths were among those on the social and economic periphery (i.e., the cottiers and labourers). These deaths, coupled with emigration, depopulated Waterford. The author lays the blame on the 'interplay of government policy, estate practice, [and] individual greed'.

After such an indictment, we are agreeably surprised by examples of humane behaviour. The Duke of Devonshire's agent's dealings with the Lismore tenants are assiduously (and, notably, for the first time) described by Greg Fewer. Francis Currey's dealings with applications for needs, e.g., seed, drainage and charity, are illustrated by graphs, and by allusions to the Lismore Application Books. The people's concerns are brought alive. For example, orphaned by fever, the young Kennelly family would be given £15 once they left the Poor House; Garrett Norris needed a coffin for a child; and the Widow Fleming was promised a job doing drainage. Of 44 applications for charity made during 'Black '47', 73% received favour. In his consideration of Currey's responses, Mr Fewer states however that he had 'a propensity to contradict himself'.

Two significant examples of the Poor House, in Lismore and in the city of Waterford, are animated by Tom Nolan and Rita Byrne, respectively. The strict regime of Lismore is illustrated even by the admission routine: 'All were stripped [and] told to wash..., given a pauper's uniform', and sexually segregated, the children being separated (except for babies at breast) from their parents. In each workhouse, 'every vestige of independence' disappeared; but, as each essayist vividly reveals, the workhouse guardians had to try to cope with large numbers and tight budgets.

The Lismore guardians' conscientious efforts are clearly portrayed, such as when they contacted foreign boards regarding nutrition (the ensuing dietary is depicted) and Waterford over cloth manufacturing (the records of which are listed). They also assigned extra rations to the women in the laundry during epidemics and procured the successful services of an 'Instructor in Agriculture'. A fascinating selection of inmates' 'crimes' and punishments offers us some insight of the regime from both the guardians' and inmates' viewpoints (e.g., 'Joanne Dwyer for stealing a sheet [is] to be brought before the Magistrates').

In contrast to Lismore, Waterford Workhouse 'suffered... administrative inefficiency'. However, Rita Byrne gives us ample evidence to assess the Board's record, as her balanced example of when a guardian 'had to sit alone' until 11 p.m. relieving '600 persons'. In her careful consideration of 'limited evidence', the author states that during fever epidemics, the temporary ancillary buildings 'seem to have had a better than 90% success rate'. Except from April to September of 1849, while cholera raged, the guardians maintained a 'relatively low mortality rate'. Two tables illustrate the respective rates. Nevertheless, neither essay sanitises the horrors dur-

ing the Famine. We learn that both workhouses had problems finding burial grounds, e.g., Kill St Laurence was packed with coffins 'only a few inches' underground. We learn that 93 orphan girls were selected from Waterford Workhouse for emigration to Australia; an emotive appendix lists 25 of them, including 'Mary Carr/17/Cannot read nor write - can sew/8 months spent in Union'.

A study by Joan Johnson of the extraordinary work of the Quakers is an invaluable part of this book. 'Animated by... love', they efficiently distributed bread, soup (an extant boiler is depicted) and bedding to the destitute in both the city and county. Both their efforts and the horrendous sufferings which they met are described in detail. The author gives due credit to their self-help policy among the fishing community of Ring. Concerned about this village, the secretary of the Waterford Quaker Relief Committee, Joshua Strangman, contacted its vicar Rev. James Alcock. A very successful loan scheme 'provided... a sufficient supply of fishing gear', their own having been 'pawned or sold... for... food'. Thus, with 'a loan of £3' for a sweep net, one crew caught 'mackerel, worth nearly £10!' The quoted information here is typical of correspondence between Alcock and Strangman which is aptly used by the essayist to portray the course of their schemes.

The longest essay is a fascinating product of research by Eugene Broderick into contemporary newspapers' reportage of the Famine. The reader might be surprised by some of the attitudes, e.g., criticising 'deficiencies and limitations' of the government in discussing the export of grain or of port closure. Although viewed as being too dramatic in describing privations, how else could the newspapers have described them? Even the anti-nationalist *Waterford Mail* reported that the 'fever cart is hourly through... Dungarvan...' and the bourgeois *Waterford Chronicle* added that in the town, 'every house... presents... but one black mass of the most deplorable wretchedness'. Such references surely support the essayist's view that the newspapers consist of 'one of the few authentic records' of the destitute's sufferings. Moreover, his view that while the Famine generated great bitterness against the English, this bitterness was 'reflected in and fuelled by the newspapers', is irrefutable. We are, therefore, reminded of the power of the press.

This reader recommends reading Des Cowman's essay as a concluding chapter. It deals with subjects found in other essays and offers complementary views. More importantly, its tone hearkens back to that of the author's preface regarding 'the anonymity of those who died'. To illustrate selfishness amongst the *status quo*, Kiely Ussher appears again and he is ably supported by Thomas Wyse. The latter's tunnel vision is farcically evoked - he 'ranted' for police protection at a time when people were starving. The former 'availed of the famine' to take up all the good land on his estate. The evictions are movingly described as are Kiely Ussher's attendant frauds; but, we are reminded, 'the human stories behind [the newly congested highland] go largely unrecorded'. Not even the consideration of a selfless man - Patrick Havden of the Carrickbeg Relief Committee - can dispel such stories. No wonder

...administering the relief, from the comments that many of them showed remarkable compassion and flexibility'. The final item is a very comprehensive bibliography of the Famine by co-editor Donald Brady. The Famine was 'the single biggest event of the nineteenth century' in Ireland. This fine book certainly proves its importance in the history of Waterford.

Desperate haven: the Poor Law, famine and aftermath in Dungarvan Union by William Fraher, Bernadette Sheridan, Seosamh Ó Loinsigh & Willie Whelan. Dungarvan: Dungarvan Museum Society, 1997. Pp. XII, 415. £10.00 (paperback: no ISBN).

The Dungarvan Poor Law Union, established in 1838, was given the charge of Dungarvan Workhouse, opened in 1841. In order to avail of relief, the destitute were obliged to reside in this *Desperate Haven*. The authors show clearly the appropriateness of their given title.

The suffering experienced in Skibbereen, County Cork, during the Great Famine is infamous. However, this text indicates that Dungarvan suffered more due to disease. The malnourished were weakened by dysentery and by gastric fever, while many were killed by diarrhoea, dropsy and whooping cough. To add to the people's misery, the Asiatic Cholera arrived, followed by smallpox. If the symptoms of even one of these diseases were described, the reader could fully appreciate the suffering. On their last legs, the sick crowded into the Workhouse. The March 1847 statistic is revealing: 1,458 in a workhouse built for 600.

Efforts at relief included the building (or renting) of premises to house fever patients. Dr Thomas Christian (an unsung hero about whom one is privileged to learn) reminded the Workhouse guardians about the danger of over-crowding and informed them that the apparent panacea of cheap Indian corn was causing dietary problems. Each temporary premises' chequered history is outlined, but what prevailed in the majority is highlighted, i.e., unhealthy conditions. Dampness, poor ventilation, vermin, and lack of segregation between the sick and relatively well, all exacerbated illness. Any absence of exercise facilities resulted in inmates walking into town, thereby spreading germs. With foreknowledge, the housing (a tan yard) for ophthalmic patients was healthy, offering cleanliness, a nourishing diet and a proximity to green fields.

Many of the same problems plagued the guardians in their running of the Dungarvan Fever Hospital and the other new premises, the Shandon Cholera Hospital. Meanwhile, they struggled to manage the finances. In one of the book's illuminating appendices, regarding finance, the authors scathingly contrast the sum of £70 million spent by the government on the Crimean War to its provision of £7 million to famine relief. The guardians were left substituting dear bread and milk by a dysentery-inducing diet of treacle and Indian corn!

One attempt at balancing the books was to assist an emigrant's passage. This cost £5 5/-, whereas maintaining the person's board cost at least £3 5/- for one year. Another fine appendix on emigration alphabetically lists those assisted by the guardians, together with a succinct comment. For example, 'Power, Thomas, age 15,... inmate of the Workhouse since infancy,... received passage money from his mother in America. Granted £2 expenses.' Having discussed such comments about the emigrants (who included many girls ripe for service, fostered children, fatherless families, etc.), the authors leave one with the tantalising statement there is much potential for research regarding emigrants.

The emigrating youth mentioned above sailed in 1887 during the difficult aftermath of the Famine. This aftermath is deservedly allotted a section to itself. It respectively deals with the decline in population, employment, the standard of housing, business profits and the corresponding rise in food prices, rates, admissions to the Workhouse and the cost of actually running it. The aftermath spans the years 1850-1900, a longer period than most texts consider. In one example of this depressed period, housing conditions are graphically described at Ringville in Dungarvan Union: 'some (houses were) unfit for human habitation'. The frequent cases of typhus are telling. Dungarvan itself warrants comments about its weakened commerce and ugly physical appearance.

As an invaluable social commentary on contemporary labour, the authors include detailed descriptions of the occupations in the Workhouse. The embroidery enterprise did so well that girls could eventually support themselves as well as take their family out of the Workhouse. Neither weaving nor baking was as successful, the latter suffering from corrupt or inefficient masters. As for pushing the capstan mill, the men could not cope with its drudgery, so they were replaced by women and children! On the other hand, newly trained boys worked on the Workhouse farm wherein 'splendid specimens of vegetables' had been eventually cultivated. Youths physically incapacitated for farm work were employed in the durable businesses of tailoring and shoe-making. As for academic education, incompetent teachers, recalcitrant or under-nourished students and run down rooms, combined to frustrate this struggle.

Due to either a lack of available jobs or the desertion of families by men, women numbered 'in the majority in a ratio of three to one' in the Workhouse. Single and pregnant women often entered it too. Contemporary social mores regarding the latter are patent since they were segregated according to the perception that they were 'dissolute'. In a pre-legal adoption age, the guardians were permitted to send out to nurse orphan and deserted children initially aged under five years of age, but later under ten.

A chapter on the fishing industry of the time answers the common query 'Why didn't the hungry eat fish?' The lack of money to repair gear coupled with exceptionally severe weather conditions conspired to prevent fishing thereby raising the

It was the same Villiers Stuart who donated land at Slievegrine for use as a graveyard. The Famine victims were so filling Old Kilrush graveyard that they were buried at little more than 3 feet deep. Such an horrific fact indicates the scale of mortality and might make one question the efficacy of the Workhouse system. The authors ask what other nineteenth-century system could have coped with the deadly association of famine and plague when the twentieth century hasn't coped. They also point out that infant and (especially) female mortality was horrifying, but relatively low by today's famine standards. Finally, while most of those who died in the Workhouse had been almost *in extremis* at the time they entered, those who earlier entered their *desperate* haven survived.

Commemorating Waterford's streetscapes

By Des Cowman

Waterford Streets Past and Present by Daniel Dowling. Waterford: Waterford Corporation, 1998. Pp. xxi, 198. Price £20 (paperback: ISBN 1 872002 89 7).

TO get the minor criticisms out of the way first, it must be said that this book cries out for a series of maps identifying the street locations. Admittedly, the presentation does make this difficult as the streets are described in alphabetical order. This means that there is no geographical coherence such as would have occurred if (for instance) the medieval centre was considered before moving on to each of the southern, western and other extensions of the city. However, the alphabetical ordering does obviate the need for an index.

That having been said, it is a beautifully produced book in an unusual A4 landscape format. The cream paper with brown print in three columns looks very well and adds an authentic looking sepia tone to the wonderful photographs. Apart from its other qualities, the book is invaluable for the reproduction of these street scenes of about 1900. Their captions just identify the locations but the human activity is fascinating. There a sieve-seller, knife-sharpener, assorted street sellers, RIC activity (and why, on p. 66, is there wording in Welsh on the B & B at 112 the Quay?), a lone adult tricycle in the Mall, as well as early cars and sailing ships.

However, the main strength of the book is the sheer volume of information that is given about each street. This has obviously been a labour of love by Dan Dowling over many years. The information obviously comes from a great range of sources, the principal one apparently being the Corporation records which are daunting to tackle for such purposes. Details vary from a six line entry on Asylum Lane to four pages of text (plus photographs) on Ballybricken. The information given is somewhat eclectic but provides fascinating snippets. For instance, a listing of the occupations of the 6,833 people who used The Model Lodging House in Model Lane ("decent lodgings for workers") in 1863, provides a fascinating picture of itinerant (or semi-itinerant) trades-people entering the city.

A context is put on Dan's script by Eamonn McEneaney in a commendable eight-page introductory survey of the development of the city up to the late 19th century. Dan's street descriptions include reference to the newer estates in the sub-

should be a proud acquisition on any citizen's bookshelf. Congratulations to all concerned.

Abstracts of publications of Waterford interest

Introduction

By Greg Fewer

IN recent years, Waterford city and county have experienced a huge surge in local history writing, not only in the pages of *Decies* and its erstwhile west Waterford counterpart the *Ardmore Journal*, but in the form of a number of books, booklets and maps. Waterford's history or archaeology has also appeared in the pages of national and international journals or in the form of undergraduate and postgraduate theses. Due to this mounting barrage of local research, *Decies* has been struggling to keep up in reviewing books, especially as reviewers can be hard to find. For example, many potential reviewers may either have contributed to a multi-author book or they were acknowledged by the author for assisting in the book's research, or its proof-reading. Obviously, the objectivity of a reviewer might be somewhat compromised by his or her prior involvement with the book. Furthermore, some publishers seem reticent in supplying review copies of their books, thereby offering no material incentive in the form of a free copy for the reviewer to keep. However, it was felt that recording at least a brief notification of a book's publication might help address the backlog of material to be reviewed and it would not necessarily preclude a full review of the work from appearing in a future edition of *Decies*. Also, it was felt that as research on Waterford was appearing in other periodicals, readers of *Decies* might wish to be alerted to this.

Since 1992, I have been a regular abstract writer for the *British Archaeological Bibliography (BAB)* (re-launched at Dublin Castle as the *British and Irish Archaeological Bibliography [BIAB]* in June 1997), and it long seemed reasonable to me to establish a similar abstract service for publications exclusively about Waterford. However, what was not clear was what form the publication of these Waterford abstracts should take. Should they be published in a book that would be revised every few years or, perhaps, as an easily updateable Web page? Both of these options seemed worthwhile, but publishing a book of abstracts could be prohibitively expensive, while many people do not have Internet access. On the other hand, publication in the form of a regular supplement to *Decies* seemed more attractive not only because it would resolve these problems, but it would also be

entries that I prepared for *BAB* or *BIAB*, but many were written by other members of the editorial committee of *Decies*. All of the abstracts are signed with the initials of each of the abstract writers who include: **Des Cowman** (*DC*), **Greg Fewer** (*TGF*) and **Ben Murtagh** (*BM*). **Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin** also consulted *Béaloides* and *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, but found no Waterford material in either periodical for those issues appearing since 1990.

Each abstract takes the following form: abstract number (composed of the last two digits of the year in which the abstract is published followed by its own consecutive number); author surname, author first name(s) or initials; year of publication in brackets; title of paper or book; place of publication and publisher's name in brackets (in the case of books); pagination; presence of plates (photographs), figures (line drawings), tables, references, index (etc.); and, in the case of a book, its format (hardback, paperback or softback), its ISBN and its price. An abstract number may seem superfluous but is intended to allow for the rapid cross-referencing of the abstracts of related articles, especially those appearing in separate issues of *Decies*. Thus, abstract 99/46 might be of an update to research earlier reported in another article abstracted as 98/60.

A supplementary section of the abstracts has been compiled by Ben Murtagh and covers the brief entries relating to Waterford that appear in the annual series of *Excavations 19__*: *Summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland* as published between 1990 and 1994. These are treated separately from the main body of abstracts because their nature as short excavation reports differs considerably from conventional articles, particularly in their perfunctory (but geographically- and functionally-specific) titles. To facilitate cross-referencing, the numbers assigned to these supplementary abstracts are all preceded by the letter S (e.g., S98/1) and are counted separately from the main body of abstracts. There are other slight differences in the style of Mr Murtagh's supplement, so please read his introduction carefully.

Book prices were correct at the time of writing, but check with your bookseller or the publisher before ordering as all prices are subject to change. For books without ISBNs, the current addresses of their publishers are supplied in an appendix to facilitate any readers wishing to make an order. A list of the periodicals checked for articles bearing on Waterford precedes the abstracts for reference.

Each abstract is assigned to a chronological division to facilitate persons with an interest in only one particular period (for example, the middle ages) and save them time in trawling through a long alphabetical list. Books or articles that span more than one chronological division are entered into the General/multi-period section, so researchers should take account of this when scanning the abstracts relating to their period specialism. The chronological divisions are as follows:

1. General/multiperiod
2. Prehistory (to c. 400 AD)
3. Early Christian/Viking (c. 400 AD-1170 AD)
4. Medieval (c. 1170-1550 AD)
5. Post-medieval/early modern (c. 1550-1760 AD)
6. Later Georgian/pre-Famine (c. 1760-1845 AD)
7. Famine/post-Famine (c. 1845-1921 AD)
8. Post-independence (c. 1921-present)

Finally, there are undoubtedly books, articles and theses that merit abstracting but which have not come to the attention of the abstracters (who have, in any case, concentrated only on a selection of periodicals). It is intended to cover other periodical titles and books in future editions of *Decies*. However, copies of books or journals sent to the editor would greatly help in expanding the range of material covered for the abstracts service. Also, if any reader would be interested in writing abstracts, please contact the editor indicating the books or journals that he or she would like to cover.

List of periodicals consulted

- assemblage: the Sheffield Graduate Journal of Archaeology*, **1-3**, 1996-7 (ISSN 1365-3881)
- Archaeology Ireland*, **1(1)-11(4)**, 1987-97 (ISSN 0790-892X)
- At the Edge: Exploring new interpretations of past and place in archaeology, folklore and mythology*, **9-10**, 1998 (ISSN 1361-0058)
- Béaloideas*, **VOLS 58-65**, 1990-97 (ISSN 0332-270X)
- Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement Newsletter*, **1-8**, 1992-7 (ISSN 1393-0966)
- Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, **10**, 1994 (ISSN unknown)
- Irish Economic and Social History*, **17-24**, 1990-7 (ISSN 0332-4893; ISBN 0-947897-03-8)
- Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, **95-102**, 1990-97 (No ISSN)
- Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, **56**, 1990 (ISSN 0079-497X)
- The Irish Genealogist*, **9(2)**, 1995 (ISSN 0306-8358)
- The Irish Sword*, **18(72)**, 1991 (No ISSN)

THE ABSTRACTS

General/multiperiod

(pp. 31-32, 34), which reviews Celtworld alongside two other interpretative centres - The Navan Centre (Co Armagh) and Céide Fields (Co Mayo). The value of each centre for school trips is emphasised and MacConville adds a note on the educational packs published by these and other centres in Ireland. Second-year Junior Certificate pupil **Aoife Maxwell** (p. 54) supplies 'A student's view', comparing and contrasting The Navan Centre with Celtworld. She concludes that while The Navan Centre is more educational, Celtworld is more fun to visit. *TGF*

98/2

Anon. (1997) Three maps of Tramore and environs. No publisher, £20 each (or £55 the set) from Victoria House, Queen's St, Tramore.

These show historical sites with boxed comments on them. The first covers an area from Dunabrattin to Dunmore and north to Lacken. It shows the major sites and monuments with commentary on the more significant ones. The second covers an area from Garrarus to Ballymacoda and north to Munmahogue showing major sites and monuments as well as shipwrecks in Tramore Bay. The third map offers a detail of Tramore in c. 1900 and provides boxed information on selected sites. *DC*

98/3

Bradley, John (1997) 'Archaeology in Ireland's journals', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **11**(4), pp. 41-3.

Briefly refers (p. 41) to T. G. Fewer's article on Killea church in *Decies* **52**. *TGF*

98/4

Bradley, John (1995) 'Ireland's local journals reviewed', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **9**(4), pp. 42-3.

In reviewing the *Tipperary Historical Journal* for 1995 (p. 42), mention is made of an article by Catryn Power on excavations of the town wall in Dungarvan and its accompanying specialist reports. The excavations included material dating apparently from the medieval and post-medieval periods. *BM & TGF*

98/5

Bradley, John (1996) 'Ireland's local journals reviewed', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **10**(4), p. 41.

Briefly refers (p. 41) to Ciaran Parker's article on late medieval government in Waterford in *Decies* **51**. *BM & TGF*

98/6

Bradley, John (1993) 'Waterford on a postage stamp', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **7**(3), pp 35-6.

Reviews *The Royal Charters of Waterford* (1992) by Julian Walton. *BM*

98/7

Cooney, Gabriel (1997) 'Book news', in *Archaeology Ireland*, 11(4), pp. 32-4.

Includes (pp. 33-4) a short review of Maurice Hurley and Orla Scully with Sarah McCutcheon (eds) *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford: excavations 1986-1992* (Waterford: Waterford Corporation, 1997). See also 98/11 & 98/25. *BM*

98/8

Fewer, Michael G. (no date [1992]) *Discover east Waterford: The barony of Gaultier* (Waterford: Discover East Waterford Co-Op). Folded A3 sheet; figures. Available free from Discover East Waterford Co-Op.

This map and information leaflet includes brief notes on points of interest (including archaeological and historical sites), beaches, the wildlife of the barony, and the names and telephone numbers of accommodation, hotels, restaurants, pubs and other businesses. *TGF*

98/9

Fewer, T. N. (1998) *Waterford people: a biographical dictionary* (Callaghan, Co. Waterford: Ballylough Books). Pp. vi, 186; plates, references, index; paperback; ISBN 0-9533-704-02. Price £9.95.

Biographical dictionary containing more than 300 entries on persons, both living and dead, who were either born in, or in some way contributed to, Waterford city and county. *TGF*

98/10

Hansard, Joseph [edited by Donald Brady] (1997) *The history, topography and antiquities (natural and ecclesiastical), with biographical sketches of the nobility, gentry and ancient families, and notices of eminent men, &c, of the County and City of Waterford; including the towns, parishes, villages, manors and seats* (Lismore: Waterford County Council). Pp. xiv, 300; figures, tables, index; hardback; ISBN 0-9532022-0-8. Price: £25.00.

Re-typeset issue of an antiquarian book first published in 1870. **Donald Brady** (pp. vi-viii) considers the life and career of the book's author in 'Joseph Hansard: a biographical note', while **Dervla Murphy** (pp. ix-xii) provides a new 'Introduction'. *TGF*

98/11

Hurley, Maurice (1988) 'Recent Archaeological excavations in Waterford City', in *Archaeology Ireland*, 2(1), pp. 17-21, plates, figures.

Summarises the findings of the programme of archaeological excavations that were carried out from 1986 to 1988 in the old Viking City in advance of the construction of the City Square Shopping Centre (see also 98/25 & 98/14). *TGF*

plates (some in colour), figures, references, index, paperback, ISBN 187775925.
Price: £10.00.

Opens with 'Acknowledgements' by **Terry O'Sullivan** (p. 9), followed by the 'Editor's note' by **Eamonn McEneaney** (pp. 10-11), details on the 'Contributors' (pp. 12-13), the Mayor's foreword' by **Maurice Cummins** (pp. 14-15) and the 'City manager's foreword' by **Michael Doody** (pp. 16-17). Presented as a single continuous narrative, this limited edition book consists of fifteen chapters detailing the history of Waterford city and its office of mayor from the latter's first recorded instance in 1195 to the early twentieth century. Most chapters centre around the term (or terms) of office of a single mayor in each century from Roger le Lom (mayor, 1284-5) to Richard Power (1886-8). The first six chapters were written by **Eamonn McEneaney**, the next four by **Julian Walton**, chapter eleven by **Des Cowman**; twelve and thirteen by **Eugene Broderick**, and chapter fourteen by **John M. Hearne**. Although the approach of the book is primarily historical, some attention is also paid to recent archaeological discoveries made in the city. Includes a list of 'Mayors of Waterford' (pp. 228-35) from 1284 to 1996. *TGF*

98/13

Moore, Michael (1992) 'Journey through a time-tunnel', in *Archaeology Ireland*, 6(1), pp. 16-19, plates, location map.

Looks at the archaeology of Co. Waterford since prehistoric times. The author states that 'Waterford contains a representative collection of monuments from the Neolithic up to the present. It is perhaps the only county in Munster which can trace its past through monuments almost from the earliest times'. Briefly discusses the megalithic tombs and Bronze Age monuments of the county before considering the period from the Iron Age to the seventeenth century. Concludes by commenting on the policies of the local authorities in both city and county towards archaeology in their respective jurisdictions. *BM*

98/14

O'Neill, Michelle (1997) *Reminiscences of Waterford* (Waterford: [self-published with Michael O'Sullivan and Walter O'Neill]). Pp. ii [unpaginated], 193; plates; paperback; no ISBN; Price: £15.00.

Compendium of predominantly twentieth-century historical anecdotes about Waterford city accompanied by an extensive collection of black and white photographs. Includes a special section of photographs comparing various Waterford pubs as they appear today with their appearance in the 1980s or earlier in 'The changing face of Waterford pubs' (pp. 135-58). This is followed by a 'Picture parade' (pp. 159-91) of various (mainly post-1940) photographs of people and places in the city. *TGF*

98/15

Power, Dermot (1994) *Historic photographs & anniversaries of Waterford City 853 AD-1994 AD* (Waterford: Scoláire Bocht Publishing). Pp. 40 (unpaginated); plates; references; no ISBN; soft back. Price £2.50 + £0.50 for postage and packaging.

Presents a chronology of historical events relating to Waterford, Ireland, from the city's putative foundation by Vikings in 853 AD to 1 July 1994 when President Mary Robinson became the first woman to be conferred with the freedom of the city. Aims to correct the many inconsistencies which the compiler has encountered in the historical literature about Waterford. *TGF*

98/16

Power, Dermot (comp.) (1996) *The ballads & songs of Waterford* (vol. 2) (Waterford: Scoláire Bocht Publishing). Pp. 79; plates; figures; references; no ISBN; paperback (accompanied by music cassette). Price IR£10.00 (including cassette).

This book supplements volume one - *The ballads & songs of Waterford from 1487* - which was reviewed by Julian Walton in *Decies* 47 (1993). It includes a wide range of songs taken from various sources (primarily old newspapers and the Irish Folklore Commission's School Manuscript Collection) and performances of these were recorded for an accompanying cassette (also named *The ballads & songs of Waterford* [volume 2]). The songs were sung by **Dermot Power, Mick Murphy, John 'The Miller' Power, Willie Farrell, Michael Mernin and John McManus.** *TGF*

98/17

Taylor, Andy (1990) *Tramore: echoes from a seashell* (No publisher; printed by G. K. Print, Waterford). Pp. 222; plates; no ISBN.

Deals mainly with 19th- and 20th-century Tramore under 33 headings embracing culture, sport and tourism. *DC*

98/18

Taylor, Andy (1996) *Tramore of long ago* (No publisher; printed by Waterford Graphics Ltd.), hard back limited edition of 500; plates; no ISBN.

Deals mainly with 19th- and 20th-century Tramore under 43 headings embracing folklore, culture, sport and tourism. *DC*

Prehistory

98/19

Fewer, Greg (1998) 'The Guramooguck: near-forgotten survival of the God of the Otherworld in East Waterford' in *At the Edge: Exploring new interpretations of*

given with reference to the Schools Manuscript Collection of the Irish Folklore Commission and to wider secondary literature on Irish and Celtic mythology. Cautioning that local folkloric tradition may be corrupted or even supplanted if it is not maintained for future generations, it is concluded that the recording of a district's folklore not only aids in understanding the place that natural features had in the historic landscape, but also adds information about regional differences in early pre-Christian beliefs. *TGF*

98/20

Green, Stanton W., & Zvelebil, Marek (1990) 'The Mesolithic colonization and agricultural transition of south-east Ireland', in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, **56**, pp. 57-88, figures, references.

This paper presents the results of research carried out during the 1980s by the Bally Lough Archaeological Project (see also *Decies* **24** [1983] and **28** [1985] for early reports on this project) and presents the first systematically acquired archaeological evidence from the early prehistory of south-east Ireland. In researching the colonisation of the region during the Mesolithic period and the following shift to agriculture, the authors offer a view of indigenous development whereby settlement and technological continuities between Mesolithic and Neolithic Ireland are sought. Scatters of prehistoric stone tools were collected from the surfaces of ploughed fields or from archaeologically-excavated sites surrounding Waterford Harbour between 1983 and 1989. These artefacts were then analysed regarding their geographical distribution, the raw materials from which they were made, the manufacturing technology involved in their fabrication and their chronological typology to provide insights into the prehistoric settlement of the region. Other material recovered by the project included the first prehistoric barley to be found in south-eastern Ireland, a Neolithic radiocarbon date, prehistoric pottery, and a prehistoric quarry that supplied a raw material (a volcanic stone called rhyolite) used in making stone tools (see also **98/21**, **98/24** & **S98/1-3**). *TGF*

98/21

Peterson, Jane D. (1990) 'From foraging to food production in south-east Ireland: some lithic evidence', in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, **56**, pp. 89-99, figures, references.

Reconsiders three theoretical models of the transition from the hunting/gathering way of life of Mesolithic people in Ireland to the farming economy of Neolithic communities in the light of an analysis of an assemblage of artefacts recovered in 1986 and 1987 by the Bally Lough Archaeological Project (see **98/20**, **98/24**). These models generally dismissed any contribution that Mesolithic people may have had

to Neolithic technology and economy. However, it was found that in south-eastern Ireland, there was little change over time in the use of local raw materials for stone artefact production, which was dominated by the exploitation of small water-rolled flint pebbles. Similarly, continuity was observed from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic periods in the manufacturing techniques used in making stone tools as they offered the best response to the low quality of the raw materials. Finally, it was found that sites identified as being probably residential and characterised as either Mesolithic or Neolithic were all located within a mile of the coast between Brownstown Head and Dunmore Bay. Some of the Mesolithic and Neolithic sites occupied the same or neighbouring areas and either represent a simultaneous overlapping settlement by indigenous Late Mesolithic and incoming Early Neolithic communities or that the Mesolithic people of the region adapted to farming over time. *TGF*

98/22

Scarry, John (1997) 'Victorian Images of the Past', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **11**(3), pp. 20-1, plates.

Contains (on p. 21) a plate of a megalithic tomb at Gurteen, Co. Waterford, that dates to c. 1860. *BM*

98/23

Scully, Orla (1992) 'Beam me up, Setanta!', in Una MacConville (comp.) 'Museums and visitor centres', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **6**(2), supplement, p. S11.

Brief review of the then newly-opened Celtworld, the Celtic mythology visitor centre at Tramore. *TGF*

98/24

Zvelebil, Marek & Green, Stanton W. (1992) 'Looking at the Stone Age in south-east Ireland: The work of the Ballylough Archaeological Project', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **6**(1), pp. 20-23, figures.

The authors discuss the work of the Ballylough Archaeological Project around Waterford Harbour since its inception in 1983 (see also **98/20-1** & **S98/1-3**). A total of 400 stone age sites were located. Its aim was to look at the development of this region from the hunter/gatherer society of the late Mesolithic (c. 6000-4000 BC) to the early farming society of the Neolithic (c. 4000-2000 BC). *BM*

Early Christian/Viking (c. 400 AD-1170 AD)

98/25

Hurley, Maurice F. (1995) 'The Vikings in Munster - evidence from Waterford and Cork', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **9**(2), pp. 22-5, plates.

the evidence from Dublin (see also **98/11**, **98/1**). *BM*

Medieval (c. 1170-1550 AD)

98/26

Moore, Michael (1994) 'Church mystery solved', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **8**(3), p. 18.

On foot of a 'mystery photograph' published in *Archaeology Ireland* **5**(4), Michael Moore identifies it as a Victorian plate of the medieval church of Drumcannon, which is situated about two miles from Tramore. The photograph was taken from the south-west at a time when there was far more of the church surviving than there is at present. To the south of the building is the burial site of the victims from the troop-ship Sea Horse which sank in Tramore Bay in January 1816.

BM

98/27

Power, Catryn (1992) 'The spread of syphilis and a possible early case in Waterford', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **6**(4), pp. 20-1, plates.

The author discusses the case of the skeleton of a twelve- to thirteen-year-old child that appears to have had syphilis. Known as B253, it was excavated in the graveyard to the south of St Peter's church. The earliest case of this disease in Europe allegedly occurred in Spain in AD 1493, and was blamed on contact with the New World made by the crews of Christopher Columbus's ships. This, however, is disputed by some scholars who argue that it was already in the Old World before this time. Argues that the Waterford example may be an early case, dating from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries AD - thus predating Columbus. The early date for B253 has, however, been challenged (see **98/25**). *BM*

98/28

Scully, Orla (1993). 'Syphilis' [letter], in *Archaeology Ireland*, **7**(1), p. 44.

Comments on an article by Catryn Power (see **98/24**) challenging the latter's assertion for the early date for skeleton B253, in advance of proper dating evidence.

BM

98/29

Wincott Heckett, Elizabeth (1991) 'Textiles in Archaeology', in *Archaeology Ireland*, **5**(2), pp. 11-13, plates, illustrations.

On page 13, the finding of finely woven vegetable fibre cords from the Waterford excavations (see **98/6**) is discussed. These came from twelfth-century levels and appear to have been strings for a short bow. *BM*

Post-medieval/early modern (c. 1550-c. 1760)

98/30

Fewer, T. G. (1997) 'Women and personal possessions: 17th-century testamentary evidence from counties Waterford and Kilkenny, Ireland', in *assemblage: the Sheffield Graduate Journal of Archaeology*, 3, <http://www.shef.ac.uk/~assem/3/3fewer.htm>, colour plates, table, references.

Looks at a selection of easily accessible will transcripts and extracts from counties Waterford and Kilkenny in which women bequeathed or inherited various kinds of property, and highlights the importance of this kind of documentary record to archaeologists as a source for contextual information on the kinds of possessions women owned in the seventeenth century. The range of possessions considered include buildings, livestock, agricultural implements, industrial produce, trading goods, cooking and tableware, other household goods, clothing, and jewellery. *TGF*

Later Georgian/pre-Famine (c. 1760-1845)

98/31

Clarkson, L. A. (1993) 'Love, labour and life: women in Carrick-on-Suir in the late eighteenth century', in *Irish Economic and Social History*, 20, pp. 18-34.

The fact that there are three rich contemporary sources on Carrick in the late 18th century (the *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert*, the "Census" of 1799 and the 'Carrickman's Diary' of 1787-1809) is used as the basis for interpreting the role of women in local society. *DC*

98/32

McCan, Anthony (1995) 'Biographical notes from the commonplace book of Patrick Hayden, merchant of Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford, 1774-1851', in *The Irish Genealogist*, 9(2), pp. 195-201. *DC*

98/33

Power, Catryn & O'Sullivan, V. R. (1992) 'Rickets in Nineteenth Century Waterford', in *Archaeology Ireland*, 6(1), p. 27, plates.

The authors discuss the analysis of a skeleton from the graveyard of St Peter's church. The individual was a male, in his late twenties or early thirties, who was about 4'9" in height. He had a severe vitamin D deficiency caused by lack of sunlight in early life - a feature of smog-infested city slums during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (See also 98/31, 98/33). *BM*

98/34

98/35

Proudfoot, Lindsay (1991) 'Landlord motivation and urban improvement of the Duke of Devonshire's Irish estates, c. 1792-1832', in *Irish Economic and Social History*, **18**, pp. 5-23, references. *DC*

98/36

Tempest McCrea, C. (1992) 'Rickets' [letter], in *Archaeology Ireland*, **6**(3), p. 30.

This comments on the analysis of a skeleton from St Peter's church (**98/30**). Suggests that following a study of the published photographs, the "poor man depicted" must have suffered from some other condition as well as rickets (see also **98/31**). *BM*

Famine/post-Famine (c. 1845-1920)

98/37

Dooley, Thomas P. (1991) 'Politics, bonds and marketing: army recruitment in Waterford city, 1914-15', in *The Irish Sword*, **18**(72), pp. 205-219. *DC*

98/38

Fraher, William (no date) *A guide to Famine sites in Dungarvan & district* (Dungarvan: Dungarvan Museum Society). Folded A4 sheet, figs. Price £0.20.

Provides brief illustrated notes on fifteen sites associated with the Great Famine in and around Dungarvan. *TGF*

98/39

Griffin, D., & Waterford Civic Trust (1994) *A parcel from the past: Waterford as seldom seen before* (Waterford: Intacta Print Ltd/Waterford Civic Trust). Pp. 108, many plates; paperback; no ISBN. Price £7.95.

Reproduces fifty-one late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs taken by A. H. Poole of some streetscapes, shopfronts, quaysides and important buildings of Waterford City along with scenes from Tramore and Dunmore East. Supplies a commentary with each photograph, the originals of which are in the National Library of Ireland. *TGF*

98/40

Ó Gráda, Cormac (1991) 'The heights of Clonmel prisoners 1845-9: some dietary implications', in *Irish Economic and Social History*, **18**, pp. 24-33.

Based on the connection between height and diet, the record of prisoners from Clonmel and hinterland over the Famine years shows that they had been comparatively well nourished. *DC*

Post-independence (1921-present)

98/41

Jordan, Peter (1994) 'Sinclair's dream: the Waterford Art Museum', in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 10, pp. 121-5, plates, references.

Discusses the background to the foundation and early history of the Waterford Municipal Art Museum in July 1939 which was primarily inspired by a series of annual art exhibitions held in the gymnasium of Newtown School from 1935 to (at least) 1941. The later history of the municipal art collection is then briefly chronicled until most of the art works were placed in secure storage in 1984. Closes with reference to Waterford Corporation's agreement (in 1992) to offer a permanent home to the collection. *TGF*

Appendix: Publishers' addresses

Discover East Waterford Co-Op
Passage East Community Centre
Passage East
Co. Waterford

Michelle O'Neill
Healy O'Neill Auctioneers
45 Barrack Street
Waterford

Dungarvan Museum Society
Waterford County Library
Dungarvan Branch
Lower Main Street
Dungarvan
Co. Waterford

Scoláire Bocht Publishing
10 Pinewood Avenue
Hillview
Waterford

Abstracts Supplement

Archaeological Excavations carried out in Waterford City and County: Abstracts of summaries published in *Excavations* 1989-1993

Compiled by Ben Murtagh

Introduction

Excavations 19__ : Summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland is published annually by Wordwell Press, and is edited by Isabel Bennett. Each issue contains summaries of excavations and test excavations, carried out in the 32 counties of Ireland during the year preceding that of publication. Summaries of twenty-five excavations that were carried out in Waterford city and county between 1989 and 1993 were published in *Excavations* in 1990-94. Of these, the vast majority (21) were conducted within the city. Most were carried out in advance of redevelopment while the rest related to conservation works on the city wall.

Two research excavations were carried out in rural County Waterford in 1989 while one rescue excavation was carried out in the town of Dungarvan. From 1990 to 1992, no excavations were conducted outside of the city, but in 1993, a trial excavation was carried out in Williamstown, in the eastern part of the county.

The above excavations can be divided into five categories (Prehistoric; Late Viking and later [urban, circa eleventh century onwards]; High medieval: late twelfth to fourteenth century; High medieval to seventeenth century; and Test excavations that produced no archaeology) and the number assigned to each summary appearing in *Excavations* is reproduced in the abstracts after the year of publication.

PREHISTORIC

This involved the two excavations mentioned above that were carried out in rural County Waterford for research purposes by the Ballylough Archaeological Project in 1989.

S98/1

Green, S., Judge, C. & Peterson, J. (1990) No. 90. "Coxtown East", pp. 49-47.

A second season of excavations was carried out at this important prehistoric mine quarry in August 1989. About 30,000 artefacts have been recovered from the excavation. The quarry appears to have been in use over a long period of time for the production of stone tools. See also **98/20**.

S98/3

Zvelebil, M. (1990) Appendix 2: "Ballylough Archaeological Project 1989", pp. 53-55.

The work of this project is discussed in relation to the stone age landscape and settlement, together with the development of agriculture around Waterford Harbour. In particular, the findings of the two above excavations are dealt with. See also **98/20-1, 98/24**.

LATE VIKING AND LATER: URBAN, CIRCA ELEVENTH CENTURY ONWARDS

This involved nine excavations that were carried out in the city in advance of redevelopment. They spanned the period before and after the Norman conquest.

S98/4

Hurley, M. & Murtagh, B. (1990) No. 92. "St Peter's church, Peter Street, Custom House B Ward", p. 47.

A final programme of work was carried out on this church, which dated from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. The building, which did not survive above the ground, was exposed during previous seasons of excavations. The 1989 season of work concentrated on the excavation of the north aisle and the removal of the eastern part of the early stone church for the purpose of reconstruction elsewhere. A conjectural reconstruction of the latter appears on the front cover of Excavations 1989. See also **98/7, 98/11 & 98/25**.

S98/5

Hurley, M. F., et al. (1991) No. 108. "Arundel Square, Custom House Ward, Waterford", p. 53.

This involved the excavation of an area of c. 3,000 square metres within the late Viking town. The work was carried out in advance of development. The remains of eleventh- and twelfth-century houses were exposed. Other features included earth-cut pits, wood-lined sunken pits, and well-built stone-lined pits, which yielded a wealth of artefacts. The work was carried out in advance of the construction of the City Square Shopping Centre. See also **98/7 & 98/25**.

S98/6

Murtagh, B. & Hurley, M. (1990) No. 93. "Custom House B Ward - Gateway in city wall", p. 47.

The remains of this gateway through the late Viking stone wall were unearthed beneath the road surface at the junction of Peter Street and Arundel Square during the course of installation of telecommunication services. When the gateway/wall had been surveyed, the trench was back-filled leaving the structural remains in situ. See also 98/7.

S98/7

Reid, M. (1994) No. 217. "19-21 High Street, Waterford", pp. 77-8.

This excavation took place in the spring of 1993 and covered three properties fronting onto High Street and to the north of St Olaf's church in the heart of the old Viking town. This site had been investigated earlier by Sarah McCutcheon (see S98/14). The earliest level produced the remains of a Viking house. Later levels were somewhat disturbed. Located on the central property above the ground were the remains of a late medieval stone house, with a later sixteenth-century extension to the rear. The original house may have been built by wealthy Waterford merchant, James Rice (d. 1488), in the fifteenth century.

S98/8

Scully, O. M. B. (1991) No. 109. "Bakehouse Lane 11, Custom House Ward, Waterford - pre-Norman city defences", p. 53.

This excavation was carried out in May 1990 on a portion of the western section of the late Viking town defences, in advance of the construction of City Square Shopping Centre. About 6.5 m across the town ditch was excavated. The western edge was not reached. Parallel to the eastern edge, the remains of the pre-Norman town wall were exposed. This was a continuation of a substantial section that was excavated earlier to the north (see *Excavations 1988*, p. 37). See also 98/7 & 98/25.

S98/9

Scully, O. M. B. (1993) No. 174. "Keyser St/High St, Waterford", p. 59.

This test excavation revealed that whilst most of the site had been truncated by the insertion of cellars, there survived in the south-east corner of the site a series of archaeological layers typical of late Viking/high medieval deposits in that area of Waterford.

S98/10

Scully, O. M. B. (1993) No. 175. "St Peter's Street, Waterford", p. 59.

This excavation took place on a single property on the north side of the street where the remains of late Viking houses were revealed. The excavation revealed the

western side of Broad Street. Archaeological material was encountered. Subsequent excavation by Joanna Wren (see **S98/12**) revealed stratigraphy dating as early as the mid twelfth century.

S98/12

Wren, J. (1994) No. 219. "Little Patrick St/Barronstrand Street, Waterford."

As noted above (**S98/11**), this excavation proceeded on the basis of the results of the test-pit that was dug earlier by Cathy Sheehan. The work was carried out during January and February of 1992. Eleven different occupation levels were identified ranging from the mid-twelfth century to the early thirteenth century. Each level was related to a new period of backyard activity. The early levels would suggest pre-Norman occupation. This is significant since the site is located in the heart of the western part of the walled city. It was generally thought that this area was not developed until after the Norman conquest.

HIGH MEDIEVAL: LATE TWELFTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURY

This involved four excavations within the walled city of Waterford of sites post-dating the Norman conquest.

S98/13

Halpin, A. (1992) No. 123. "Manor Street, Waterford", p. 45

This site was located at the eastern end of the ruined medieval church of the former Benedictine Priory of St John the Evangelist, which was founded in the late twelfth century and was located within the south-west part of the walled city. The work was carried out so as to facilitate redevelopment of the property. Little archaeological stratigraphy survived, except in the north-west part of the site which may date to the high medieval period.

S98/14

McCutcheon, S. (1994) No. 216. "19-21 High Street, Waterford", p. 77.

This excavation was carried out in February 1993 on three properties to the north of St Olaf's Church in the heart of the old Viking town. The remains of housing dating to the thirteenth century were revealed. Further excavation was subsequently carried out on the site by Martin Reid (see **S98/7**).

S98/15

Scully, O. (1990) No. 91. "Peter Street/Bakehouse Lane, Custom House B Ward", p. 47.

This six-week excavation commenced in October 1989 in advance of the construction of the City Square Shopping Centre within the old Viking town. The excavation included the eastern end of the cemetery of St Peter's church (see also **98/11** &

98/7). Here, burials dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries were encountered. To the south-east of the cemetery, the remains of a substantial stone building, possibly dating from the thirteenth century, were revealed.

S98/16

Wren, J. (1994) No. 215. "Greyfriars/Coffee House Lane, Waterford", p. 77.

This test excavation was carried out within the old Viking town on 13 October 1993 in advance of redevelopment. Standing buildings at the northern end of the site were investigated by Andy Gittins (see **S98/17**). Four cuttings revealed the remains of housing dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Natural estuarine silt was encountered at the north-east corner of the site.

HIGH MEDIEVAL TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This included five urban excavations, four in Waterford city and one in Dungarvan, that revealed archaeological stratigraphy and building activity spanning the medieval and post-medieval periods.

S98/17

Gittins, A. (1994) No. 214. "Coffee House Lane, Waterford", p. 76.

Archaeological investigations on this site involved two separate projects; architectural survey of standing buildings, followed by excavation of areas where the ground would be disturbed during the redevelopment of the site as a youth hostel (Viking House) and car park. The survey revealed the remains of a late medieval stone house incorporated within later standing buildings that fronted onto Coffee House Lane. The excavation revealed the remains of at least three phases of early walls and a gateway that appeared to date to the early post-medieval period. As noted above, further excavation was conducted on this site by Joanna Wren (see **S98/16**).

S98/18

Murtagh, B. (1991) No. 111. "Double Tower, Castle Street, Ward of Mount Sion, Waterford - Tower of city wall", pp. 53-54.

The excavation was conducted within this late medieval mural tower during May and June 1990. The building adjoins two well-preserved sections of city wall on the north-east side of Castle Street and to the north-west of Manor Street, in the south-western end of the medieval city. The excavation was carried out to facilitate conservation work. Five building phases were identified and these date from the late middle ages to the eighteenth century. The primary phase consisted of the remains of a gateway through the city wall which predates the construction of the tower.

In January 1990, a final season of excavation commenced upon this site for a period of seven weeks. It was part of a series of excavations conducted upon a well-preserved section of late medieval city wall that is located between Manor Street and John's River. The work was carried out for Waterford Corporation in advance of conservation/restoration of the defences (see also *Excavations 1985*, p. 39; *1986*, p. 36).

In the winter of 1988/89, the Watch Tower was restored. Further excavation was carried out in the surrounding area in advance of landscaping. Eight phases of activity were recorded, beginning with the construction of the tower together with adjoining sections of city wall in the later middle ages, and continuing up to modern times. The remains of a missing section of city wall were uncovered running from the Watch Tower to Manor Street. This was strengthened during the seventeenth century.

The excavation was extended out into Manor Street in the direction of the Double Tower with a view to finding the remains of the demolished Close Gate. Nothing, however, survived of this structure since modern disturbance extended down into natural deposits.

S98/20

Power, C. (1990) No. 95. "St Augustine Street ('Friary Street'), Dungarvan Urban District - town ditch and well", p. 48.

During the course of trenching for the laying of sewerage pipes, a section of the town ditch was uncovered at the junction of Friary Street and Emmet Street. This was followed by a rescue excavation which was carried out from July to September 1989. The fill layers dated from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. A stone well was encountered during the course of the investigation.

S98/21

Reid, M. (1990) No. 94. "Peter Street 3, Custom House B Ward", p. 48

This excavation was commenced in December 1989 to south of Peter Street, in advance of the construction of the City Square Shopping Centre. The remains of a substantial medieval stone house, consisting of a large undercroft, were uncovered. Overlying stratigraphy dated to the seventeenth century. See also **98/7**.

TEST EXCAVATIONS THAT PRODUCED NO ARCHAEOLOGY

This involved five sites, four in the city, and one in the county at which no archaeological activity predating AD 1700 was uncovered. All these investigations were carried out in advance of development.

S98/22

Scully, O. (1990) No. 122. "Alexander St, Waterford", p. 44.

This was conducted in the centre of the western part of the walled city.

S98/23

Scully, O. (1994) No. 220. "Williamstown", p. 78.

This site, which is located in the eastern part of county (and to the south-east of the city) consisted of two arcs of a raised earthen bank that are thought to have been the remains of a ring fort. The subsequent test-excavation, however, indicated that it was a natural feature.

S98/24

Sheehan, C. (1994) No. 218. "Lady Lane, Waterford", p. 78

This site was located within the old Viking town.

S98/25

Wren, J. (1990) No. 110. "Waterford Arms", Parnell St, Colbeck St/Spring Garden Alley, Custom House Ward, Waterford", p. 53.

The work was carried out subsequent to the demolition of this mid-eighteenth-century house which was located outside of the city wall.

Decies Submission Guidelines

PART I GENERAL GUIDELINES

We ask writers who would like to publish in *Decies* to submit written queries with a proposal of 250 to 300 words (though unsolicited manuscripts are also welcome). The proposal should offer descriptive information on how you, the writer, would treat the subject and offer us an opportunity to judge your writing ability. Background information and writing credentials (e.g., clips of previously published work) are helpful, but we are always interested in working with first-time writers as well. If you would like a reply to your query or need your manuscript returned to you, please include a self-addressed stamped envelope (overseas submissions should also be accompanied by an International Reply Coupon instead of postage). You may also send your submission via electronic mail to the editor (currently at gfewer@wit.ie). Prospective *Decies* writers should familiarise themselves with recent issues of the journal and with these submission guidelines.

All submissions sent by post should be typed double-spaced on one side of A4 paper and be accompanied by a version on computer disk (please contact the editor for details of software requirements). Each submission should also include a short (two- to three-line) autobiographical sketch to be used on our 'List of contributors' page.

Please be patient while awaiting our response. Though the editorial committee meets regularly to discuss recently received queries, a response time of from three to six months is usual.

Decies acquires First Irish Serial Rights for all previously unpublished submissions. This means that articles cannot be offered for publication elsewhere until six months after they appear in *Decies*. There is no specific article length required, though longer articles and book-length submissions may be serialised. If we decide to use an article, the writer will receive three complimentary copies of the issue in which it is published.

Decies is only published once a year, so it can be difficult to place an article in the journal, but please be assured that all proposals and unsolicited submissions are carefully considered by the editorial committee. Where an article cannot be published in the year it is submitted, it could be held over for publication the following year.

interests, notably the history and archaeology of Waterford City and County and contiguous parts of neighbouring counties. We do not consider fiction, poetry, travel features, or political and news stories, though previously published articles may be suitable for re-publication. Writers should look for ways to cast new light on well-established issues.

Reviews and abstracts

Please contact the editor if you would like to review any books, maps or other publications, explaining what are your credentials for reviewing the work(s) concerned. Likewise, if you are interested in contributing to the abstracts section, please contact the editor to discuss what publications you have in mind to cover. We do not accept unsolicited reviews or abstracts.

PART II

ARTICLE TEXTS: SPELLING, HYPHENATION, PUNCTUATION, ITALICISATION AND NUMERATION

Spelling

As a rule, we use 'British' rather than 'American' styles of spelling.

Examples:

centre not center
spatial not spacial
artefact not artifact
analysed not analyzed

Hyphenation

The hyphenation of words, composite words and phrases are standardised in the following list:

co-ordinate	post-medieval
co-operative	post-modernist
copper alloy	post-structuralist
cropmark	socio-economic
multi-period	under way
north-east	well-known
south-western	x-ray
post-holes	

Punctuation

The use of punctuation for abbreviated words is standardised on this basis: where an abbreviation ends with the final letter of the abbreviated word, do not use a period to complete it. On the other hand, place a full stop directly at the end of abbreviated words that do not end with their final letter.

Examples:

Mr/Mrs/Ms/Dr not Mr./Mrs./Ms./Dr.

Rev. (Reverend)

Col. (Colonel)

Prof. (Professor)

col./cols (column/columns)

p./pp. (page/pages)

vol./vols (volume/volumes)

Abbreviations of multiple words/phrases: The initial for each personal name should always be followed by a full stop and a space, but in the case of post-nominal and multi-word abbreviations (such as those for the phrases *anno Domini* or Before Christ), all periods should be removed.

Examples:

D. B. Sullivan (**not** D.B. Sullivan or DB Sullivan)

John Smith, MP (**not** John Smith, M.P.)

Séamus O'Reilly, TD (**not** Séamus O'Reilly, T.D.)

AD/BC **not** A.D./B.C.

RTÉ **not** R.T.É.

Take care in the use of apostrophes and use the following examples should any uncertainty arise:

It's a hot day (**not** *Its a hot day*)

I took the dog its food (**not** *I took the dog it's food*)

There are several books on the subject (**not** *There are several book's on the subject*)

Patricia's article was well-written (**not** *Patricias article was well-written*)

The Powers attacked Waterford (**not** *The Power's attacked Waterford*)

The Powers' forces were victorious (**not** *The Power's forces were victorious*)

The Backases were important merchants (**not** *The Backas's were important merchants*)

Several churches are ruinous (**not** *Several church's are ruinous*)

Italicisation

For English-language articles, *italicise* all non-English words (apart from personal

fulacht fiadh
circa
schadenfreude
leitmotiv

Numbers

(Dates)

Centuries must be spelt out in full, for example '**nineteenth** century' rather than '**19th** century'. Approximate dates should be given in one or other of the following forms - where the date is in figures, it should be set out as 'c. 1400-1585', but when the date is written out in full, it should appear as 'circa eighteenth to nineteenth century'.

For continuous years within the same century, always retain the last two digits of the later date, e.g., 1534-60; but continuous dates spanning two or more centuries should be written in full, e.g., 1640-1790.

All period titles should bear upper-case initials (e.g., **Early Neolithic**, **Late Bronze Age**), except for '**medieval**', '**post-medieval**', '**early modern**' and '**modern**'. Avoid period abbreviations such as **LIA** (**Late Iron Age**) since the readership of *Decies* is a general one. However, when using the abbreviated phrase **AD** (*anno Domini*), always place it *after* a date given in words, but *before* a date presented in figures. For instance, eighth century **AD** and **AD** 658.

(Figures)

Insert a comma before the last three digits for numbers in the thousands such as 3,200 or 128,000. Hyphenate words written out in full, e.g., forty-eight and ninety-five. Continuously-numbered page numbers in the same group of ten - except for the teens - lose the first common digit, e.g. 44-7 (**not** 44-47); 132-8 (**not** 132-138); and 15-18 (**not** 15-8). When the numbers are not in the same group, use the following format: 44-57; 132-68; 265-449. On the other hand, ranged street numbers are given in full, e.g., 20-24 The Mall or 111-112 Manor Street.

PART III

REFERENCES

(1. Author/date system)

Articles in serials

These should take the following form:

AUTHOR SURNAME, Author First Name(s) (date) 'Article title', in *Journal Title*, **volume number**(part number), pagination.

Example:

Ó CEALLACHÁIN, Donnchadh (1996) 'The temperance movements in Waterford, 1839 to 1841', in *Decies*, 52, pp. 57-91.

An ampersand (&) should be used to separate the names of multiple authors and should appear between the first author's first name and the second, or subsequent, author's surname.

Example:

MURPHY, Eileen & MANCHESTER, Keith (1998) "'Be thou dead to the world": leprosy in Ireland, evidence from Armoy, Co. Antrim', in *Archaeology Ireland*, 12(1), pp. 12-14.

When a paper or volume is edited, follow the editor's name with (ed.); when more than one editor is involved, follow the last editor's name with (eds). When a paper or volume has been compiled, follow the compiler's name with (comp.); with more than one compiler, follow the last compiler's name with (comps). Each author's initials should be separated by a space.

Books or monographs

These should take the following form:

AUTHOR/EDITOR SURNAME, First Name(s) OR Initials (date) *Book title: which is always placed in lower case except for the first word's initial* (edition other than the first; Place of publication: Publisher).

Examples:

POUNDS, N. J. G. (1974) *An economic history of medieval Europe* (Harlow and New York: Longman).

NOLAN, William, POWER, Thomas P. & COWMAN, Des (eds) (1992) *Waterford history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin: Geography Publications).

Unpublished theses

These should take the following form:

AUTHOR SURNAME, First Name(s) OR Initials (date) Thesis title (never italicised): it is always placed in lower case except for the first word's initial. Unpublished MA/PhD/DSc (etc.) thesis, University Name.

Publisher Name), pagination.

Example:

WALTON, Julian (1992) 'Church, crown and corporation in Waterford, 1520-1620', in William Nolan, Thomas P. Power & Des Cowman (eds) *Waterford history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin: Geography Publications), pp. 177-97.

Newspaper article

This should take the following form:

AUTHOR SURNAME, Author First Name(s) (date) 'Article title', in *Newspaper Title* day and name of month, pagination, column(s).

Examples:

BLOGGS, Joe R. (2011) 'Skeletons found in drainage works', in *Waterford Enquirer*, 11 July, p. A4, cols 1-2.

(and where a newspaper article is written anonymously:)

ANON. (2011) 'Skeletons found in drainage works', in *Waterford Enquirer*, 11 July, p. A4, cols 1-2.

Unpublished paper in conference proceedings

This should take the form exemplified thus:

FEWER, G. (1997) 'Towards an LSMR & MSMR (Lunar & Martian Sites & Monuments Records): recording planetary spacecraft landing sites as archaeological monuments of the future', unpublished paper presented at the "'When worlds collide": archaeology and science fiction' session of the Theoretical Archaeology Group Annual Conference, 16-18 December 1997, Bournemouth University, England.

Unpublished manuscript

In cases where the author or compiler of a document is known, place the source's citation under his or her name. If the date of a document's composition is unknown, then insert the word 'unpublished' where the year of authorship might otherwise appear.

Example:

CARRIGAN, W. (unpublished). Carrigan Manuscripts. National Library of Ireland, Pos. 904 (manuscript vol. 52 [unpaginated]).

In cases where the manuscript has no title, insert a few explanatory words between square brackets to take the absent title's place.

Example:

WALSH KELLY, E. (unpublished) [Unpublished will abstracts]. Waterford Municipal Library, item 30/21.

Where the author is unknown, use the abbreviation 'ANON.' for anonymous. When the author's name and the date of composition are known for the document, then cite it under this name and date as if it was a publication.

Example:

FEWER, Mary (1935) [Last will and testament]. National Archives of Ireland: Wills and administrations, Kilkenny District Registry, 1938 (No. 132).

Note that in this case the document (a will) was written in 1935 but was not proved until three years later, hence the apparent disparity in the two dates given.

World Wide Web

In the case of an entire Web site, then cite it according to the author's name (whether this be an individual person or a corporate entity) followed by the site's title and then its URL (the latter should be in bold type). Use the date of last modification OR, where available, the copyright date range.

Example:

FEWER, Greg (1996-98) Greg Fewer's Home Page. **<http://www.infohwy.com/~gfewer/>** [Last modified on 25 May 1998].

The same goes for citing an individual Web page or file:

FEWER, Greg (1998) Famines and the environment: The case of the Great Irish Famine. **<http://www.infohwy.com/~gfewer/envfam.htm>** [Last modified on 25 May 1998].

Appendix

When this appears at the end of an article in a book, include the full title of the article, its author's name and its pagination, locating the pages of the appendix in square brackets last.

Kerry: an interim statement', in Elizabeth Sheehy Twomey & Margaret Konecny (eds), *Past perceptions: the prehistoric archaeology of south-west Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press), pp. 25-34 [p. 34].

(2. Footnote system)

Footnotes are numbered sequentially and are normally placed in superscript following the full stop of a sentence. Since footnotes are in numerical order, authors' names do not need to emulate alphabetisation by being placed in reverse order (surname, first name/initials) - and should take the following form:

Author First Name(s)/initials, Author Surname (date) 'Article title', in *Journal Title* **volume number**(part number), pagination.

Full citation details otherwise follow the style presented above using the author/date system and ought to be supplied at the first mention of a particular work. Thereafter, when referring to a previously cited work, do not use the term '*op. cit.*' Rather, an abbreviated form of the reference should appear in subsequent footnotes in the following form:

Author Surname, shortened form of title, page number.

Example:

James S. Donnelly, Jr (1975) *The land and the people of nineteenth-century Cork: the rural economy and the land question* (London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 78.

could be abbreviated in the following form:

Donnelly, *Nineteenth-century Cork*, p. 78.

When a given work is cited again in a footnote immediately following its first citation or its abbreviated form, the term '*ibid.*' may be used.

Constitution of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society

1. *Name:*

The Society shall be called – “The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society (formerly The Old Waterford Society)”

2. *Objects:*

The objects of the Society shall be:

(i) to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general but with particular reference to Waterford and adjoining counties;

(ii) to promote research into same;

(iii) to arrange for the further informing of members of the Society by way of lectures on appropriate subjects and visits to places of historical and archaeological association;

(iv) to issue a periodical publication; and

(v) to engage in such other activities as the Committee may consider desirable.

3. *Membership:*

The Society shall be composed of all persons who are members at the date of the adoption of these Rules together with those who may subsequently be admitted to membership by the Committee. Honorary Members may be elected at any Annual General Meeting.

4. *Government:*

The Society shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer together with not less than six nor more than eight other members, one of whom may be elected as Hon. Outings Organiser. In addition to those members elected as provided above, each officer, on relinquishing office, shall become an ex-officio member of the Committee and shall remain such for one year.

5. *Election of Officers and Committee:*

The election of the Officers and Committee of the Society shall take place each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Public Relations Officer

or she shall have previously intimated in writing to the Honorary Secretary his or her willingness to accept nomination.

The Committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members. Such co-options shall be effective only up to the date of the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

A Chairman who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election until a period of two years have elapsed after his relinquishing office. For the purpose of this Rule, the word "year" shall mean the period elapsing between successive Annual General Meetings.

(I) Casual vacancies in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the following manner:

(a) A casual vacancy in the position of Chairman shall be filled by the Vice-Chairman.

(b) Casual vacancies in the positions of Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Public Relations Officer shall be filled by the Committee.

(c) The person or persons nominated and elected by the committee to fill a casual vacancy or vacancies shall hold such office or offices only up to the date of the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

(II) The Hon. Editor may, at his/her discretion, nominate an Associate Editor, such nomination to be subject to the approval of the Committee.

6. *Provision for Trustees:*

If it should become desirable at any time to register the Society with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, or to appoint Trustees, such registration and such appointment may be authorised at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose. Such Trustees as may be appointed shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

7. *Duties of the Chairman:*

The primary duty of the Chairman shall be to preside at all Committee and other meetings of the Society. It shall also be his duty to represent the Society at any gatherings where representation shall appear to be desirable.

8. *Duties of the Honorary Secretary:*

The Honorary Secretary shall:-

(a) record the minutes of Committee meetings and of the Annual General Meeting of the Society;

(b) maintain files of the correspondence relating to the Society;

(c) arrange for such meetings, lectures and outings as the Committee shall direct, and notify members accordingly;

(d) arrange for notice of the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be sent to all members; and

(e) submit a report to the Annual General Meeting on the activities of the Society since the date of the last such Meeting.

9. *Duties of Honorary Treasurer:*

The Honorary Treasurer shall:-

- (a) receive and disburse monies on behalf of the Society, as directed by the Committee, and shall keep accounts of all receipts and expenditure, together with supporting vouchers;
- (b) prepare an annual statement of accounts recording the financial transactions of the Society up to, and including, the 31st December of each year, which statement shall, as soon as may be after said date, be submitted to the Society's Auditors for certification;
- (c) present the audited statement of accounts to the next Annual General Meeting; and
- (d) maintain an up-to-date list of subscribing members.

10. *Annual General Meeting:*

The Annual General Meeting shall be held, not later than the 30th April, at such venue, on such date and at such time as the Committee shall decide. Each member shall be given at least seven days notice of the date, time and place of the Annual General Meeting.

The quorum for an Annual General Meeting shall be fifteen members.

(I) All motions for consideration at an Annual General Meeting shall be forwarded in writing to the Hon. Secretary twenty-one days before the date of the said meeting.

11. *Special General Meeting:*

A Special General Meeting of the Society shall be convened if:-

- (a) any fifteen members of the Society request the Honorary Secretary in writing to do so, stating at the time of such request the reason why they wish to have the meeting convened; or
- (b) it shall appear to the Committee to be expedient that such a meeting should be convened.

In convening a Special General Meeting, the Honorary Secretary shall give at least seven days notice to each member of the Society, stating in such notice the intended date, time and place at which such meeting is to be held and the purpose of same.

The quorum for a Special General Meeting shall be fifteen members.

12. *Quorum for Committee Meetings:*

The quorum for a Committee Meeting shall be five members.

13. *Annual Subscription:*

The annual subscription shall be such amount as shall be decided from year to year at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting held

the amount applicable to that year.

14. *Rules not to be altered:*

These Rules shall not be altered except by resolution passed by a single majority of those present at an Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting.

15. *Rules to be printed:*

The Rules of the Society shall be printed and re-printed as often as may be necessary. A supply of copies shall be held by the Honorary Secretary who shall make them available to all applicants subject to a charge based on the cost of producing them. Each new member shall be provided with a free copy of the Rules.

16. *Earlier Rules repealed:*

These Rules supersede all previous Rules or Constitution of the Society.

The adoption of these Rules was resolved at the A. G. M. of the Society, held on March 23rd 1979, such resolution having been proposed, seconded and passed by a majority of the members present.

Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society Membership 1998

(Up to September 30th 1998)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Strandside South, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

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

The Librarian, Allen County Public Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, U.S.A.

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

Balekis, Mrs H., Apt. 4B, Newtown Court, Newtown, Waterford.

Borla, Mr L., 18A, Adelphi Quay, Waterford.

Bourke, Mr M., 17 Brook Lawn, Dublin 3.

Bowe, Miss M., 36 Trinity Square, Waterford.

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

Brophy, Mr A., 'Bushe Lodge', Catherine Street, Waterford.

Brophy, Mr and Mrs P., 22 Morley Terrace, Waterford.

Brennan, Mr J., 25 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

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

Burns, Ms G. W., 97 Park Road, Lough Borough, Leicester LEH 2ND, England.

Byrne, Mr and Mrs 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., 'Greenmount', Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford (Hon.).

Caulfield, Mr S., 31 Sylvan Drive, Grantstown Park, Waterford.

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

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

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

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

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

Colclough, Mr B., 9 Pearse Park, Waterford.

Condon, Very Rev. E., P.P., Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.

Condon, Mr S., 52 The Moorings, Ballinakill, Waterford.

Connelly, Mr J., 3 Chestnut Close, Viewmount, Waterford.

Deegan, Mr P., 2 Fairfield Park, Belvedere Manor, Waterford.
Deevy, Mr A., 'Rosemount', Killotteran, Waterford.
Dillon, Mr F., 'Trespan', The Folly, Waterford.
Duggan, Mrs M., 13 Tirconnell Close, Comeragh Heights, Waterford.
Dunphy, Miss P., Ballytarsney, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.

Eachthigheirn, Mr L., Dún-an-Óir, Newrath, Waterford.

Fanning, Mr and Mrs E., 50 St Herblain Park, Waterford.
Fanning, Miss P., 1 Railway Square, Waterford.
Farrell, Mr I., 'Summerville House', Newtown, Waterford.
Farrell, Mrs M., 'Trade Winds', John's Hill, Waterford.
Farrelly, Ms C., 4 Ard na Laoi, Blackrock, Co. Cork.
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.
Fewer, Mr T., 'Chestnut Lodge', Callaghane, Woodstown, Co. Waterford.
Field, Ms J., 'Corluddy Cottage', Carrigeen, via Waterford.
Finney, Miss J., Apt. 24, Cathedral Close, Cathedral Square, Waterford.
Fitzgerald, Mr J., 201 Lismore Park, Waterford.
Flood, Mr P., 58 Terenure Road West, Dublin 6W.
Foley, Mr and Mrs J., 11 Beech Park, Viewmount, Waterford.
Foley, Mr M., 5 Woodford Green, Clondalkin, Dublin 22.
Foley, Mr W., 7291 Siena Avenue, Westminster 92683, California, U.S.A.
Forristal, Mr B., 7 Glen Terrace, Waterford.
Frank Bro., Belmont Park Hospital, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Freyne-Kearney, Mrs O., Savagetown, Kill, Co. Waterford.
Frisby, Mr M., Knockanna, Newtown, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Garbett, Mrs R., Benvoy, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
Gordon, Mr J. P., 12 Burgery, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
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