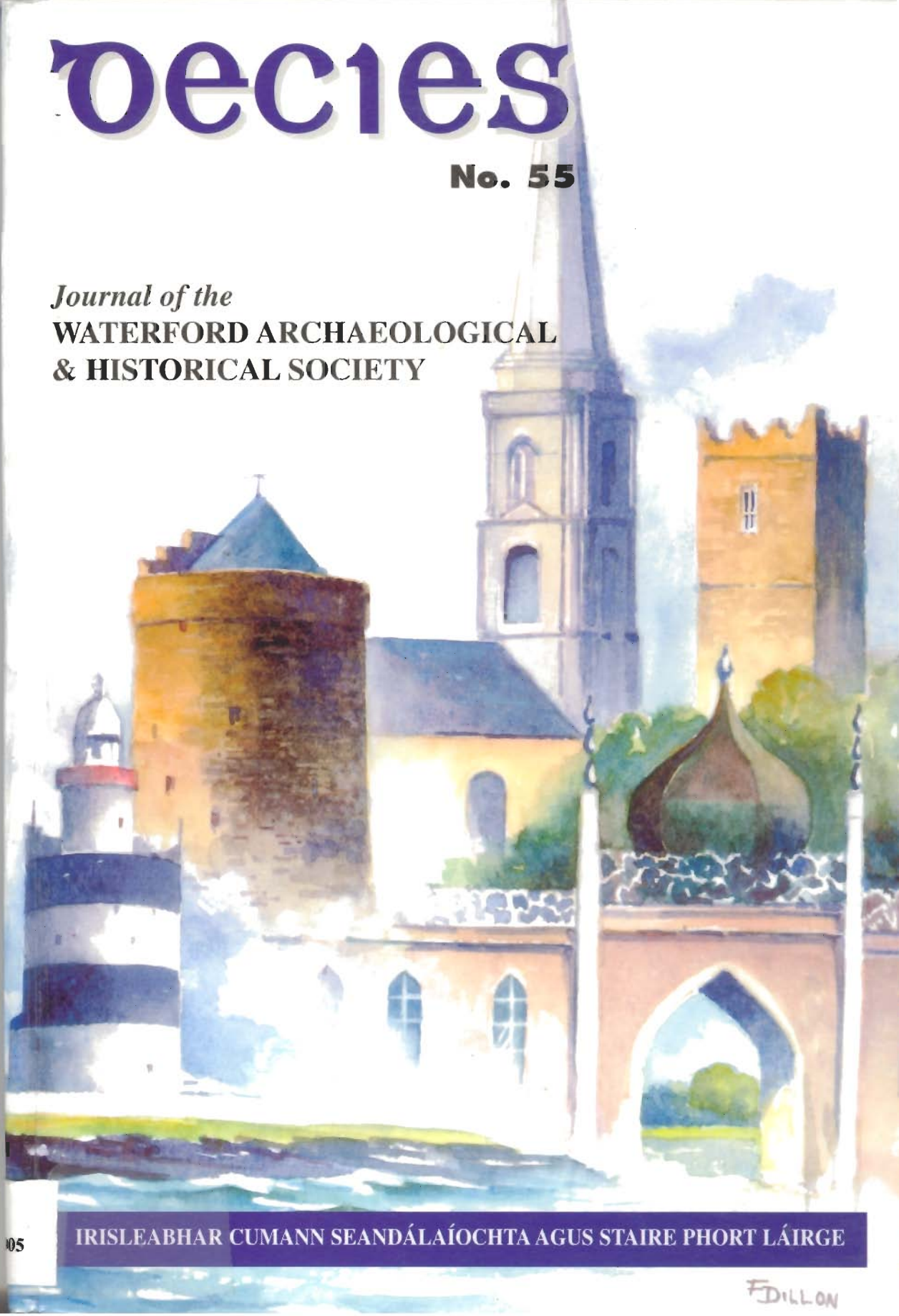


# Decies

No. 55

*Journal of the*  
**WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
& HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



IRISLEABHAR CUMANN SEANDÁLAÍOCHTA AGUS STAIRE PHORT LÁIRGE

F. DILLON

# DECIES

## JOURNAL OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 55  
1999

Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta  
agus Staire Phort Láirge

***BÁRDAS PHORT LAIRGE  
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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Message from the Chairman .....	v
List of Contributors .....	viii
Medieval Undercrofts Elucidated: <i>O. Scully</i> .....	1
Waterford men in the <i>Invalides</i> , Paris, 1690-1771: <i>E. Ó Hanracháin</i> .....	3
As others saw us: a French visitor's impression of Waterford in 1784: <i>B. Payet &amp; D. Ó Ceallacháin</i> .....	17
Some aspects of Lemuel Cox's bridge: <i>P. Grogan</i> .....	27
From County Waterford to Australia in 1823: John Uniacke's personal chronicle of migration and exploration: <i>S. Rivière</i> .....	49
Mount Melleray Seminary: <i>Fr U. Ó Maidín</i> .....	71
List of County Waterford Soldiers who died in World War One: <i>J. Stacey</i> .....	79
Law, order and the RIC in Waterford, 1920-21: a chronology: <i>B. Byrne</i> .....	117
Book Reviews: <i>D. Cowman</i> .....	127
Obituary (Liam Eachthigheirn): <i>C. Griffith</i> .....	131
Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society membership: .....	133
Corrigenda: .....	139

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1999/2000

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## MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN

**I**N 1997, when I was first elected chairman of Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society I felt very honoured. It is even a greater honour to be chairman of the Society during the change from the second to the third millennium – the greatest historical occasion that we will probably witness during our lives. It is rare that a chairman is given the opportunity to address all members of the Society and I would like to take this historic occasion to do so.

Interest in the millennium has been wonderful and hopefully it will result in an influx of new members to our Society. In explaining what the millennium is all about, celebrating a historical occasion, it presents an ideal opportunity to impress upon children, grandchildren and their friends the importance of preserving one's culture and history. The millennium has resulted in an interest in historical events and a number of publications and calendars of a historical nature have emerged. Any publication, whether it be a major piece of historical research or merely a small local publication, is to be welcomed and encouraged; and I would like to take this opportunity to plead with all members to provide assistance and encouragement to anybody who embarks on a project which promotes one of the aims of this Society – 'to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general'.

It is ironic that during this celebration of 2,000 years of Christianity there is growing concern among archaeologists, countrywide, regarding the disappearance of sites that pre-date the birth of Christ. This is to be frowned upon and the Society must make a stand to ensure that landowners are educated in this area so that the remainder of such sites remain intact. Up until recently, superstition ensured the preservation of many of these sites. However, superstition has no place in these 'modern times' and it must be replaced by education. Towards the end of 1999, the *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford* was published by Dúchas. This excellent publication highlights the great number of archaeological sites that remain intact within County Waterford and is a giant step in educating people about these ancient sites. In fact, I would highly recommend it to all archaeology/history enthusiasts. This year presents an ideal opportunity to educate landowners about the historical importance of these sites. It should be pointed out that we are not just an historical society being 'stubborn' or 'grumpy' about this – in most cases it is against the law to interfere with such sites.

While working on a 'millennium project', I became aware of the astonishing amount of old photographs that survive in Waterford City and its environs. One can only hope that when the owners of these great treasures pass them on, their heirs will appreciate them as much as they did. I think that the Society should become active in the cataloguing and preservation of such photographs and this should be possible with the help and co-operation of government agencies, such as FÁS, and the Waterford Heritage and Genealogical Survey in Jenkin's Lane. The first task, and probably the most important, is the cataloguing of the photographs. When this is completed, the project could then move on to scan them and make

them available, as hard copies or in electronic form, to interested persons. While this project would be of importance in terms of history and preservation, it could also be financially viable.

There is a wealth of material, such as photographs and items of an historical importance. We would be failing in our duty as members of an historical organisation if we did not do our best to ensure that these are preserved. However, preservation is not the end. Others must also become aware of the existence of such items, because if they are kept secret, then preservation in the long term will be impossible.

For the last fifty years of the second millennium, Waterford had a wonderful historical society in the Old Waterford Society, which later became the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society. Throughout the years, the Society was extremely lucky to have numerous able and dedicated men and women to lead it through good and bad times. People such as the late Stan Carroll, whom I never knew, and Noel Cassidy come to mind. Thankfully, others are still with us and we rely on their advice and direction when times become difficult. I would be failing in my duty if I were not to mention two women who have given tremendous service to the Society – Nellie Croke and Renee Lumley. Both have given service which was beyond the call of duty, and which will never be equalled again. Mr Fergus Dillon, a former chairman and editor, has also made a worthy contribution and I am delighted to see that his artistic talent adorns the front cover once again, after a brief absence. The achievements of the Society has not gone unnoticed, and the Society gets a special mention in the *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford*, previously mentioned.

Other individuals and organisations outside the Society have also been of tremendous help to us in our aim to achieve our objectives. Waterford Corporation has been very helpful over the years and the help given by Mr Eddie Breen, current City Manager, and former City Managers Michael Doody and Terry O'Sullivan are worthy of special mention. But for the help and co-operation of Waterford Corporation, our more ambitious programmes would not have been realised.

The success of the Society has not been confined to the administrative and financial contributions of individuals and organisations. We have had some notable speakers at our lectures and contributors of articles to *Decies*. In this area Dr **Martin Manseragh** comes to mind. On behalf of the Society, I would like to congratulate Dr Manseragh on his role in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

Waterford Corporation's contribution to history and archaeology in the City has not been confined to its contributions to this Society. Waterford Treasures at the Granary, which opened in 1999 is one of the most impressive, if not the most impressive, museums I have seen and, on behalf of the Society, I would like to compliment the Corporation on completing such a magnificent undertaking. If we take into account the size of Waterford city and the amount of resources, financial and otherwise, that went into this project, we can get a clearer picture of Waterford Corporation's commitment to the preservation of our history. In late 1999,

Waterford Treasures at the Granary won an award for the best museum and I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Manager, Mr Eamonn McEneaney, and everybody else concerned, on winning such a prestigious award. The museum was only in operation for a few months when it won this award and it is obvious that it will be a huge success. However, the opening of the museum does not mean the end. There is much work still to be done and perhaps the Society might get involved in bringing some items back from other locations. Given the religious theme of the millennium, one role for the Society might be to help raise some of the funding towards the cost of restoration of another of the Christ Church vestments, which are currently held in the National Museum.

As chairman of Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society, I would like to address an omission in the last issue of the journal (*Decies* 54, 1998). I would like to now congratulate Waterford Corporation on the publication of its book *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford*. Regrettably, the only reference to this book in our journal was in the form of a criticism. Furthermore, the tone of the article was objectionable to the author of the article under review. For this we apologise.

Some years ago, the John F. Kennedy Trust, in New Ross, began its *Dunbrody* project. This project met with positive responses and was progressing well until recently. Progress in recent times has been slowed down with the withdrawal of financial aid by one of the main investors. It would be a great pity to see such a project being discontinued after the effort, time and finance that has already been spent on it. It has been suggested that given the shipping history of both New Ross and Waterford, a joint venture of interested parties might get together with a view to completing the project and making it into an economically viable project. I would also like to take this opportunity to call on the relevant government agencies to look at the *Dunbrody* project in a similar fashion to that of another in Co. Kerry.

The Society in the past has kept the 'historical agenda' to the forefront and will, hopefully, continue to do so. However, the Society may also have to adopt a different approach in its effort to carry out its constitutional aims. It may now be necessary to become more proactive, rather than reactive, and the time might be approaching whereby the Society will become more active in helping projects such as Waterford Treasures at the Granary, the *Dunbrody* Ship and/or become involved in the establishment of projects such as the one in Seirkieran, Co. Offaly. Waterford and its environs is steeped in history and archaeology and great strides have been made in the past few years, whereby inhabitants and visitors to the area can witness the historical importance of Waterford – long may it continue into the third millennium.

*Eddie Synnott*  
Chairman



## List of Contributors

**Brendan Byrne** is a retired Garda. Originally from Dublin, he spent most of his working life in Tramore and lives at Fenor. His interests include policing in Ireland from the days of Irish Constabulary, through the RIC into the Republican police, as well as the Civic Guard and Gardaí Síochána.

**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).

**Patrick Grogan** is a native of Waterford and a retired civil servant. He is currently chairperson of Waterford Musical Society and a committee member of Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society. This is the second time he has contributed to *Decies*, although the feature article in this edition is his first.

**Donnchadh Ó Ceallachaáin** has a degree in history and folklore from NUIC. He was a contributor to *The Famine in Waterford: Teachtaí na bprataí dubha*, edited by Des Cowman and Donal Brady.

**Eoghan Ó Hannracháin** is a native of West Cork. He is an authority on the Irish presence in 18th-century France. He lives in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and is the Financial Controller of the European Parliament.

**Fr Uinseann Ó Maidín** was born in Limerick and educated at the CBS, Sexton St. He entered Mount Melleray in 1949, professed in 1951, and was ordained (1957), in Waterford Cathedral. He taught Irish and history in the now defunct college at Mt Melleray from 1958 to 1974. He served as English language secretary in the Cistercian Generalate in Rome from 1981 to 1986. Qualifying as an archivist at the Vatican, he began the re-organisation of the central records held by the Order in Rome before returning to Ireland in July 1986. He has published *The Celtic Monk - a translation of the early Irish monastic rules and other documents* (1996) and an article on the sojourn of the returned Cistercians in Rathmore, Co. Kerry (1832-1837), for the *Kerry Archaeological Journal*.

**Béatrice Payet**, a part-time lecturer with the Adult Education Centre in Waterford, was born in France and grew up on the French island of La Réunion, where she received a degree in English from the Université Française de l'Océan Indien. She has been living in Ireland since 1984.

**Professor Marc Serge Rivière** was appointed to the Foundation Chair of French and Head of Languages and Cultural Studies at the University of Limerick in November 1996, from the University of James Cook, North Queensland, Australia,

where he spent ten years as a lecturer, senior lecturer and associate professor of French. He has published extensively on Voltaire and eighteenth-century historiography and is the author of several books on French travellers in the nineteenth century and the French presence in Australia. His latest book, *The Governor's Noble Guest*, was published by Melbourne University Press in November 1999.

**Orla M. B. Scully, MA MIAPA.** Orla first worked on an excavation when in 1st year at University College Cork over 20 years ago. She has worked on excavations in Scotland and in the Irish countryside. She has directed several excavations, predominantly in Waterford City, since first working there in 1984. Obtaining her MA in 1988, she frequently carries out specialist reports on medieval metal artefacts, the subject of her thesis. In 1991, Ms Scully succeeded Mr M. F. Hurley as senior archaeologist in Waterford Corporation. Up to December 1994, she managed the completion of the post-excavation projects, culminating in the publication of the report on the City Square excavations. Her own contributions to the book were on the subjects of domestic architecture and metal artefacts. Since then, Ms Scully has carried out excavations at the city wall beside the Theatre Royal and in the medieval undercroft and garden of the Deanery for Waterford Corporation. At present, she is engaged in monitoring the Main Drainage Scheme in Waterford.

#### DECIES 55

Articles are invited for *Decies 56* which will be published in 2000.

The closing date for receipt of articles is 30 April 2000.

*Completed articles and enquiries to the Editor:*

Mr Greg Fewer,  
'Les Revenants',  
Corballymore,  
Dunmore East,  
Co. Waterford.

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.



# Medieval Undercrofts Elucidated

By *Orla Scully*

THE last issue of *Decies* (1998, no. 54) contained an article by A. Gittins offering 'An alternative interpretation of a medieval undercroft excavated in Waterford'. In this, the author defined his views on one of the stone basements excavated in Peter Street. There is no such thing as a definitive interpretation in archaeology. Like philosophy, it depends on the dialectic approach, the testing of truth by logical disputation. Opinions will always vary, and the spirit of debate can be a healthy one. I would like to take this opportunity to clarify the basis of my interpretation of the undercrofts excavated in Waterford and elsewhere.

Firstly, to set the record straight, all original drawings and site records were consulted when writing the original published article ("Stone Undercrofts", in *Late Viking Age and Medieval Waterford*).<sup>1</sup> Secondly, I must explain that though the date of publication of the book is 1997, the proofs were submitted to Waterford Corporation in **December 1994**, the end date of the post-excavation project. This, coming as it did only two years after the completion of the last excavation of the city-centre series, must surely comprise some kind of archaeological record! Mr Gittins excavated one of the eleven sites included in the report (E343 1986), yet at the time of writing (November 1999), his full report has not been submitted to the licensing authority, or to **Waterford** Corporation.

The important thing to realise when interpreting medieval undercrofts is to understand the purpose for which they were built. An examination of the comparative evidence tells us that they were primarily cellars for the storage and display of trade goods. The entrance from the street, which was **present at the Peter Street** undercroft, was critical to the function of the building, that is, it offered access to the street. A separate entrance would have given access to the ground floor, thus doubling the commercial potential of the premises. In short, the owner had two shopfronts in a single property. The undercroft is only the ground element of a building which would have been several floors tall. Any alterations at ground level would have had implications for the structure above. In the light of this, any interpretation focusing solely on the subsurface components of the building is of limited value.

Contemporary urban archaeological research all over northern Europe clearly demonstrates the importance of the street frontage for trade premises in the medieval period. If one places the study of houses in a wider historical and cultural understanding, in the context of the social organisation and ideological framework of the medieval period, then one has to accept the reason for the development of the undercroft as a street-fronting premises. The development of these buildings is

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1 The drawings for E343 to which Mr Gittins refers were not among the material transferred to Waterford City Archives in February 1998. This has been checked with the City Archivist.

inextricably linked to this model of development. Furthermore, there is no evidence in thirteenth-century Waterford, or anywhere else for that matter, for small basements existing as isolated structures away from the street frontage. Admittedly, for some time in the course of the excavations, we interpreted some of the large stone cesspits as cellars. However, following research of comparative material and the results of soil analysis, it is now established that all of these structures were built solely as cesspits and always functioned as such. The suggestion that the cesspit to the south of the plot was a basement is clearly at variance with the combined evidence from as many as 496 pits (of which 37 were stone-lined), excavated in Waterford in the remainder of the city-centre excavations.

Whatever it was, to assume that it was once a cellar to the rear of a building of which no trace remained, is taking the concept of negative evidence to the extreme. The excavator's attention to detail is to be lauded, but could there be a case here of not seeing the tree for the leaves?

# Waterford Men in the *Invalides*, Paris: 1690 – 1771

By Eoghan Ó hAnnracháin

**L**OUIS XIV was deeply moved by the pathetic situation of the many disabled veterans who had been maimed or whose health had been ruined in the wars fought during his reign. As no social welfare system existed, thousands of feeble and indigent men were reduced to mendicancy. To relieve them, he decided, on 24 February 1670, to establish the *Hôtel Royal des Invalides* in Paris. A considerable number of old soldiers, no longer fit for active service, were admitted to that great institution; the spiritual and medical care they received there was excellent.<sup>1</sup>

Particulars of those who applied for admission to the *Invalides* were recorded in the registers of that institution. Some 130,000 men are listed. The records, which occupy more than 30,000 pages, show the surname and first name, age, place of origin, regiment, company, length of service, marital status, religion, nature of the incapacity, and sometimes the battle or siege in which the veteran sustained his wounds. The trade or profession of the veteran was given in rare instances. Some applicants were not admitted because their service was too short or their condition was considered not to be a disablement.

The registers are now conserved at the French Army Archives in the *Château de Vincennes*.<sup>2</sup> They contain particulars of old soldiers from every European nation, as well as some from overseas, who sought admission from 1676 up to 1796. The vast majority were Frenchmen, but the author has identified over 2,000 Irishmen in the registers. Some of these were men who had served in French regiments prior to the Williamite war, but the vast majority were soldiers who followed Patrick Sarsfield into exile or who were recruited, subsequently, to fill the gaps in the Irish Brigade, loyal to the Stuarts, which was maintained and paid by the king of France and which fought in all the wars under Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI.

These Irishmen – 'the Wild Geese' – came from every county in Ireland. Of those who made it to the *Invalides*, Leitrim contributed fewer than a dozen, whereas over three hundred were Corkmen. Thus, the Irish Brigade was a melting pot in which soldiers from all over Ireland served side by side. It would appear that there was a deliberate regimental policy to mix men from different regions, so as to avoid the formation of cliques. Similarly, Scotsmen and Englishmen in the Irish Brigade were spread over the various companies.

The particulars of the Irish veterans give an insight into the Wild Geese that would otherwise have been unavailable. The number involved is an adequate sam-

1 See Eoghan Ó hAnnracháin (1998) 'Irish veterans in the Invalides: the Tipperary contingent', in *Tipperary Historical Journal*, pp. 158-189.

2 Series Xy.

ple, and it confirms information available from other sources. The author estimates that those who actually made it to the *Invalides* constituted about 1% of the Wild Geese. French authorities on the *Invalides* have calculated that admissions to that institution represented about 10% of the men who got a good conduct discharge from their regiment.

However, that 10% consisted of survivors of a far larger cohort of initial recruits. That the Irish Brigade recruited extensively for two generations is well known.<sup>3</sup> When these recruits reached the Continent, they were exposed to a range of virulent diseases, including dysentery, cholera and typhus. Coming from small villages or rural communities, they would have had little previous exposure to such epidemics that swept through the crowded, damp and unhygienic barracks in which they were lodged. No statistics of these losses exist, but there are some indications that they were considerable.

For instance, the parish registers of Landerneau in Brittany show the fate of some of the Irish soldiers who arrived in May 1690. Between May and September of that year, the priest recorded the anonymous deaths of 126 of these men. Furthermore, from October 1690 to early 1692, he recorded the deaths of an additional forty Irish.<sup>4</sup> Over the same period, the parish registers of Saint Renan in Brittany recorded the deaths of eight Irish soldiers and listed costs to the small local hospital that arose from the presence of sick Irishmen.<sup>5</sup>

A description of the hospital of Saint Antoine at Quimper corroborates that sad situation:

*Cet hospice fut horriblement grevé par la quantité de malades dont les passages de troupes et le séjour des émigrés irlandais du roi Jacques encombrèrent la ville vers 1690. Le nombre des malades s'éleva jusqu'à plus de huit cents.*<sup>6</sup>

Recruits who survived the early months on the Continent then confronted the hazards of life in the barracks and accidents in training. An analysis of French military fatalities indicates that the wastage in a regiment, in peacetime, was about 6% a year. In wartime, the losses soared. During the five weeks prior to the battle of Fontenoy (11 May 1745), the Clare regiment lost 26 men, mainly in skirmishing; this was equivalent to an annual rate of loss of 50%. In the battle of Fontenoy, 65 sergeants and men of the Clare regiment were killed in action.<sup>7</sup> Two years later, at Lafelt on 2 July 1747, the Clare regiment had 126 sergeants and men killed in action; this was equivalent to over 20% of the regimental strength.<sup>8</sup> The number of men seriously wounded in these battles was equally great, and an unknown number of these died in the course of the following days and weeks.

3 See Breandán Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*, (Dublin: An Clóchomhair Tta) chapter 7.

4 Patricia Dagier (1999) *Les réfugiés irlandais au 17ème Siècle en Finistère* (Quimper: Généalogie Cornuaille), p. 16.

5 *Idem*, p 28.

6 *Idem*, p 26.

7 Eoghan Ó hAnnracháin (1994) 'Casualties in the Ranks of the Clare Regiment at Fontenoy', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society (JCHAS)*, **99**, pp. 96-110.

8 Eoghan Ó hAnnracháin (1997) 'The Irish Brigade at Lafelt 1747: Pyrrhic victory and aftermath', *JCHAS*, **102**, pp. 1-22.

A higher proportion of the men of the Irish Brigade than of French regiments was married. Their spouses could be expected to encourage them to quit when their six-year term was concluded, but their regiment would endeavour to retain them, for experienced soldiers were highly regarded and new recruits were hard to find. All of these factors eroded the manpower of the Irish regiments. Nevertheless, there were some disabled Irish veterans who had the recommendation of their captain and regiment, and who sought admission to the *Invalides*.

The author's examination of the registers of the *Invalides* revealed 39 Waterford men. Particulars of these men, translated from the French, are set out in the appendix, in alphabetical order. Each man was stated to be 'Irish' and 'Catholic'. They shared 24 surnames: Power (8), Foley or variants (4), Butler (3), Fitzgerald (2), McGrath (2), Lambe and Lamy (2), and one each: Borne, Boureck, Brown, Connery, Deane (?), Deveroux, Grimes, Kelly, Lee, Lery, MacKarty, Morrissey, Melkann, Molony, Morphy, Oda (O Dea?), Raymond and Twomy.

They shared 18 first names: John (7), James (5), Edmond, Patrick and William (3 each), Daniel, Laurence, Maurice, Peter, and Richard (2 each), and Alexander, Denis, Eugene, Michael, Philip, Raymond, Tobie and Simon (1 each). Nicknames – '*noms de guerre*' – were quite common among the men of the French regiments, but were not popular with Irish soldiers. The rare instances of Irishmen with a *nom de guerre* involved men who had served in French regiments. Only one of the Waterford men, Richard Power,<sup>9</sup> admitted to having a *nom de guerre* – *La Rose* (The Rose).

Fourteen men said that they were from county Waterford, 8 said they were from Waterford, and two said they were from the town and county of Waterford. Fifteen men gave specific place-names: Clamore (Tramore?), Cornisouille, Dungarvan, Dunghernan, Grana, Granguin, Hademstod, Karekelegane, Kilottren, Lismore, Mokronn, Onneil, Romane, Schledy and Wnngerwann (probably Dungarvan, pronounced in Irish: 'Is ó Dhún Garbhán mé').

Only five men declared that they had a profession: James Fitzgerald,<sup>10</sup> a hatter; Peter Foly,<sup>11</sup> a gardener; James Lamy,<sup>12</sup> a draper; John Magrath,<sup>13</sup> a barber-surgeon, and John Power,<sup>14</sup> a shoemaker. Some of the others may have had a profession, too, before enlisting, but the tendency of the clerks was to record those trades that might be of use in the *Invalides*. Several may have been landless men who turned to military service.

Eight of the Waterford men declared that they were married. This was lower than the average for men in the Irish regiments, for about one-third of the Irishmen in the Brigade were married. Two had left their wife in Ireland, two had homes in Paris and others had a home in Abbéville, Dauphiné, St-Germain-en-Laye and Metz.

9 Vol. 10, no. 5259.

10 Vol. 16, no. 20934.

11 Vol. 16, no. 20807.

12 Vol. 28, no. 54552.

13 Vol. 21, no. 33520.

14 Vol. 13, no. 12450(1).





*Main entrance to the  
Hôtel Royal des Invalides*

*Inner Courtyard and Dome,  
Hôtel Royal des Invalides*



Men were tempted to try to gain illegal admission to the *Invalides* because of the excellent conditions that obtained there. Around the year 1700, some 25 Irishmen, all relatively young, gained admission by presenting false certificates; they either bought papers from veterans or had documents falsified. Peter Butler,<sup>15</sup> aged 30, was one these men. It says a lot about the French system that, when detected, he was merely expelled and not otherwise punished.

Younger men who were not seriously disabled were turned away, for only badly disabled men with adequate service could be received. Waterford men not admitted included John Butler,<sup>16</sup> aged 30, who had sustained a grenade injury to his left hand; William Lery,<sup>17</sup> aged 21, suffering from a form of sciatica; and William Morrissey,<sup>18</sup> aged 40, who had been injured by a stone and had grenade splinter wounds. The case of John Power,<sup>19</sup> the old shoemaker, was particularly sad. Aged 70, he claimed to have had a total of 30 years' service and his left thigh was crippled by a musket shot. According to the records, the certificates he produced did not confirm the service he had claimed and he was sent away with a small sum of money.

James Butler<sup>20</sup> had been a cavalry trooper with 10 years' service. Admitted to the *Invalides* on 13 August 1706, he recovered sufficiently to rejoin cavalry regiments on two occasions. The rehabilitation of battered veterans was, of course, an important secondary task of the *Invalides*. The young Waterford cadet, James Lee<sup>21</sup>, who was admitted on 13 May 1700 was another example of such a recovery. Following four and a half years in the *Invalides*, he joined the Lee regiment as a half-pay lieutenant.

Some men survived rough treatment by the surgeons of the time. Laurence Faulou (Foley),<sup>22</sup> aged 49, had 25 years' service, and survived a blow to the head from a musket butt received when on patrol near Tournai. Following this injury, he had been trepanned, that is, a hole was bored in his skull to release fluid that was pressing on his brain. He survived this serious injury for over 19 years and died at Sedan on detachment.

Accommodation in the *Invalides* was limited and men who were mobile were sent on detachment to various fortresses. Twelve of the Waterford veterans died in the *Invalides*; whereas three died at Le Havre, and one at each of the following places: Arras, Auxonne, Aigues-Mortes, Bergues, Bouillon, Douai and Sedan. We do not know where the others ended their days.

The latter, James Fitzgerald, a cavalry trooper, was 42 when admitted. He had twenty years' certified service and claimed to have had a further five years' service

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15 Vol. 13, no. 11819.

16 Vol. 13, no. 10657(1).

17 Vol. 11, no. 6943(4).

18 Vol 12, no. 7810(1).

19 Vol. 13, no. 12450(1).

20 Vol. 15, no. 16988.

21 Vol. 13, no. 12124.

22 Vol 17, no. 21454.

– two years in Ireland and three in O'Neill's dragoons. His wounds – left arm disabled by a sabre blow at Ramillies, a musket shot between the shoulders at Spire and a sabre blow to the head at Oudenaarde – testify to the punishment taken by this Wild Geese trooper. His epilepsy may have been a consequence of the blow to the head. John Magrath, the barber-surgeon, suffered from impaired vision and mental weakness, due also, perhaps, to the three sabre blows to the head that he received when his patrol was attacked whilst escorting forage between Gand and Bruges in Belgium.

Shocking experiences and the great stress of battle unhinged some men. William Power<sup>23</sup> was such a case. He was badly disabled by a cannon shot that injured both his feet, but he was still able to get around. Seven years after being admitted, he was in the rue de Grenelle near the *Invalides* where he assaulted a priest with a stick and insulted other persons. This conduct could not be tolerated and he was sent off to Bicestre, the tough mental hospital cum detention centre, for a period of almost two years. He died in the *Invalides* on 14 September 1730 in his 66th year.

Some of the men were quite literally worn out. That was the case of Tobie Borne<sup>24</sup> who had certified service of 34 years and who died within eleven months of admission. This was also the case of the old grenadier sergeant, Philip Power<sup>25</sup>, who had 33 years' service and who complained of old wounds when admitted on 17 September 1750. He died at the *Invalides* a month later. Most of the other men suffered from serious wounds which caused them continuous pain, and which left them badly disabled. One of these was lieutenant John Fitzgerald<sup>26</sup>, who cited 'Desse' (*Déise*) in his papers. He had served in the Lee (formerly Mountcashel) regiment and he had 19 years' prior service as a cadet in the old foreign regiment under colonels Surbeck, Conigsmarck, Furstemberg and Hamilton. He lived in the *Invalides* for 19 years, passing away on 29 September 1725, aged 79 years.

The appendix gives particulars of a cross-section of Waterford men – troopers, soldiers, sergeants and officers – who would have been quite forgotten, were it not for their applications for admission to the *Invalides*. Their stories were typical of the individuals who made up the Wild Geese. Their short biographies tell us a good deal about the hardships experienced by the tens of thousands of men, who served in the Irish Brigade loyal to the Stuarts.

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23 Vol. 12, no. 7809.

24 Vol. 22, no. 36502.

25 Vol. 52, no. 2640.

26 Vol. 15, no. 17007.

## Appendix

- Vol. 22, 36502  
**Tobie Borne**  
11 01 1722
- Aged 66, native of **Cornisöuille, County Waterford**, corporal of Lieutenant-Colonel **Arthur**, Irish regiment of **Rothe**, formerly **Dorrington**, where he served 34 years per his certificate dated the first of this month of January; his disabilities make him unfit for service. On 21 November 1722, he died.
- Vol. 40, 92081  
**Simon Bourck**  
31 03 1763
- Aged 64, native of **Wafford**, in Ireland, soldier of **Porter's** company, **Irish regiment** of **Clare** where he served 21 years and a half, has weak eyesight. Died 28 December 1771 at the Invalides.
- Vol. 13, 10657(1)  
**John Boutler**  
01 01 1699
- Aged 30, native of **County Waterford**, sergeant of the Colonel's company, **Luttrell regiment**, formerly **Queen of England regiment**, where he served 7 years per his certificate and he says he served 5 years previously in Ireland; his left hand is crippled by a **grenade splinter** received at the siege of **Barcelona**. Married in **Paris**. Sent away; he was given 18 livres.
- Vol. 15, 16988  
**James Boutler**  
13 08 1706
- Aged 38, native of **Grana**, near **Waterford**, in Ireland, trooper in the **Quartermaster's troop**, **Nugent**, formerly **Sheldon**, regiment, where he served 5 years per his certificate and says he served 5 years previously in Ireland; had his lower jaw broken by a pistol shot received at the battle of **Ramillies** which, added to his other wounds renders him unfit for service; married at **St Germain-en-Laye**. On 23 March 1708, he re-entered service in **Lannay's company**, **Condé cavalry regiment**. He returned to the 'hostel' on 3 August 1711. On 9 April 1713, he entered the **Quartermaster's troop**, **Ternau cavalry**. Returned on 31 August. On 30 September 1722, he died.
- Vol. 13, 11819  
**Peter Bouttler**  
11 02 1700
- Aged 30, native of **County Waterford**, soldier of Lieutenant Colonel **Carroll's** company, **Berwick regiment**, formerly the **King of England's dragoons**, where he served 8 years per his certificate, and previously 7 years in **Ireland**; holds an order from **M. le Marquis de Barbesieux** to be admitted. On 14 May 1701, he was expelled on the orders of **M. de Chamillart** for having presented false certificates.

- Vol. 27, 50740  
**Maurice Bronn**  
20 01 1735
- Aged 66, native of the Town and County of Waterford in Ireland, sergeant of Hans Lee's company, Bulkeley, formerly Lee, regiment, where he served 44 years of which 33 as sergeant per his certificate; has many wounds; married in Paris. On 9 December 1741, he died at the hospital of Auxonne, on detachment.
- Vol. 12, 7611  
**Daniel Connery**  
03 06 1694
- Aged 22, native of County Waterford, soldier of Butler's company, Athlone regiment, where he says he served 3 years; his left hand is crippled by a musket shot received when on patrol in the Barcelonnette valley.
- Vol. 19, 27863  
**John Denne**  
12 07 1715
- Aged 67, native of Waterford, in Ireland, sergeant of Glascoe's company. Irish regiment of Dillon, formerly Galmoy, where he served 27 years per his certificate; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service.
- Vol. 16, 20939  
**Alexander Devroux**  
30 10 1711
- Aged 50, native of Kilottren, County Waterford, brigadier of Lieutenant-Colonel Prendergast, Nugent, formerly Sheldon, cavalry, where he served 21 years per his certificate, and says he served 2 years with Parker in Ireland; his right arm is disabled by a musket shot he received at the battle of Spire of which a fistula remains; he is unfit for service. On 9 April 1728, he died.
- Vol. 12, 8239  
**Laurent Faulou  
(Foley)**  
27 10 1695
- Aged 25, native of Waterford, soldier of Butler's company, Irish regiment of Athlone, where he says he served 4 years and 4 years previously in Ireland; his right arm is crippled by a musket shot received at the battle of Marsaille. He died on 21 April 1714 at Fort François, Bergues.
- Vol. 17, 21454  
**Laurence Faulou**  
16 09 1712
- Aged 49, native of Grangouin, County Waterford, corporal of Macmahan's Grenadiers, Odonell, formerly Fitzgerald and Albermarle, regiment where he served 22 years per his certificate; he says he served 3 years previously in Ireland; he is very inconvenienced by dizzy spells having been trepanned following a blow from a musket butt which he received to the head whilst on patrol near Tournay last winter, which makes him unfit for service. On 4 April 1732, he died at Sedan on detachment.

Vol. 16, 20934

**James Fitzgerald**

30 10 1711

Of **St Marie**; aged 42, native of Dunghernan, County Waterford, trooper of Robert Nugent's troop, Nugent, formerly **Sheldon**, regiment where he served 20 years per his certificate: he says he served 2 years previously in Ireland and 3 years in O'Neill's dragoons; his left arm is disabled by a sabre blow received at the battle of Ramillies; also has a musket shot wound between the shoulders and a blow of a sabre to the head which he received at the battles of Spire and Oudenarde; he also has epilepsy; unfit for service; a hatter by trade. On 10 August 1725, he died at Le Havre, on detachment.

Vol. 15, 17007

**John Fitzgerald  
Desse**

13 08 1706

Aged 60, native of Romane, County Waterford, half-pay lieutenant following the Irish regiment of Lee, formerly Mountcashel, where he served in that quality as well as lieutenant and sub-lieutenant, and previously 19 years as cadet and soldier in Surbeck, Conigsmarck, Furstemberg and Hamilton; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service; married at Metz. On 29 September 1725, he died.

Vol. 16, 20807

**Peter Foly**

28 08 1711

Aged 60, native of Waterford in Ireland, soldier of the Colonel's company, Burke regiment, where he served 4 years and previously 18 years in **Dorrington and the King of England's Guards** and 2 years in Ireland; his certificates shows 24 years' service; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service; married in Dauphiné; gardener by trade.

Vol. 48, 1081

**Edmond Foley**

04 10 1753

Aged 58, native of **Clamore (perhaps Tramore)**, County Wattersffort in Ireland, lieutenant in the Irish regiment of Fitzjames, Shee troop, where he served 45 years, of which 10 years in that quality, 4 years as cornette, 24 years quartermaster and the rest as volunteer; is very inconvenienced by old wounds and by gout; admitted as officer on the orders of M. le Comte d'Argenson. On 24 January 1755, he died at the Hôtel.

Vol. 12, 7672

**Denis Grain**

15 07 1694

Aged 30, native of **County Waterford**, soldier of Lieutenant-Colonel Colgraff's company, Mountcashel regiment, where he says he served 4 years, his left arm is crippled by a musket shot received at the siege of Rinfeld. On 9 November 1709, he died at Douai on detachment.

Vol. 13, 10924

**Patrick Kelly**

10 09 1699

Aged 38, native of County Waterford, soldier of Douilly's company, Lee, formerly Mountcashel, regiment, where he served 9 years and previously 15 years in Surbeck, Furstemberg and Hamilton per his certificate; is very inconvenienced in his left hand and right foot by several wounds received at the sieges of Montmeillan and Ath which makes him unfit for service. On 18 February 1715; he died at Le Havre, on detachment.

Vol. 22, 37605

**James Lambe**

29 10 1722

Aged 66, native of the Town and County of Waterford in Ireland, soldier of Heesse's company, Rothe Irish regiment, where he claims to have served 30 years; his discharge is dated 9th of the present month of October; his disabilities make him unfit for service; he is of the number of those sent to the Invalids' company at the citadel of Mézières. On 6 March 1737, he died.

Vol. 28, 54552

**James Lamy**

15 11 1736

Aged 60, native of Wnngerwann, County Waterford, in Ireland, trooper of Frank Nugent's troop, Fitzjames Irish regiment, where he served 20 years per his certificate; has very weak sight; draper by trade. On 11 September 1753, he died at the hospital of Sedan, on detachment to Bouillon.

Vol. 13, 12124

**James Lee**

13 05 1700

Aged 19, native of County Waterford, Cadet of the Colonel's company, Clare regiment, where he served 9 years; has an order from M. le Marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted. February 1705, he returned to service in the Colonel's company. Lee Irish regiment, in the quality of half-pay lieutenant.

Vol. 11, 6943(4)

**William Lery**

18 06 1693

Aged 21, native of County Waterford, soldier in Mahony's company, Limerick regiment, where he says he served 3 years, very much inconvenienced in his left hip and thigh by a sciatic gout which renders him unfit for service. Sent away, he was given 24 livres assistance.

Vol. 13, 12027

**Edmond MacKarty**

01 04 1700

Aged 30, native of County Waterford, soldier of Grace's company, Albermarle, formerly Dublin, regiment, where he served 8 years per his certificate; has an order from M. le Marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted.

Vol. 21, 33520  
**John Magrath**  
11 05 1721

Aged 35, native of Schledy, County Waterford, in Ireland, trooper of Lieutenant-Colonel Coghlan, Irish regiment of Nugent, formerly Sheldon, where he says he served 15 years; his discharge is dated 25 February last; his sight is very incommoded following three sabre blows to the head received whilst escorting forage between Gand and Bruges which, added to his mental weakness, renders him unfit for service; barber-surgeon by profession.

Vol. 13, 12001  
**Raymond Magrath**  
18 03 1700

Aged 46, native of Waterford, soldier of Magguy's (McGee's?) company, Dillon, formerly Gredèr allemand, Furstemberg and Hamilton, regiment, where he served 28 years per his certificate; has an order from M. le Marquis de Barbesieux to be admitted. On 27 August 1719, he died.

Vol. 12, 7810(1)  
**William Mauricy**  
(Morrissey)  
02 12 1694

Aged 40, native of County Waterford, soldier of Macarty's company, Mountcashel's regiment, where he says he served 5 years; his left knee is very inconvenienced by a splinter of stone received at the siege of Montmeillan; since then, he was wounded by a grenade fragment at Reinfels and is unfit for service; married in his own country. Sent away; he was given 15 livres assistance.

Vol. 14, 15316  
**Richard Melkanne**  
03 10 1704

Aged 36, native of County Waterford, soldier of O'Brien's company, Clare, formerly Talbot and Clare regiment, where he served 15 years per his certificate; his right shoulder is disabled by a falcon shot received at the cannonade of Filinguen. On 30 April 1739, he died.

Vol. 11, 6651  
**Maurice Molonie**  
15 01 1693

Aged 20, native of County Waterford, soldier of Makarty's company, Athlone regiment, where he says he served 6 years, his left hip is crippled by a sciatic gout which he got following a wound received on service.

Vol. 52, 662  
**John Morphy**  
24 02 1746

Aged 65, native of Lismore, County Waterford, sergeant in the Irish regiment of Clare, Prosser's company, where he served 24 years of which 16 as sergeant, and says he served 20 years previously in the Fourange regiment, has rheumatism, is worn out. On 3 October 1746, he died in the Hôtel Royal des Invalides.



Vol. 25, 44534  
**Daniel Oda**  
13 10 1729

Aged 62 years, native of Waterford, in Ireland, trooper of Milord Tirconnel, Nugent regiment, where he served 23 years and previously 12 years in Odonnel infantry per his certificate dated 26 September last; is very inconvenienced by his chest condition and has lost his left eye to a fluxion, and his wounds make him unfit for service; married at Abbéville.

Vol. 13, 10191  
**Edmond Pouer**  
24 04 1698

Aged 30, native of County Waterford, soldier of du Puy's company, Queen of England's regiment, where he says he served 6 years and previously 4 years in Ireland: has lost his sight as a result of a musket shot to the face at the siege of Barcelona. He died on 23 June 1707.

Vol. 10, 5259  
**Richard Pour**  
**(Power) called**  
**"The Rose"**  
16 05 1690

Aged 35, native of Waterford, in Ireland, forager in Mannery's company, Greder Allemand regiment, where he served 15 years both in that regiment and in Ougan (Hogan's?) and Hamilton regiments. His left thigh is crippled by a musket shot received at Walcourt, according to his certificate. On 10 July 1690, he renounced his rights voluntarily and was given 15 livres to help him on his way.

Vol. 13, 12450(1)  
**John Poure**  
11 11 1700

Aged 70, native of Dungarvan, in Ireland, soldier of Reredan's company, Dillon regiment where he served 11 years, and previously served 19 years in Greder Allemand, Furstemberg and Hamilton per his certificate; his disabilities make him unfit for service; shoemaker by trade. Sent away; his certificates did not show that he had served in the regiments; he was given 3 livres, 8 sous.

Vol. 14, 13491  
**Michael Poure**  
09 02 1703

Aged 63, native of County Waterford, sergeant of Fitzgerald's company, Clare regiment, where he served 13 years, and previously 9 years in Greder Allemand, and 10 years in Hamilton, per his certificate; his wounds and disabilities make him unfit for service. On 17 November 1709, he died at Arras.

Vol. 19, 29479  
**John Power**  
12 11 1716

Aged 59, native of Hademstod, County Waterford, sergeant of Bryan's (O'Brien's) company, Irish regiment of Lee, formerly Mountcashel, where he served 27 years per his certificate; his weak sight and sciatica of his left thigh make him unfit for service. On 17 May 1722, he died at Le Havre on detachment.

Vol. 16, 20385  
**Patrick Power**  
 21 11 1710

Aged 67, native of Onneil, County Waterford, half-pay captain following the Bourek infantry regiment, formerly Luttrell, Scott, Vacop and the Queen of England where he served 19 years in that quality and as lieutenant, and 3 years captain and major in the regiments of Power, Mount Connel and Quilmaloch (Kilmallock) in Ireland; his disabilities make him unfit for service; married in his own country; has an order from M. Voysin to be admitted. On 14 December 1723, he died.

Vol. 52, 2640  
**Philip Power**  
 17 09 1750

Aged 60, native of Waterford, in Ireland, sergeant of grenadiers, Nihill company, Dillon regiment, where he served 33 years, of which 14 as sergeant; old wounds. On 17 October 1750, he died at the Hôtel.

Vol. 12, 7809  
**William Power**  
 02 12 1694

Aged 30, native of County Waterford, sergeant of Brien O'Rorke's company, Queen of England's regiment, where he says he served 7 years, has had the tips of both feet carried away by a cannon shot at the battle of Marsalle and is unfit for service. On 9 January 1703, he was taken to Bicestre for 3 years, on the orders on Monseigneur Chamillart, for having given blows of a stick to a priest, and having insulted many others in the rue de Grenelle. On 20 December 1704, he was pardoned by Mgr Chamillart and returned to the Hôtel. He died on 12 September 1730.

Vol. 24, 44097  
**Eugene Raymond**  
 18 08 1729

Aged 62, native of Karekelegane, County Waterford, in Ireland, corporal in de la Roche's company, Lee, formerly Mountcashel, regiment, and Butler, where he served 40 years per his certificate dated 4th of the present month of August; his disabilities make him unfit for service. On 9 December 1732, he died at Aigues-Mortes, on detachment.

Vol. 52, 319  
**Patrick Twomy**  
 21 01 1745

Aged 57, native of Mokronn, County Waterford, in Ireland, sergeant of Thomas Nangle's company, Irish regiment of Berwick where he served 28 years of which 14 years as sergeant; his worn out state makes him unfit for service.



*Inner Courtyard  
Hôtel Royal des Invalides*



*Rue de Grenelle today.*

# As Others Saw Us: A French Visitor's Impression of Waterford in 1784<sup>1</sup>

By *Béatrice Payet and Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin*

**T**HE Marquis de Bombelles was just 40 years of age when he toured Britain and Ireland in 1784. During the course of his five month tour he kept a journal recording his impressions.

His stay in Waterford seems to have been an accident. He arrived in the city on the 14th of November from Kilkenny, hoping to leave for Wales by ship on the following day. However, because of bad weather at sea, he was forced to remain in Waterford for a week, and thus had the unexpected opportunity to explore the city and surrounding districts.

He stayed at Curraghmore as a guest of the Beresford family. The subheadings below are as per the published version. He visited Carrick-on-Suir, Passage, Cheekpoint and New Geneva and met with William Newcome, the Church of Ireland Bishop, Cornelius Bolton and Samuel Newport, prominent local businessmen. He even found time to read Charles Smith's History of Waterford.

The account of his travels differs from other similar works of the period in that it was not written for publication. Bombelles simply records his impressions of the people and places he saw.

The result is a typical French *Voyage Philosophique* of the period; a unique, humorous and sometimes less than favourable view of Waterford in the late 18th century from the point of view of a French aristocrat.

## The 14th November 1784

It was four o'clock in the afternoon when we arrived at a small village where it is possible to take a ferry to cross over to the opposite bank of the Suir, upon which is built the city of Waterford.<sup>2</sup> This crossing was very unpleasant, given the awful weather. The large ferry used for the transport of carriages was full of pigs. However, we were very fortunate to find a little boat that took us and our baggage across, although we nearly had to use violence to prevent a crowd from getting into it with us. Finally, we arrived safely in Waterford. I spent the rest of the day observing that the Quay, a promenade and a new street in this town are very good; but that the other streets are narrow, winding, badly paved and excessively dirty.<sup>3</sup>

1 Dr. Jacques Gury (ed) (1989), *Marc De Bombelles: Journal de voyage en Grande Bretagne et en Irlande, 1784*, (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation at the Taylor Institution) pp. 266-278.

2 Here he is probably referring to Granagh. Delays in crossing the river were common during the 18th century. See Edward Downey (nd) *Waterford's bridges*, (Waterford: Waterford News), Introduction, p. xii.

3 Probably refers to the Mall and New Street which was a fashionable residential area in the late 18th century, see Daniel Dowling (1998) *Waterford's streets: past and present*, (Waterford: Waterford Corporation), p. 140.

### The 15th at Curraghmore

As all the packet boats were stuck on the Welsh coast or at sea because of gales preventing them from reaching Waterford, I departed at eleven o'clock to go to Lord Tyrone's estate. I left Thevenin in town so that he could let me know as soon as one of the ships arrived.<sup>4</sup> I was still in the suburbs when I met Lord Tyrone coming to collect me in an elegant and beautiful carriage drawn by six grey horses.

This estate, one of the finest in Ireland, lies ten miles from Waterford. It was granted to Robert le Pichet, or le Poer, by Henry II to whom he also entrusted the government of Waterford. One of the direct descendants of this Robert le Poer, one Richard le Poer, was made Baron le Poer of Curraghmore in 1535. Another le Poer was created Viscount of the Decies and Count of Tyrone on the 9th October 1673. The only female heir of this illustrious family married a Mr Beresford, who was created Count of Tyrone by George I in 1746. The present Lord Tyrone was born of this marriage.<sup>5</sup>

We reached Curraghmore quite early, and the weather was fair enough to allow us to go for a very pleasant walk through the vast vegetable gardens along the river Clodagh which flows through Lord Tyrone's park. This well kept park is possibly the largest in England, Scotland and Ireland. Lord Tyrone assured me that to follow all of the paths one would have to cover 28 Irish miles, which are longer than English miles, each being half a *lieue de poste* in France.<sup>6</sup> What adds to the beauty of the estate in Curraghmore is the fact that in a country where woodland is very scarce, there are around the mansion 1,400 Irish acres of beautifully growing timber.<sup>7</sup>

The mansion itself, although not as beautiful as those of Castletown and Courtown, has a superb courtyard and the interior of the main building is very finely decorated. The previous Lady Tyrone was a woman of very good taste. The most beautiful pieces of furniture and pleasant decor in the apartments are her work. She has also built in a little grove, not far from the main house, an octagonal pavilion, the interior of which is covered with shells. These were collected at great expense and placed by herself during 108 days of work. Everything is matching and well designed in this collection. Her son has preserved this monument and has had a statue of his mother sculpted in white marble placed inside.<sup>8</sup> She is now in the midst of one of her creations. The sculptor was very successful, so I have heard, in extracting from a beautiful block of marble a noble and well proportioned figure.

Lord Tyrone is going to erect on top of one of the hill in his park another monument to perpetuate the memory of an awful loss he suffered last year in the person

4 Thevenin was de Bombelle's servant.

5 Lord Tyrone was created Marquess of Waterford in 1789.

6 A *lieue de poste* - a league, approximately 4km. One Irish mile was 1.25 Statute miles.

7 An Irish acre was 1.62 Statute acres.

8 The sculptor was John van Nost, responsible for many funerary monuments in Ireland, 1760-1780.

of his eldest son.<sup>9</sup> This child was nearly fourteen years of age and promised to be as attractive in his character as in his charming appearance. While riding his horse he jumped over a fence, fell and split his head. His portrait now is to be seen on the mantelpiece in the sitting room, and also in a charming miniature in his father's pocket. It is engraved too in the heart and the memory of everyone who knew this charming young man. Lord Tyrone told me about him with tears in his eye, although I would have wished that he didn't add that the son who succeeded as heir as a result of the loss had become as good looking as his brother. How can there be any compensation for such a loss?

Shortly after we arrived, five or six gentlemen from across the mountains in county Cork reached Curraghmore. Many such idle people spend a great part of the year doing the rounds of the great houses in their province, and sometimes even go to feed at tables further afield! In this part of Ireland they are welcomed with their horses, their dogs and their servants. In exchange for the fine food they receive, and the wine which has to be supplied to them in ample quantities, they support the opinions of the nobleman who has the best table, the best cellar and who gives them the best welcome. This is also what makes it infinitely more expensive for rich Englishmen and Irish landowners to live in the country as opposed to London or Dublin.

### The 16th

Since yesterday we have had beautiful weather, which in France we call St. Martin's Summer.<sup>10</sup> As we are still unable to find a vessel to return to England, I am very fortunate to be able to stay on such a magnificent estate, surrounded by a great quantity of these trees which keep their leaves all year round. The enjoyment of this beautiful season is prolonged thanks to the bright shining sun. After lunch everyone retired to the gardens as if it was the month of June.

Because of the fine weather, I was disappointed that Lord Tyrone did not take an open carriage for the journey we took together. He brought me four miles from his home to a little town beautifully built on the right bank of the river Suir, and which is called Carrick, a name which means in the Irish language "a castle built on a steep hill". We find in this country many places similarly named; Carrickfergus, Carrick-on-Shannon, Carrick near Wexford, and many others.<sup>11</sup>

Carrick-on-Suir was one of the first of the estates to belong to the house of Butler in Ireland, the head of which was called the Count of Carrick before receiving the title of Ormond. Mr de Butler ... is still lord of the old castle in Carrick, and has a magnificent estate in the neighbourhood. The castle which is meant to be still habitable, has a charming view over the mountains of Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary, in which county Carrick is situated. The area of Tipperary on the banks

9 A round tower was later built as a monument, see R. H. Ryland (1824) *The history topography and antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*, (London), pp. 283-4.

10 Indian Summer.

11 Possibly refers to Ferrycarrig.

of the Suir offers expanses of fertile and well cultivated lands when you view it from the tops of the mountains which dominate the opposite banks of the river. The area is commanded by four beautiful castles which are very close to each other. The best kept of these as regards exterior architecture was built by the last Archbishop of Cashel. This seat which is the third in importance of the four Archdioceses in Ireland is in Cashel. The fact that this town today is reduced to 600 or 700 houses is remarkable because it was once the residence of the Kings of Munster. Many of these princes followed the example of Cormac, the founder of the cathedral, by uniting the power of the church and the ruling families.

Returning to Carrick, this little town is populated by an estimated 10,000 souls, even though I find it hard to believe given its small size.<sup>12</sup> Its inhabitants owe to the Duke of Ormond the establishment of the manufacture of fabric of different weights, and of very good quality. Since then they have applied themselves to the manufacture of ratine which is equally successful. Two squadrons of cavalry have a good barracks in the town. The suburbs on the right bank of the river contain the ruins of a church, founded by the Templars, but which was never completed.<sup>13</sup>

On the way back from Carrick, Lord Tyrone showed me on the left, in county Kilkenny, a chain of mountains which give their name to that distinguished old family of which Monsieur Serrant Walsh is a descendent. He has been given command of the Irish regiment which bears his name, despite all the things which have been said against his origins.<sup>14</sup>

### The 17th

Our "Country Gentlemen" departed this morning. One of them was able to save himself from drowning a few years ago by his strength, his courage, his swimming skills and his quick thinking. His ship sailing from Bristol to Cork was wrecked in the darkness of the night. The ship was about three miles from the coast, and he was unable to see it. He took a chance and threw himself into the sea and was strong enough to reach land; the only one to survive the fury of the waters. The

12 The population of Carrick in 1799 was 10,207. See J. S. Carroll, (1982), "Census of Carrick on Suir, 1799" *Decies*, 21, pp. 29-31; and L. A. Clarkson, (1987) *The demography of Carrick on Suir, 1799*, (Dublin: PRIA).

13 Bombelles probably means Carrickbeg Franciscan Friary which was founded in 1336. The building was never finished, Patrick C. Power, (1990) *History of Waterford City and County*, (Dublin: Mercier Press) p. 90.

14 Count Antoine Joseph Philippe de Walsh-Serrant was commanding officer of the Regiment of Walsh in the Irish Brigade. There were rumours that he had no connections with the exiled Walsh family who fled to France in 1691, and was in fact the son of a trader called Sieur Wash from Cadiz. After the Revolution in France in 1789 he left France and served with the British army. The Regiment of Walsh was renamed the 92nd Regiment. John Cornelius O'Callaghan, (1968) *History of the Irish Brigades in the service of France*, (Dublin: Irish University Press), pp. 94-7; see also Liam Swords, (1989) *The Green Cockade: The Irish in the French Revolution*, (Dublin: Glendale Press), p. 62.

peculiar aspect of this story was that while swimming, the buttons of his sleeves were annoying him. He therefore pulled them off, but he didn't lose them as he kept them in his mouth.

I had a great desire to return to Waterford today to see if it would be possible to get a ship, but Lord Tyrone insisted so sincerely on me staying again at his house that I couldn't bring myself to refuse. The weather was pleasant, and we went around his park. Our horses were going at a good pace, but it took us a good four hours.

On returning from this outing we found an excellent dinner following the French custom, apart from a few English dishes which were quite good to try. Lord Tyrone has our best French wines. Lady Tyrone is polite and seems to be as easy going as she is a good mother.

After dinner we played until supper, which is served three hours after leaving the table. In this short interval, an Irishman manages to consume cups of tea, coffee and bread and butter without difficulty. Apples are also provided while playing, and are eaten to keep the mouth fresh. I have often favourably commented on this custom, but it still astonishes me. What one cannot admire however is the extraordinary amount of time that the greatest part of this nation wastes at the table in what is called "good company". This is to be seen even among the lower classes.

### **The 18th at Waterford**

Lord Tyrone would not allow me to return to Waterford alone, but seeing me determined to return there to wait for a ship, he brought me back in his carriage. He also recommended me to all the people who would be able to make arrangements for my crossing, and to make the waiting less boring. He introduced me to the Bishop, an elderly man hugely respected in this country, and who immediately welcomed me in the same pleasant manner as Lord Tyrone.

After taking leave of this honest nobleman, I strolled for the rest of the day on the quay and through the very dirty streets of Waterford. I saw many slaughter houses for cattle which were to be salted. This trade is very well developed here, as well as the export of butter. There were several vessels loaded with this food. One of them was from Lisbon. There are also two sugar refineries, one at each end of the town. I was shown the largest of these where they follow exactly the same procedures as in any other refinery.

The sailors have given me hope that between now and tomorrow a ship will arrive, but if so the wind bringing it in will have to change to allow us to leave. Other passengers share my impatience, and their number will reduce my chances of being comfortably accommodated in a little ship which I would no longer have for myself.

### **The 19th**

People rise earlier in Waterford than in other towns in Ireland. It wasn't eight o'clock yet when the Bishop called at my door, and half an hour later he sent back his carriage to have me driven to breakfast in his house where I found a lot of peo-



ple had gathered. **Mr Newcome** was previously Bishop of Kilkenny, but since he has a large family, all of whom are girls with the exception of one son, he preferred the seat of Waterford which is worth 800 Louis more although it is less prestigious than that of Kilkenny, where the bishop nominates two members of parliament. The **Bishop of Kilkenny** also has the power to provide for his children by appointing them to positions in the church.

The Church is as good here as it is in France and demands no sacrifices of its ministers, many of whom are seen at all forms of social entertainments and at public spectacles!

**Mr Newcome** has only one arm. It is said that in his young courting days this arm was caught in a door and was pulled off by a jealous husband. Since then he has found grace, but knowing who his pupil was, this grace was not passed on, since he had been **Mr Fox's** tutor. This pupil who distinguishes himself more by his talents than his piety looked after **Mr Newcome's** fortune, and **Mr Newcome** owed him his diocese.<sup>15</sup>

After breakfast I went to see a glass factory which has been established for one year in Waterford. It is so successful that it recently sent to St. Lucia alone 2,000 Louis worth of pieces. The isle of St. Lucia, as well as those which have been returned (to France) by the peace treaty of late is allowed to receive (English) goods until the 1st of March next year.<sup>16</sup>

The people of Waterford are prejudiced in favour of everything made here, and say that their new glass factory is far superior to all those of Dublin. I do not share their opinion, but this may be the case after a while once the workers, who are already quite good, will have improved on their skills.

When I returned home I found the captain of an English vessel who offered to transport me across to **Swansea**, a small port on the **Bristol Channel**. I was very much tempted by this offer, and immediately went to see his ship, which was anchored near the jetty at **Passage**. It would have suited me, but the captain who was a churlish rude fellow whom nobody knows in Waterford, asked such a ridiculously high price that everyone advised me to wait for the packet boat, it being safer and faster and better equipped for the comfort of passengers.

The little town of **Passage** covers a small beach between the river **Suir** and the steep rocks which threaten the roofs of some of the houses. This town, five miles from Waterford, nearer the mouth of the river towards the sea, is near an excellent anchorage for larger vessels. One of the **King's** men-of-war and two cutters were at anchor this morning and ships of the **Royal Navy** are always stationed in these parts to combat the smugglers. **Passage** is mainly populated by customs officers.

15 William Newcome was Vice-Principal of Hertford College in Oxford. One of his students was the English radical politician Charles James Fox, 1749-1806. It was he who accidentally broke Mr Newcome's arm, and not a jealous husband!

16 As part of the Treaty of Versailles which ended the American War of Independence in 1783 France was granted possession of the island of St. Lucia in the Windward Islands.

Back in town I went for dinner at the home of **Mr Samuel Newport**, whose family settled in this country after leaving Holland under the reign of King William. The Newport gentlemen are the richest traders in Waterford. When they arrived in Ireland they **first** lived in Carrick, but since then they have settled in a town more suitable to the **size of their business**. **Mrs Newport hails from London**. **She is quite** pretty and elegant and follows the latest fashion in both cosmetics and clothes. However, she seems convinced, and with reason, that the money spent in Waterford is lost. Compared with the **capital of England**, **she finds the dimensions** of **Waterford** as small and as narrow as those of her husband. This very good young man has all the **pretensions** of an idiot. He believes he can sing like an angel, and **delighted me with two songs which** he rendered as **gracefully** as his conversation!<sup>17</sup>

From his house I went with his wife to the theatre where a comic opera was being performed. The main arias were sung by a pretty girl **with a** charming voice, but her excellent talent was marred by her ridiculous **gestures**. **The remainder** of the cast was really abominable, and yet were cheered, the audience showing how little they knew about music when they encored a quartet which from **beginning** to end had been out of tune, and the singers were out of tempo with the orchestra.

### **The 20th at Ballycannon** [*recte* Ballycanvan]

A few priests in Ireland have the opulence of our richest priests in Normandy.<sup>18</sup> The priest in Curraghmore is one of the main **beneficiaries** of the country. As a consequence he only lives in his parish in Summer. In **Winter** he has it looked after by a curate, and so he lives in **warmer conditions in Waterford**. This priest, to whom Lord Tyrone recommended me, **came** to collect me this morning in a fine and beautiful **carriage**, and we drove to **Mr Bolton's**, one of the **members** of parliament and one of those citizens whose actions and undertakings benefit the country **they live in**.

**Mr Bolton** who a few years ago inherited 3,500 Louis left to him by his father, has since then used up all his money to improve his land situated near the river Suir, opposite the confluence of the Nore and the Barrow. **Making** the most of this fortunate and pleasant situation, he is building the foundations of a house which will be charming and handy to all the manufacturing enterprises which he **established** in a recently constructed small town, to which he gave his name, and which is attracting large crowds of settlers. **Mr Bolton** has embarked upon a project not as extensive as that of **Mr Brooke** in Prosperous, and is much more successful.

He is also building a good harbour where the packet boats from Waterford stop. The inn he established is already profitable with the abundance of passengers and their satisfaction in **finding** such excellent **lodgings** either when arriving from England or waiting for the packet boats to sail. **Mr Bolton** will also erect a cotton

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17 The Newport's were a prominent Waterford family involved in commerce, banking and local politics, see Patrick C. Power, *History of Waterford* pp. 320-21

18 It was widely believed in France that priests from Normandy were greedy!

mill. All these buildings seem to cost more than their undertaker can afford, but everyone who knows Mr Bolton, and how intelligent and efficient he is, has the greatest confidence in his financial abilities.<sup>19</sup>

After seeing all his businesses, we went to see another much larger one, and in the opinion of many people one of the errors of Lord Temple's administration.<sup>20</sup> It is a new town seven miles from **Waterford on the right bank** of the Suir, built to house the refugees from Geneva. The housing being built for them will cost one million French pounds. For that sum, the government is having 70 houses built, all of the same design, which will be ready next year. They will be distributed in eight even blocks and will make up a square, with at its centre a statue of Lord Temple. There will be eight streets opening onto this square. It is very doubtful however that it will ever be built, or inhabited by anyone from Geneva. If there aren't as many refugees as announced by their deputies, they will be replaced by workers who can be recruited from anywhere else. That is why they are delaying giving the name "New Geneva" to a place which was decided on and is being built on the perilous word of people who don't deserve much trust. Lord Tyrone, president of the commission which was created for this purpose was telling me over the past few days that if all the people expected to come to Ireland from Geneva are like those he has had to deal with, it will be a small loss for Geneva and a small gain indeed for the Kingdom of Ireland!

Strolling along the banks of the Suir I had the pleasure of witnessing the arrival of the packet boat that will bring us across. The captain promised us that wind permitting he would sail on the following day. I was full of hope and quite happy when I returned to town, where the Bishop was expecting me for dinner. Many people attended the meal, which was followed by an assembly of the **most beautiful ladies in Waterford**, and I left this wonderful company to sleep in **the country** at **Mr Bolton's** where I am closer to the packet boat.

### **The 21st at sea**

Mr Bolton, after entertaining me with his conversation, which is as interesting as his house is good in all respects, brought me at midday to the harbour, and the packet boat sailed away at half past two. The weather is too nice to hope for strong winds. **Our departure** was like a pleasure trip.

**One league from Checkpoint** we passed under the cannon at Duncannon Fort, an old castle which is kept by invalids, and is opposite New Geneva. A little

19 In 1796, another French visitor to Waterford was impressed by the progress made by these ventures at Checkpoint, see De Latoenaye, (1985) *A Frenchman's walk through Ireland, 1796-97*, (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press), p. 66. Cornelius Bolton commenced building Faithlegg House in 1783. However, his manufacturing ventures eventually failed, and in 1819 he sold his property in Faithlegg. See Henry F. Morris, (1992), 'The principal inhabitants of county Waterford in 1746', in William Nolan and Thomas P. Power, (eds) *Waterford History and Society*, (Dublin: Geography Publications), p. 316.

20 Lord Temple was Viceroy of Ireland.

beforehand a young person of rather unfortunate looks had come on board from Passage. She is from Wales and had come to Ireland to marry a young man who had "committed an indiscretion". These marriages are commonplace in England. People travel to Scotland or Ireland where there are priests who are known to marry people without difficulty, and without being bound by law to demand the wise formalities which precede our unions.

We have on board another lady who has been properly married for six weeks to a small gentleman who seems to be very much in love with her, but his attentions receive a small welcome! This lady, her husband, three other gentlemen and myself are forced to sleep in the same cabin. To cheer us up from being in such confined and uncomfortable conditions in which we find ourselves, the captain promised us that we would eat lunch in Wales tomorrow.

The night fell after we met at the sandbar three ships of the King of England. This bar is the only obstacle one encounters in sailing large vessels from the high sea into Waterford. At low tide it is covered by only thirteen feet of water. At high tide any ship can sail through safely.

## The 2nd

We were stopped half way by a dead calm from between midnight to eleven o'clock the following night. My travelling companions of both sexes spent that time in their beds moaning, vomiting and sleeping. I am feeling well enough to eat as if I were on land, and to rest in my berth. Sleep would have made the time pass faster if I hadn't beneath me the cruellest snorer who ever existed. Whenever he interrupted his music it was to turn around in the narrow space in which he was enclosed. I could feel each of his movements, as one feels a cat arching his back under ones chair!

People complain about our great number of writers and their mediocrity. The English, the Scots and the Irish are no less eager to write than our French people. An apothecary from Dungarvan has published four volumes of the history of Kerry, Cork and Waterford. His work has sold well because of the self-pride of the individuals named in it. I read the volume on Waterford, because the reading, however uninteresting, was much better than the never-ending contemplation of the waves and the fog on the horizon the whole day.<sup>21</sup>

This history of Waterford is one more proof that cities, much like people, often have false reputations. The motto of the town is *Urbs Intacta Manet* and it would have taken a lot for it to have kept its virginity as well as it is described in this motto. If in the 15th century it refused to recognise the impostors Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, James didn't find the same respect for his rights among the

21 Charles Smith. (1748, 2nd ed 1774) *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford: being a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical and topographical description thereof*, (Dublin), 1vol., *The ancient and ..... of Cork*, (Dublin, 1750), 2 vols; *The ancient and ..... of Kerry*, (Dublin, 1756), 1 vol. See also, William Fraher, (1997) 'Charles Smith, 1715-1762: Pioneer of Irish Topography', in *Decies* 53 pp. 33-44.

citizens of Waterford.<sup>22</sup> His viceroy, Mountjoy had to force the "untouched" city to open its gates. When the Mayor objected, saying that the city was dispensed from receiving troops by a Charter granted by King John, Mountjoy threatened to cut King John's Charter with King James's sword if the Mayor and citizens didn't obey on the spot. He also stated that he would ransack the city from top to bottom and would ensure that nothing would ever grow again there. Waterford surrendered when faced with the force of this language and the troops backing it.

Charles I had given back to Waterford its former privileges in exchange for £3,000 sterling paid into his treasury, and the old motto *Urbs Intacta Manet* was kept. Some old opinions on virtues in the world are held onto somehow; one never knows how.

If my children ever travel to Ireland and would like more details on the history of Waterford, they will find them with my apothecary from Dungarvan whose book I have brought with me. What this gentleman, who died a few years ago, was not able to say was that this town increases daily in size, and that its trade since the last war has become important enough for some businessmen to amass large fortunes. What diminishes this prosperity however is their taste for luxury.

When I left, the town of Waterford was rejoicing in the news that war had been declared between the Emperor and the Dutch.<sup>23</sup> Ships bearing the flags of Austria and the United Provinces will not be able to sail the seas as freely as those of Ireland resulting in the doubling of profits from salt beef in the towns of Cork and Waterford, where this is the main trade.

Around 6 a.m. the wind which had been weak and blowing from the wrong direction since midnight, turned in our favour, and a few hours later we saw the two lights which indicate the entrance to Milford Haven.

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22 Lambert Simmel and Perking Warbeck were two pretenders to the English throne. Warbeck laid siege to Waterford in 1495.

23 The "Emperor" referred to here is that of the Holy Roman Empire.

# Some Aspects of Lemuel Cox's Bridge

By Patrick Grogan

## Introduction

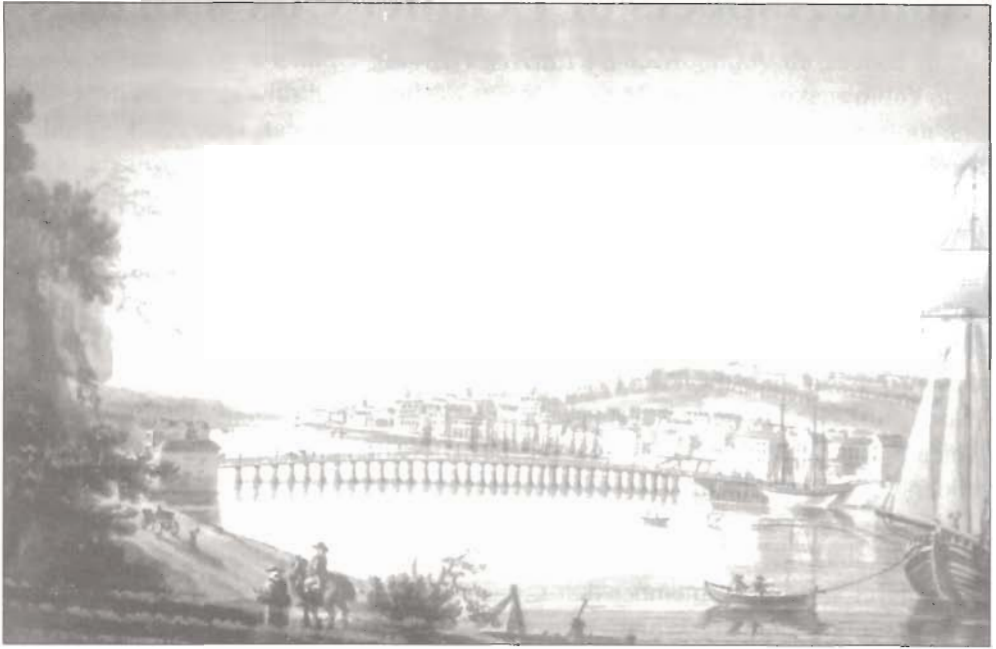
**A**S THE 3rd Millennium approaches, Waterford City still awaits its second and vitally necessary bridge over the deep and swift-flowing River Suir. A campaign launched by Waterford Corporation, Waterford Chamber of Commerce and various business interests, initiated over twenty years ago, has resulted in some progress, but present day predictions indicate that the project, including the necessary provision and upgrading of the Cork-Waterford-Rosslare roads with the Waterford-Limerick and Waterford-Kilkenny roads near the city, should be completed by the year 2015 A.D., well into the 3rd Millennium of Jesus Christ. Many readers of these words may not see the day!

The absence of any bridge over the Suir at Waterford for many centuries may be remarkable, but aside from the physical considerations of the depth and breadth of the river we must remember that in medieval times the city was occupied first by Norsemen, then by Welsh-Normans, then by English merchants, then by Cromwellian adventurers. Operating as a military and trading outpost and with the English Kings' charters as authority the inhabitants saw the river as both the lifeline and at the same time part of the city's defences.

Surrounded by walls it was also protected by the river on the north side, with St. John's river and extensive marshes on the south and west sides. Indeed the only bridge in medieval Waterford for which there is evidence is St. John's bridge. It carried John Street, then the main approach to the city, over John's river and through the city gate. It is the old bridge referred to in a grant of John Earl of Morton dating from not later than 1199, in which he gave to the hospital of St. John in Waterford 'the water opposite the church of St. Catherine (John's river) as far as the old bridge'.

## The Ferries

Waterford however was well served by ferries linking the north and south banks of the Suir. These were at Passage East, at the city and at Grannagh. The ferry at Waterford is of great antiquity and its existence with the rights and privileges attaching to it, had to be taken into consideration in any attempt at providing a bridge. *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford Corporation* discloses that in 1574, in return for an annual payment of four pence, each inhabitant of the city together with the members of his household had 'rights of passage in the Ferrie Boate'. The Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford 1662-1700, edited by the late Seamus Pender, have numerous references to the payment of ferriage. In 1693 the ferry was part of the forfeited estate of James Everard who was attainted for high treason in the 1690 rebellion and who fled to France. King William III



*Thomas Sautelle Roberts  
Waterford Bridge, c. 1800*



*Repairs to Cox's Bridge  
Foreman Laurence Farrell with beard and cap*

by letters patent dated 13th June 1694 made a grant of lands and sixteen Irish ferries, including Waterford, to James Roche.<sup>1</sup>

### Early Bridging of the River Suir

There is no firm evidence of any permanent bridge across the river prior to Lemuel Cox's oaken structure of 1793. No surviving maps of medieval Waterford show any trace of a bridge across the Suir, nor does the famous painting of Waterford in 1736 by Van Der Hagen, hanging in City Hall's Council Chamber. Charles Smith in his *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford*, published 1746, wrote 'Some accounts mention a bridge to have stood formerly over the Suir, leading from the city to the county of Kilkenny, which must have been no other than a wooden one. I have been informed that not many years since, there have been several piles and other pieces of this work discovered in the river; when it was erected no certain account can be given, nor is it known at what time it was demolished'.

Thomas Covey, in a booklet entitled *A scheme for building a bridge across the Suir at Waterford* (which was printed and published by Esther Crawley & Son at the 'Euclid's Head' in Peter Street, Waterford in 1770) stated that the Danes may have constructed a wooden bridge, which opinion he based on fragments found in the bed of the river consisting of some piles and framed timber. Edmond Downey in his *Waterford's Bridges*, (printed and published by the *Waterford News Ltd*, O'Connell Street in 1923) attributes these remnants to 'the temporary bridge which the Cromwellians threw across the river in 1649, when they attacked the city from the northern side'.

Downey wrote that 'a bridge appeared to have existed in 1690 when it was strengthened to carry the army and carriages (of William III) to reduce Waterford'. In a petition to the Crown dated November 19th 1697, according to Downey, John Newport of this city claimed some forfeited land on the plea that he had 'supplied the timber to make up the broken bridge over the river Suir'.

In the *Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford 1662-1700* (aforementioned) there is no mention whatever of the existence of a Suir bridge. In the absence therefore of creditable documentary evidence as to the existence of a medieval bridge, we incline to the views of the Rev. R.H. Ryland, in his *History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*, published 1824, when he stated that 'in former times it was considered too vast an attempt to erect a bridge over a river of such depth and breadth as the river of Waterford; from these and other circumstances we deduce that no attempt was made before that which has so fortunately succeeded' (Cox's bridge of 1793).

1. James Roche: known as 'Roche the Swimmer' from an incident in 1689 when as a Captain in General Kirk's army at the relief of Derry, he swam up the river Foyle from the ships that were held up by a boom, to inform the beleaguered citizens that help was on the way. The value of the Waterford ferry was top of the list of sixteen along with Kinsale, at the annual rent to the Crown of £4.10.0: Wexford was valued at £3.13.4, New Ross at £2.0.0, Passage at 15s.0, and Dungarvan at 8/9.



The nearest bridge to Waterford that we are certain existed is an old stone structure at Carrick-On-Suir built circa 1360 under an Edward III Charter of Murage and Pontage and which replaced an existing wooden bridge. The present old bridge at Carrick was built circa 1447 by Edmund MacRichard Butler of Carrick Castle.

Carrick-On-Suir therefore as guarding the river crossing nearest the sea, and the gateway for trade and military forces from Leinster into Munster, was a fortified town and held by the Royalists under Major Taaff and Lord Inchiquin during the Cromwellian invasion of 1649. It was essential that the town be taken and for this purpose Cromwell sent ahead from New Ross twelve troops of horse under Col. Reynolds and Major Ponsonby, on 17th November 1649. This was duly accomplished and Cromwell with his army of 3,000 Ironsides crossed the Suir on 23rd November, marched along the south bank and appeared before the Citadel at Waterford, above Thomas's Hill on 24th November.

### **Cox's Bridge at Waterford**

After the Cromwellian plantation following 1652 and the ending of the disastrous Jacobite wars in 1691, Waterford's fortunes as a trading city slowly began to rise again. Hard-headed Cromwellians had become associated into the business and trading life of the city and the next century saw an increase in exports from the port, especially agricultural and dairy produce. With the advent of a peaceful Ireland and the gradual opening-up of the country, the necessity of a bridge over the Suir at Waterford became more pressing and in 1786 after meetings of the Mayor, Sheriffs and Burgesses, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the purpose of building a toll bridge. The difficulties in dealing with the ferry proprietors whose interests were safeguarded by 10 sections of the Act delayed proceedings and it was seven years before transactions were concluded. The "Ferry or Passage commonly called the Ferry of Waterford and the ships and landing places on each side of the river" became the property of the new **Bridge Commissioners**, a group of private citizens who had seized the initiative from the Corporation. As reported in the *Waterford Herald* of 20th December 1792, Cornelius Grogan of Johnstown Castle, Co. Wexford, the last ferry proprietor, was paid the sum of £13,000.00 (20 years purchase of the average net receipts over 14 years). The annual quit rent of £4.10.0 to the Crown was subsequently extinguished in 1829 by the single payment of £109.12.6d. The year 1792 saw a number of newspaper comments about the proposed bridge. *Waterford Herald's* edition of 16th May called for the construction of a bridge over the Suir similar to that in Derry and in November a frequent correspondent to the same newspaper's columns Dr James St John wrote proposing a statue of Strongbow to adorn the new bridge!

The Commissioners raised the money to construct the bridge, and purchase the ferry rights, by the sale of £100 debentures, realising £30,000, the interest of which was to be paid out of bridge tolls. The *Waterford Herald* edition of 2nd February 1793 reported that the subscription list for the new bridge was declared full.

Meanwhile the fame of Lemuel Cox, the American bridge-builder, had reached the city of Waterford, following his completion of an oaken bridge over the river Foyle at Derry in 1791 at a cost of £16,594. I refer the reader to Geoffrey Sutton's excellent essay in *Decies* 48 of autumn 1993, entitled *Waterford Bridge 1793-1911*, wherein he deals with Cox's career and details thoroughly the building of the bridge. Resulting from his researches Mr. Sutton was able to construct a scale model of the famous bridge. Two plaques affixed to the central pier had the following inscriptions:

IN 1793,

A YEAR RENDERED SACRED  
TO NATIONAL PROSPERITY  
BY THE EXTINCTION OF RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS,  
THE FOUNDATION OF THIS BRIDGE WAS LAID,  
AT THE EXPENSE OF ASSOCIATED INDIVIDUALS  
UNITED BY PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS,  
BY SIR JOHN NEWPORT, BART.  
CHAIRMAN OF THEIR COMMITTEE.  
MR. LEMUEL COX,  
A NATIVE OF BOSTON, IN AMERICA,  
ARCHITECT.

ON THE THIRTIETH DAY OF APRIL, 1793,  
THIS BRIDGE WAS BEGUN.

ON THE EIGHTEENTH OF JANUARY, 1794,  
IT WAS OPENED FOR THE PASSAGE OF CARRIAGES.

IT IS 832 FEET IN LENGTH, 40 IN BREADTH,  
CONSISTING OF STONE ABUTMENTS  
AND FORTY SETS OF PIERS OF OAK.

THE DEPTH OF WATER AT LOWEST EBB TIDES 37 FEET.

THIS WORK WAS COMPLETED, AND THE FERRY PURCHASED, BY SUBSCRIPTION OF THIRTY THOUSAND POUNDS, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE FOLLOWING COMMITTEE.

SIR JOHN NEWPORT, BART.

SAMUEL BOYSE, ESQ.  
THOMAS QUAN, ESQ.  
WM. PENROSE FRANCIS, ESQ.  
ROBERT HUNT, ESQ.  
JOHN CONGREVE, ESQ.  
JAMES RAMSAY, ESQ.

SIR SIMON NEWPORT.  
REV. WILLIAM DENIS.  
THOMAS ALCOCK, ESQ.  
MAUNSELL BOWERS, ESQ.  
HUMPHREY JONES, ESQ.  
THOMAS H. STRANGMAN, ESQ.

In 1795 a drawbridge of about 20 feet in width was opened near the south bank to allow the passage of larger vessels than barges and lighters. This drawbridge is clearly shown in Thomas Sautelle Roberts's *West view of the City of Waterford*, a chromo-lithograph published in London around the turn of the nineteenth century and a copy of which hangs in the Mayor's parlour at City Hall. At the advent of paddle steamers this opening was found to be too narrow and a 40ft drawbridge was opened near the centre of the river in 1854. Benjamin Graham's iron foundry on The Quay supplied the iron work for both alterations.

By 1824, R.H. Ryland reported that 'the debentures were selling for £170 and the company have a sinking fund already advanced to a considerable amount, to repair or rebuild the bridge as may be necessary. The tolls for the present year are £4,260'. This was a considerable return on investment and may help to explain why the toll-bridge lasted until 1907 when it was bought for the then vast sum of £63,000, and declared free of tolls on 31st December of that year. The investors and their descendants reaped a rich reward after the 113 year life of the bridge.

P M Egan in his history published 1894, the centenary of the bridge, confirmed this return on investment, when he noted 'even at the modest sum of £3,000 per annum; as tolls during 100 years, the capital has been re-paid by the public 12 times over'. By the 1850s antipathy and resistance to the tolls was growing and the subject of a free bridge was raised on a regular basis at meetings of the Corporation; but of course the Bridge Commissioners were substantial contributors to municipal finances and therefore also benefited the general commercial ratepayers of the city. The Commissioners however, sensing the winds of change, reduced the tolls by an average of 17% in December 1852 to general public satisfaction. The *Waterford News*, however, commented on these new rates in its issue of 3rd December 1852. 'The above is a poor reduction. But what about the tolls on vessels, for the enforcement of which we are told, there is no Act of Parliament'? It seems that the custom was for the Commissioners to demand a total of 2 shillings per mast for any vessel passing through the drawbridge. Sometimes a ship's master would refuse to pay and we are told that a number of steamships actually threatened to speed full ahead through, if the drawbridge was not lifted free of charge.

Another custom was to allow funerals and the attending cortege to pass free of charge over the bridge. It is not hard to imagine some funeral processions passing over followed by a number of people having no earthly connection with the recently deceased. The privilege was contested in the 1870s by an English contractor of the bridge tolls, but who was obliged to give way to popular protest. At a public meeting held in the Courthouse, Catherine Street on 6th January 1852 chaired by the Mayor John Power, a new free bridge was discussed. Councillor Walsh commented that 'the old timber bridge should have been swept away long since, being unfit for the present day and costing £1,000 per annum for repairs, being a waste of public money'. He must not have been aware that the Bridge Commissioners paid for the operation and repairs of the structure out of tolls raised.



*Ferryboat with ferrymen Jim Stokes, Castle Street, and James O'Neill, Morrison's Road*

227 Pass over Bridge,  
**ONE HALFPENNY**  
For our A/c.,  
**R. & H. HALL, Ltd.**

*Original bridge ticket 1/2d issued by R & H Hall*

**THE TOLLS, OLD AND NEW** (as amended December 1852)

	Old	New
For every Coach, Breslin, Calash, Chariot, Chaise, or Chair drawn by 6 or more horses or other beast of burden	3s. 0d.	2s. 6d.
Do. Drawn by less than 6 or more than 4 horses	2s. 6d.	
Reduced to with 4 horses or other beasts		2s. 0d.
With 3 horses or other beasts		1s. 6d.
For every Coach, Breslin, Chariot, Calash, Chaise, or Chair Drawn with 2 horses or other beasts of burden	1s. 0d.	10d.
For every Waggon, Wain, Cart or Car or other Carriage, With four wheels, drawn by 4 or more horses or other beasts	1s. 0d.	11d.
Same by less than 4 horses or other beasts	10d	9d.
For every Waggon, Wain, Cart, Car or other Carriage, with Two wheels, drawn by more than 2 horses or other beasts	8d.	7½d.
For every Cart, Car, or other Carriage drawn by 2 horses Or other beasts or burden, including driver	7d.	6d.
For every Carriage, commonly a Chaise or Chair, with two Wheels, drawn with one or other beast	6½d	3d.
The same if with 4 wheels	10d.	6d.
For every Sedan Chair	4d.	3½d.
For every Cart, Car, or other Carriage drawn by one horse or beast, including driver, unladen	3d.	2d.
For every Cart, Car, or other Carriage drawn by one horse And laden, except with hogs, including driver	6½d.	7d.
For every Sledge, Slider, or other Carriage without wheels drawn in any manner	1s. 0d.	11d.
For all Carriages whatsoever drawn in or by any other means than aforesaid	6½d.	6d.
For every Horse, Gelding, Mare, Mule, or Ass, or other beast of burden laden and not drawing	2d.	1½d.
For every Horse, Gelding, Mare, Mule, or Ass, unladen	1d.	1d.
For every Drove of Oxen or Neat Cattle, per score	3s. 4d.	3s. 1d.

And so in proportion for any greater or lesser number

For every Drove of Calves, Hogs, Sheep, or Lambs, and So in proportion for any greater or lesser number, per score	10d.	9d.
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For every Dead Hog	1d.	1d.
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For every Person carrying or conveying a kish or basket, sack or load or package of any kind	1d.	1d.
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Provided such parcels do not exceed 14lbs.	1d.	1/4d
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For every Drove or Flock of Fowl whatsoever, per dozen	3d.	2 / d.
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And so in proportion for any greater or lesser number.

For every Passenger passing over said Bridge except such Persons as shall be drawn in such Coach, Chariot, Breslin, Calash, Chaise or Chair, and the driver or drivers thereof, And the footman or footmen, steward or servant thereof, standing behind same	1/4d.	1/4d.
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### **The Operation of The Bridge**

A gang of men was employed by the Commissioners to operate the bridge and ferries and to effect repairs to the structure as required. An examination of the *Workmen's Account* book, for the period week ending November 13th 1896 to week ending September 16th 1898, shows that an average weekly wages bill of £17 was spent at that time for the running of the bridge, including raising and lowering the drawbridge, watchmen, ferrymen, and maintenance and repair to the bridge and ferryboats. The foreman was Laurence Farrell of 41, The Glen. That constant maintenance was required is without question. The bridge had stood in the swift flowing Suir since 1793 and on final removal from the river in 1911 after nearly 120 years it was found that many of the oaken piles originally 12" square were found to be reduced to 9" square just above the river bed and for about 18" above same, due to the erosive action of the silt-laden waters. When these original piles were examined after removal it was noticed that iron bolts joining piles below water level had entirely rusted away and the pile lengths had been held together by tree-nails of oak, which had been originally used in addition to the bolts.

### **Tarrant's Survey of 1877**

In 1877 at the request of the Commissioners, Mr. C. Tarrant, County Surveyor of Waterford, reported extensively on the condition of the wooden bridge and also submitted plans for a replacement iron bridge with a double opening swing bridge of 80 ft. in width. No estimate of costs was given. In his report dated 9th March 1877 Mr. Tarrant stated "This bridge opened for public traffic in 1794, has been 83 years in use and during the memory of the present generation, I am creditably

informed that not a single dangerous accident has occurred to anyone passing over the bridge, and although during the same period, thousands of barges have passed under it, accidents to them have been very few; three or four may have been sunk through the carelessness or neglect of those in charge, by letting them come into contact with the cut water piles, still such collision has on no occasion been attended with loss of life. The barges being, many of them, laden with limestone, the loss of property was inconsiderable and the injury caused to the bridge was quite immaterial; such never for an instant affected its stability in the slightest degree'.

Mr. J. Ernest Grubb J.P. of New Street and The Quay, Carrick-On-Suir, miller and corn merchant and a member of the Waterford Joint Committee of Management for the new Redmond Bridge, writing in 1921, differed somewhat from Mr. Tarrant's report on accidents: 'I know to my cost that grain, flour, salt, coal, iron etc. were submerged in boats which collided with the old bridge; only some of these goods were recovered in diving operations. In 1881 on November 25th at 7 pm the Waterford and Limerick Railway Co.'s screw tug *Sea Gull* struck one of the north piles of the main span and sunk. *The Express* paddle tug of the Waterford Steamship Co. tried to assist the *Sea Gull* but failed to do so'.

Mr. Tarrant also reported on the condition of the opening span, each leaf of which projected 22ft. He recommended that the six ton maximum permitted load be reduced to four tons while acknowledging that loads greater than six tons had been passing over. In general some of the original bracing of the piles was defective, weakening to some degree the strength of the piers but more than compensated for by the great quantity of timber used. He mentioned that at no period since the bridge was built had the action of floating ice in any way injuriously affected the structure. In the following year however such an event took place almost resulting in the loss of the bridge. Mr. J. Ernest Grubb wrote in 1921 - 'In December 1878 the Suir was frozen from 14th to 25th December. Masses of ice for days formed small icebergs four to ten feet in length and twenty to thirty feet across. The ebb tide brought down against Waterford Bridge immense masses of thick ice with serrated edges, completely covering the river from the bridge to above the Dungarvan railway terminus (now the Waterford Foundry). The Bridge Commissioners ineffectually endeavoured to ward off injury with chains and planks. When these failed they employed the steam tug *Father Mathew* to ram the ice before it reached the bridge in overwhelming quantity and by breaking it into smaller pieces it floated harmlessly through, thus probably saving the bridge from the fate of the Lemuel Cox wooden bridge at New Ross which had been destroyed by ice-floes in 1867'.

Mr. J. Ernest Grubb of Carrick-On-Suir was the owner of the steam tug which he purchased in 1878 in Liverpool and which came across the Irish Sea under her own power and into the Suir estuary. He named her *Father Mathew* after the famous temperance reformer for whom he had a great admiration. The people of Carrick knew that the *Father Mathew* would not tow a barge containing barrels of beer or porter, as Mr. Grubb refused to have anything to do with the transportation

of intoxicating liquor despite the considerable financial loss involved. In December 1878, during the extremely severe weather of that month, many miles of the Stuir between Waterford and Carrick were thinly frozen and the ebb and flow of the tide combined with strong winds caused the ice to pile in miniature icebergs which floated down and became jammed against the bridge and above it. The *Father Mathew* and some of Grubb's barges had their bows sheathed with plates. Mr. Grubb himself was on board when his tug towing a barge, tried to force a passage through the ice. Another tug similarly employed failed in the attempt, but after a struggle of about three quarters of an hour, and amid the cheers of many spectators on the bridge and banks the *Father Mathew* cut her way through, breaking the ice-jam and enabling river traffic to proceed as usual.

Another heavy frost and snowfall in January 1881 caused similar problems for Waterford bridge and river traffic. The *Father Mathew* was hired to the Bridge Commissioners and Mr. Grubb therefore had to be in Waterford almost every day. His diary for January 27th 1881 records 'Left Carrick per car for Waterford at 5.30 am. Extraordinarily slippery. Left Waterford in *Father Mathew* at 8 am with No. 5 (barge) in tow and crew of 4 men. Tied No. 5 at bridge and spent 1½ hours cutting passage through ice from bridge to bridge buoys; brought boat safely through. Spent until 11 am vainly trying to cut passage through ice at Grannagh but failed - fearing damage to propeller when reversing, brought boat back to Waterford . . . Ice at Grannagh strong enough to bear horse and loaded cart and firmly fixed on each shore. . . P. Kerwick walked on ice at Grannagh. I myself stood on it in the middle of the river'.

Thomas Newenham Harvey, printer and stationer of 55, The Quay and Great George's Street, in his autobiography of 1904, corroborated this information - 'December 1878 was remarkably cold - the minimum thermometer going below 27° on seventeen consecutive nights, several of them to below 20°. The winter of 1866-67 had also been very severe and the river Barrow had frozen so solid that there was dancing on the ice at Graiguenamanagh. Ice floes moved down river on the ebb and piled up against the wooden piers of Cox's bridge at New Ross. In January 1867, the old structure, previously damaged by a severe frost in 1814, was swept away, having served the town for 71 years.'

### Bridge Maintenance

Mr. Tarrant's report of 1877 on Waterford Bridge mentioned 'the constant supervision, repairs and renewals amounting to a considerable sum each year and which had been steadily increasing since 1853 and an increased and increasing traffic had caused a corresponding outlay to maintain the structure. Upward of £20,000 had been expended in maintenance during the past 23 years and adding to that for the past nine years the cost of lighting the bridge and the cost of yard and storage for materials amounting of £9,722, thus costing for maintenance upwards of £1,000 per annum and may be taken for the future from £1,100 to £1,200 for annual maintenance alone'. Mr. Tarrant commended your very efficient Superintendent of Works Mr. George McClelland, who with the assistance of the ample and compe-





*Laurence Farrell, c. 1905*

tent staff of artificers and workmen under him permit no defect to remain longer than it can be fairly attended to and made good'.

We will now take a closer look at the details of bridge maintenance and repairs. An examination of the *Workman's Account* book for week ending May 21st 1897 written in foreman Laurence Farrell's hand show complement of three carpenters, four labourers, four watchmen, six ferrymen and Laurence Farrell himself, who received a salary of two guineas per week at this time. Carpenters were paid a daily rate of 4s/8d, 4s/4d and 4s/-, while labourers were paid 2s/6d per day; watchmen from 16s/- to 14s/- per week and ferrymen at the rate of 16s/4d per week. (Incidentally Superintendent George McClelland, who resided in 36, Catherine Street, received in salary and expenses for the year ended 31st December 1889 a total of £873.11.3).

A look at carpenter James Long's *Time Book* for the same week ending 21st May 1897 shows actual details of work done; consisting mainly of the procedures involved with the replacement of damaged or decayed piles at piers 19, 28 and 25 of the bridge.

**Saturday 15th May, 1897 - J. J. Long 1 day, W. Power 1 day, J. Kane 1 day**

Cross-cutting head of pile at 19 pier - 2 west. Putting chains around piles and wedging 18 feet of nosing, 22 feet of new moulding, 22 feet of skirting. Shifting beam back into stores, fastening pathway planks and floor over beam, gone over pathways.

**Monday 17th May,** J. Long 1 day, W. Power 1 day, T. Kennedy 1/4 day at bridge, 3/4 day painting ferryboat.

Fixing scaffolds 19 pier up river and boring and bolting head of new pile 19 pier 2 west. Putting chains around heads of piles 18 pier, boring, bolting and fitting chocks between cap and post 18 pier 2 east. Tarring and stopping mortis in beam 18 to 19. 1 bolt in Waterford end; taking off chains of piles and bringing back to stores.

**Tuesday 18th May, J. Long 1 day, W. Power 1 day, T. Kennedy 1 day** painting and tarring ferryboat. Shifting scaffolds to 19 pier down-river. Shifting scaffolds to 28 pier up-river. Getting head of post in place at 19 pier 2 east, fitting chock between cap and post, boring and bolting head of pile, fitting chock on head of post at 19 pier 2 west. Tarring head of post, bringing chains and all gear back to stores.

**Wednesday 19th May, J. Long 1 1/4 days, W. Power 1 1/4 days, T. Kennedy 1 1/4 days.**

Removing pile from stores, launching, placing winches and lifting pile 28 pier and erecting piling machine and driving pile 59 feet long. Taking down machines and bringing back all gear to stores. Fixing pathway and floor over piles.

**Thursday 20th May, J. Long 1 1/4 days, W. Power 1 1/4 days, T. Kennedy 1 1/4 days.**

Shifting pile from stores and launching. Placing winches and lifting pile 28 pier 2 west. Erecting piling machine and driving pile 61 feet long. Taking down machine and bringing to stores and quay. Drawing spikes and bolts out of beam and shifting to adjacent pile. Refixed floor, placing barricade around piles and shifting scaffolds.

9 <sup>th</sup> (May 1897)		10 <sup>th</sup>	
J. Long 1 1/2 day	Placing Piling Machine & driving pile at 18 Pier 5 1/2 feet long 2. East	J. Long 1 day	Drawing spikes out of joys & bolts out of old beams taking down
W. Power 1 1/2 day	taking down machine & bringing back to store & all gear fixed	W. Power 1 day	old beams & putting up new beams 2 1/2 feet 18 to 19 joys - Pathway
J. Kane 1 1/2 day	Pathway & floor over new pile placing barracks around pile.	J. Kane 1 day	over new beams & shifting scaffold 18 pier
Total Weeks Work J. Long 6 1/4 days W. Power 6 1/4 days J. Kane 6 1/4 days 3 hours		11 <sup>th</sup>	
J. Long 1 day	6 New Pathway Planks 2 x 16 - 10 - New joys	J. Long 1 day	3 new Pathway Planks 16 feet each long drawing spikes out of joys & bolts out of old beams 17 to 18 1/2 east
W. Power 1 day	2 x 16 - 6 to joys placed	W. Power 1 day	2 1/2 feet long repairs Pathway over old beam & shifting shifting scaffold & landing old beams on deck
J. Kane 1 day	2 x 8 - 6 to joys repairing Pathway over temporary beams	J. Kane 1 day	

12 <sup>th</sup>		14 <sup>th</sup> (May 1897)	
J. Long 1 day	Partly drawn spikes out of old beams 17 & 18 taking down old beam & putting up new beams 17 to 18 - 2 1/2 feet long 1 1/2 east with 10 joys clap around Pathway Post 18 pier fasten Pathway over new beams	J. Long 1 1/2 day	Drawing spikes & bolts out of beams 18 to 19 Placing wisches & Attuning Pile 5 1/2 feet long 2 west & driving filed erecting Piling Machine & taking down & bringing back all gear to store joys floor over beams
W. Power 1 day		W. Power 1 1/2 day	
J. Kane 1 day		J. Kane 1 1/2 day	
13 <sup>th</sup>		Total week work	
J. Long 1 day	taking out old joys & spikes prepared & fixed 6 new ones	J. Long 6 1/4 days	
W. Power 1 day	10 new joys spike taking back under new joys & fastening	W. Power 6 1/4 days	
J. Kane 1 day	Pathway over new joys joys & shifting & moulding it	J. Kane 6 1/4 days	

Extracts from James Long's Timebook.

**Friday 21st May**, J. Long 1 1/4 days, W. Power 1 1/4 days, T. Kennedy 1 1/4 days, taking pile from stores and launching. Placing winches and lifting pile 52 feet long. Erecting piling machines and driving pile 35 pier, 2 west. Taking down machines and bringing back all gear to stores. Fixing floor over new pile.

Total week's work	James Long 6 3/4 days	-	£1. 11. 6d
	W. Power 6 3/4 days	-	£ 16. 10 1/2d.
	T. Kennedy 6 3/4 days	-	£ 16. 10 1/2d.
			£3. 5. 3d.

It is apparent that the Waterford Bridge Commissioners were getting excellent value for work done in maintaining a very valuable asset.

### Balance Sheet - Waterford Bridge Commissioners 1896

The financial balance sheet for 1896 of the company shows that despite net maintenance costs on the bridge of £1,475.12.4d. the overall financial situation was healthy with a profit reserve of £2,008.13.1d. at year end. It is noteworthy that the Rates Presentment was £465 and the Poor Rate paid was £450, making the Bridge Commissioners significant contributors to municipal finances. Bridge tolls for that year amounted to £6,773 net (after deduction of profits by contractor), while interest on investments of £9,095 in various stocks (including railways) amounts to £356.0.6d. Even the contractor security bond was invested separately; it accrued interest of £13.5.9d. for 1896. Investors of course continued to receive £3,600 in dividends which was 12% per annum on each £100 debenture.

### Vessels Passing Through Bridge

An examination of the logbook of *Vessels passing through bridge in the period March 31st 1899 to October 1st 1901*, reveals that 1,440 vessels passed through the drawbridge, either up river or down river, being an average of 12 per week. This would not include the many hundreds of lighters and barges, which passed through the arches on both sides of the drawbridge. The majority were steamships at 73% of total. The same vessels were logged on a regular basis passing up and down. *S.S. Christina, S.S. Magnus Barford, S.S. Staghound, S.S. Reveil*. It was the practice for vessels to pass through at high tide hour or nearest.

Laurence Farrell's observations in the log-book recorded any unusual incident - for instance on 13th May 1899 when *S.S. Catherine* whistled at 11.40 am to be allowed through (the drawbridge being raised at 12 noon) the comment was 'Mr. Kehoe's Carrick lighter was across the drawbridge up stream when vessel whistled and was taken off by tug *Fr. Mathew*'. Most vessels passed through without incident but sailing vessels sometimes struck the structure, as is recorded for Sunday 4th June 1889 when schooner *Helen Mar* passed up. 'Vessel's starboard fore brace fouled end of meeting rail. The strain broke one cog in quadrant' (part of iron-work in opening span). On 21st February 1890 at 12.55 pm schooner *Catherine*

Date	Name of Vessel	No. of Nokes Received	Per Whom	Down Ballast	Dr. Low	Time Discharged	Up or Down	No. of Men Present	Observations	Tide
Oct	155 Revell	11.30 a.m.	for Opsw	11.30 a.m.	11.30	6	down	8	Side Room	Low
	155 Acoma	7.7 "	Same	7.7 "	7.11	4	down	8	"	Low
	155 Clayton	7.55 "	Whittle	7.55 "	7.40	6	up	8	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	12.5 "	for Opsw	12.5 "	12.10	6	down	8	"	Low
	155 Talbot	8.50 a.m.	Whittle	8.50 a.m.	8.35	6	up	8	"	Low
	155 Talbot	2.0 P.M.	for Opsw	2.0 P.M.	1.45	6	down	8	Side Room	Low
	155 Christina	5.5 "	Same	5.5 "	5.17	12	up	6	"	Low
	155 Clayton	5.30 "	Whittle	5.30 "	5.22	4	down	6	"	Low
	155 Talbot	8.10 a.m.	Same	8.10 a.m.	8.21	6	down	6	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	4.30 P.M.	for Opsw	4.30 P.M.	4.35	6	up	6	"	Low
Nov	155 Clayton	2.30 "	Same	2.30 "	2.35	5	up	6	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	3.0 "	Do	3.0 "	3.5	5	up	8	"	Low
	155 Christina	7.80 a.m.	Whittle	7.30 a.m.	7.34	4	down	8	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	8.2 "	Same	8.2 "	8.7	5	down	8	"	Low
	155 Sealife	9.10 "	for Opsw	9.20 "	9.25	5	up	12	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	7.40 a.m.	Whittle	7.20 a.m.	7.45	5	up	8	Men present	Low
	155 Christina	10.30 "	Had Opsw	10.30 "	10.35	5	up	8	Side Room	Low
	155 Stag Head	12.6 P.M.	for "	12.6 P.M.	12.28	12	up	8	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	4.50 "	Same	4.50 "	4.54	4	down	8	"	Low
	155 Clayton	7.10 a.m.	Whittle	7.40 a.m.	7.45	5	up	6	Men present	Low
Dec	155 Christina	9.55 "	Same	9.55 "	10.0	5	down	6	Side Room	Low
	155 Talbot	11.50 "	for Opsw	11.50 "	11.53	6	up	5	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	8.55 "	Whittle	8.55 "	9.0	5	up	8	"	Low
	155 Clayton	12.30 P.M.	for Opsw	12.30 P.M.	12.35	5	down	8	"	Low
	155 Maythorn	12.30 P.M.	Same	12.30 P.M.	12.35	16	up	8	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	8.50 a.m.	Do	8.50 "	8.57	7	down	8	"	Low
	155 Stag Head	10.25 "	Same	10.25 "	10.34	9	down	8	"	Low
	155 Harna	3.55 P.M.	for Opsw	3.55 P.M.	4.0	5	up	8	"	Low
	155 Sealife	12.6 "	Same	12.6 "	12.7	2	down	8	Side Room this vessel only, Burke engine	Low
	155 Sealife	12.6 "	Same	12.6 "	12.7	2	down	8	"	Low

Sample sheet from Vessels passing through Bridge.

*Mary* at the high tide 'failed to enter, came gently across bridge up-stream'. Her second attempt on 23rd February at 2.10 pm to pass downstream was successful. The *S.S. Bessie* at 1.55 pm (the tide hour) on 18th July 1890 passing down 'ran into bridge and broke beam between 16 and 17 piers, and then backed out'. She safely passed through at 2.45 pm same day, nine minutes after tide hour. Both balance sheets available for the company show items of expenditure caused by vessels striking the bridge.

The river Suir was navigable for sailing vessels and small steamers to Fiddown and beyond. Goods that came in larger vessels were often transferred to barges at Waterford Quays, which were towed to Carrick, many by the tug boat *Father Mathew*. Many of the large flat-bottomed barges with loads of 50 tons were propelled by sweeps and oars and helped by the tide and sails; they took one or two tides to reach Carrick. Navigation by smaller sea-going vessels beyond Fiddown was also possible, for in 1836 a short canal was made through the reef of rocks below Carrick. Besides his grain and milling business J. Ernest Grubb was chairman and principal shareholder in the River Suir Navigation Co. which operated the barges. Between Carrick and Clonmel, it was a more difficult operation. Loads of up to 40 tons were hauled by teams of eleven or twelve horses from the river bank, accompanied by teams of four men, with two men in each of two barges. The journey took about 6 hours but only if river and weather conditions were favourable.

The principal articles brought up-river by boat were coal, grain, flour, feeding stuffs, artificial manures, foreign timber, shop goods, hardware and farm implements, whilst down river went oats, condensed milk, wool, eggs, fruit, honey, native timber, willows for basket making etc. Coal of course was imported in quantity for the Waterford and Limerick Railway Co. and the Waterford - Dungarvan and Lismore Railway Co. and discharged at the jetties above the bridge at Newrath and Bilberry.

### Shareholders

According to dividend warrants on debentures for half year ending 31st December 1888, there appeared to have been 120 shareholders who between them shared £1,800 in dividends. Interest on dividends was at 12% per annum for many years and also for the last year of payment 31st December 1907. The 'Register of Waterford Bridge Proprietors' dated 1894 and one hundred years after the payment of the first dividend, lists many of the landed and merchant family names of Waterford and district, namely Atkins of Weston, Newtown; Rev. Burkitt, The Rectory, Cappoqui; Henry Bell, 62, The Quay and Summerville House; Charles Edward Denny of Maypark; Most Rev. Henry S. O'Hara, The Palace, Waterford; Edward and Mary Deevy, John's Hill; William and Henry Gallwey, Rockfield, Tramore; William Davis Goff of Glenville; Charles James Hill of King Street; Thomas Newenham Harvey, 12, Gladstone St.; Francis and Octavia Jacob, Rockvilla, Newtown; William, Isabella and Louisa King of Mount Pleasant House, Grantstown; William Lewis Mackesy M.B. and George Ivie Mackesy

No 624

Waterford, 6<sup>th</sup> January 1885

To the Managers of  
 The Provincial Bank of Ireland, Limited.  
 Pay to Mr Clelland or order

Eighty two pounds **PAID** and two pence


To the Waterford Bridge Commissioners.

82 : 15 : 2

Charles Ambrose Secretary

Edmund Jacob Comm<sup>r</sup>


Monthly salary, G. McClelland, Superintendent of Bridge

WATERFORD BRIDGE COMMISSIONERS. 

DIVIDEND WARRANT ON DEBENTURES FOR HALF-YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1899.

No. 1 Waterford, 1st February, 1900. 26


To the Manager of the PROVINCIAL BANK OF IRELAND, Waterford.

Pay to Joshua G. Strangman Esq or Order, 

the Sum of Six pounds

Edmund Jacob Commissioners.

J. N. Harney Secretary.

Signature of Proprietor 

This Warrant is issued at the risk and for the convenience of the Proprietors (holders herein named)

N.B. - The Bondholders are instructed not to pay this Warrant unless it be signed by the Proprietor or his authorised Agent where marked thus (\*), and the Warrant must be presented within three months of its date.

Dividend warrant cheque - half year (1899), one share Joshua G. Strangman was secretary to Commissioners

M.B. of Lady Lane; John Thomas & Mary Anne Medlycott, Rockett's Castle, Portlaw; Archibald McCoy, Solr. Colbeck St.; Edward George & Louisa Peet, Pickardstown, Tramore; Robert William Penrose, Riverview, Ferrybank; Harriet & Sarah Ridgway, Cliff Cottage, Tramore; Richard Grubb Ridgway, Newtown, Waterford; Joshua George Strangman, Carriganore, Waterford; Most Rev. Richard Alphonsus Sheehan D.D., Bishop's House, John's Hill; William, Sophia & Anna Waring, Summerville, Enniscorthy; George Edwin White & William White of King Street; Thomas Robinson White, Newtown, Waterford.

However, a century in time from 1794 shows that many of the descendents or legatees of the original investors had addresses in England, Belfast and Dublin.

There are a number of reasons for this. The Act of Union of 1800, dissolving the Irish Parliament, had a seriously detrimental effect on Ireland, and Waterford as a trading port suffered accordingly. The Napoleonic Wars of 1792-1815, however, were boom years for Waterford. Provisions including flour and salt pork, cavalry horses and fodder, sailcloth and chandlery, were exported in vast quantities to supply the armies and navy of England. The decline began with peace in Europe. Many of the merchant and shipping families, the bureaucracy that ran the port, the army officers and some of the landed and propertied classes, emigrated; some to England and the colonies. Waterford as a trading city and port began a slow decline which in the opinion of some has only begun to reverse in the last quarter century.

### **The Last Balance Sheet**

The final reckoning and balance sheet of Waterford Bridge Commissioners, audited by Craig Gardner & Co., and dated at Dublin on 3rd October 1908, is shown on page 46. In addition to dividends paid on 300 debentures at 12% per annum for the three final half years to 31st December 1907, amounting to £5,400, the debenture holders at that date also received sums totalling £69,123.15s.0d. in final settlement. The original £100 debenture of 1793, for which, incidentally only £90 was then paid, was worth £230.80 at settlement 113 years later: surely one of the best investments ever made, certainly in the city of Waterford.

### **Biographical Note**

Laurence Farrell of 41, The Glen, foreman of the bridge crew and in whose hand the *Log Books* and *Workmen's Accounts* had been penned, was formerly a shipwright at one of Waterford's shipyards. Born 1837, he was married twice. His second wife was Elizabeth Noone of Youghal. Their son William born 1887 was a ship's engineer, served in the Dardanelles aboard a British man-of-war in World War I and in later years was engineer of Waterford Harbour Commissioners on the dredger *Portlairge*. His grandson is Laurence Farrell who resides at 4, St. Stephen's Tce., Cork Road, Waterford.

After the closure of Lemuel Cox's bridge in 1908, Laurence Farrell built Waterford Boat Club's slipway at Ferrybank around 1912. He also built jetties for the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company at Newrath. He died in 1923 at the age of 84 and is buried in Ballyginner Cemetery.



# WATERFORD BRIDGE COMMISSIONERS.

## Statement of Receipts and Disbursements from 1st January, 1907, to 2nd October, 1908.

RECEIPTS.				DISBURSEMENTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Account							
.. Rent of Tolls; Amount received from Lessee, less proportion paid over to Waterford Corporation	1627	3	5	By Dividend on 300 Debentures of £100 each for half-year ending 31st December, 1906, at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum	1800	0	0
.. Rent of Gas and Water pipes	6803	15	0	.. The like for half-year ending 30th June, 1907	1800	0	0
.. Interest on Reserve Fund Investments, &c.	23	18	0	.. The like for half-year ending 31st December, 1907	1800	0	0
.. Interest on Bank Account	590	8	7	.. Maintenance of Structure	1555	8	1
.. Proceeds of Sale of Investments	140	12	5	Less Damages by Vessels recovered, Material sold, &c.	653	19	5
.. Amount of Purchase Money and Costs of Arbitration as finally ascertained by the Privy Council on Appeal	9567	18	9	.. Taxes; Consolidated Rates and Water Rate	2440	14	6
.. Less Amount of Costs included therein per contra	63885	17	9	Income Tax	298	0	0
							2747
			63000	.. Rents, Insurance, Printing, &c.			98
				.. Administration			228
				.. Sums voted at last General Meeting to Chairman of Committee and to Employees			621
				.. Contractors Security repaid with interest			513
				.. Accountant's Fee re Final Distribution and Account			10
				.. Law Costs and Engineers and Valuers' Fees, including Parliamentary Costs, Expenses of Arbitration and Appeal to Privy Council, and General Costs of Winding up	2905	1	4
				.. Less Arbitration Costs recovered from Waterford Corporation	885	17	9
			81663	.. Balance carried down			66123
To Balance brought down			69123				15
							0
				By Amount distributed to Debenture Holders in December 1907, being at the rate of £194 per Debenture			58200
				.. Balance available for Distribution being at the rate of £36 8s. 3d. per Debenture, making a total distribution of £230 8s. 3d. per Debenture			10923
							15
							0
							469123
							15
							0

Dublin, 31st October, 1908.

*We have examined the above Account, compared same with the Books and Vouchers, and find it to be correct.*

CRAIG, GARDNER & CO., Auditors.

*Final Balance Sheet of Commissioners, 1908.*

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## POSTSCRIPT

In 1996, Mr. Chris O'Sullivan, Staff Engineer, Waterford Corporation salvaged the following documents during the rebuilding of the offices adjoining City Hall and which were the inspiration for this essay.

1. *Log Book of Vessels Passing Through Bridge* in period July 29th 1889 to October 11th 1891.
2. *Log Book of Vessels Passing Through Bridge* in period March 30th 1899 to October 2nd 1901.
3. *Workmen's Accounts* being wages record of the workmen, watchmen and ferrymen of Waterford Bridge Commissioners in the period week ending November 13th 1896 to week ending 16th September 1898.
4. *Work Log of James Long*, carpenter, describing work carried out on a daily basis at the bridge during period March 8th 1897 to October 21st 1897.
5. *Names and Addresses of Waterford Bridge Proprietors* 1894.
6. *Divident Warrants on Debentures in Waterford Bridge Commissioners* for half year ending December 31st 1888 and for half year ending June 30th 1889.
7. *Lodgement receipts for Waterford Bridge Commissioners* at Provincial Bank, Waterford from December 31st 1888 to January 1st 1890.

These documents have now been lodged in Waterford City archives.

## Acknowledgements

Laurence Farrell for valuable information and use of memorabilia and family photographs.

Chris O'Sullivan for preserving old bridge documents for posterity.

Donal Brazil for loan of Edmund Downey's books.

Waterford Corporation for permission to publish T. S. Roberts's *West View of City of Waterford*.

WORKMEN'S ACCOUNTS		Week ending February 5 <sup>th</sup> 1897											
No. of Men	WORKMEN'S NAMES	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Days worked this week	Wages by the day	Total Value of the Week's Work	Money Paid.	OBSERVATIONS.
	J Long	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	4 1/4	1 60	Paid	J J Longman Esq
	W Simpson	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	4 0	1 40	"	Len Barryman
	J Keen	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	2 6	15 0	"	J J Keen Esq
	J Kennedy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	"	17 6	"	to be paid at
	P Connorsy	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	"	15 0	"	five shilling per week
	Time on Sunday 7 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2								-	-	3 6	"	
	4 Watchmen P 2 1/4 E W 1/4 R 1 1/4 B 1/4								-	-	2 12 0	"	
	6 Men at 16 1/4 each								-	-	4 18 0	"	
	A Kavanagh								-	-	8 2	"	Wishes first payment of
	Lee Farrell								-	-	1 18 5	"	J Kennedy extra day paid in for replacing Barryman & Hatch emwell on Sunday Jan 31
											13 6 2		
											15 4 7		Lee Farrell

WORKMEN'S ACCOUNTS		Week ending July 16 <sup>th</sup> 1897											
No. of Men	WORKMEN'S NAMES	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Days worked this week	Wages by the day	Total Value of the Week's Work	Money Paid.	OBSERVATIONS.
	James Long	1	1	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	6 1/2	3 1/2	1 9 2	Paid	James Longman Esq
	W Simpson	1	1	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	6 1/2	3	1 5 0	"	to be paid at
	W Hicks	1 1/2	1	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	5 1/2	4 4	1 2 8	"	to be paid at
	J Keen	1	1	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	6 1/2	2 6	16 1 1/2	"	to be paid at
	J Kennedy	1 1/2	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	1	6 1/2	"	16 9	"	to be paid at
	P Connorsy	1	-	-	3 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	3 1/2	"	8 1 1/2	"	to be paid at
	W Power	1	1	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	5 1/2	"	13 1 1/2	"	to be paid at
	Time on Sunday 7 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2								-	-	3 6	"	
	4 Watchmen P 2 1/4 E W 1/4 R 1 1/4 B 1/4								-	-	2 12 0	"	to be paid at
	6 Men at 16 1/2 each								-	-	4 18 0	"	to be paid at
	A Kavanagh								-	-	8 2	"	to be paid at
	Extra 6 Men over time at 16 1/2 each								-	-	2 0	"	
	2 Extra Men W Power & W Connorsy								-	-	10 0	"	
	2 Watchmen W Connorsy & B Connorsy								-	-	10 0	"	
	Sawing 15 1/2 Gravel 18 1/2 per 10 cts								-	-	1 13 10	"	
	Lee Farrell								-	-	2 2 0	"	
											17 5 1/2		
											19 7 6 1/2		Lee Farrell

Workmen's accounts

# From County Waterford to Australia in 1823: John Uniacke's personal chronicle of migration and exploration

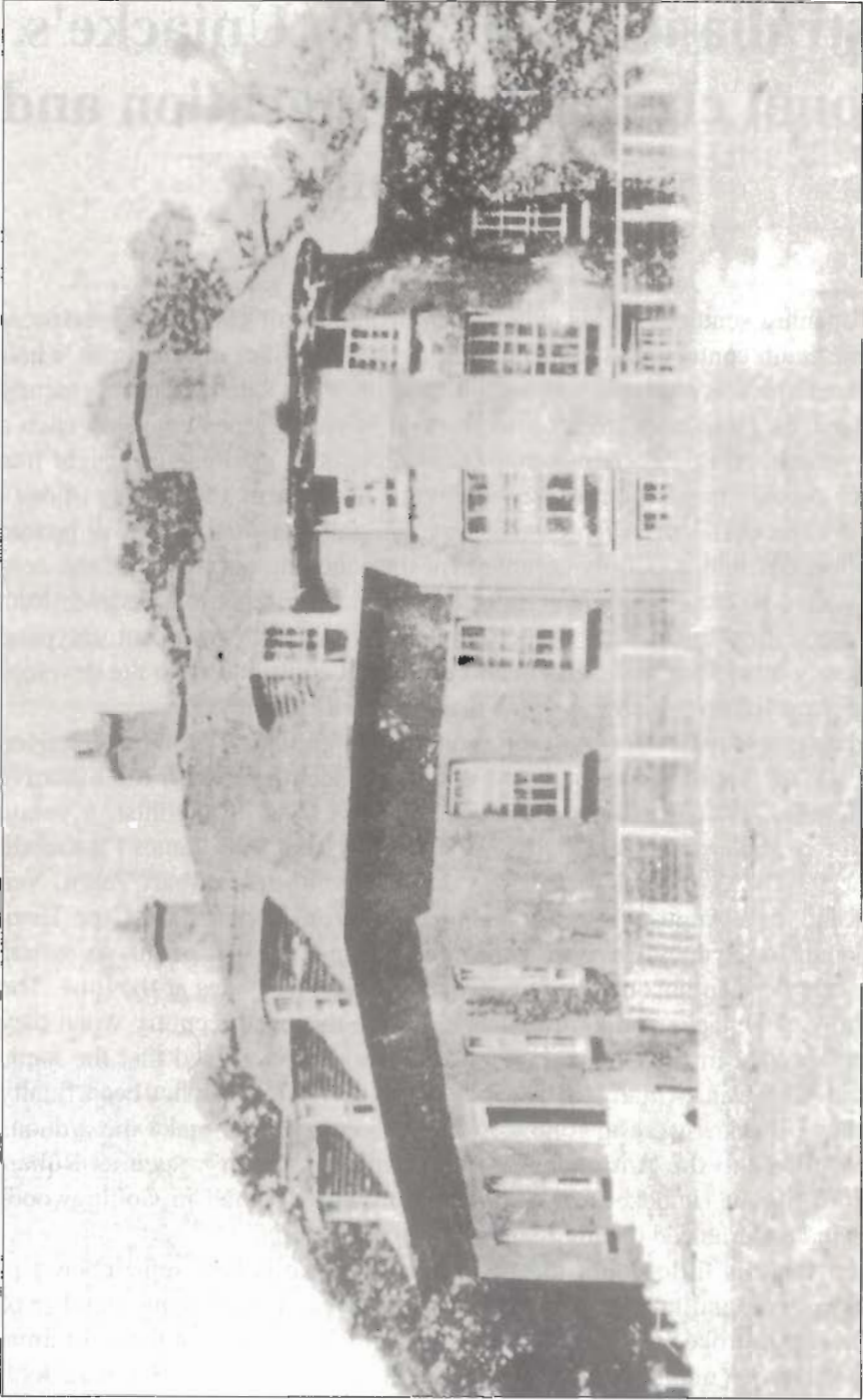
By Serge Rivière

IN THE opening sentence of his splendid compendium of convicts' experiences in the nineteenth century, David Fitzpatrick rightly describes migration as 'a universal human experience so vast and complex that it defies satisfactory representation.'<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as Fitzpatrick goes on to show, it is only by personalising such a traumatic, yet enriching, experience that one can begin to gain useful insight into the hopes or despair, trepidation or excitement that accompany the leaving of one's native soil for the unknown. A representative and highly personal story will be told in what follows; it will hopefully complement the touching narratives of the convicts transported to New South Wales, as compiled by Fitzpatrick. Indeed, John Uniacke's motivation for making the long journey down under was not untypical of that of many other free Irish settlers and their vital contribution to the development of a distant colony which was at the time still in its infancy.

While the representations of transportation and emigration of Irish people given by Fitzpatrick are set in the second half of the nineteenth century, the narrative explored here is a much earlier one, hence its value. The protagonist, a young Anglo-Irish free settler from Stradbally, County Waterford, John James FitzGerald Uniacke (1797-1825), disembarked from the *Competitor* at Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, on 3 August 1823. He had travelled from London, via Cape Town and was bound for Sydney Cove to restore his fortune and that of his six sisters back home. He bore an uncommon family name in the Antipodes at the time. The ancient family of Uniacke can be traced back to the thirteenth century when they settled near Youghal in the County of Cork. Although it is argued that the name came from a village in Brittany, St Uniac, its real derivation has not been finally agreed. Other Uniackes were to follow in John's footsteps and make the arduous journey as settlers to the Antipodes in the nineteenth century, such as Robert Uniacke from Mount Uniacke in the 1840s who owned a hotel in Collingwood, Melbourne and experienced the diggings at Ballarat, Victoria.

However, there is little doubt that the name Uniacke is best remembered in Australia's post-colonial history because of the writings of one young member of the clan who, by a stroke of good fortune, being in the right place at the right time, was able to share in a unique experience, namely to sail to Moreton Bay with John

1 David Fitzpatrick (1994) *Oceans of consolation* (Cork: Cork University Press), p. 3.



*Mount Uiatcke, Co. Cork, Ireland.  
The property was in the possession of the Uiatcke family from 1703 until destroyed by fire in 1923.*  
COURTESY OF JEREMY UNIKKI.

Oxley, the Surveyor General of New South Wales, in the *Mermaid* in October 1823. As a result of his advances to the Colonial Secretary, Frederick Goulburn, and Governor Thomas Brisbane, John James Uniacke was offered a place in the vessel as supercargo. Twentieth-century scholars remember him chiefly as a scribe and as the narrator of Oxley's expedition. His short career in Australia, cut short after less than eighteen months by his tragic death in January 1825 at the age of 27, was packed with 'a good deal of experience', according to the *Australian encyclopaedia* which devotes three short paragraphs to him.<sup>2</sup> While there are many monuments to John Oxley in Brisbane, Australia, such as the John Oxley Library (State Library of Queensland), none has been erected to John Uniacke who played a major part in the recording and publicising of the 1823 expedition, a turning point in the history of Australia.

While Oxley was busy exploring the river, which he named the Brisbane after the Governor, between the first and fifth of December 1823, John Uniacke stayed behind at the camp and had enough foresight to seize this unique opportunity to question Thomas Pamphlet, one of three convicts who had made the discovery of the river, after drifting at sea until they reached Moreton Bay, on his experiences and adventures among the Aboriginal people of the area. During the return journey to Sydney between 6 and 13 December 1823, Uniacke recorded the narrative which was edited by Barron Field and published as: *Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, aged thirty-four years, who was with two other men wrecked on the coast of New Holland in April, 1823, and lived among the natives for seven months. Taken down by John Uniacke, Esq.* One of the other two convicts was John Finnegan, surely another Irishman.

It was Uniacke's inquisitiveness and thirst for knowledge, as well as a willingness to befriend the convicts, which have guaranteed him a place in the history of Queensland. In *The early days*, J. J. Knight comments: 'Had it not been for Mr Uniacke, the troubles and trials of the ship-wrecked timber-getters would have remained unrecorded.'<sup>3</sup> On his return to Sydney, Uniacke spared no efforts to intervene on behalf of his convict-protégés by giving them full credit for the historic discovery in his writings. A well-known Australian historian of the Brisbane River, Thomas Welsby, concludes: 'So the thanks of those lovers of the earlier history of Moreton Bay and the discovery of the Brisbane River must be given without hesitation to Uniacke, for it was he who gleaned from the men their pitiful tale, and it was he who heard from their lips the finding of the river itself.'<sup>4</sup> Until now, very little has been known about the life, family background and character of young John Uniacke. This paper and the commemorative edition of his writings recently published by the Royal Historical Society of Queensland,<sup>5</sup> attempt to set the records straight, by providing the missing parts of an intriguing jigsaw.

2 Anon. (n. d.) *The Australian encyclopaedia* (Sydney), vol. 11, p. 73.

3 J. J. Knight (1895) *The early days* (Brisbane), p. 14.

4 Thomas Welsby (1913) *The discoverers of the Brisbane River* (Brisbane: Rigby), p. 49.

5 Marc S. Rivière (1998) *Discovery of the Brisbane River, 1823. Oxley, Uniacke and Pamphlet: 175 years in retrospect* (Brisbane: Royal Historical Society of Queensland), p. 128.

Copy to Mrs. Sp. 1823 . 1

My dear Mother I trust you have rec<sup>d</sup> this enclosed  
 the letter I wrote from the Lake of Geneva & in June  
 last we settled there on the 18<sup>th</sup> of that month  
 & arrived at about four for the morning land on the  
 2<sup>nd</sup> of August after experiencing very heavy weather  
 the whole way. We had our dinner on the 9<sup>th</sup> July but  
 unfortunately we did not have dinner for this evening, after  
 the removal of our baggage, at about four when I determined  
 the priests and my quantity from the 10<sup>th</sup> of the night  
 when I found that I was very near there. I had brought  
 out a letter to write from a Mr. Smith one of the 10<sup>th</sup> of July  
 which in the morning I had been to see him but had not  
 done so as yet. I had not time to do so but when he wrote  
 home I thought I would write him 7 or 80 miles out to return  
 when we arrived a week or so but I have not more of  
 the country than the first time I was there, from which he  
 is about 100 miles away from here. He was out here  
 very long by the way & I had very good luck some

2

killed since the first day of the second they are delicious only  
 & the trout makes a soup which is better in price & health  
 the country itself is extremely beautiful & fertile, the shores  
 are covered to the water edge with the finest trees, chiefly yew  
 & elmwood with a few Cedars & pines mixed, the shrubs &  
 flowers are very beautiful but not so there in the 10<sup>th</sup> of  
 of Britain. I could not procure any seed, however I have taken  
 her promise to send me all that are worth having & as the  
 temperature is much the same as in Ireland I do not doubt  
 but they will grow very well. The vegetation of the country is not so  
 thickly wooded as the coast of the many extensive plains from  
 from wood they however are nearly all sowed or indeed in all  
 all the ground that is not being the number of letters which  
 lately come out both to you from the land & the water  
 is wonderful & in consequence the prices of all the necessaries  
 of life are increased tenfold to that these when  
 farms are already under cultivation & who can find the  
 produce & markets are rapidly making money while  
 the new comers are frequently obliged to spend their  
 whole capital in supporting their families before

Letter from John Uniacke to his mother from New South Wales, September 1823.

(NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF IRELAND, DUBLIN, 11351/24)

How an enterprising twenty-six year-old Irishman made his way from the family seat in Stradbally, County Waterford, to Tasmania and New South Wales and thence to Moreton Bay, after a rather undistinguished career as a student at Trinity College, Dublin, and St John's College, Cambridge, will become clear. Was it an irrepressible spirit of adventure, tinged with a certain desperation born of the intemperance of youth, which drove this exile from Erin to throw caution to the wind and seek fame and fortune in the Antipodes? Uniacke's motives for joining the expedition may well be put down to personal ambition; as a new *émigré* intent on making a name for himself and currying favour with the authorities, his first concern was to secure a remunerated position that would enable him to set himself up in a new land. Upon his return from the Moreton Bay expedition in December 1823, he was quick to make his mark on New South Wales society as a talented, amiable and respected public official. As it turned out, his bold gamble paid ample dividends.

Uniacke's determination to succeed in a remote part of the world can only be understood through a careful consideration of his personal circumstances and his complex family background. The legacy of past achievements by his clan was heavy to bear; on the Uniacke side, many of his ancestors were highly respected in County Cork, having been elected to numerous political offices at various levels. Moreover, his voluntary exile can also be partly explained by difficult family circumstances, due largely to poor management of the family estate by a far from practical father. Above all, John found it hard to live up to the political success of the Beresfords, in particular the public fame of a maternal grandfather devoted to the cause of 'The Ascendancy' in Ireland and seen by many of his supporters in his lifetime as the 'King of Ireland', the Right Honourable John Beresford.

Hitherto unknown letters, written by John Uniacke from New South Wales to his mother in 1823 and 1824, were found among Uniacke and Beresford papers at the National Archives of Ireland in Dublin. These shed new light both on the circumstances of the self-imposed exile, and on the composition and publication of his *Narrative of Mr Oxley's expedition to survey Port Curtis and Moreton Bay* [...] and the *Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet* [...] taken down by John Uniacke Esq, published by Barron Field in the *Geographical memoirs on New South Wales* (London, 1825). An interesting French manuscript version of the first of the two narratives has survived to this day at the National Archives of France in Paris.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Uniackes of Woodhouse, Stradbally, County Waterford**

John Uniacke was brought up at the family seat of Woodhouse in the town of Stradbally ('Town with one street') which in 1819 lay within the Barony of Decies, in the County of Waterford and the Diocese of Lismore. At the time, the population

6 Auguste Bérard (1824) 'Découverte de la Rivière Brisbane, Archives Nationales, Paris, No. 5JJ 82', in Marc S. Rivière (1996) *Discovery of the Brisbane River* (Brisbane: Royal Historical Society of Queensland).





*The Red House, Youghal, residence of Bor Unjacke.*

tion of the parish numbered 1800.<sup>7</sup> It was made up mostly of Catholics, while the Uniackes belonged to a small minority of Protestants estimated to be 112 in 1836.<sup>8</sup> An ancestor of John Uniacke, **Thomas, had purchased Woodhouse from Major Richard FitzGerald of Prospect Hall.**<sup>9</sup> On 12 April 1777, the Woodhouse estate was inherited by **Robert Uniacke (1746-1802), the only surviving son of Bor Uniacke, a choleric alderman of Youghal by all accounts; he resided at the Red House which can be seen to this day in the town's main street.**

The year 1777 was an eventful one in the life of Robert Uniacke, John's father, for it was then that he was chosen by the Earl of Shannon to replace Lord Dennis, who had been made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer Court, as a candidate in the next elections to the Irish House of Commons. Robert Uniacke was duly elected MP for Youghal which he represented from 1777 until his retirement from politics in 1800.

John Uniacke's father was generally seen by his contemporaries as an ambitious politician who would stop at nothing to further his own career. For being a staunch supporter of the Union in the House debates of 1800, Robert Uniacke was duly rewarded with an appointment on 15 January 1800 to the fairly prestigious position of Surveyor General of His Majesty's Ordnance. Following his new appointment, Robert Uniacke resolved not to seek election to the Imperial Parliament and resigned from his position as Burgess of the Irish House of Commons.<sup>10</sup> Tragically, he did not enjoy his new status for long and died on 8-9 October 1802 at the age of fifty-six.

It would appear that Robert Uniacke was rather inept at managing the financial affairs of the family estate at Woodhouse. Shortly before his death, for example, he had to lease the property to a consortium led by his father-in-law, John Beresford. Such a conclusion must also be drawn from the following observations by his cousin, Clotilda FitzGerald, in her manuscript journal: While Bor Uniacke was a 'votary of Bacchus', Robert, his son, 'pursued a different line of conduct, in distinguishing himself in the first circles of *haut ton*, spoiled his ample fortune, and left a large family of children in very embarrassed circumstances at his death.'<sup>11</sup> The ironic reference to *haut ton* is clearly a dig at the Beresfords, for Robert Uniacke had married Annette Constantia Beresford, the daughter of the Right Honourable John Beresford, in 1790.

7 See William Shaw-Mason (1819) *A statistical survey or parochial survey of Ireland* (Dublin: Faulkner Press), vol. 3, p. 379.

8 William Nolan, Thomas P. Power (eds) (1993) *Waterford history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin: Geography Publications), p. 466.

9 Richard G. FitzGerald Uniacke (1894) 'Some old County Cork families', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (hereafter *JCHAS*), 30, p. 190.

10 Anon. (1880) *Journal of the House of Commons* (Dublin), 19, part 2, p. 15.

11 Clotilda FitzGerald (n. d.) 'Anecdotes of her ancestors', in Richard G. FitzGerald Uniacke (1894), *JCHAS*, 30, pp. 190-1.



*Robert Uniacke (1756-1802), MP for Youghal (1777-1800), father of John Uniacke.  
Miniature by Gervase Spencer, based in London from 1761 to 1774.*

COURTESY OF MR PATRICK CUMBERLEGE, SUSSEX, ENGLAND



*Annette Constantia Uniacke, née Beresford, wife of Robert Uniacke.  
Born circa 1760, John Uniacke's mother.*

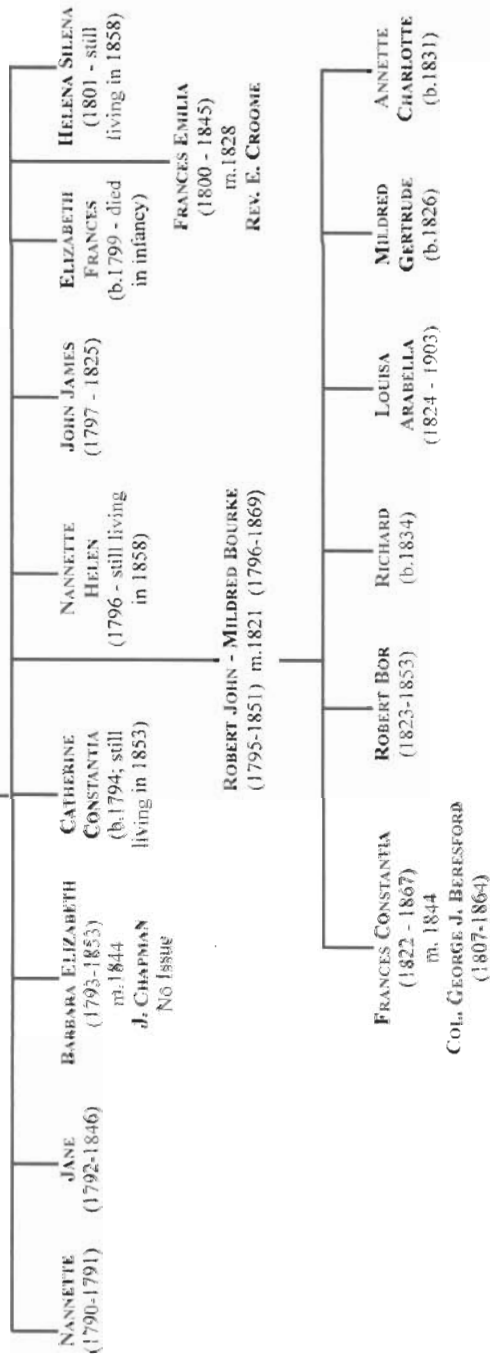
COURTESY OF MR PATRICK CUMBERLEGE, SUSSEX, ENGLAND.

**THE UNIACKES OF WOODHOUSE**

THOMAS UNIACKE - HELENA BOR  
(1684-1734) m.1707 (d.1733)

BOR UNIACKE - ANNE TRENCH  
(1710-1777) m. 1742

ROBERT UNIACKE - ANNETTE CONSTANTIA BERESFORD  
(1756 - 1802) m.1790 (b.1760)



*The Uniackes of Woodhouse, Stradbally, County Waterford.*

Robert Uniacke's inefficiency in managing the Woodhouse estate had serious repercussions for the entire family. At the time of his death, his **eldest son, Robert John Uniacke** (1795-1851), was seven years' old and **John James Uniacke** (1797-1825) was five. **Moreover**, Robert Uniacke left a widow and six daughters who found it extremely difficult to marry without a **marriage portion**, a **decisive factor** in the 'pursuit of the heiress' in Ireland, according to the well-researched study by A. P. W. Malcomson:

The number and sex of **the children were** more important factors than the rank of the parents in determining the size of the children's portions. **The more of them there were, the greater**, obviously, the financial strain of portioning them.<sup>12</sup>

Being the second son, John Uniacke could hope to join the army or enter one of the approved professions, the Church, the Law or the civil and diplomatic establishment. However, **an essential** pre-requisite to these careers was a university degree, but as will be indicated below, the intemperance of youth put paid to any such expectations.

#### **An eminent maternal grandfather: The Right Honourable John Beresford (1738-1805), 'The King of Ireland'**

John Beresford, John Uniacke's grandfather, came from a powerful Protestant family and was the second son of Marcus, Earl of Tyrone. After being educated at Kilkenny School, he was admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated in 1757 with a BA.<sup>13</sup> That same year, John Beresford entered the Middle Temple in London and was called to the Bar three years later, although he never practised law. In 1760, he married Annette Constantia de Ligondes, the daughter of General Comte de Ligondes, of the House of Ligondes from Auvergne, France.<sup>14</sup> It was from this union that Annette Constantia Beresford, John's mother, was born.

After his marriage, **Beresford began** a most successful career in politics which was to last for forty-five years until 1805. During that period, John Uniacke's grandfather was returned as **member to** the Irish House of Parliament for County Waterford no less than eight times. Under Lord Townshend, who landed in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant in 1767, John Beresford was sworn **in as a Member** of the Privy Council of Ireland in 1768. Lord Townshend, who was **later to become Beresford's** brother-in-law, was a devoted friend of the politician's from the start and **appointed** Beresford to the post of Commissioner of His Majesty's Revenue in March 1770.

12 A. P. W. Malcomson (1982) *The pursuit of the heiress: Aristocratic marriage in Ireland, 1750-1820* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation), p. 4.

13 W. Beresford (1852) *The correspondence of the Right Honourable John Beresford* (London: Woodfall and Kinder), vol. 2, p. viii.

14 Aubert de La Chesnaye (1868) *Dictionnaire de la noblesse* (Paris: Desbois), vol. 12, p. 151.

During Lord Buckingham's term as Lord-Lieutenant, Beresford fared even better, being promoted to Chief Commissioner of Revenue in 1780, when he replaced Lord Naas who had held the office for eight years. In this role, Beresford presided over the Board of Customs and Excise and was in a position to implement several vital reforms dear to his heart. He improved many of the thoroughfares of Dublin and instigated the building of bridges which made the journey from one side of the capital to the other less arduous.<sup>15</sup> As Chief Commissioner, Beresford enjoyed a very high salary of £2,000 per year, together with an official house; he also obtained in 1772 the official post of Taster of Wines for the duration of his own life and that of his eldest son, with a salary of £1,000.<sup>16</sup> Many members of his immediate family also benefited from his powerful political influence: his son Marcus was appointed first counsel to the Commissioner with a salary of £2,000. His second son, John Claudius, was also appointed Register General of Tobacco in 1783 and obtained a lucrative position in the Revenue.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps Beresford's most lasting achievement as Chief Commissioner was the erection of a new Customs House in Dublin on a four-acre site on the eastern side of the city. Despite protests from many quarters, the plan was sanctioned in 1774 by the government, and the Chief Commissioner officiated at the laying of the first stone on 8 August 1781.<sup>18</sup> The project was completed in 1791 against a great deal of opposition from Beresford's enemies and in the end cost £400,000.

When Pitt became British Prime Minister in 1784, he found in John Beresford a trusted ally for many years. John Uniacke's grandfather became a member of the Privy Council of England in 1786, and his influence continued through the government of many Viceroy's, notably Lord Buckingham's and Lord Westmoreland's from 1790. The political clout of Beresford and his family in Irish politics in the 1790s, during the turbulent period leading up to the Act of Union, cannot be underestimated, despite the small number of seats which they could command. The Marquis of Waterford, his brother, had the patronage of two counties, Waterford and Derry.

Such was the standing of John Beresford in Irish political circles, largely because of his connections with London, that he was labelled by some of his supporters the 'King of Ireland'; indeed in a letter of 1795, the Chief Commissioner reported an interview with Daly who had come to inform him of the Lord Lieutenant's decision to remove him from office. Beresford gave the gist of the conversation as follows:

- 
- 15 Alfred Webbe (1878) *A compendium of Irish biography* (Dublin: Gill), p. 16.  
 16 R. Beatson (1788) *A political index to the histories of Great Britain and Ireland* (London), vol. I, p. 232. See also Matthew Butler's notebooks held by the Waterford Municipal Library, and Matthew Butler, (1931) 'King Beresford', in *Irish Press*, 5 November, p. 1, col. 2.  
 17 William H. E. Lecky (1892) *A history of Ireland in the eighteenth century* (London: Longman's, Green & co.), vol. 3, p. 272.  
 18 Joseph Robbins (1993) *Customs house people* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration), p. 6.

No Lord Lieutenant could exist without my power; that I had made a Lord Chancellor, a Chief Justice of the King's Bench, an Attorney-General, nearly a Primate, and certainly a Commander-in-Chief; that I was at the head of the revenue, and had the law, the army, the revenue, and a great deal of the Church in my possession: and he said expressly that I was considered the King of Ireland.<sup>19</sup>

Although John Beresford had passed away long before John Uniacke decided to head for Australia in 1823, his mother was still remembered in political circles as the daughter of the Irish advisor and *confident* of Pitt. Moreover, many former allies of the Right Honourable John Beresford continued to hold positions of authority both in London and in Dublin.

### John James FitzGerald Uniacke (1797-1825)

#### A lack of focus (1797-1823)

In view of the above, it is easy to understand the pressures that family circumstances exerted on the young Irishman. As the son of a prominent MP and the grandson of the Right Honourable John Beresford, much was expected of John Uniacke. When his brother, Robert John and his wife Mildred, *née* Bourke, announced that they were expecting their first child for October 1823, the future of John Uniacke became more uncertain than ever, for he could only have hoped to inherit if his elder brother had died without issue. What were the other factors which drove him to 'try his luck' in Australia and leave behind his beloved sisters and especially his mother to whom he was very attached? Some pieces of the jigsaw have been revealed; others will now be assembled, for much of the pain was self-inflicted and was the direct result, significantly enough, of an inherent, and inherited, tendency to get into debt through a lack of self-control, as had been displayed by his father before him.

According to an entry in the Uniacke family Bible, John James FitzGerald Uniacke was

born on 4 July 1797 at four o'clock a.m. on Charlotte's Quay, Cork. [He was] called John after his grandfather Beresford, James after his godfather, M. Gen. Sir James Duff. Lt. General William Dalrymple and Maj. General Sir James Duff: Godfathers: Lady Frances Beresford and Mrs Mewinham: Godmothers.<sup>20</sup>

No record has survived of John's primary or secondary schooling; he did not attend Bishop Foy's School in Waterford, of which the records have been searched for the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century. In all probability, both Robert

19 W. Beresford (1852) *The correspondence of the Right Hon. John Beresford*, vol. 2, p. 51.

20 My thanks to Mrs Nicola Minihan, *née* Beresford, for providing copies of the relevant pages of the family Bible.



John and John James Uniacke were educated at home by a private tutor, although it is possible that they were sent to a boarding school in England, as was the case for many sons of Anglo-Irish families at the time.

What can be clearly established is that John Uniacke was admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, on 3 October 1814. The following facts are recorded in *Alumni Dublinenses: A Register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin*: 'UNIACKE, JOHN, S.C. (Mr Oakes), Oct. 3 1814, aged 17; s. of Robert, Generosus; b. Cork.<sup>21</sup> The meaning of S.C. (*Socius Comitatus*) is 'Fellow Commoner', which implies that John could proceed through college with as little delay as possible and that he would have enjoyed the privilege of finishing his degree in three years instead of four. Mr Oakes may have been his private tutor at Woodhouse or his tutor at TCD.<sup>22</sup> So it was that John followed in his father's footsteps, Robert Uniacke having been admitted in 1769.

What the outcome of his year of study at Trinity was, one can only speculate in the light of the rest of his tertiary studies at Cambridge. A decision must have been taken by his mother at the end of the first year to transfer him to St John's College, Cambridge, which he entered in the Michaelmas Term, 1816. The College records are very sparse and simply give his place of origin as Ireland. The Register of Scholars does not indicate that he was the recipient of a scholarship.<sup>23</sup> He was admitted as a 'Pensioner', which suggests that he had sufficient means to pay his way when he arrived at St John's.<sup>24</sup>

However, despite the commitment made by the family to his education, John Uniacke's track record at St John's College, Cambridge, was far from creditable. His name appears on the lists of College examinations for the period 1816 to 1819. These examinations were held in June and December of each year, and John Uniacke sat a general paper on *Oedipus Tyrannus* in December 1816. The College Residence Book indicates that he was present for the full three terms in the academic year 1816-17, missed the next two terms in the academic year 1817-18 but returned for one term and sat the examination in June 1818. In his third year, he resided all three terms but could not sit the examination in December 1818 'because of ill-health'. There is no record that he took any examination in June 1819. To graduate, therefore, John Uniacke needed to complete two more terms because of his absence in his second year, and all the evidence points to the fact that he failed to graduate from St John's. In all, he was present seven terms and absent for two. He seems to have suffered from bouts of ill-health and was not entirely happy at Cambridge.<sup>25</sup>

21 George D. Burtchaell & Thomas U. Sadler (1935) *Alumni Dublinenses* (Dublin: Thom), p. 831.

22 I am indebted to Mr Dermot J. M. Sherlock, Recorder of Alumni, Trinity College, Dublin, for the information given here.

23 J. A. Venn (1940) *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), part II, vol. 4, p. 266.

24 I am indebted to Dr G. A. Reid, The Bursary, St John's College, Cambridge, for these details.

25 This information was kindly provided by M. D. Wood, St John's College, Cambridge, in June 1984 to a member of the Uniacke family, Mr Bruce Smith of Australia, to whom I am grateful.

### Self-imposed exile (1823-25)

Leaving Cambridge in 1819 without a degree did not augur well for the career of a young man from a family which, by then, was far from wealthy and yet had high expectations of him. A career in the army, as chosen by his elder brother Robert John, did not seemingly appeal to John Uniacke. He had received a sound classical education at Cambridge and had good family connections, but he could not opt for the legal profession for want of a university degree, nor could he hope to go far in the civil service. Little is known of his whereabouts from 1819 to 1823, when he sailed for Hobart Town in the *Competitor*, a 425-tonner owned by Johnson and Sons and registered at the port of Whitby. In all likelihood, the vessel left London in May 1823.

Three extensive manuscript letters sent by John Uniacke to his mother Annette Constantia from New South Wales in 1823 and 1824 have been examined. Until they were listed by H. R. R. Peacock in *Decies 23* ('Archives Series,' May 1983), few people had known of the existence of this private correspondence in the papers of the Uniacke and Beresford families of Woodhouse dating from 1668 to 1904.<sup>26</sup> The bulk of the material concerns the Woodhouse estate at Stradbally, but among the documents are to be found the precious letters which shed considerable light on the career of John Uniacke in the colony from 1823 to 1825 and on the composition of his narrative of Oxley's expedition. Photocopies of all the documents are preserved at the National Archives of Ireland, in Dublin (hereafter 1135/24). From these letters, it emerges that John Uniacke was in serious financial difficulties when he resolved to try his luck in Australia. To his mother, he wrote after arriving in New South Wales in September 1823:

I fear you will say that I have not hitherto deserved any thing of the kind & particularly that I am not worthy of a place of trust.

Significantly, page 10 of the letter, which explains the young man's misdemeanours in 1823, is missing, perhaps because the family, or more precisely his mother, wanted to erase any memory of his past intemperance.

In a subsequent letter of 30 January 1824, we learn that John Uniacke had been promised a stipend of £25 by the London Missionary Society to perform the duties of acting chaplain to the 160 male convicts being conveyed to Van Diemen's Land, but that he never received the money following the chief surgeon's death within a few weeks of the ship leaving London. The last letter we have from him, dated 24 June 1824, confirms that John was in debt, as he pledged to redeem himself and pay his creditors in England from the salary which he was about to receive:

I hope ere long to be enabled to send home money for the gradual payment of my debts, which you may be assured I shall not delay longer than is absolutely necessary. (NAI 1135/24)

26. My attention was drawn to the catalogue of family papers by Mr Julian Walton of National University of Ireland, Cork, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude.

No doubt these debts were finally cancelled out following the early tragic death of the young man in Sydney in January 1825, when his personal effects and household goods were sold at an auction, including 'three horses, a gig, and a four-poster bed'.<sup>27</sup> So were the 2,000 acres which had been granted to him by Governor Brisbane at Earl Bathurst's request, shortly after his return from the expedition to Moreton Bay in December 1823. To his mother he imparted on 30 January 1824:

Since my return I have procured the order for 2,000 acres of land, for which I brought out Lord Bathurst's letter to the Governor and am now at liberty to make a choice of that quantity in any part of the colony which has been measured. (NAI, 1135/24)

Leaving in the *Competitor*, under the command of Captain William Ascough, John Uniacke headed for the Cape of Good Hope. The vessel sailed from there on 18 June 1823 and docked at Hobart Town on 3 August 1823 with the acting chaplain on board. In his first letter to his mother from the Antipodes, John describes his three-week stay in Hobart and acknowledges the invaluable assistance lent to him by Major Thomas Bell (1782-1866), a military officer and engineer, born at Dunse, Berwickshire in Scotland, who had landed in Sydney in the *Lloyds* in 1817 to take command of the 48th Regiment. Later Bell was appointed commander of the military garrison in Hobart Town in 1818.<sup>28</sup> In the first of his letters from Sydney, John Uniacke gives valuable information on the colony and on his outward journey from England. He also provides many hitherto unknown details about his initial attempts at job-hunting in Sydney in September 1823 and on the political situation in New South Wales at the time:

I find that though Sir Thos is nominally governor here that he never interferes with the government, and that the whole power is in the hands of Major Goulburn,<sup>29</sup> the Secretary - brother to Mr Goulburn, the Irish Secretary<sup>30</sup> (NAI, 1135/24).

In *Oceans of Consolation*, David Fitzpatrick has noted that between 1788 and 1868, some 36,000 convicts from Ireland were transported to Australia; these were largely from Mid-Western counties.<sup>31</sup> At the same time, the migration of free set-

27 Anon. (1958), 'Uniacke, John', in *The Australian encyclopaedia* (Sydney), vol. 9, p. 73.

28 Douglas Pike (1967) *Australian dictionary of biography. Volumes 1 & 2: 1788-1850* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press), vol. 1, p. 81.

29 Frederick Goulburn (1788-1837) arrived in Sydney in December 1820. See B. Elder, (ed.) (1987), *The A to Z of who's who in Australian history* (Brookvale: Child), p. 22.

30 Henry Goulburn (1784-1856) was appointed Chief Secretary to the Marquis of Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See Leslie Stephen & Sidney Lee (eds) (1917) *Dictionary of national biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), vol. 2, p. 283.

31 David Fitzpatrick (1994) *Oceans of consolation* (Cork: Cork University Press), p. 9.

tlers was encouraged by the London government because of the enormous costs of running the colony, which are put by Manning Clark at around £450,000 in 1822.<sup>32</sup> In return, the free settlers were promised a grant of land in direct proportion to their capital. The contribution of Irish settlers and convicts to early Australian society lay not so much in their numbers, but rather in the notion of freedom and the cultural traditions which they imported into the colony, as well as in Irish Catholicism. According to Fitzpatrick, in 1891,

the proportion of Australia's Irish-born resident in each colony in 1891 was as follows: 37.6% (Victoria), 33.1% (NSW), 19.0% (Queensland), 6.3% (South Australia), 2.5% (Tasmania), and 1.5% (Western Australia).

Moreover, the total number of Irish-born people in the colony, expressed as a percentage of the entire Australian population, was small: 3.5% in 1851; this rose to a mere 6% in 1921.<sup>33</sup> Between 1840 and 1914, about a third of a million people emigrated from Ireland but only one in twelve emigrants chose Australia as their destination. The lucky country attracted few compared to America.

It may well be said that John Uniacke's case was not untypical of the fate and contribution of free Irish settlers to the colony of New South Wales in the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet, he was more fortunate than most of his compatriots, for he had the support of powerful allies back home such as Sir George Fitzgerald Hill (1763-1869), a Second Baronet and former Clerk of the Irish House of Commons in 1798, who had been appointed Lord of the Irish Treasury in 1806 and a Privy-Councillor of the United Kingdom in 1817. Hill had married one of John's aunts, Jane Beresford, in 1788.<sup>34</sup> Another name, which crops up regularly in John Uniacke's correspondence, is that of his great uncle, Lord Beresford or William Carr, Viscount Beresford (1768-1854), who after a distinguished career as an army officer, had entered politics in 1819 and later became Master of the Ordnance in Wellington's administration from 1828 to 1830.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Uniacke had brought with him a letter from Lord Bathurst, the British Secretary for War and the Colonies, who was an acquaintance of the Beresfords, and he could hope to call on the support of several former political allies of the Right Honourable John Beresford.

What kind of society did John Uniacke and the Irish settlers and convicts find in New South Wales in 1823? The Anglo-Saxon social hierarchy was quite rigid in the 1820s and remained so throughout the nineteenth century; there were six dis-

32 Michael Cathcart (ed.) (1995) *Manning Clark's history of Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin), p. 97.

33 David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of consolation*, p. 6.

34 See Hill of Brooke Hall papers at the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, No. D642/D/24.

35 Leslie Stephen (ed.) *Dictionary of national biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), vol. 2, pp. 330-1.

inct social groups: first military officers; second civil officers, among whom John Oxley, the Surveyor General of New South Wales, was to have a major impact on Uniacke's life; third settlers, both free and emancipated, among whom was Uniacke; fourth land-holders; fifth free workers who had been sent out to build the colony, and sixth tickets-of-leave persons – convicts released from being engaged solely in government employment and allowed to seek an income from private employers – and convicts.<sup>36</sup>

The day after landing at Sydney Cove, Uniacke called urgently on all the dignitaries of New South Wales to canvas their support and assistance, including Frederick Goulburn, the Colonial Secretary, and Barron Field, the Judge of the Supreme Court.<sup>37</sup> He also made an appointment with Governor Brisbane on 1 September 1823 and presented a letter from Earl Bathurst. Having taken the huge gamble of emigrating to Australia, John Uniacke was ambitious and enterprising enough not to wait for others to shape his future. Feeling that he had to prove himself to Governor Brisbane, he volunteered at once for the expedition which he heard was afoot. On 16 October 1823, John Oxley had received orders from Governor Brisbane to proceed to Port Curtis, Moreton Bay and Port Bowen. John Uniacke does not seem to have gone directly to Oxley but instead chose to plead his case to Frederick Goulburn. On 23 October 1823, he was on board the *Mermaid* as she left Sydney. Uniacke's second letter to his mother, dated 30 January 1824, was drafted after the expedition had returned to Sydney; it contains considerable new information on the expedition itself and on the role played by the young man. It is clear from the letter that Uniacke joined Oxley's expedition in the first place because he was in dire straits and thought it best to be free from personal expenses for the duration of the trip. At the same time, he was intent on impressing the Colonial Secretary and the authorities. John Uniacke therefore emerges both as an astute and practical young man, and as a social climber.

The letter dated 30 January 1824 is most valuable in so far as it sheds considerable light on the composition of Uniacke's *Narrative of Mr Oxley's expedition to survey Port Curtis and Moreton Bay* (1825). Upon the return of the *Marmaid* to Sydney Cove on 13 December 1823, he drafted his narrative 'entirely from remembrance', as he tells us; hence the absence of 'the nautical details, with latitude, longitude & a parcel of calculations.' That is, contrary to previous assumptions, Uniacke did not keep a journal during the expedition, nor did he compose the narrative during the return journey from Moreton Bay. The targeted audience also explains the omission of very technical details; the journal was intended for members of the Uniacke family back at Woodhouse in Stradbally and would serve the same purpose as the letters to his mother: 'This journal is for the whole family', but is especially addressed by John Uniacke to his beloved sisters and Fanny in partic-

36 Michael Cathcart, *Manning Clark's history of Australia*, p. 51.

37 Barron Field (1786-1846) landed in Sydney as Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales. He remained in the colony for seven years and left for London on 4 February 1824. See Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of national biography*, vol. 18, p. 399.

ular. The original manuscript journal was sent to his sisters soon after his return to Sydney; a copy of it was entrusted to Barron Field who left New South Wales in February 1824 and served as a basis for the publication of the *Narrative of Mr Oxley's expedition* [...] in the *Geographical memoirs on New South Wales* [...] in July 1825, after John Uniacke's death. Unfortunately, locating the original journal among the family papers in Ireland has proved impossible. It is also interesting to note from the second letter that John Uniacke showed Governor Brisbane 'a rough copy of my journal', which seems to imply that he subsequently polished this first draft before handing a revised copy of it over to Barron Field.

As for the personal benefits that accrued to Uniacke from his participation in the Moreton Bay expedition, these were significant. He made it perfectly clear in his letter to his mother that he was after some official recompense by way of a position. In the event, two positions were offered; the first one, that of Barracks' Master, was withdrawn as having already been spoken for and was given instead to the son of the late Master in the Chancellery. The less prestigious position, that of Superintendent of Distilleries or Inspector of Excise, did not come recommended by the Colonial Secretary, but by January 1824, the seventy pounds which Uniacke had brought out with him were almost spent, and he was desperate for a stipend:

However I thought it best to refuse not it but told him that I would be guided entirely by him, & that at all events as the distillery commences working next week, I would do the duty till he found some other person more suited to the situation. (NAI, 1135/24)

The ambitious young man, who had staked his future on the Moreton Bay expedition, was reduced to accepting a newly-created position that brought little status in the community, no more, he tells us, that the job of 'gauger' in his native Ireland. On 20 February 1824, the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* announced the modest appointment in its section 'Government and General Orders, Civil Department': 'The Governor has been pleased to appoint John Uniacke, Esq. To be Superintendent of Distilleries in the Colony of New South Wales.'<sup>38</sup> Aware of the trifling nature of the position, Uniacke continued to seek the patronage of Lord Beresford and others through the intermediary of his mother. He also saw in farming some insurance for the future and planned to 'radically buy stock'. It would appear that his initial salary was less than £200 per year and that the position of Superintendent of Distilleries held little promise of future advancement. Uniacke's salary was a pittance compared to that of the Surveyor General, John Oxley who for three months, according a manuscript document, received £1,128 and 100 cents.<sup>39</sup>

38 Anon. (20 February 1824), 22, p. 1, col. 1.

39 Anon. (1824) 'Uniacke, John. Advance on duties on colonial distillation, percentage paid to in 1824', in 'Colonial revenue account to the 31st of March 1824', Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, manuscript No. M1 A766, p. 5.

Yet less than four months later, the Superintendent of Distilleries had made such a favourable impression in government circles that he was asked by the Colonial Secretary to fill, temporarily at least, the position of Sheriff and Provost Marshall for the Colony of New South Wales. The *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* of 24 June 1824 published the following notice from the Colonial Secretary's office:

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint John Uniacke, Esq. To the Offices of Sheriff and Provost Marshall for the Colony of New South Wales and its Dependencies, other than and except the Island of Van Diemen's Land, till the pleasure of His Majesty shall be made known.<sup>40</sup>

Three days after this announcement, John Uniacke could hardly find the words to express his delight and pride in a letter of 27 June 1824 to his mother (NAI, 1135/24). This short and breathless, almost frantic, letter made it clear that at last, in his view, he was going places in the colony. Moreover, John Uniacke pleaded with his mother once more to exert any pressure she could on their acquaintances who were active in British politics to make the appointment a permanent one. The office was one of the most prestigious in the colony and carried a substantial salary, and the ambitious young man would have given his right arm to have secured it on a permanent basis for himself, but as it turned out, this was not to be.

Although Uniacke retained his position as Superintendent of Distilleries, his hopes were dashed as regards official confirmation of his temporary appointment. John Mackaness (1770?-1838), called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in July 1794, had already been appointed Sheriff and Provost Marshall for the Colony of New South Wales by Earl Bathurst in January 1824, that is before Uniacke had received news of his temporary elevation. Mackaness arrived in Sydney in the *Alfred* less than a month after Uniacke's letter to his mother, in July 1824, to take up his position.<sup>41</sup> John Uniacke was therefore acting Sheriff and Provost Marshall for a very short period. Yet his standing in the community must have been boosted by his promotion ahead of so many other candidates, and he was seen to have a brilliant career in administration ahead of him. His generous disposition and caring nature are shown by the fact that he at once thought of his unmarried sisters who, without a portion, had no prospects of an advantageous marriage back in Ireland. His aim of bringing them out to New South Wales was alas never to be achieved. He wrote to his mother:

Should I succeed [in keeping the position], Fanny & any other of my sisters who will favour me so far, may prepare to come out as soon as they like if they can make up their minds to leave their other friends & come here to enjoy the finest climate & most beautiful country in the world, with an absolute certainty of getting husbands as fast as they please. (NAI, 1135/24)

40 Anon. (24 June 1824), 22, p. 1, col. 1.

41 Douglas Pike (1967) *Australian dictionary of biography*, vol. 2, p. 69.

The wheel of fortune was beginning to turn in his favour when tragedy struck unexpectedly.

On 13 January 1825, less than eighteen months after landing in Van Diemen's Land full of hope and expectations of making his fortune and a name for himself, John Uniacke, who had been in the best of health and had been the only member of the expedition to Moreton Bay not to suffer from scurvy, died of a remittent fever at the young age of 27; he had no issue. The *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* of 20 January 1825 published the following obituary:

At Sydney, on the 13th instant, of a remittent fever, in the 27th year of his age, JOHN FITZGERALD UNIACKE Esq. whose hospitable disposition, whose high and delicate sense of honour, whose good temper and manners, had justly endeared him to the society in which he moved, where his loss will be long and sincerely regretted. The community at large will also do justice to his memory, for his honest feeling heart not only sympathised with the distress of the poor, but his generous willing hand was ever ready to relieve them.

The father of the Gentleman (who represented the borough of Youghall [sic] in the Irish House of Commons), married a daughter of the Right Honourable JOHN BERESFORD, late Commissioner of His Majesty's Customs in Dublin, Member of the Irish and Imperial Parliament, a Brother to the first Marquis of Waterford.<sup>42</sup>

Additional details on the sudden death of John Uniacke have come to light in a letter found among the Uniacke papers at the National Archives of Ireland addressed to his mother, Annette Constantia Doyne, formerly Uniacke, and to the Bishop of Kilmore, John George Beresford (1773-1862), the son of the first Marquis of Waterford and a cousin of John's (NAI, 1135/24). The letter-writer was George Mills, appointed to the position of Registrar of New South Wales by Earl Bathurst in January 1824.

The high esteem of the community for the former Superintendent of Distilleries is underlined by the fact that his funeral was attended by all the dignitaries of the colony; Governor Brisbane, who was almost a recluse in his residence at Parramatta, decided not to travel to Sydney as was his wont, but the Colonial Secretary, Frederick Goulburn, and all the colony's military officers and the most prominent civil servants were present to pay their last respects.

John Uniacke's remains were interred in the Devonshire Street Cemetery, Sydney, or Sandhills, which had been opened in 1819 as the main burial ground of the capital. As Keith Johnson explains, 'it occupied the site of the present Central Railway Station from 1819 until 1901, when all the remains were exhumed and re-interred in other Sydney metropolitan and N.S.W. country cemeteries.'<sup>43</sup> The vast

42 Anon. (20 January 1825), 22, p. 1, col. 4.

43 Keith A. Johnson (1973) 'Some Irish inscriptions in an old burial ground at Sydney, New South Wales, Australia', in *Irish Ancestor*, 2, pp. 72-3.



majority of the headstones, about 3,300 in number, were re-located in twenty-five acres bounded by Bunnerong Road, La Perouse and the existing cemetery which had been set aside in 1818.<sup>44</sup> Among the oldest monuments originally in the Church of England section of the Devonshire Street Cemetery, was the tomb of John Uniacke.

Irrespective of the errors of his ways in his youth, which had wrecked his studies at Cambridge and had precipitated his departure from Ireland on the long adventure, John Uniacke had found a place in Australian history. His generosity is brought home by his deep-felt concern for his fellowmen, in particular the pitiable convicts, Parsons, Finnegan and Pamphlet, and the Moreton Bay Aborigines in his narrative. Sadly, a search through Irish newspapers of 1825 revealed that his untimely death went unnoticed and was not recorded in his native land. The commemorative edition, published in 1998 by the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, is the first ever complete collection of John Uniacke's writings and bears testimony to yet another invaluable contribution made by an unsung Irish hero and by the Irish people in general to the emerging colony of New South Wales and to Australia over the years.



*Monument erected in 1825 to John Uniacke (d. 13 January 1825).  
Found in a letter sent by George Mills to John's mother on 2 February 1825.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF IRELAND, DUBLIN. 1135/24

44 Keith A. Johnson and Malcolm R. Sainty (1973) *Gravestone inscriptions, NSW* (Sydney: Genealogical Publications of Australia), p. iv.

# Mount Melleray Seminary

*By Fr Uinseann Ó Maidín, OCSO*

**I**N THE Ireland of the early 1830s, when extreme poverty and an almost total lack of education were widespread what learning was available could be picked up from the wandering hedge-schoolmasters and occasionally from the local priest. The parish of Cappoquin was no exception to this rule and even more so the district known as Scrahan. The Cistercian monks arrived on the slopes of the Knockmealdown mountains in May 1832 and shortly afterwards a Mr Peter Kenny and his wife, arrived from Co. Kilkenny. Seeing the dreadful conditions under which the children grew up there they decided to open a small school. This establishment, the forerunner of Mount Melleray Seminary, commenced in a little building which was later to become the garage of the Ladies' Guest House. It still stands.

The idea behind the venture was to provide a basic education for the children of the neighbourhood, and as neither he nor his wife appear to have been trained teachers, the learning imparted remained very basic. A few years later, he obtained permission from Abbot Vincent Ryan to build, at his own expense, a small house which still stands today. This was constructed just inside the entrance gate, and Peter Kenny transferred his pupils to a room inside this house. He was assisted in his work by his wife and, following her death, he retired to live as a guest within the monastery.

The school room was then transferred to the monastery farmyard, to what later was called the Brazier's Shop, and the Coach House. This is not a very spacious place, as it measured approx. twenty feet by fifteen. Boys came to the school from all over the area and indeed some from a distance, there being no schools in the vicinity. Soon it proved to be too small for the number of boys from the locality who came for classes, not to speak of those who wished to study the classics with a view to going on for the priesthood. It may be remarked, that while the Seminary lay under the direction of Fr Clement Smith, first President in what was to become Mount Melleray Seminary, only classics was taught there, even though Fr Clement had degrees in both ancient classics and mathematics from Trinity College Dublin. On 19 June 1845, the foundation stone of a new school building was laid by Abbot Vincent – his last public act. This was a single-storey structure, roughly 100 feet long and thirty feet wide. The new edifice was divided by a stone wall, the eastern end being reserved for the mountain boys who were mainly taught English, Irish being the only language of the district at the time. A monk sometimes took charge of the class but generally the boys were in the care of a lay teacher.

The classical students, on the other side of the dividing wall, were taught by Fr Clement, a native of Finlea, Killaloe, Co. Clare. Born in 1810, he spent a number of years in the teaching order of the Presentation brothers until 1838 when he joined the community of Mount Melleray. His experience as a teacher made him

eminently suitable for the task in the new college, and he seems to have been a great success. In February 1846, Fr Clement was appointed prior of the monastery, and so was second in command to the abbot, while still remaining attached to the school. In January 1847, he was sent to America to look for a suitable location for a proposed new foundation. He eventually became prior of the monastery founded at New Melleray, in the state of Iowa, and was nominated coadjutor bishop of the diocese of Dubuque in 1857. He acted as Apostolic administrator of the diocese of Chicago before returning in 1868 to assume charge of the diocese of Dubuque following the death of Bishop Loras.

Br Xavier Melville, who was born in 1810, in Askeaton, Co. Limerick, hitherto assistant to Fr Clement, was appointed President of the school in 1847, a position in which he remained until 1863. He had worked in a bank for a time and, before entering the monastery, he too was a Presentation Brother just as Frs Clement and James were. One of his assistants for a time was Fr James O'Gorman, born in Cranna, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. He taught, part-time, in the classical school and was sent to America on 8 May 1849, where he served as prior of New Melleray before being chosen as vicar apostolic with the dignity of a bishop, in 1851. He died a victim of cholera while attending the sick at Cincinnati 1874.

Br Xavier, though by no means a good teacher, was held in very high regard by all who met him and, in local folklore, he was referred to as 'King of the Mountain'. He had a great interest in drama and, at the end of each school year, staged what he called 'An Exhibition'. It was not long before he found that the space available in the classical school was not large enough for all those who wished to attend this annual event. The reputation of the new college in Mount Melleray had spread and pupils began to flock to the monastery school. In 1853, he had the stone wall removed, it being replaced later by a wooden partition. This again proved to be insufficient and so, in 1853, he got the masons of the community with some outside help to build the classrooms to the east of the existing building. These were three in number and the one at the eastern end of the building was reserved for the boys from the locality. This arrangement continued until 1865 when the monastery had the National School, usually called the 'Poor School', built just at the east side of what became known as 'the play-road'. Toilets were built to the north of this building at a later stage. The local boys henceforth attended class in the new school, the old and extended one-storey building being reserved for the classical students.

It should be pointed out here that all of these students paid little or nothing towards their education. In fact, many of them were fed by the monks, the boys' families being too poor to do so. Many priests began their course of studies in this school, among them at least one bishop, Dr John Coleman of Armidale, Australia. The latter always attributed his vocation to Fr Augustine who for many years supervised the running of the institution. One day, as the boys were at play in front of the school, Fr Augustine called over John Coleman and asked him would he like to be a priest to which he replied that he did. The bishop often related this to the neighbours in later years.

The philosophy classes were transferred to the Boys' National School where it was amalgamated with that of the Girls' in the 1940s. This latter building, now used as a parish hall by the local community, was originally the school built for the girls of the district by Fr Walsh, parish priest of Cappoquin. The adjoining house was for the use of the teacher provided by the school.

Fr Ignatius Foley, appointed president in 1863 following the resignation of Brother Xavier, set up a class in logic that year and placed it in the care of Mr Conroy, an ex-Maynooth student. Mr Conroy remained teaching for a year before moving to Newfoundland where he became an advocate, and eventually a judge, in the legal system there. This appointment was made by Fr Ignatius shortly after his taking up duty as president, a post which he retained for the next 44 years, though he seems to have continued as teacher of classics for some time. Following the departure of Conroy, the philosophy class was always taught by a monk and this practice continued until the closure of the college. The best known of these monk-professors was Fr Stanislaus Hickey, later the author of the three-volume standard textbook called wryly *Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae* (Brief Summary of Scholastic Philosophy), a compendium that came to be used worldwide in English-speaking colleges, and which remained in use right up to the time of the Vatican Council. He was elected abbot of Mount Melleray in 1931 following the death of Dom Maurus Phelan. Abbot Maurus had a span of over thirty years of association with the college and never lost his love of the place. Another who had long years of service there was Fr Finbar Cashman, later abbot of Mount Melleray, who never forgot the students who passed through his hands during his years as dean of studies. He was a strict disciplinarian, but dealings with the students were always said to be tempered with kindness and charity, and his past pupils held him in the highest regard.

It is not certain in what year facilities were made available for late vocations, but it certainly goes back to the last century and was highly regarded by many bishops throughout the English-speaking world. The system was that those too old for the normal curriculum of the secondary classical educational system were given a special grinding in the Latin language, while at the same time availing themselves of the opportunity of improving their knowledge of English literature and other disciplines. On the completion of two years of study (occasionally just one), the students graduated to the philosophy class, where a working knowledge of Latin was necessary, the text being in that language. There were only two institutes in the country where this facility for late vocations was then available – Mount Melleray and Mungret College. Many excellent priests passed through the system.

There was no sleeping accommodation available in Mount Melleray in the early days of the seminary, so those who came from a distance were boarded-out with the neighbours. A list of houses survives from the early days of the school and they

they are as follows: Miss Walsh's<sup>1</sup>, The Lodge<sup>2</sup>, The Hotel<sup>3</sup>, P. White's<sup>4</sup>, J. O'Shea<sup>5</sup>, Mrs Hayden's<sup>6</sup>, Roger Whelan's<sup>7</sup>, Tom Hurin<sup>8</sup>, John Downing<sup>9</sup>, Mrs Donoghue<sup>10</sup>, Michael O'Brien, Jack O'Brien<sup>11</sup>, Widow Neelan's<sup>12</sup>, Biddy Millea's<sup>13</sup>, Jessy Malloy's<sup>14</sup>, Jack O'Donnell<sup>15</sup>, Bill O'Donnell<sup>16</sup>, MacCarthy<sup>17</sup>. This list is taken from a notebook dated 1861, but it is very well known that Fr Basil Foley, a native of Old Parish, stayed with the Ryans of Crow Hill (to the north-east of the monastery) when he was a student at the college and that the Flynns (who were very close to the boarding houses) also kept boarders. Therefore, it is clear that the list is not exhaustive. Fr Aloysius O'Keefe, later an historian and annalist of the monastery, stayed with the Downings about half a mile south of the monastery, and the future Abbot Maurus Phelan, with the monastery's near neighbours the Haydens. There is also a tradition that students boarded with the MacCarthy family of Monwee on the property now in the possession of the Devine family.

Fr Ignatius, appointed president following the resignation of Br Xavier, was always concerned with the problem of accommodation for the students. Boarding out was acceptable in good weather, but in the depth of winter, it placed a great hardship on the boys. In 1867, with the approval and financial help of the abbot, he began the construction of suitable accommodation, later called the Boarding Houses, near the entrance gate. Aid was solicited from many quarters including the Holy See, but one of his main benefactors was Richard Devereux of Wexford. The new accommodation was built in the form of three houses, the lower house adjoining the dwelling erected by Peter Kenny. The foundation stone of this structure was laid on 31 July 1867 and was ready for occupation on 14 September 1868. The

- 1 Probably in the grounds of what later became the guest house for ladies. Miss Walsh was the teacher appointed to educate the girls of the area.
- 2 Peter Kenny's house just inside the entrance to the monastery grounds.
- 3 This building with its little shop lay on the eastern side of the Newcastle Road very near the Kenny place.
- 4 One hundred yards on the northern side of the Clogheen road.
- 5 Knockaunacuit, one mile on the southern side of the afore-mentioned road.
- 6 The nearest neighbour immediately to the east of the monastery.
- 7 To the west of the house occupied until very recently by Ned O'Donnell.
- 8 On Bóthar Buí Ré approx. 800 yards on the southern side of the Clogheen road.
- 9 At the lower end of the abbey farm.
- 10 Possibly the dwelling presently occupied by the Mangan at the bottom of Melleray Hill.
- 11 Possibly what is now known as 'Katie's'.
- 12 This was in Scrahan West near the Downing home.
- 13 Very close to the glen at the bottom of the farm and close to the Downings.
- 14 Probably Millea as there is no tradition of the Malloy name in the district.
- 15 Possibly the dwelling in Feddaun adjoining the monastery land.
- 16 Possibly the dwelling adjoining the Ryans on Crow-Hill now owned by the O'Donoghue family.
- 17 On the Clogheen road, northern side.

The whole complex was completed in six years and, from then on, all those from afar ate, slept and studied there while classes continued to be taught in the upper school. Fr Ignatius continued to supervise the college until his 85th year and then the decision to retire was taken after he had taken a fall during a strong wind.

In the years 1901-2, the roof of the old classical building was taken off and an upper storey added to accommodate extra classes. Abbot Carthage then proceeded, in 1903, to add another building to the complex, for use as a science block. The design was in the hands of a Mr Beary, town engineer of Dungarvan, and the actual construction was entrusted to a Mr Creedon of Fermoy. From this date onwards, lay teachers were employed on a regular basis as assistants to the monks. Stanislaus Hickey (abbot 1931-33) undertook the provision of a chapel for the college and was the last building to be erected during the lifetime of the seminary. Mass had, until then, been celebrated in the large study hall in the Boarding House.

In the beginning, the college was opened to provide education for the poor boys of the area but as soon as the fame of the place spread, attendance grew and many of the students wished to go on for the priesthood. Thus, the classics were taken up, and were seen as above the teaching of philosophy. The majority of the young men passing through the college were destined for the priesthood, and this tendency continued until the 1940s. Many bishops began their ecclesiastical education there, and Fr Nivard Flood (one time president of the seminary) used to say that at one time the entire hierarchy of Australia were past pupils of Mount Melleray. Some of the better-known past pupils in the ecclesiastical field were Bishop Tom Ryan, secretary to Pope John XXIII; Bishop Mullins of Menevia; and Mgr Michael Olden, president of St Patrick's College Maynooth.

The great emphasis on the classics and philosophy did not preclude other activities and interests. Br Xavier Melville began the musical tradition and the student could, without much trouble, provide a session of classical music on the occasion of the 'Exhibition', known to the boys as 'Glee' day. A qualified teacher of instrumental music was employed and, for many years, John Power of Clonmel filled this position. Among the lay staff may be mentioned Seán Ó Cuirrín, noted Gaelic scholar, Mr. T. Olden, a fine scholar in the field of English literature; and J. McCarthy, who excelled in English and history. All three of them are buried in the public cemetery at Mount Melleray.

Early in this century, the Royal University of Ireland extended to suitably equipped educational centres the facility of conferring in the form of degrees, external or correspondence courses. Mount Melleray Seminary applied for approval and after due deliberation the board of the university granted the request. The courses, tutored by T. Ebrill, were pursued in the Seminary but were at all times under the inspection of the board, external examiners being used to monitor examinations. The students of the Mount proved very successful in this field and the 1912 edition of *An Sléibhteánach* (The Mountain – the school magazine) features seven graduates. Among those who won a BA degree while attending Mount Melleray Seminary, may be numbered Daniel O'Connell (later Abbot Celsus), who graduated in mathematics and, John Luddy (Fr Ailbe), who read classics with dis-

inction. Denis Luddy, a brother of the latter, also left the seminary with a BA degree. The suppression of the Royal University brought this very useful scheme to an end.

Mr Kenny and his wife opened their school to provide a basic education for the boys of the neighbourhood, but under the control of the monks, the establishment quickly assumed the character of a minor seminary, where the students were prepared for the study of theology in a major seminary. This remained the policy until late in the stewardship of Br Xavier when provision was made for a higher education for those who desired it but who did not intend to go on for the priesthood. By the turn of the century, a large group of these students came mainly from a farming background and it was felt that some provision should be made for them in the science of agriculture. Nothing came of these ideas, but they were never far below the surface of the president's mind. In 1916, it was decided to approach the Department of Agriculture for assistance and advice in setting up an agricultural division in the seminary, the idea being to incorporate the new venture in the 1917 prospectus. The officials in Dublin ignored the request and so it was decided to go it alone. Some ground behind the National School was acquired from the monastery and this was laid out in plots. The designation 'the Plots' survived long after the demise of the agricultural division. Further ground was handed over to the students and some thousands of young trees – larch, spruce, beech, chestnut, black fir and Corsican pine, were planted by way of a shelter belt in the 1917-18 season. Poultry was already being reared near the 'Boarding Houses' and now the new farmyard in the 'Homestead' was stocked with milk cows. These first cows were of the shorthorn variety and among them was one purebred cow. It was intended to gradually rear a purebred herd of this variety. In 1918, the first College Co-operative Society in Ireland was established and, ever afterwards, the 'Homestead' was more familiarly known as the 'Co-op'. Some pigs were also procured and the students experimented with various kinds of feeding mixtures during the winter months. Records of these experiments were written down but, unfortunately, they have not survived. The venture thrived for many years, but in the late 1920s, problems arose that resulted in the sudden closure of the entire project in 1931. The ground used by the students reverted to the abbey farm, as did the buildings, some of which still survive and are still known locally as the 'Co-op'.

The aftermath of the French Revolution saw the total suppression of the Cistercian Order in Europe, though many monks remained loyal to their celibate vocation while labouring for a paltry existence as parish priests in various places. Fr Augustine de Lestrangé had been novice master of the Abbey of La Trappe in Normandy prior to its suppression and, with the full approval of his superiors, he set up a house of refuge in Switzerland at a former Carthusian monastery called La Val Sainte to which monks from all over France gravitated. Government approval for this venture was for a maximum of 25 monks, so Dom Augustine was soon forced to establish colonies elsewhere. The monks moved out over Europe in groups and in time set up new, or reopened old, monasteries. The local authorities, particularly in Eastern Europe, would allow these to remain only on condition that

they provided an education for the young. Many monasteries eventually thrived precisely because they ran colleges. Teaching, as such, was never in accordance with Cistercian ideals, but necessity brought about its general acceptance in the immediate post-Revolutionary era. Another form of the college idea was the provision of a juniorate within the monastery, as was the case up to recent times in the Abbey of Viaceli, Spain. The Cistercian Order gradually re-established itself in western Europe but in the form of independent congregations. In France, those of La Trappe and SeptFons, together with Westmalle in Belgium and Casamari in Italy, were very close in outlook and came to be regarded as "Strict" congregations. Mount Melleray belonged to that of La Trappe. Some monasteries within these groupings still retained colleges but gradually the influence of central authority, particularly following the union in 1892 of the congregations of France and Belgium, ended with the closure of most of the institutes of education. Meanwhile, the tide of opinion in Mount Melleray was slowly changing and, by 1971, when Dom Pól OhAonusa was elected abbot following the resignation of Dom Finbar, the majority favoured closure. A delegation of the teaching staff went to the new abbot asking him to undertake a program of renovation/rebuilding of the college fabric. He decided to study the question and, following consultations with architects and builders, presented his findings to the community. A series of discussions followed, after which a vote was taken that resulted in the decision to close. All the staff members were placed in other colleges while provision was made for students for whom the seminary authorities felt a responsibility. Mount Melleray Seminary finally closed its doors in June 1974. Fr Francis Carton, the last president, was responsible for much of the details regarding the smooth shutting down of the Seminary.

The buildings remained idle for some years, except for their occasional use by youth clubs from the Dublin area. This ceased when neighbours objected to property damage that was blamed on the youth groups. In 1977, the Catholic Boy Scouts of Ireland (CBSI) celebrated the golden jubilee (Jamboree) of its foundation on the monastic property, the Boarding Houses being used as headquarters for the event. The location proved very attractive to the scouting movement and had been taken on a five-year lease in the names of four senior scouts. On 1 April 1982, a 21-year-lease was agreed at a nominal rent. The scouts are responsible for its maintenance.

Meanwhile the classroom block had remained unoccupied and generally unused, and the lack of heating resulted in a general deterioration in the fabric. The community took the decision in late 1996 to demolish the lot, including the section used as a souvenir shop.

The contract was signed in late December 1996 but a few legal difficulties prevented the contractor from beginning on time. Work commenced in January, but bad weather caused delays in the actual work of demolition. It is to be noted that much of the furnishings, e.g., wainscoting, window sills, slates, tiles and floor blocks, were salvaged and sold by the contractor. It was because of this possibility that he was enabled to quote a rather low price for the work. The Poor School



walls were pulled down on 12 or 13 March and demolition of the main building began on the latter date. The last section came down on 27 March 1997.

At the moment of writing, the buildings dating from the 1840s (behind the former classroom block) are being renovated for use as a heritage room, audio-visual centre and souvenir shop. It is to be noted that these structures were erected as cow houses and feed storage places. The space in front of them is being landscaped and it is hoped to place the statue of the Virgin Mary, which formerly stood on top of the classroom building, in a place of prominence as a memorial to the now-defunct Mount Melleray Seminary/College.

### **Acknowledgements**

A very sincere word of thanks is due to all those neighbours who helped to identify the various families and houses mentioned above.

# List of County Waterford soldiers who died in World War One

*Compiled by Jim Stacey, Ann Allridge and Richard Power*

**T**HE number of Irish men who responded to the call to arms in the "Great War" is variously estimated to have been between 200,000 and 500,000, and probably exceeded 400,000. This includes those who were already in the regular army before 1914, the volunteers from the island of Ireland, Irishmen living in Wales, Scotland, and England (both before and after conscription), Irishmen in the armies of Australia, New Zealand, USA and Canada. In addition, many Irishmen worked in the munitions factories in England and on the English farms as labourers, where they replaced those who had gone to war.

Major-General Sir William Hickie, KCB, the General Officer commanding the 16th Irish Division, made the claim that 320,000 Irishmen served in the Great War.<sup>1</sup> He based this on the fact that the census taken in 1919 by the Royal Irish Constabulary showed that 248,000 men had returned to Ireland when demobilisation took place. To these must be added the 50,000<sup>2</sup> Irish dead who made the supreme sacrifice and the men who were still serving in the many British and Irish battalions of the time. Thus regarded, this claim may be considered a conservative estimate.

The reasons for voluntary enlistment were many and included economic factors, the enthusiasm that some young men have for military training, and especially (in County Waterford) the influence of John Redmond, MP for Waterford City and leader of the Irish Parliamentary Nationalist Party. He urged his supporters to enlist, believing that the war would be short and that Nationalist participation would bring about sooner the desired Home Rule.

The numbers enlisting were greatest in the opening years, but they began to fall in 1916 as the true reality of the horrors of war became apparent. The Republican rising in 1916 and its aftermath profoundly altered the political scene in Ireland and, by 1919, the old Nationalist Party was in ruins and its leader, John Redmond, was dead. John's brother, Major Willie Redmond, was killed at Messines on 7 June 1917.

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1 This is taken from an article entitled 'The Irish National War Memorial' *British Legion Annual* (1941). The complete annual is available at the National Library and at The Royal British Legion, South Frederick Street, Dublin 2.

2 Other historians estimate the number of Irish war dead more conservatively at between 25,000 and 27,000. See, for example, David Fitzpatrick (1996) 'Militarism in Ireland, 1900 - 1922', in Thomas Barlett and Keith Jeffery (eds) *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 379-406 (pp. 382 and 501).

The following list of County Waterford men who died in the "Great War" was compiled from various sources. The biggest part has been collated by a Mr Power of Green Street, Waterford, and was published in the *Munster Express* Christmas Supplement of December 1991 and over the following weeks. It is likely that he collected some of their names from the Great European War Memorial Books which are available at Waterford City Library. These were published in 1923 and include some 50,000 names of Irishmen who fell in the War.<sup>3</sup> The majority (about 70%) have a recorded location of birth in Ireland. Some of the others without recorded location of birth in Ireland are known to have been born in Ireland: e.g. James Owen William Shine, John Denis Shine, and Hugh Patrick Shine, all of whom are known to have been born in Dungarvan. Many without recorded location of birth in Ireland have Irish-sounding names, e.g., Sergeant Edward McCarthy 12171, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, born Islington, Middlesex; James Kinsella 11303, Irish Guards, no recorded place of birth; and James Wilfred Keohan 6626, Connaught Rangers, born Sutton, Surrey. There is even a nurse – Annic K. Shirley of the Unites States Army Red Cross – who is said to have died while nursing soldiers, America, but her birth place is not recorded. It is likely therefore, that the vast majority are validly described by the term 'Irishman'. This record seems mainly drawn from British Army records and probably understates the numbers of Irish who died in the Canadian, Unites States, and Australian Forces. It makes no mention of Irish lost in the Merchant Navy nor, indeed, of any Irish who died fighting for the German side.<sup>4</sup>

Others have been added from the publications of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, including its list of war graves in County Waterford. The list includes some RAF men and seamen and some who died after the 1914-18 period. More again come from Canadian, Australian, and American records. Other names come from local knowledge in Waterford. Simple enquiry has elicited many families with multiple members who enlisted and seem to have escaped official record.

Some problems arose in exactly defining a Waterford man. Was it to include men born in County Waterford and with residence in Clonmel, and how about those born in Clonmel but with residence in Waterford? A certain discretion was exercised when sufficient was known. Waterford Diocesan chaplains were included even when place of birth and residence was outside the county but within the

3 Committee of the Irish National War Memorial (comp.) (1923) *Ireland's Memorial Records 1914-1919, being the names of Irishmen who fell in the Great European War* (Dublin: Maunsel and Roberts). The names of 49,400 are included.

4 The Commonwealth War Graves Commission maintains an Internet site which is invaluable for information about the Fallen of WW1 and WW2. The address is <http://www.cwgc.org/>. The Naval and Military Press have published a CD-ROM entitled *Soldiers died in the Great War 1914-1919* and it is an excellent research aid for private study. It is available at PO Box 61, Dallington, Heathfield, East Sussex, TN 21 9ZS, England.

The Internet address is <http://www.great-war-casualties.com/>. The Dungarvan Museum Internet site contains a WW1 section with useful links. The address is <http://members.tripod.com/dungarvan/>.

Waterford Diocese, e.g. Ardfinnan. Men from Ferrybank, **Slieverue** and **Glenmore** who enlisted in Waterford were also included, but not generally those from Clonmel or Youghal.

Almost every family in the county seems to have some relative who fought in the "**Great War**", and yet little is heard or known about them. It is hoped that publication of this list of World War One dead from County Waterford will go some way to restoring to public consciousness the rightful place of those young men who gave their lives in places far from home believing, as so many did, that they did so for the cause of Irish nationalism.

The list is not complete as more names are being added from time to time. The total number to date is 733. One could deduce from an average fatality rate in World War One of about 15% that about 4,800 young men from Waterford enlisted. Some data are shortened to facilitate the format of presentation and only the essential facts are included. The authors will be pleased to be informed of any errors or omissions, and an up-to-date list will be made available on a 3.5 inch floppy disk using Microsoft Excel at a small charge.

The following abbreviations have been used:

1st, 2nd, etc. (Batt.) giving the Battalion number

F & F = France and Flanders. Many of those in the Irish regiments died on the borderland between France and Belgium.

KIA = Killed in action

K = Killed

D = Died

All birthplaces in the list are assumed to be of Waterford county unless otherwise stated.

### **An Cumann Cuimhne Saighdiúirí an Chéad Chogaidh Dhomhanda.**

Ann Allridge, Knockateemore, Dungarvan.

Richard Power, 21 Sarsfield Street, Abbeyside, Dungarvan.

Jim Stacey, Monang, Dungarvan.



*Thomas O'Neill (Neale), T4/043381.  
Royal Army Service Corps.  
Died 14 October 1915.  
Affane Old Church of Ireland Graveyard*



*Private Patrick Flynn, 6130  
Royal Irish Regiment, 2nd Batt.  
Killed in action, France, 19 October 1914.  
Born Abbesside, Dungarvan.*



*Memorial plaque of Patrick Flynn.  
Abbesside, Dungarvan.*

<i>Surname</i>	<i>First Name</i>	<i>Reg. No.</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Particulars (Death)</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>
<b>Abbott</b>	John	19603	Private	Gloucestershire, 8th Batt.	Killed in action F & F, June 7, 1917	Waterford
<b>Anderson</b>	Francis		Major	Royal Field Artillery	Died of wounds F & F Aug. 25 1918	
<b>Anderson</b>	George	29878	Corporal	Royal Garrison Artillery	Died in F & F March 19 1917	Tallow, Co. Waterford
<b>Aspell</b>	Jeremiah	G/1478	Private	Royal Irish Fusiliers 2nd Batt.	Died at Salonica March 13 1918	Waterford
<b>Attridge</b>	Daniel	4229	Private	Royal Irish Regiment 7th Batt.	Died in F & F March 7 1918	St John's, Waterford
<b>Aylward</b>	Edward	R256524	Sapper	Royal Eng. 263rd Railway Coy	Killed in action F & F April 13 1918	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Aylward</b>	Hubert	6427	Private	Royal Irish Regiment 1st Batt.	Died at Salonica Feb. 6 1917	Waterford
<b>Aylward</b>	Joseph	4697	Private	Royal Irish Regiment 1st Batt.	Died of wounds F & F April 11 1915	Newtown, Waterford
<b>Barnett</b>	Joseph	4020	Private	Connaught Rangers 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Oct. 19 1914	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Barnett</b>	Patrick	22977	Private	Royal Dublin Fusiliers 8th Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 19 1916	Clashmore, Co. Waterford
<b>Barron</b>	John	11756	Private	Royal Welsh Fusiliers 8th Batt.	Killed in action at Gallipoli Aug. 7 1915	Kilmaethomas, Co. Wat.
<b>Barron</b>	Timothy	S/4871	Private	Black Watch 9th Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Sept. 28 1915	Kilcalf, Tallow, Co. Wat.
<b>Barron</b>	Walter	77365	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery, 123rd Brigade	Killed in action F & F May 3 1917	Waterford
<b>Barry</b>	Edward	9218	Private	Irish Guards Reserve Batt.	Died at home Aug. 8 1915	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
<b>Barry</b>	James	7948	Private	7th Royal Irish Rifles	Killed in action F & F Aug. 6 1917	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Barry</b>	John	11316	Private	12th Lancashire Fusiliers	Died of wounds Salonica Dec 23 1917	Waterford
<b>Barry</b>	Patrick	5693	Private	5th Connaught Rangers	Died Salonica Nov. 11 1915	Waterford
<b>Barry</b>	Richard	1983	Private	7th, Royal Irish Reg.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 21 1914	Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford
<b>Barry</b>	Thomas	10731	Private	Royal Irish Regiment 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Mar. 21 1918 MM	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Barry</b>	William	2413	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 1 1914	Kilrossanty, Co. Waterford
<b>Batterson</b>	Peter	34621	Private	Royal Defence Force	Died at home Jan 6 1917	Waterford
<b>Beecher</b>	Edward		Lieutenant	8th Royal Munster Fusiliers	Died of wounds July 19 1916	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Bell</b>	Rupert	SPTS1380	Private	23rd, Royal Fusiliers	Killed in action F & F Aug. 2 1916	Cathedral, Waterford
<b>Biggane</b>	Michael D.	2738	Private	Canadian Army Service Corps	Died Nov. 10 1918	Buried Ballylanean Cemetery
<b>Biggs</b>	Colin	420827	Private	Canadian Scottish 79th Camerons	Died at Ypres June 13 1916	Son of Capt. Biggs <sup>1</sup>
<b>Bluett</b>	Joseph	8637	Lance Sgt	Munster Fusiliers 1st Batt.	Died at Gallipoli July 9 1915	Dungarvan, Co. Waterford
<b>Boland</b>	Daniel	6550	Private	2nd Royal Irish Reg.	Killed F & F Sept. 3 1916	Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford
<b>Boland</b>	Maurice	747	Lance Sgt	Munster Fusiliers 2nd Batt.	Died in F & F Sept. 25 1916	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
<b>Bowers</b>	Charles	152470	Sapper	Corps of the Royal Engineers	Died in Egypt May 4 1917	Not given <sup>2</sup>
<b>Breen</b>	James	4705	Private	2nd Royal Irish Reg.	Killed F & F July 1 1916	St John's, Waterford

1 Son of Capt. T. Biggs, Dungarvan

2 He resided at Portlaw and enlisted at Dungarvan.

<b>Bregan</b>	Paul	9370	Private	Munster Fusiliers 1st Batt.	Killed at Gallipoli Aug. 21 1915	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
<b>Brennan</b>	Kieran J	50140	Private	1st Batt. Royal Fus.	Killed in F & F July 31 1917	Waterford
<b>Brett</b>	Patrick	4877	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died at home Jan. 25 1916	Tramore, Co. Waterford
<b>Brien</b>	David	6615	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in F & F Oct. 19 1914	Knockbeg, Co. Waterford
<b>Brien</b>	Michael	8178	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in F & F Aug. 24 1914	Kereen, Co. Waterford
<b>Brown</b>	John	5259	Lance Cpl.	14th Royal Irish Rifles	Killed in F & F Mar. 23 1918	Corbally, Co. Waterford
<b>Brown</b>	John	9566	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in F & F Sept. 17 1916	Carriekbeg, Co. Waterford
<b>Brown</b>	Patrick	11232	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in F & F May 1 1916	St John's, Waterford
<b>Brown</b>	Richard	18496	Private	1st Royal Dublin Fus.	Killed at Gallipoli June 30 1915	Waterford
<b>Browner</b>	John	43014	Private	Royal Irish Fus. 7th/8th Batt.	Killed in F & F May 9 1917	Waterford
<b>Buckley</b>	John	43018	Lance Cpl.	Royal Irish Fus. 7th/8th Batt.	Killed in F & F June 7 1918	Waterford
<b>Burke</b>	John	17588	Private	1st Royal Dublin Fus.	Killed at Gallipoli Aug. 7 1915	Waterford
<b>Burke</b>	Michael	8763	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in F & F June 7 1917	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Burke</b>	William	9689	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in F & F May 26 1915	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Burke</b>	Thomas	12009	Private	Welsh Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in F & F March 10 1915	Dungarvan
<b>Butler</b>	Joseph	17041	Private	Royal Inniskilling Fus. 1st Batt.	Killed in F & F July 1 1916	Ponlaw, Co. Waterford
<b>Butler</b>	Pierce	9335	Rifleman	1st Royal Irish Rifles	Died of wounds F & F June 29 1916	Waterford
<b>Butler</b>	William	538	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in F & F Nov. 1 1914	Aglish, Co. Waterford
<b>Butler</b>	Matthew	4722	Lance Corp.	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in F & F Aug. 27 1916	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Butler</b>	Nicholas	7047	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Died at Salomica Feb. 4 1916	Ballybricken
<b>Cahill</b>	James	5723	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in F & F Oct. 19 1914	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Cahill</b>	Patrick	5117	Private	19th Hussars	Died British Expedition Force May 24 1915	Waterford
<b>Callaghan</b>	William	11167	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Killed in F & F April 12 1918	Newtown, Co. Waterford
<b>Canty</b>	Thomas	7325	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action Palestine Dec. 28 1917	St John's, Waterford
<b>Carberry</b>	James	7609	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 21 1918	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Carberry</b>	Michael	6690	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Carew</b>	Edward	46134	Sapper	Royal Engineers 5th Reserve Batt.	Died at sea Oct 10 1918	Waterford
<b>Carew</b>	Robert		Colonel	Royal Munster Fusiliers	Died Feb. 11 1917. Buried Waterford	Rossduff, Co. Waterford
<b>Carey</b>	Patrick	T/4086558	Driver	Royal Army Service Corps	Died at home Aug. 11 1915	Four Mills, Waterford
<b>Carter</b>	Alfred	5341	Private	5th Royal Irish Lancers	Killed in action F & F May 24 1915	Gracedieu, Waterford
<b>Casey</b>	Michael F		Captain	Royal Munster Fus. 9th Batt.	Died July 19 1916	Stradbally
<b>Casey</b>	Patrick	17661	Private	South Wales Borderers 5th Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 5 1916	Kill. Co. Waterford
<b>Cashin</b>	Edward	10106	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action Palestine Mar. 10 1918	Kilmacow, Co. Waterford
<b>Castles</b>	William	5983	Sergeant	Cornwall's Light Infantry 1st Batt.	Killed in action in F & F Sept. 15 1914	Ardmore, Co. Waterford

<b>Cavanagh</b>	Edward	52432	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Died in Mesopotamia Sept. 27 1916	Waterford
<b>Chambers</b>	Robert	3302	Acting Sgt	7th Leinster Reg.	Killed in action in F & F June 7 1917	St John's, Waterford
<b>Chittick</b>	Thomas	9995	Rifleman	Royal Irish Rifles, 2nd Batt.	Killed in action in F & F Aug. 26 1914	Ardmore, Co. Waterford
<b>Clarke</b>	Richard	2297	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 4 1917	Waterford
<b>Clarke</b>	William	5449	Sergeant	Connaught Rangers, 3rd Batt.	Died at home May 29 1915	St John's, Waterford
<b>Cleary</b>	Thomas	13320	Sapper	Royal Engineers 59th Field Comp.	Died of wounds F & F Nov. 13 1918	Waterford
<b>Cleary</b>	William	54142	Lance Corp.	Welsh Reg. 18th Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 19 1917	Kilmacow, Co. Waterford
<b>Coady</b>	Michael	36159	Private	Welsh Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 2 1915	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Coady</b>	Patrick	6692	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 6 1915	Portlaw, Co. Waterford
<b>Coghlan</b>	Gerard N	981	Private	Special Cavalry Reserve	Killed in action F & F Aug. 19 1917	Waterford
<b>Colbert</b>	James	6299	Sergeant	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F May 31 1915	Ballinameela, Aghlish.
<b>Colbert</b>	John	3566	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery	Died in F & F Sept. 17 1916	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Colbert</b>	Patrick	2638	Private	Loyal North Lancs Reg. 10th Batt.	Killed in action F & F April 11 1917	Killea, Co. Waterford
<b>Colbert</b>	Thomas	10007	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died in F & F Sept. 25 1914	Aghish, Co. Waterford
<b>Coleman</b>	Michael	9605	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 20 1917	Dungarvan, Co. Waterford
<b>Collins</b>	James	8366	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 26 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Collins</b>	John	14033	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 9 1916	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Collins</b>	Joseph	9893	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F April 26 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Collins</b>	Michael	10259	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 8 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Collins</b>	Patrick	79988	2nd Corp	Royal Engineers	Killed in action F & F Mar. 29 1918	Waterford
<b>Collins</b>	Stephen	6347	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Collins</b>	Thomas	10378	Private	7th Leinster Reg.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 9 1916	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Colthorpe</b>	George	6236	Sergeant	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Mar. 16 1915	St Mary's, Waterford
<b>Comerford</b>	James	6486	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Corbally, Co. Waterford
<b>Condon</b>	John	6322	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt	Killed in action F & F May 24 1915	Dungarvan, Co. Waterford
<b>Condon</b>	Michael	19510	Private	2nd Royal Dublin Fus.	Died of wounds F & F July 8 1915	St. Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Condon</b>	Stephen	33119	Private	East Lancashire Reg. 13th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 22 1918	Waterford
<b>Connell</b>	Richard	12337	Guardsmen	Grenadier Guards, 4th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 25 1915	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Connell</b>	Thomas	9487	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F April 24 1915	Faha, Co. Waterford
<b>Connelly</b>	John	4886	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 12 1915	St John's, Waterford
<b>Connelly</b>	John	7622	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 23 1914	Dungarvan, Co. Waterford
<b>Connolly</b>	Patrick	10633	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 14 1916	Ferrybank, Waterford
<b>Connolly</b>	William	7755	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Tramore, Co. Waterford
<b>Connors</b>	John	7295	Corporal	1st Royal Irish Rifles.	Killed in Action F & F July 1916	Trinity Without, Waterford



<b>Connors</b>	Michael	6341	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Conroy</b>	Denis	41600	Private	South Staffordshire Reg. 4th	Died F & F Oct. 10 1918	Waterford
<b>Conroy</b>	Samuel	3612	Lance Corp.	Royal Irish Rifles 3rd Batt.	Died at home June 30 1915	Cork <sup>3</sup>
<b>Conway</b>	James	M/2130587	Private	Royal Army Service Corps	Died at home Sept. 1 1916	Waterford
<b>Conway</b>	James	10001	Sergeant	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Died of wounds at home Oct. 6 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Cooke</b>	Michael	10300	Private <sup>4</sup>	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 15 1915	Moongoin, Co. Waterford
<b>Corcoran</b>	Matthew	4684	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 24 1915	Kilmacthomas, Co. Wat.
<b>Corcoran</b>	Patrick	5400	Private	6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons.	Killed in action F & F Feb. 11 1915	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Coreri</b>	Francis	7334	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 4th Batt.	Died at home Dec. 27 1916	Waterford
<b>Costigan</b>	Richard	4822	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died in F & F Mar. 2 1916	Carriek-on-Suir, Co. Wat.
<b>Cotter</b>	Harry	7268	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Oct. 11 1915	Waterford
<b>Coughlan</b>	Michael	7110	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 19 1916	St John's, Waterford
<b>Croke</b>	David	7496	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action at Salonica Nov. 21 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Croke</b>	Martin	288203	Airman	Royal Air Force	Died Aug 5 1919	Waterford
<b>Croke</b>	Michael	9203	Lance Corp.	Connaught Rangers 1st Batt.	Died in Mesopotamia April 27 1916	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Croke</b>	Thomas	5233	Rifleman	Royal Irish Rifles 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F July 9 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Croke</b>	William	3432	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery	Killed in action F & F Nov. 4 1916	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Cronin</b>	James	58297	Bombardier	Royal Field Artillery	Killed in action F & F Oct. 4 1917	Tallow, Co. Waterford
<b>Cronin</b>	Patrick	18447	Private	7th Northhamphshire Reg.	Died of wounds F & F May 17 1916	Kilgobinet [sic], Co. Kerry <sup>5</sup>
<b>Cronin</b>	Timothy	24484	Private	Cheshire Reg. 1/6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 31 1917	Waterford
<b>Crotty</b>	Lawrence	62614	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Killed in action F & F July 4 1914	Waterford
<b>Crotty</b>	Michael	36513	Private	Royal Defence Corps	Died at home Aug. 8 1918	Portlaw, Co. Waterford
<b>Crowe</b>	Francis G	6940	Sergeant	Royal Munster Fusiliers 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 18 1918	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
<b>Crowley</b>	James	17029	Private	7th Royal Irish Fus.	Died of wounds F & F Aug. 3 1916	Waterford
<b>Cuddihy</b>	Patrick	4388	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 8th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 9 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Cuffe</b>	Patrick	18139	Private	Machine Gun Corp. Infantry 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 24 1918	Tallow, Co. Waterford
<b>Cullen</b>	Joseph	6409	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 5th Batt.	Died at home July 14 1915	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Cullen</b>	Michael	2193	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 18 1915	Dunmore, Co. Waterford
<b>Culleton</b>	James	12291	Private	Royal Dublin Fus. 8th Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 1 1916	Ferrybank, Waterford
<b>Culleton</b>	John	10524	Private	Connaught Rangers 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 14 1914	Kilmacow, Co. Waterford

3 Enlisted at Dungarvan.

4 Private (Acting Corporal).

5 Enlisted at Dungarvan

Culleton	Martin	1458	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 6 1914	Ballybricken, Waterford
Cummins	John	11033	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 5 1916	St Patrick's, Waterford
Cummins	Michael	6321	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 11 1915	Kill, Co. Waterford
Curran	Michael	6619	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Sept. 15 1916	Waterford
Dalton	John	11742	Private	Royal Irish Fus. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 13 1915	Waterford
Dalton	Thomas	6589	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died at home March 31 1916	Dungarvan
Daly	J	32461	Private	1st Garrison Batt. Bedfordshire Reg.	Died Nov. 13 1919	Buried Faithlegg
Daly	Michael	1926	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 1 1914	Kilrossanty, Co. Waterford
Daly	Patrick	26577	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery.	Died in India Jan. 11 1915	Kilmacthomas, Co. Wat.
Daly	Patrick	11113	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F June 3 1916	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
Damer	Timothy	6956	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds May 24 1918	St Patrick's, Waterford
Daniels	James	8285	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 26 1914	Portlaw, Co. Waterford
Darcy	Daniel	21029	Private	6th Inniskilling Dragoons	Died in F & F Feb. 15 1915	Tramore, Co. Waterford
Davin	Thomas	10568	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 31 1917	Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford
Day	John	5228	Rifleman	1st Royal Irish Rifles	Died of wounds F & F Nov. 30 1917	Waterford
Day	Michael	32908	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Died of wounds F & F Aug. 20 1917	Waterford
Daye	Richard	6443	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 9 1915	Mooncoin
Daye	John	27702	Private	7th Royal Inniskilling Fus.	Killed in action F & F April 27 1916	Kilmacthomas, Co. Wat.
Delahunty	John	8073	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 15 1916	Waterford
Delaney	James	205530	Sapper	Royal Engineers Water Transport	Died in F & F May 20 1917	Waterford
Denn	John J	10164	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F May 26 1915	Ballybricken, Waterford
Dennehy	James	9537	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 3 1917	Dungarvan, Co. Waterford
Devine	William F	283	Private	16th Lancers (The Queens).	Died of wounds F & F Feb. 24 1915	Tallow, Co. Waterford
Dillon	William	6622	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
Dineen	Daniel	241953	Lance Cpl.	Hampshire Reg. 2/5th Territorial Batt.	Killed in action Egypt April 10 1918	Co. Waterford
Dobbyn	Michael	1885	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F June 6 1916	Kilmacow, Co. Waterford
Dobbyn	Robert N		2nd Lieutenant	Royal Flying Corps	Accidentally killed while flying Nov. 23 1916	Waterford
Deheny	Martin	5471	Gunsmith	Scots Guards	Died at home Oct. 31 1915	Waterford
Doherty	Patrick	6446	Corporal	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F April 27 1915	St John's, Waterford
Donnelly	Maurice	8747	Private	2nd Royal Inniskilling Fus.	Killed in action F & F June 27 1916	Crook, Co. Waterford
Doody	Patrick	16477	Private	7th Royal Irish Fus.	Died of wounds F & F Sept 6 1916	Ferrybank
Douch	Albert E	12459	Private	Royal Dublin Fus. 7th Batt.	Killed in action Gallipoli Sept. 27 1915	Waterford

<b>Dower</b>	Patrick	4412	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F July 15 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Downey</b>	James	7357	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 7th Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 21 1918	Grange, Co. Waterford
<b>Doyle</b>	John	10322	Rifleman	1st Royal Irish Rifles.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 16 1917	Waterford
<b>Doyle</b>	M.	81855	R.N.R.	HMS "Eagle III"	Died March 11 1920	Gaffney's Lane
<b>Drake</b>	Denis	17431	Sergeant	Royal Garrison Artillery	Killed in action F & F June 10 1917	Waterford
<b>Driscoll</b>	Augustine	10345	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 2 1915	Dungarvan
<b>Driscoll</b>	Dennis	G/22680	Private	3rd Reserve Garrison Batt.	Died at home Oct. 10 1918	Waterford
<b>Drohan</b>	Michael	4082	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 15 1915	Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford
<b>Drummy</b>	James	42308	Private	1st Auckland Reg.	Near Ieper Belgium Oct. 4 1917	Abbeyside, Dungarvan
<b>Ducey</b>	Martin	5834	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 18 1915	Modeligo, Co. Waterford
<b>Duggan</b>	Maurice	11252	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Died of wounds F & F June 7 1917	Kill, Co. Waterford
<b>Duggan</b>	William	16497	Private	Royal Irish Fus. 5th Batt.	Killed in action Salonica Sept. 15 1916	Waterford
<b>Dumphy</b>	Michael	128656	Private	Machine Gun Corp., Infantry 1st Batt.	Died in India Aug. 19 1918	St Anne's, Waterford
<b>Dunne</b>	James	10901	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 15 1914	Dungarvan
<b>Dunne</b>	James	8379	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 1st Batt.	Killed in action Gallipoli April 25 1915	St John's, Waterford
<b>Dunne</b>	William	9973	Private	2nd Leinster Reg.	Died of wounds F & F May 2 1915	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Dunne</b>	Martin	6940	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery	Killed in action F & F Aug. 24 1916	Dungarvan
<b>Dunphy</b>	James	10427	Private	Connaught Rangers 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F April 26 1915	Kilmacow, Co. Waterford
<b>Dwyer</b>	Michael	7286	Private	Royal Irish Regiment 1st Batt.	Salonika Oct. 17 1916	Kilmacoma, Co. Waterford
<b>Earl</b>	Daniel	4228	Lance Corp.	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 15 1916	Waterford
<b>English</b>	James	4414	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 9th Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 27 1916	Waterford, Waterford
<b>Eustace</b>	Edward	7514	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 4 1916	Waterford
<b>Eustace</b>	John	7556	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 5 1916	Waterford
<b>Fahy</b>	Denis	5394	Private <sup>10</sup>	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 12 1917	Waterford
<b>Fahy</b>	William J	10157	Sergeant	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 3 1916	Waterford
<b>Fanning</b>	Michael	5393	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 3 1916	Waterford
<b>Farrell</b>	Edward	T4/083315	Driver	Royal Army Service Corps	Killed in action F & F Sept. 3 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Farrell</b>	Michael	4189	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died in Egypt Aug. 11 1917	Waterford
<b>Fausset</b>	Vivian H	14181	Private	Royal Dublin Fus. 7th Batt.	Died of wounds F & F July 14 1916	Waterford
<b>Fenton</b>	James	41953	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery	Died of wounds Gallipoli Aug. 7 1915	Waterford
					Killed in action F & F Nov. 4 1917	Lismore, Co. Waterford

8 From Gaffney's Lane, Waterford

9 3rd Reserve Garrison Batt., Royal Irish Fusiliers

10 Private (Acting Corporal)

<b>Fernie</b>	Noel	10518	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Kilnacow, Co. Waterford
<b>Field</b>	John	16793	Private	6th Royal Irish Fus.	Killed in action at Gallipoli Aug. 16 1915	Waterford
<b>Finn</b>	Michael	40718	Sergeant	Royal Garrison Artillery.	Killed in action F & F Feb. 19 1918	Rahgormack, Co. Waterford
<b>Finn</b>	Patrick	62284	Private	Canterbury Reg. 1st Batt. NZEF	F & F June 2, 1918	Ballyduff Upper
<b>Fisher</b>	Hubert P		2nd Lt.	Shropshire Light Infantry	Killed in action F & F July 9 1916	Co. Waterford
<b>Fisher</b>	Oswald		Chaplin	Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force	Killed in Persia Nov. 4 1920	Waterford
<b>Fitzgerald</b>	Edward	9481	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 16 1917	Kilmaethomas, Co. Wat.
<b>Fitzgerald</b>	James	10012	Private	Royal Munster Fusiliers 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 9 1915	Stradbally, Co. Waterford
<b>Fitzgerald</b>	John	89	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 5th Batt.	Killed in action Gallipoli Aug. 19 1915	Waterford
<b>Fitzgerald</b>	Michael	7556	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Oct. 21 1915	Clashmore, Co. Waterford
<b>Fitzgerald</b>	Patrick	22144	Private	Devonshire Reg. 1st Batt.	Died of wounds F & F May 21 1917	Waterford
<b>Fitzpatrick</b>	Andrew	10029	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Aug. 12 1917	Waterford
<b>Fitzpatrick</b>	Matthew	10123	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 21 1918	Slieverue <sup>11</sup>
<b>Fitzpatrick</b>	Patrick	3280	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery	Died in F & F Dec. 25 1916	Kill, Co. Waterford
<b>Fitzpatrick</b>	Richard	9630	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Feb. 23 1915	Passage East, Co. Waterford
<b>Fives</b>	Patrick	13459	Private	4th South Wales Borderes	Killed in action Mesopotamia April 9 1916	Waterford
<b>Flaherty</b>	Michael	26456	Private	South Lancashire Reg. 115th Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 13 1918	Waterford
<b>Flannery</b>	Thomas J	26829	Private	Royal Dublin Fus. 10th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 13 1916	Ferrybank, Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	Charles C	1475	Private	8th King's Royal Irish Hussars	Killed in action F & F Nov. 13 1917	Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	Edmund	7381	Private	Royal Irish Reg. Depot	Died at home Nov. 6 1918	Coolnamuck, Carrickbeg <sup>12</sup>
<b>Flynn</b>	James	6524	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	John	9208	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F April 24 1915	Tramore, Co. Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	Joseph	8981	Rifleman	Royal Irish Rifles 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 9 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	Marin	7438	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Died Salomica Jan. 11 1916	Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	Patrick	6130	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Wat.
<b>Flynn</b>	Patrick	11233	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Sept. 4 1917	Aglish, Co. Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	William	7874	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 5th Batt.	Buried at sea Jan. 24 1918	Fourmilwater, Co. Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	William	10079	Sergeant	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 21 1915	St John's, Waterford
<b>Flynn</b>	William Francis	S/20101	Private	Princess Louise's 12th Batt.	Killed in action Salomika Sept. 19 1918	Residence, Kilmaethomas
<b>Foley</b>	David	307021	Private	King's Liverpool Reg. 8th Batt.	Killed in action F & F June 10 1917	Aglish, Co. Waterford
<b>Foley</b>	Thomas F	RTS/7604	Sergeant	Royal Army Service Corps	Died at home Aug. 12 1917	Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Wat.

<sup>11</sup> Enlisted in Waterford

<sup>12</sup> Coolnamuck, Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford



*Lance-Corporal Richard Fitzpatrick,  
Affane, single. Died 23 February 1915.  
Commemorated at Voormelele, Ieper  
(or Ypres), Belgium.*



*Denis McGrath, 9560,  
Patrick St, Dungarvan.  
Killed 11 September 1916, aged 28.*



*Thomas Power, 3183.  
Australian Imperial Force.  
Died 31 May 1918 in France, aged 35.  
From Dungarvan.*



*Preserved trenches near Ypres (Ieper).*

<b>Forde</b>	Frank	26437	Private	Royal Dublin Fus. 10th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 10 1916	Dungarvan
<b>Forsey</b>	Fred	10788	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died May 8 1915	Dunmore East, Co. Wat.
<b>Forsey</b>	Fredrick.	5612	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	St John's, Waterford
<b>Fowler</b>	Michael	10788	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 8 1915	Killea, Dunmore East <sup>13</sup>
<b>Fraher</b>	Patrick	21949	Private	Royal Dublin Fus. 7th Batt.	Killed in action Gallipoli Aug. 16 1915	Waterford
<b>Franklin</b>	Patrick	34741	Private	King's Liverpool Reg. 4th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 28 1916	Waterford
<b>Freeman</b>	James	10282	Private	Royal Irish Regt. 6th Batt.	Died of wounds F & F June 9 1917	Bloomsbury, Middx. <sup>14</sup>
<b>French</b>	Patrick	5533	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Jan. 10 1917	Tallow, Co. Waterford
<b>Furlong</b>	Thomas	6775	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Gaffney</b>	Adam	25311	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 7th Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 21 1918	St John's, Waterford
<b>Galvin</b>	Richard	8265	Private	2nd Leinster Reg.	Died of wounds F & F Aug. 13 1915	Portlaw, Co. Waterford
<b>Gamble</b>	William	16507	Lance Corp.	7th Royal Irish Fus.	Died of wounds F & F April 30 1916	Ballyduff, Co. Waterford
<b>Garrey</b>	Stephen	21863	Private	1st Royal Dublin Fus.	Killed in action at Gallipoli Dec. 22 1915	Waterford
<b>Gatward</b>	Robert	11464	Lance Corp.	1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Inf.	Killed in action July 23 1916	Waterford
<b>Gatward</b>	William J	40731	Lance Corp.	City Of London Yeomanry	Died of wounds Palestine Nov. 14 1917	Waterford
<b>Gaule</b>	John	29019	Private	Machine Gun Corp. Infantry. 1st Batt.	Died in F & F July 4 1918	Glennore <sup>15</sup>
<b>Gaule</b>	Martin	10045	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 24 1915	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Gaule</b>	Martin	10006	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F May 31 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Gaule</b>	William	6074	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died in F & F May 28 1915	Tramore, Co. Waterford
<b>Gaule</b>	William	8726	Sergeant	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 3 1916	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Gavin</b>	Martin	7545	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Sept. 12 1916	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Gavin</b>	Richard	8265	Private	2nd Leinster Reg.	Died of wounds F & F Aug. 13 1915	Portlaw, Co. Waterford
<b>Geary</b>	Patrick	3780	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 22 1915	Waterford
<b>Geoghagan</b>	John	53643	Gunner	Royal Garrison Artillery	Killed in action F & F June 30 1917	Waterford
<b>Geoghagan</b>	William	88469	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery 48th Bty.	Died Feb. 17 1919	Buried St Omer's Cemetery
<b>Gibson</b>	Patrick	820133	Private	12th Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders	Killed in action Salonica Sept. 19 1918	Waterford
<b>Gleeson</b>	Kieran	23026	Sapper	Royal Engineers, 9th Field Co.	Died of wounds F & F Dec. 21 1916	Slieverue <sup>16</sup>
<b>Goggin</b>	Michael	4272	Private	2nd Royal Irish Reg.	Killed in action F & F May 24 1915	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Gorbey</b>	Francis	8930	Private L/C	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F April 23 1915	Willierstown, Co. Wat.

13 Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford

14 Enlisted in Dungarvan

15 Enlisted in Waterford

16 Enlisted in Waterford

<b>Gorman</b>	Peter	1763	Private	Welsh Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 26 1916	Waterford
<b>Gough</b>	Michael	11431	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 27 1918	Carrigera, Co. Waterford
<b>Gough</b>	William	8459	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 26 1916	Ferrybank, Waterford
<b>Grant</b>	Edward	101149	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Died of wounds F & F Aug. 15 1917	Waterford
<b>Grant</b>	Maurice	261260	Private	Northumberland Fus. (Tyneside Irish)	Killed in action F & F July 1 1916	Waterford
<b>Grant</b>	Michael	6732	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F May 26 1915	Butlerstown, Co. Waterford
<b>Grant</b>	Patrick	4809	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 4th Batt.	Died at home April 28 1918	Glenmore <sup>17</sup>
<b>Grant</b>	Patrick	7482	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 15 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Grant</b>	Richard	8798	Private	1st East Lancashire Reg.	Killed in action F & F May 3 1814	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Green</b>	James	4072	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Green</b>	Thomas	6430	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 21 1918	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Grey</b>	Edward	4283	Private	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 12 1914	Tallow, Co. Waterford
<b>Griffin</b>	Michael	6212	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Oct. 19 1914	Tramore, Co. Waterford
<b>Griffin</b>	Richard	100418	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Killed in action F & F Oct. 17 1918	Kilmore, Tallow, Co. Wat.
<b>Guarins</b>	John	51899	Private	Royal Munster Fus. Depot	Died at home March 23 1915	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
<b>Guest</b>	Frederick	Z7805	Rifleman	1st Batt. Rifle Brigade	Killed in action F & F April 28 1915	Cappoquin, Co. Waterford
<b>Guiry</b>	John	21195	Private	2nd Royal Dublin Fus.	Killed in action F & F July 1 1916	Stradbally, Co. Waterford
<b>Hackett</b>	James	2051	Acting Cpl	Royal Army Medical Corp.	Killed in action F & F April 23 1917	Waterford
<b>Hackett</b>	William	9806	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 9 1916	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Halpin</b>	Patrick	10336	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Died in F & F March 9 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Halpin</b>	William	16203	Private	Royal Irish Fus. 1st Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Aug. 25 1916	Waterford
<b>Hanan</b>	George	25223	Private	Royal Dublin Fus. 10th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 13 1916	Stradbally, Co. Waterford
<b>Hannigan</b>	Patrick	9095	Acting Sgt	Connaught Rangers 1st Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Nov. 3 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Hannigan</b>	Robert	5652	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Died in Mesopotamia July 18 1916	Waterford
<b>Hannon</b>	John	2270	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 3 1916	Dungarvan
<b>Hanrahan</b>	J.	49045	Private	Machine Gun Corps (Inf.)	Died July 2 1920	Buried St Otteran's Cemetery
<b>Harney</b>	John	359688	Sapper	Royal Engineers <sup>18</sup>	Died of wounds F & F March 23 1918	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Harrington</b>	John	7131	Corporal	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 9 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Harris</b>	James	4185	Sergeant	Irish Guards 1st Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 18 1915	Dungarvan
<b>Harrison</b>	John	2760	Sergeant	7th Leinster Reg.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 9 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Hart</b>	Patrick	16536	Private	Royal Irish Fus. 7/8th Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 27 1917	Waterford

17 Enlisted in Waterford

18 Royal Engineers (Formerly Royal Dublin)

<b>Hartery</b>	Michael	7963	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F July 5 1916	Ballybricken, Waterford
<b>Hartley</b>	James	1988	Private	Welsh Reg. 1st Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Feb. 18 1915	Ferrybank, Waterford
<b>Hartley</b>	Patrick	76903	Gunner	Royal Horse Artillery (and Field)	Died of wounds Salonika May 22 1917	Waterford
<b>Harty</b>	John	4053	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Feb. 7 1915	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Hassey</b>	James	43118	Private	1st Royal Dublin Fus.	Killed in action F & F March 1 1917	Waterford
<b>Havens</b>	Oliver	G/26056	Private	3rd, The Buffs (East Kent Reg.)	Died Nov. 27 1918	Buried Templemichael <sup>19</sup>
<b>Hayden</b>	Edward	5274	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 6th Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 9 1916	Slieverue
<b>Hayden</b>	Percy	40102	Private	Scottish Rifles 10th Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Sept. 24 1916	Waterford
<b>Hayes</b>	John	10100	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F May 8 1915	Dungarvan
<b>Hayes</b>	Patrick	19555	Private	South Wales Borderers 2nd Batt.	Died Gallipoli Sept. 25 1915	Waterford
<b>Hayes</b>	Thomas	6353	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F May 8 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Healy</b>	Michael	5130	Sergeant	Royal Munster Fus. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F March 2 1917	Dungarvan
<b>Hearne</b>	James	9061	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F March 27 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Hearne</b>	John	7549	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F June 28 1916	St John's, Waterford
<b>Hearne</b>	John	6464	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 1st Batt.	Died of wounds F & F April 25 1915	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Henley</b>	Peter	8630	Rifleman	1st Royal Irish Rifles	Killed in action F & F Oct. 26 1916	Tallow, Co. Waterford
<b>Hennessey</b>	John	7099	Private	Royal Munster Fus. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Nov. 10 1917	Waterford
<b>Hennessey</b>	Michael	5801	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died at home Feb. 3 1915	St John's, Waterford
<b>Hennessey</b>	Michael	10502	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died of wounds F & F Sept. 22 1914	Trinity Without, Waterford
<b>Hennessey</b>	Patrick	365	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Died in F & F Feb. 17 1917	Kilmacow, Co. Waterford
<b>Herlihy</b>	Patrick	7099	Corporal	1st Leinster Reg.	Killed in action F & F, Feb. 14 1915	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Heron</b>	M.		Able Seaman	Mercantile Marine Reserve	Died Feb. 9 1920	Buried Croke, Co. Waterford
<b>Hickey</b>	Edward	4/9763.	Private	Argyll and Southerland Highlanders <sup>20</sup>	Died of wounds F & F July 26 1916	Waterford
<b>Hickey</b>	Patrick	40551	Gunner	Royal Field Artillery	Died at home March 11 1917	Lismore, Co. Waterford
<b>Higgins</b>	John	4931	Private	Royal Irish Reg. 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F June 7 1917	St Patrick's, Waterford
<b>Hines</b>	William John	6639	Lance Corp.	Coldstream Guards	Died of wounds F & F Oct. 22 1914	Waterford
<b>Hogan</b>	Frank	7269	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 15 1916	Waterford
<b>Hogan</b>	Michael	11090	Private	Irish Guards 2nd Batt.	Killed in action F & F Sept. 4 1917	Portlaw, Co. Waterford
<b>Hogan</b>	William	2964	Private	7th Leinster Reg.	Killed in action F & F July 20 1916	Kilrossanty, Co. Waterford
<b>Horan</b>	Jeremiah	12226	Private	2nd Royal Dublin Fus.	Killed in action F & F July 1 1916	Waterford
<b>Horey</b>	John	7834	Private	4th Dragoon Guards Royal Irish	Killed in action F & F Nov. 3 1914	Tallow, Co. Waterford

19 Buried at Templemichael Churchyard

20 Argyll and Southerland Highlanders 2nd Batt.