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CONTENTS

Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society
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FOREWORD

By J. J. Lee

It is a real pleasure to salute *Decies* on the 25th Anniversary of its launch in 1976. The 'Pilot Issue' reminds one of the progress made since those early heroic but uncertain days. Local history was for long both the cradle and the Cinderella of historical studies in Ireland. While important work was published in local historical journals from the middle of the 19th century, the founding of the periodical Irish Historical Studies as the flagship of historical enquiry in Ireland in the late 1930s paradoxically resulted to some extent in the relegation of local history to second class scholarly status. This was certainly not the intention of the founders of IHS, who indeed devoted substantial space to recording the publications of the local journals in its early years. However, the constant insistence on the 'scientific' nature of history, the very understandable and laudable desire to achieve international recognition for Irish history and historians, led unintentionally to a down grading of work on local history and to a certain condescension towards its 'amateur' status in contrast to the now 'superior' scientific standards achieved by 'national', not to say international historians.

That tendency has now happily been suspended, as the intrinsic importance of local history has come to be realised. One might very well now say, who knows Irish history, who only national history knows. Of course, 'national' and 'local' history are not mutually exclusive. For the best local history, like the best national history, has to be always seen in a wider context in order to allow us place our conclusions in proper comparative perspective.

Decies has made a notable contribution in this regard to deepening our knowledge and understanding of the history of one of the most 'historical' of all Irish localities, whose remarkable experience over the centuries is so graphically illustrated in the splendid Granary Museum.

This is not the place to refer to individual articles, but a survey of the contents reveals the wide range of subjects to which *Decies* has brought illumination. There is something of value here for students of virtually any aspect of Irish as well as of Waterford history. One aspiration of the pilot editorial that seems to me still worthy of further pursuit is the objective of interesting youth in local history through articles relevant to their secondary school studies. At a time of declining numbers taking the subject at second level, and indeed of the levelling impact of 'national', meaning mainly metropolitan influences, it is all the more important that young people be given an opportunity of relating to their own place, and imaginatively conceived articles can be one weapon in that struggle.

It may be permitted a UCC historian to express pride as well as pleasure in the close connection of UCC with *Decies.* Of those who have given such sterling editorial services, for instance, Des Cowman was co-founder, as well as editor of the first thirty issues, while more recent issues carry the editorial stamp of Julian Walton, Greg Fewer and John Hearne.

There is now nothing 'pilot' about the situation as *Decies* sets its face towards the half-century. With the enlightened support of Waterford Corporation, Waterford County Council and the combination of commitment and scholarship brought by editors and contributors, not only have the foundations been well and truly laid, but scholarship of enduring value has been firmly built upon them.

EDITORIAL

THIS is the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Decies,* and as such is a very special milestone in the history of Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society. For the past quarter of a century successive committees have, through thick and thin, ensured the continuous publication of the journal. The result of this painstaking dedication is that from very humble beginnings, Decies has progressed to its present professional and stylish format; a publication that members of the society, past and present, can rightly feel proud of.

Though the format has changed, the founding principle of quality has never been compromised. Furthermore, the content of the journal has, from the start, been eclectic, reflecting the traditional wanderlust of Waterford's commercial diaspora. This has imbued the journal with a colourful and unique cosmopolitan resonance. Two articles from early editions (1977 and 1984) have been reproduced in an attempt to convey the flavour and diversity of the embryonic *Decies.*

Quality, however, comes with a price attached. For the past two years the retail price of *Decies* has not covered publication expenses. Generous subventions from Waterford Corporation, Waterford County Council and a number of Waterford businesses have enabled the journal be sold below cost. In the long run this is not economically viable nor good commercial practice. Escalating costs associated with publication have now forced the committee to increase the price of the journal. This increase will allow the society cover costs and at the same time maintain the present high quality.

The cover of this anniversary edition depicts the William Vincent Wallace Plaza. Constructed as one of the government's millennium projects, it is an aesthetically beautiful example of modern multi-functional architecture that perfectly evokes Waterford's maritime tradition. Waterford Corporation, and chief designer Rupert Maddock, are to be congratulated on this significant addition to the city's architectural heritage.

The recent awarding of official museum status to Waterford Granary and the appointment of Eamonn McEneaney as its curator is a major achievement for Waterford. In its short life (opened in 1999) the Granary, under the astute direction of Eamonn and the unstinting financial support of Waterford Corporation, has more than justified the decision to initiate such a venture to act as repository for Waterford's historic and archaeological treasures. Along with Waterford Municipal Archives, the city now boasts two invaluable assets that help advance knowledge of Waterford's past and, in so doing help shape its future. However, these excellent initiatives are hampered by a deficient city library service. There is, and has been for many years, general public concern in Waterford regarding the deterioration of Waterford Municipal Library. One could argue that it is now (and has been for some time past) very difficult to undertake serious scholarly research therein. While acknowledging that the Granary and Archive have absorbed much capital investment recently, and that there are plans afoot to extend the library building,

the provision of an effective library service is a basic necessity, and one that Waterford's public is entitled to.

While *Decies* is the flagship of the Society, it would be remiss of me not to mention the invaluable work of the committee who organise the various speakers for the Society's public lectures during the Autumn and Winter months and the many visits to historical and archaeological sites during the Summer months. In editing *Decies* I am fortunate in having at my disposal the invaluable expertise and advise of the editorial committee, Dr. Eugene Broderick, Eamonn McEneaney and Jack Burchaell. Such proficiency ensures that the journal is of the highest standard, and that my job as editor is a relatively painless exercise. The Society also owes a debt of gratitude to Eddie Synnott who has expertly type-set the journal for many years. With such expertise and dedication available, and of course the willingness of contributors from far and near to selflessly ensure a steady stream of original articles, the future of Decies is assured; at least for the next twenty-five years.

The recent death of John Mulholland has been brought to my attention. During the 1980's John briefly served as editor of *Decies,* and contributed many original articles to the journal. On behalf of the Society I would like to extend our condolences to John's family. A full appreciation will appear in *Decies* **58.** I ríocht Dé go raibh sé go deo.

List of Contributors

Micheál Briody grew up in Lower Crehanagh near Carrickbeg, Co. Waterford. He received his secondary education in De La Salle College, Waterford and subsequently studied Irish Folklore and Modern Irish at University College Dublin. After leaving U.C.D. he spent two years on a scholarship studying folkloristics at the University of Helsinki. He has been living in Finland for many years and is a lecturer at the Language Centre of the University of Helsinki.,

Eugene Broderick is a native of Cork city but has been domiciled in Waterford city for many years. He teaches History and English at Our Lady of Mercy Secondary School in the city. Has contributed many articles to *Decies* and other national journals, as well as to many books on Waterford during the 1990s. He is a graduate of NUI Cork and holds a PhD (2000) and MA (1991).

Niall J Byrne spent his early childhood in Tramore, Co. Waterford. Has worked all his adult life in veterinary practice in Waterford and south Kilkenny and is currently the veterinary officer for Waterford Corporation. Has an MA (1998) in Medieval History from NUI Cork and also holds B. Div. (1996) from the University of London. This is his first contribution to *Decies.*

Rosemarie Donnelly has just completed a single honours degree in History at University College, Cork, where she is currently working on her PhD. She resides in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

John M Hearne is a native of Waterford and teaches History and Economics at St Paul's Community College in the city. A graduate of NUI Cork, he is current editor of *Decies* to which he has been a regular contributor. He has also contributed to many books pertaining to Waterford's history.

Ben Murtagh received a BA in Archaeology and History from National University of Ireland, Dublin, in 1979, and an MA in archaeology in 1982.

J.J. Lee is Head of the Department of History at University College Cork. Professor Lee's publications on Irish, European and American History include *Ireland 1912-1985* (Cambridge 1990), which was awarded the Aer Lingus/Irish Times Prize for Literature, as well as the Donnelly Prize of the American Conference for Irish Studies, and the *Sunday Independent*/Irish Life Prize for History.

Emmet O'Connor is a native of Waterford and a lecturer at Magee College, University of Ulster. He co-edits *Saothar,* the Journal of the Irish Labour History Society and is author of *A Labour History of Waterford* (1989) and *A Labour History of Ireland* (1995). At present he is working on a history of relations between Ireland and the Communist International.

Padraig Ó Machain is a native of Lismore Co. Waterford, and is currently Assistant Professor at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. He is founder and co-editor of An Linn Bhui: Iris Ghaelacht na nDeise.

Anthony McCan was born in Adamstown, Co. Wexford, but now lives in Cork. He has published articles in the *Tipperary Historical Society Journal* and the *Old Kilkenny Review.* He is a grand-nephew of the Mary Anne Power of whom he has written in this edition of *Decies.*

Thomas F Overlander is a resident of Austin, Texas, and a member of the California Bar Association where he practised as a civil trial advocate prior to his retirement in 1996. He holds a Doctor of Laws degree from Southwestern University (1973), and a Bachelor of Arts degree in History from The City College of New York (1964). He is a collector of historical manuscripts, former Trustee of the Manuscript Society, and the son of Theresa Cavanagh, a descendant of the Cavanagh family of Cappoquin.

Thomas P Power is a historian living in Ontario, Canada. He has written extensively on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish politics and was co-editor, in 1992, of *Waterford History and Society.*

Trevor Roper was born in Derbyshire, England. He has lived near Piltown, Co. Kilkenny, for some twenty years. He works as an adult education teacher in the south east. His poetry collections include the *Hen Ark* (1991), *Catching the Light* (1997) and *The Home Fire* (1998). He was editor of *Poetry Ireland* for 1999.

Julian Walton graduated from Oxford University in 1962. After working for many years as a schoolteacher, he joined Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre in 1990. He supervised a FÁS scheme for the conservation of Christ Church Cathedral Library and is currently working in U.C.C. He has had a lifelong interest in the history of Waterford city and county, specialising in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He has been on the editorial committee of *The Irish Genealogist* and is a former editor of *Decies.* His publications include papers on the Aylward and Bolton families, and he wrote the text of *The Royal Charters of Waterford,* published by Waterford Corporation.

Waterford's Iron Exports and the 30 Years War

By Thomas P. Power

THE THIRTY Years War (1618-1648) was the most prolonged, vicious and destructive war ever fought until the twentieth century. As with all wars, the only people who benefited were those that supplied the armies with food or armaments. In this latter capacity Waterford had a small role to play. Iron was demanded in great quantities for cannons and other weaponry, and Waterford provided this iron in two different ways.

First there were the iron mines of West Waterford, along the banks of the Bride and Blackwater. These had been in production in the 1590s under Sir Walter Raleigh, and since 1604 were run by Robert Boyle, Earl of Cork. They do not seem to have prospered until the Thirty Years War began. So from 1619 we find him negotiating with Dutch merchants for the sale of Waterford bar iron and shot. We have a fair record of theses dealings from the Lismore Castle Papers (first and second series). By 1620 a new double furnace had been built at Cappoquin with new forges at Kilmacoe and Tallow.

From 1624, however, the war took a new turn, with the Dutch resuming hostilities against Spain, and Britain actively intervening for the first time against Wallenstein. Boyle now began to manufacture cannon at Cappoquin and built two new furnaces at Mocollop, as well as a nail factory. It would be safe to assume that most of this production went to supply the British, Dutch and North German Confederation. Boate (*Natural History of Ireland,* published 1645) estimates that Boyle 'hath profited above one hundred thousand pounds clear by his said iron works'.

If this is so, the boom period seems to have been comparatively short, ending with the Treaty of Libeck in 1629. Even though the war resumed the following year, neither Britain nor Holland were involved and so the demand for Waterford Ordnance ceased. Certainly from 1630 Boyle seems to have had great difficulty selling his iron, and the works appear to have been destroyed in the rebellion of 1641, not to be resumed again (although an iron works seems to have been revived for a while at nearby Araglin about 100 years later).

We know far less about Waterford's second contribution to the war, and here we depend on Boate alone. It appears that Waterford City acted as a trans-shipment port for bar iron coming all the way down the Nore from Sir Charles Coote's mines and smelters at Mountrath. It is difficult to imagine how this could have been done, but Boate describes the iron arriving in Waterford in shallow boats called 'cots' which were 'made of one piece of timber'. Although he considers these cots as 'ill-favoured', yet he attributes Coote's profits of £6 per ton to 'the conveniency of transport'. He does not give exact dates, but as Coote's mines were contem-

poraneous with Boyle's (they were in partnership around 1630 to work the Arigna mines) it is reasonable to assume that at least some of this iron also found its way to the battlefields of Europe. Coote's works too were destroyed in 1641 and that ended Waterford's role as a mineral exporter until the development of the copper trade in the middle of the eighteenth century.

A Spanish Poetess of Co. Waterford origins: María Gertrudis Hore (1742-1801)

By Julian C. Walton

IT WILL come as a surprise to many to learn that Co. Waterford produced a talented Spanish poetess in the eighteenth century; yet such is the case.

María Gertrudis Hore, born in Cádiz in 1742, was the only child of Miguel Hore and María Ana Ley. Her father was a native of Dungarvan, where he was born about the year 1700. His parents were Michael Hore and Margaret Mansfield. Both families were well known locally. The senior branch of the Hores belonged to the very few Catholic landed families who had kept their estates through the Crowmwellian and Williamite confiscations,but Michael almost certainly belonged to a junior branch who had long been merchants in Dungarvan; there are records of them from the early sixteenth century, they had connections with Spain, and they frequently used the name Michael. The Mansfields were also a Catholic landed family, their seat being at Ballinamultina.

During the late seventeenth century, Irish trade with Spain centred on Bilbao in the Basque country, and the name Hore occurs among those of Irish merchants who settled there. In the following generation, however, it was Cádiz in the very south of Spain that attracted emigrant Irish merchants. This city, built on what was virtually an island at the head of a large bay, was in the midst of dramatic changes. Up till now, the headquarters of the trade between Spain and her American colonies had been the ancient city of Seville, but Seville does not lie on the coast, and the river Guadalquivir, up which the ships had to pass, was proving too small to accommodate all the traffic. In 1717 a monopoly of all the American trade was granted to Cádiz; as a result it became a boom town, the population rising from about 10,000 to over 70,000 in half a century. Many of the merchants who made their fortunes there were foreigners, principally French, Flemings and Italians and among them was a small but vigorous group of Irishmen. When Miguel Hore arrived in Cádiz, he would have found himself among Geraldines and Goughs from Waterford, Langtons and Leys from Kilkenny, Geynans from New Ross, and so on.

Miguel had a brother Ignacio, who was also briefly in Cádiz, where he made a will in 1748; however, I have found no other records of him there, and he may have gone on to settle in one of the American colonies. Miguel's first business partner was called Brown: possibly Eduardo Brown of Waterford, husband of Margarita Hore, who may have been a relation. On 12 February 1737, Miguel married María Ana, daughter of Lorenzo Ley. Both the witnesses were Waterford men: Tomas Pober (Power) and Juan Blanco (White). Lorenzo belonged to one of the ancient 'tribes' of Kilkenny; he had done well in Cádiz, as may be seen from the fact that he erected a side-altar and had a family vault in the beautiful chapel of the Hospital de Mujeres in 1749. He and his cousins the Langtons were probably the

most successful Irish merchants in Cádiz, and it was a great boost to Miguel's fortunes to sequre the hand of his daughter. Soon after this he set up in business with Juan Van Halen, a native of Weerdt in Flanders who had married another daughter of Lorenzo's. The firm of Hore, Van Halen & Co. prospered.

The Hore family lived in a street known as El Boguete ('the gap'), the present Calle Uruguay. Here María Gertrudis was born on 5 December 1742. She was baptised two days later by Francisco Warnes, a Flemish Franciscan who was related to the Leys. In accordance with Spanish practice, there was no miserliness in awarding of christian names, her full complement being: María Gertrudis Catalina Margarita Josefa Sabad. Her grandfather Lorenzo Ley was the godfather, and the witnesses were Nicolas Langton and Nicolas Jennett.

As the only child of prosperous parents in a thriving city, María would have had an active and fulfilling childhood and adolescence. Cádiz is a city of tall houses and narrow streets, practically surrounded by water; within the walls life was (and is) lived intensely. Commerce may have been the life's blood of the city, but we must not imagine that things were duller for this; indeed, the city had a reputation for libertinism. We obtain a vivid picture of Cadíz from an account written by Christian August Fischer of Dresden in 1799. 'There can be no place' he remarks, 'where sensuality and the sweets of life are more provided for than in Cádiz.'

Fischer was so dazzled by the hotbloodedness of the womenfolk that he could only attribute it to the climate. 'In Cádiz' he continues, 'the beauty of the Andalusian women, their vivacity, their ecstatic high spirits, their inflammable temperament, surpass anything I have previously experienced. More demanding than yielding, more difficult to satisfy than to stimulate, they appear to have dedicated their beauty to pleasure and their lives to sensual delights. Nowhere can the bond between man and woman be so ardently sought after without let or hindrance; nowhere can sensual love be considered so essential a requirement of living; nowhere could the influence of the climate so speedily disarm even the strictest man of morals.' The only way of cooling such passions was apparently a bathe in the sea. Fischer tells us that the ladies bathed on a special part of the beach, the approach to which was strongly guarded by the cavalry(!). However, it was not uncommon for daring young men to drape themselves in ladies' veils and skirts and thus elude the watchful eye of the guards; 'so as that intended to extinguish the carnal appetites only succeeds in inflaming them all the more passionately.'

Such was the society in which María Gertrudis Hore grew up. Furthermore, her leading place in that society was assured by her remarkable physical beauty and her first-class intellect. She was extremely well educated, being especially proficient in Latin. Her flair for literature, above all poetry, was soon apparent, and we are told that when sewing she would abruptly drop her needle because of some literary inspiration. Soon she was the centre of a whole circle of talented and vivacious young people, among whom she was known as 'La Hija del Sol' (the Daughter of the Sun) because of the way she outshone her contemporaries.

Fate, however, had other things in store for La Hija del Sol. As the sole heir to

her father's business, she was obviously a matrimonial prize, and in 1762, when she was just a few months short of her twentieth birthday, she was married off to a merchant of Puerto de Santa María named Esteban Fleming.

Puerto de Santa María, or Port St. Mary, is on the mainland side of Cádiz bay. It is a great deal smaller than Cádiz, more spacious and with lower houses. It had then a thriving merchant community, among whom were several Irishmen, including the wine merchants Terry and Oneale. Esteban Fleming was considerably older than María. His father, Juan Fleming (a native of Clonmel) and his mother Elena Margarita Geynan (whose father had come from New Ross) had been married in 1720. The impression one gets of Esteban is of a kindly, humourless man absorbed in his work. He was hardly an ideal soul-mate for a vivacious young poetess; nor did life in Puerto de Santa María compare with life in Cádiz.

However, María's existence seems to have continued without major upheaval for some years. Her husband was frequently absent on business trips; they had no children. In 1764 her father died and she inherited his fortune; in the following year her mother remarried and went to live elsewhere. Then in 1779, apparently out of the blue, she announced that she wished to become a nun! Her husband raised no objection, and she entered as a novice the convent of Santa María de Cádiz.

What caused her to make this amazing step? Why should she have abruptly ended her life of comfort and popularity? One pious writer asserts that she became vain, and had gone in for ostentatious piety in order to attract attention to herself. She would kneel before a statue, smite herself on the breast, sigh deeply and turn her ravishing eyes on those around her. Suddenly, she underwent a genuine conversion. Her husband found her one day kneeling before a crucifix in floods of tears. She begged him to let her become a nun, and he sadly assented, giving her a 'casto beso en la frente' (chaste kiss on the cheek).

This unsatisfactory explanation is probably as near the truth as we are probably likely to get. However, the local historian Fernan Caballero reported a tradition current in his day, which offered a more romantic answer to the question.

About the year 1764, he says that María was living with her mother in the Real Isla de León (now San Fernando), where some Cádiz families had country houses. Her husband was away on a journey to Havana. The male element in her life was supplied instead by Don Carlos de las Navas, commandant of the naval cadets.His nocturnal visits to her were arranged with the help of María's negro servant Francisca. One night La Hija del Sol was waiting for her lover in the garden. However, on opening the gate, she saw to her horror that he was being followed by two men. Before she could intervene, they attacked him, stabbed him repeatedly with their daggers, and fled. Mistress and maid managed to recover their senses sufficiently to hide the body and clean the blood off the ground, so that no one should suspect what had happened. Next day they heard the cheerful music of the sailors returning from Jerez. There art the head of the band María saw...Don Carlos de las Navas, her dead lover! At this she lost her head completely, crying out to heaven for mercy and confessing what had happened to those around her,

who thought she had gone mad. A nervous breakdown followed, and when she had recovered from this she wrote to her husband, confessed her guilt, and asked his permission to enter a convent.

Whatever about the supernatural element of this story, the chronological facts do not fit in. It is quite possible that she was living with her mother in the Isla de León in 1764, between her father's death and her mother's remarriage. However, it was not until fifteen years later that she entered the convent. Furthermore, a few days after becoming a nun María wrote a poem ('Anacreóntica: a Gerarda') to one of her former companions, urging her likewise to renounce her worldly pleasures and take the veil; the tone of the poem is light-hearted and chiding, which would hardly have been the case had María been in a state of emotional shock.

María took her final vows in 1780, and spent the rest of her life in the convent. She was an exemplary nun. One thing she could not do, however, was stop writing poetry. Most of her verse in this period was devotional in theme and included translations of Latin works. However, we may guess that she continued to write on other topics as well, for we are told that some of her poems she burned, and some she handed over to her confessor. She died on 9 August 1801.

We conclude our account of this remarkable woman with a sonnet written in her honour when she had just entered the convent, by a Cádiz poet, the Marqués de Méritos. Incidentally, the fact that it does not hint at any melodramatic motive for her action further discounts the popular tradition of a breakdown following the murder of her lover.

Ya en sacro velo esconde la hermosura,
en sayal tosco el garbo y gentileza,
La Hija del Sol, a quien por su belleza
así llamó del mundo la locura.
Entra humilde y alegre en la clausura
huella la mundanal falaz grandeza
triunfadora de si sube a la altura
de la Santa Sion mansión segura.
Nada Puede con ella el triste encanto
del siglo, la ilusión y la malicia;
antes lo mira con horror y espanto.
Recibe el parabién, feliz Novicia,
y recibe también el nombre santo
de Hija amada del que es Sol de Justicia.

(Now beauty hides in sacred veil,
elegance and grace in coarse cloth.
Daughter of the sun the mad world called her on account of her beauty.
She enters the cloister humbly and cheerfully
She treads underfoot the world's deceitful grandeur.
Triumphantly she climbs the heights

to the safe mission of holy Sion.
The sad charms of the age
illusion and malice,
can do nothing with her;
nay, she regards them with horror and dread.
Receive congratulations, happy novice,
and receive also the holy name
of beloved Daughter of Him who is the Sun of Justice.

SOURCES:

A. Fischer, 'Views of Cádiz' (Essay published in *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden,* Vol. 111., Part 5, May 1799).
Nicolás María de Cambiaso y Verdes: M*emorias para la Biografía de la Isla de Cádiz,* Vol. 11 (1830) pp. 72-73.
Serfin Pro y Ruiz, *Diccionario Biográfio de Gaditanos Insignes* (1955), pp.179-80.
Manuel Rios Ruiz (1973) *Diccionario de Escritores Gaditanos* p. 98.
Personal research in Cádiz parish registers and notarial archives.
I should like to express my profound gratitude to Don Fernando Toscano de Puelles of Cádiz for his help and advice.

The Watergate and the Excavations at Grady's Yard, Waterford

by Ben Murtagh

Introduction

The recent sale of Grady's Yard by Waterford Corporation to a private consortium for the purpose of building a large development there, alarmed members of our Society and those who are interested in the preservation of this important archaeological site, which is located between the medieval John's Bridge and Railway Square (see Figs. 1-3). Grad'y Yard was extensively excavated by the writer in the 1980's, under the auspices of Waterford Corporation, as part of an enlightened programme to preserve the fine section of city wall which runs from this site to the Watch Tower that overlooks Railway Square to the S-W (See Figs. 2, 3 & 7; Pl. 10).

Citizens of Waterford viewed with great interest, as the excavations revealed more of the large bastion of the city wall that stood above the ground in Grady's Yard. The purpose of this structure was always something of a mystery (see Carroll 1977, 8; Power 1943, 127), since the top of a large archway leading into it could be seen at the end of Mendicity Lane (Pl.3).

The excavations were to reveal that the object of our curiosity was a Watergate, or fortified dock dating to the sixteenth century. It contained an elaborate timber structure, which was well preserved by the water-logged conditions of the site (Pls. 7 & 8). This has been dated by dendrochronology to around the year 1551. The Watergate is a sub-oval roofless tower or bastion, built on arches, that projected out from the city wall into John's Pill, where it helped to defend John's Bridge (see Figs. 2-5). Moreover, boats were able to enter through the large archway (Arch A) in Mendicity Lane for the purpose of docking within it. (Murtagh 1987, 36; 2001, 28-33).

Needless to say, the prospect of preserving and showing off such an elaborate structure to citizens and tourists alike caused great excitement amongst our members and the wider community at large. Accordingly, our Society made its views known concerning such a project. In response, an imaginative plan was drawn up for developing the area, with a view to preserving the Watergate and the adjoining section of city wall running over to the Watch Tower in Railway Square. Moreover, this is referred to in the editorial of one of our journals by the former City Engineer, the late Stan Carroll (1984, 3).

So it was with great anticipation that we awaited the above plan to come to fruition. Monies were provided by the Department of the Environment, the National Monuments Service, as well as The Heritage Council, for the completion of the excavations and the writing up of reports of the findings (Murtagh 1991). These were accomplished by the writer. Unfortunately, as the years went by the rest of the programme appeared to go by the wayside. Grady's Yard was allowed to become derelict and overgrown. It can be appreciated that the late 1980's and early

1990's were years of economic recession in Waterford, as in the rest of the country. It was understood that the back-filling of excavated areas in Grady's Yard was necessary, in the interest of safety, until such time as monies became available to carry out the necessary conservation works to the Watergate and adjoining city wall, with a view to making them presentable to the public.

It is not surprising then that after such a long period of economic prosperity, news of the sale of Grady's Yard for redevelopment was greeted with surprise and dismay, particularly in view of Waterford Corporation's admirable policy, towards preserving the heritage of the city, as in the cases of the City Square excavations, the restoration of Reginald's Tower and the opening of the Waterford Treasures Museum in the Granary. Earlier this year, Archaeologist, Dave Pollock (2001, 1-10) carried out a test excavation elsewhere within Grady's Yard that had not been previously investigated. He encountered the remains of a large number of structures and archaeological features beneath the ground, confirming the richness of the site as was found in the previous investigations that were carried out by the writer in the 1980's (Murtagh 1987, 36).

As a result of lobbying from interested parties, Dúchas, the Heritage Service has now intervened to prevent development in Grady's Yard which could damage any part of the city wall therein, including the Watergate. Furthermore, the latter is in urgent need of conservation work and the future of the site remains uncertain. In order to inform interested parties and the wider public, who have displayed a keen interest in the outcome of the archaeological investigations that were conducted by the writer at Grady's Yard during the 1980's, a brief outline of findings is provided below.

Location and site layout

Grady's Yard, which is roughly v-shaped in plan, is located between John's street at the east and Mendicity Lane, adjoining Railway Square, to the west, at the southern extremity of the old walled city (see Figs. 1-3). The site was formerly a cul-de-sac, which until the 1970's contained a series of dwelling houses. The S-W side of Grady's Yard is skirted by a well preserved section of city wall that runs east from the Watch Tower on Railway Square (Figs. 2,3 & 7; Pl. 10). This is 41.5 metres in length and stands to the height of the parapet. It has an over hanging wall-walk, below which there are loops that pierce the thickness of the wall at regular intervals.

Just beneath the present ground level, the east end of the above section of city wall adjoins the Watergate (Pl.9), which is located at the southern end of Grady's Yard. Today, the lower half of the Watergate remains buried beneath the ground, preserving the timber dock below. The upper half survives to various heights up to wall-walk level.

The Watergate appears to have been built as part of a programme, resulting from an inquisition of 1536, to complete the enclosure of the southern suburb of the city, with a wall, which up to that time had been within the precinct of the Benedictine Priory of St. John of Jerusalem (see below). Today extensive remains

of the wall enclosing the above part of the city, including some of its towers and gateways, still survive above modern ground level (see Bradley, Halpin & King 1989, 205-218). Most still have to be surveyed and are in need of conservation work.

The city wall skirted the north side of the Watergate in a zig-zag fashion (Figs 7 & 8). The remains are now located below ground level (Pl.9). From here, the wall continued in a N-E direction to John's Gate at the N-E end of Grady's Yard (Figs. 1-3). The excavations revealed that the remains of the wall lie just beneath the present ground level, underlying the high modern boundary wall presently skirting the S-E side of Grady's Yard (Figs. 3 & 11; Pl.6).

Access to Grady's Yard is made at the N-E end from John's Street, between No.s 34 and 35 (Figs. 2 & 3). This is the site of John's Gate, which until the middle of the 18th century defended and gave access into the southern part of the city from across John's Bridge (Figs. 1-6). The gatehouse was an enormous structure that extended from the N-E end of Grady's Yard across to the other side of John's Street. Here the remains survive above the ground (Fig. 2). At the entrance to Grady's Yard, the excavations conducted by Dave Pollock earlier this year, appear to have exposed the remains of the S-W side of the gatehouse beneath the ground. To the S-E of John's Gate the medieval John's Bridge still survives and is incorporated into the present one (Fig.2). Two of the original pointed arches can still be seen on the S-W side over John's River (Pl.2).

To the S-E of Grady's Yard there is an adjoining plot of ground known as Bergin's Garden, to the rear of Bergin's Monumental Works (Figs. 2 & 3). This property was acquired by Waterford Corporation in 1985 for the purpose of expanding the archaeological excavations into that area. It skirts the exterior of the Watergate. Here the latter is located 15 metres from the present bank of John's River to the S-E. The investigations revealed that Bergin's Garden is located above land reclaimed from John's Pill, which until about the year 1700 washed around the exterior of the Watergate (see Pls. 11, 13 & 14).

The archaeological investigations

These included survey work and a series of excavations upon the city defences extending from the Watergate in Bergin's Garden/Grady's Yard to the Watch Tower on Railway Square, extending across Manor Street to the Double Tower in Castle Street (see Fig.2). The excavations were carried out over a number of seasons of work from 1984 to 1990 (see Murtagh 1985, 216; 1986, pp 39-40; 1987, 36; 1991a, 53-54; 1991b, 54-55; 1991c; 2001, 28-33). The excavations in Grady's Yard/Bergin's Garden were known as site B and were carried out in the years 1984 – 87.

Within site B, the excavations concentrated on three main areas (Fig.3). The first was located in West Grady's Yard, along the inside of the city wall (Trenches C1 ,G & H). The second was located within the Watergate (Trenches A, B & C). The third was located in Bergin's Garden on the outside of the city defences (Trenches E & F).

The City Wall

Up to the end of the Middle Ages the edge of John's Pill extended into what is now Grady's Yard. Around this time, work began on the construction of the city defences that now skirt the site. As seen above, this appears to have been part of a final programme to complete the enclosure of the southern suburb of the Priory of St. John.

The Priory appears to have developed from a hospital that was founded by Prince (later King) John during his visit to Waterford in 1185. He later granted a charter to 'the brothers of my almshouse and hospital' (see Bradley and Halpin 1992, 121; Power 1896, 82). In addition to other grants, John gave the community 'the water from opposite the church of St. Catherine as far as the Old Bridge' (Great Parchment Book, folio 9). This became known as John's Pill, which extended from what is now Hardy's Bridge S-W to the bridge at Bath Street/Poleberry (site of 'the Old Bridge'). St John's Priory was a cell of the Benedictine Priory of St. Peter and Paul, of Bath, in England (Bradley & Halpin 1992; 121; Nolan 1984, 45; Power 1896, 83).

In time, the Priory grew in size and wealth. Eventually a suburb grew up around it. By the early fourteenth century John's Street was in existence (Sweetman & Hancock 1886, 305). Most medieval documents relating to the Priory refer to it as being located as either 'near' or 'beside' Waterford. This is a clear indication that it, together with its adjoining suburb, were situated outside the walled city during this period.

By the early thirteenth century the old Ostman city was refortified with the construction of a new wall to replace the twelfth century one to the east, which had been stormed by Strongbow and his followers in 1170. This new structure, which had a moat on the outside known as the King's Fosse, ran from the Quay between Barronstrand Street and Conduit Lane to St. Martin's Gate in Spring Garden Alley, where it turned N-E towards Colbeck Gate (see Fig.1).

Outside of the new defences, the city expanded westward. During the fifteenth century it in turn was enclosed by the building of yet another stone wall that may have replaced an earlier ditch and rampart defence. This wall crossed Barronstrand Street at north, turning south to the Beach Tower, where it crossed over Carrigeen to Patrick's Gate, continuing south to the site of the Newgate at the end of Barrack Street. Here the defences may have turned east, running down Newgate Street, crossing the junction of Michael Street and John Street by the present Olde Rogue Bar, skirting the Apple Market, and continuing down Kisby Lane to terminate at St. Martin's Gate (Fig.1).

To the south of the defended westward extension to the city, the suburb of the John's Priory was left defenceless against attacks by Waterford's enemies, such as the Powers of Dunhill and the O'Driscolls of Baltimore, Co. Cork. In 1367, the Powers defeated and killed the Mayor, John Malpas, and some of the leading citizens of Waterford in a battle out in the county. Soon afterwards the victors advanced on the city, but were repulsed at John's Bridge and were prevented from getting across the Pill and into the suburb of the Priory (Great Parchment Book,

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folio 9b). The Bridge which may have been a timber structure at this time, is first mentioned around 1300, when it is referred to as the 'southern bridge' (Morrin 1862, 306).

Another century was to pass before any serious attempt was made to deal with the issue of fortifying the suburb of St. John's Priory. This came in the form of an Indenture of 14 December 1466 between the Mayor and citizens of Waterford on the one hand and the Prior of the Cathedral Church of Bath and the convent there, together with all their tenants and parishioners of St. John the Evangelist beside Waterford on the other (Great Parchment Book, folio 8b). This refers to the constant threat of attack upon the suburb by the city's enemies 'for want of sufficient mures' (Walls).

The above parties agreed to build

> 'a wall of lime and stone within' the parish of St. John. The Prior, his tenants and parishioners were to 'find and give to the masons and labourers of the work meat and drink sufficiently during the season of the said occupation, and what help they may by their power they shall give as in the drawing of stones, mortar, lime and sand and timber and all other necessaries belonging to the said work'.

The Mayor and citizens of the city for their part were to

> 'give and find stones, mortar, lime, sand, and timber and other necessaries belonging to the making of the work, and also pay to the masons and labourers their wage and hires'.

We do not know how much of the wall around the suburb was actually built as a result of the Indenture of 1466. What is clear is that it was not finished. Seventy years later in the reign of King Henry VIII, at an Inquisition taken in 1536 before William Lincoll, the Mayor of Waterford and the Kings Escheator at the time of the Dissolution of the Priory, the Indenture of 1466 is repeated (Great Parchment Book, folio 7b-8). As in the case of the western part of the city, the enclosing of the suburb of St. John with a wall was a major undertaking in both manpower, materials and finance. The work would have taken decades, if not generations to complete. Accordingly, it is more likely that the wall was built in stages. We are fortunate that so much of it survives above the ground, indicating that this was the case.

It appears that initially construction began on the fine section of the city wall running from the site of Newgate to the French Tower and continuing down by what is now Castle Street to the Double Tower, and terminated around here for a period of time. Excavations carried out by the writer within the latter, have shown that the present building is constructed upon a gateway through the wall (see Murtagh 1991a, 53-54). This was the original Close Gate and it predates the one that stood in Manor Street to the S-E. It would have given access from the Priory out to its adjoining estate (the Manor) to the S-W.

The archaeological investigations that were carried out by the writer indicate that the section of the city wall, which ran from the Double Tower to the Watch Tower on Railway Square and then continuing to John's Gate, skirting what is now Grady's Yard, was constructed during a single programme of work (Level 1). To the S-W of John's Gate, within what is now Grady's Yard, the projecting zig-zag angle appears to have been deliberately left for the construction of the Watergate (Level 2) which was a major undertaking in its own right. As seen above, the investigations indicate that the latter was constructed in the middle of the sixteenth century. This would therefore suggest that the above section of city wall was built not long beforehand, as a result of the Inquisition of 1536.

It is interesting that Charles Smith (1746, 189) informs us that the arms of King Henry VIII were carved in stone on the outside of John's Gate. Perhaps this was to commemorate that it was in his reign that work began on the construction of city wall in this area, including the gatehouse itself. It is likely that with completion of the wall as far as John's Gate, work then commenced from here on the construction of the final section to complete the enclosure of the suburb on its east side as far as St. Martin's Gate (see Figs.1 & 4).

From the Watch Tower, which was the location of the excavation known as Site A (Fig.2), the fine section of city wall that stands to the height of its parapet, runs N-E for a distance of 11.8M, from where it takes a sharp bend to the S-E. At the bend, the inner face of the wall skirts the yard of the former Manor Street Primary School, which divided site A from site B in Grady's Yard. From the bend, the wall runs S-E for a distance of 29.7M to the Watergate. Along the inner face of this stretch, three cuttings C, G, & H were excavated in N-W Grady's Yard (Fig.3).

The two western cuttings of the above three (Trenches G & H), were excavated down to the footing of the inner face of the city wall (Fig.7; Pl.10). They revealed that the foundation of the latter cut through the exturine silt of the former John's Pill. It was found that the latter sloped in a N-W direction towards what is now Railway Square. As in the case of site A at the Watch Tower, it was found that a foundation trench was dug firstly through the river mud until more compact natural deposits were reached to support the laying of the foundation of the city wall.

Along the inside of the city wall, upcast deposits, stones, and other materials were deposited, so as to build up the ground and reclaim the land from the tidal marsh. The other deposited material included building waste from the wall and organic refuse from the city. This built-up ground was covered by a metalled surface. Overlying the latter, along the inner face of the city wall, is a cobbled pathway. This formerly gave access to the window-loops that are located at various intervals along the wall for sentries guarding the city (Figs. 3 & 7; Pl.10). Over the pathway, there is an over-hanging wall-walk for the sentries, with the remains of a parapet along the outside to protect them. The above metalled surface is located about 1.8 metres below current ground level, which is below the water table. This indicates that the high tides from John's Pill continued to enter the reclaimed land along the inside of the city wall in Grady's Yard. The receding waters then exited back out through openings located at regular intervals along the footing of the wall.

During the course of excavations in 1985, conservation work was carried out under the supervision of the writer, upon the above section of city wall that runs from the Watch Tower (Site A) to the S-E end of Trench G in Grady's Yard (Site B). This involved the removal of ivy, brick and modern plaster. Cavities were repaired and facing stones were repointed. A section of the parapet running for 5 metres in length above trench G was rebuilt up to three courses in height (Pl. 10).

At the S-E end of the above section of city wall, where it meets the Watergate, it is breeched by the N-E end of the terrace of late Georgian dwelling houses that front onto Mendicity Lane (Figs. 3, 7 & 8; Pls.5). However, the excavation here revealed that the wall continues beneath the ground and that the surviving outer face partly underlies the gable wall of the last dwelling in Mendicity Lane. On the inside within Grady's Yard, between Trenches C and C1, it was found that the city wall takes a sharp bend to the N-E, where it survives to 0.65 metres in height above the top of the footing (Pl.9), which is at 2 metres over Datum. As seen above, this is the location of the W-shaped or zig-zag projection in the wall, on the outside of which the Watergate was later constructed at the south end of what is now Grady's Yard.

The full extent of the above projection was not traced since it ran beyond the edge of the excavation. However, more of it was exposed in the excavations that were carried out earlier this year by Dave Pollock (2001, 2-3). The entrance which appears to have been located in it that gave access into the Watergate from the inside of the city, was not located. The latter is depicted on the pictorial map of *c*1590 (Fig.4), which is the earliest known view that of the Watergate. However, the middle bend of the zig-zag projection was found by Dave Pollock (2001,2). Located about 6 metres to the S-E of the latter, the third and last of the three bends was exposed in the excavations by the writer, at the N-E of the Watergate in Trenches A/A2 (Figs. 3, 7 & 8; Pl.17).

Between the first bend in Trenches C/C1 and the third bend in Trenches A/A2, there is a noticeable drop in the level of the foundations of the city wall towards the east. Located on the outside of the third bend is an original buttress. The N-E side of this, together with the outer face of the section of city wall that runs to the site of John's Gate, is abutted by the N-E end of the Watergate wall between Trenches A and F in Bergin's Garden (Fig. 8; Pl.17). As noted above, the remains of this section of city wall now underlies a later high boundary wall that skirts the S-E side of Grady's Yard (Figs. 3 & 11; Pl.6). The excavations in Bergin's Garden (Trench F) have revealed that up to about the year 1700 John's Pill washed off the outside of the original wall, before it was reduced to its present height and the land reclaimed out to its present bank.

In Trench A2, which was located at the inside of the third bend of the zig-zag projection in the city wall (Fig.3), it was revealed that the surviving top of the latter is 0.4 metres beneath the present ground level in Grady's Yard, at 2.18 metres over Datum. Here it is 1.25 metres in thickness, while the overlying later wall is 0.6 metres. The S-E face of the latter follows that of the underlying primary wall. The inner face of the latter was exposed for a depth of 2 metres down to 0.4 metres

over Datum, where the excavation stopped on seventeenth century (Level 3) deposits without reaching the footing. Above this level, the wall is 1.68 metres in height.

On the outside of the corner, where the exterior of the Watergate meets the city wall, a narrow cutting (Trench F3) was excavated in Bergin's Garden (Fig.3). The outer face of both walls was excavated down to 0.8 metres over Datum, where they were abutted by esturine mud. Due to the narrowness of the space available (2 metres along the outer face of the city wall) between the Watergate and the shed of Bergin's Monumental Works, together with the problems of tidal flooding, deeper excavation was not possible in this area. However, here it would appear that the outer face of the city wall continues down for a considerable depth, since it skirts the former channel of John's River, that was found to run through the Watergate (see below).

Watergate

As seen above, this roofless tower or bastion was built onto the zig-zag projection on the city wall over a channel of John's River. Prior to the commencement of the excavation of the interior in south Grady's Yard in 1984, its outline was visible above the ground (which is about 2.55 metres over Datum). It has four sides beyond the line of the earlier city wall, with rounded corners at east and south, while it bends at west (see Figs. 3 & 7).

At the N-W and S-W sides, adjoining the late Georgian dwelling house in Mendicity Lane, the Watergate stands to the height of the wall-walk, which is 6.50 metres over Datum, for a distance of 3.10 metres (Pl. 3&5). Above this, the wall has been built-up with later masonry. The wall-walk level is 4 metres off the current ground level within the Watergate in Grady's Yard. This is higher than that of the nearby city wall. It is not known how the battlement of the zig-zag projection was arranged in relation to the adjoining Watergate. The masonry of the stone structure of the Watergate is constructed of roughly dressed stone, consisting of locally quarried conglomerate, sandstone, shale, together with grey limestone that was probably imported from Co. Kilkenny.

The N-E exterior of the Watergate survives to 5.15 metres over Datum, which was 1.8 metres off the pre-excavation ground level in Bergin's Garden (Pl.1). This is 4.35 metres off the bottom of the excavation below which, as seen above, did not reach the footing of the Watergate. The S-E exterior survives to 5.65 metres over Datum, about 2.3 metres off the pre-excavation ground level in Bergin's Garden (Pl.1) and about 5 metres in height off the bottom of the dig on the outside in Trench F (Pl.11). At the south corner of the Watergate, there is a 5.25 metres breech above the pre-excavation ground level, which gave access from Grady's Yard into Bergin's Garden. However, immediately beneath this, the Watergate wall survives, where it is up to 1.45 metres in thickness (Pl.14). Three cuttings (Fig. 3) were excavated within the Watergate (Trenches A, B & C), which were divided by 1 metres wide baulks at current ground level (2.5 metres over Datum). These taper down into the cuttings. They revealed that below the ground, the entire inner face

of the Watergate survives intact, and descends down to a considerable depth. The interior measures 12.5 metres from N-W to S-E x 10 metres from S-W to N-E.

The excavation has shown that the Watergate is built upon four archways (Arches A-D). These vary in size (Fig.8). The top of the largest (Arch A), as we have noted, can be seen from Mendicity Lane, where it supports the S-W side of the Watergate tower or bastion (Pl.3). This is now blocked-up (Figs. 4&7). Arches B (Pl.14) and C (Pl.16) support the S-E side, while Arch D supports the N-E side. Located 3.2 metres above the latter is an original relieving arch. The excavation further revealed that a channel of John's River ran beneath the Watergate, entering through Arch A at S-W and exiting at N-E through Arch D, where it skirted the exterior of the city wall as it ran towards John's Bridge, This channel is depicted on a pictorial map of Waterford city walls, dating to *c*1590, as running under the Watergate (Fig.4). Trench B, which was located in the south quarter of the interior was excavated by hand down to a maximum depth of 3.65M, below the present ground level, to 1.10 metres below Datum, to reveal the bottom of the Watergate, and the channel of John's River that ran through it. Here the timber dock was encountered (Fig.8; Pls. 7&8). It consisted of two phases.

The first phase appears to have been constructed immediately before the surrounding stone structure of the Watergate. It was wedge-shaped in plan, narrowing inward from Arch A. It was constructed of oak timbers and stone work. At the rear was a jetty or warf constructed in the form of a platform, consisting of horizontally laid large oak beams. These extended across Trench A within the N-E half of the Watergate. The carpentry that was employed in the construction of the dock was of a very high standard. The water-logged conditions of the site ensured that the oak timbers survived in good condition. The channel of the river, in which the latter was located, may have been deepened prior to its construction and that of the surrounding stone Watergate, the interior of which was subject to tidal flooding.

Boats that docked within the Watergate, entered from S-W through Arch A, which was built in the pointed Gothic fashion (Pls. 3, 4 & 7). On either side, it is built on two footings which rest upon compact alluvial silt. These are 4.25M apart. The underside of the S-E footing is 0.6 metres below Datum, while that to the N-W is 0.4 metres below Datum. In the case of the latter, the surviving wall-walk of the Watergate is 6.9 metres above. Just above the footings, the springings of the archway on either side are 4.55 metres apart. The latter rises up to a point at 3 metres over Datum. On the inside of Arch A, the dock extends inward for 4 metres to the jetty at N-E (Fig 8; Pls. 7 & 8). Here it was originally 3.2 metres in width. The S-E timber wall of the dock was originally supported by a timber wall plate, the S-W end of which ran under the S-E footing stone of Arch A (see Murtagh 2001, Fig.4).

After a period of time, subsequent to its construction, the original dock was modified, by being narrowed in width. This has been called Phase 2. It involved a new timber wall replacing the original one at S-E (see Murtagh 2001, Fig.4) and a new one at N-W, which narrowed the dock. These were built on new horizontally laid wall plates, supported by upright posts joined by well cut planks, constructed

in a clinker fashion, using dowels (Fig.8; Pls. 7 & 8). On the inside of Arch A, were the remains of a timber gate. The remains of a similar one were found in Arch D to the N-E.

A number of samples were taken from the timbers of the dock for dendrochronological dating. These produced dates centring on the middle of the sixteenth century for its construction. As seen above, the Watergate is shown on the map of *c*1590 (Fig.4). This accords well with the historical documentation whereby, as we have seen above, it is inferred that the Inquisition of 1536 recommitted the parties mentioned in the Indenture of 1466 to continue building of the city wall around St. John's suburb. Furthermore, the dating for the architecture of the defences in this area would be consistent with a mid-sixteenth century date.

We now need to look at the purpose of the Watergate. We have seen that in the late Middle Ages St. John's suburb was vulnerable to attack from the city's enemies for want of a defensive wall. The suburb had a narrow escape in 1367 when the Powers were repulsed at John's Bridge. An even bigger threat appeared in 1495, when Waterford was besieged by the Yorkist Pretender, Perkin Warbeck, and his Irish allies. On this occasion, a Yorkist naval force sailed up Waterford Harbour and bombarded the city with artillery. Meanwhile another force attacked from the south and tried to enter the city from across John's Pill, where as we have seen the wall around John's suburb was incomplete. However, once again the defenders managed to repulse the attackers. By the time of the Inquisition of 1536 (at the end of the Middle Ages), the Tudor Conquest of the country was underway. Since the city was a staunch ally of the Tudor government, the authorities remained fearful of the possibility of further naval attacks from their enemies. Accordingly, it became necessary for Waterford to strengthen its defences in an environment of increasing warfare throughout the country. When the city's authorities were completing the wall around St. John suburb, they obviously thought it prudent to construct a Watergate at the southern extremity, to defend John's Bridge, as well as, to prevent any further attacks across John's Pill by providing defended docking facilities for boats operating along the tidal water.

Around the time the Watergate was built, a block house was constructed at the base of Reginald's Tower (Kerrigan 1985, 13-17). It too projected out into the river (Fig.4), where it could defend the city's quays from attack by any naval forces sailing up Waterford Harbour, as had occurred back in 1495 (Murtagh 1998, 187).

Seventeenth century industry in Grady's Yard

The excavations would suggest that the dock was in use for about 100 years. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the timber side walls had collapsed into the interior (Fig. 8; Pls. 7 & 8). The archways of the Watergate were then blocked up, and the interior was back filled by the (Level 3) dumping of a thick layer of esturine silt, stones and organic material. This was to enable the Watergate to be redeveloped for industrial use, such as for tanning and other related trades, which was facilitated by the waterlogged conditions of the site. Around this period, the Watergate is depicted on the Ryland map of the city purporting to date to 1673

(Fig.5). Interestingly, the channel of John's River is not shown as running through it at this time. However, the tidal water of John's Pill continued to wash off the exterior.

During the redevelopment of the Watergate, two large stone vats were constructed in the N-E half of the interior. These were exposed in Trench A (Fig.9; Pls. 16 & 17). The paved floors are roughly level at 0.2 metres over Datum. The N-W vat had a small sluice (Pl.15). This was to allow the flow of tidal water in and out of the two vats. Throughout the rest of the interior of the Watergate, smaller tanning pits were constructed (Fig.9; Pl.18). These were stone-lined and were built into the underlying Level 3 deposits that covered the old timber dock.

As seen above, during this period, the Pill continued to wash off the exterior of the Watergate. During the excavations of Bergin's Garden (Trenches E & F), a large assemblage of cattle horn cores was found dumped onto the esturine mud from the Watergate (Pl.11). In most cases, these were attached to the upper part of the skull. The animals were killed by pole axing. Both short and longhorn cattle were represented. These new breeds were being imported from Britain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The deposits resulted from the activities of horn workers, who probably worked in Grady's Yard. They were only interested in the outer sheath. Once this had been removed the bony horn cones were dumped (Butler 1989, 4 - 11).

During the industrial phase, there was a dramatic built-up of ground on the inside of the city wall, throughout the rest of Grady's Yard, during the second half of the seventeenth century. In the N-W, it was found in Trenches G & H that the build-up of deposits overlay the sixteenth century metalled surface. This varied from 1 metres to 1.6 metres in thickness. It consisted of dumped layers of humic clayey silt, stones and organic material that was well preserved by the water-logged conditions of the site. A lot of this material was associated with the industrial activity in the south part of Grady's Yard. Some of these layers were rich in archaeological finds.

Documentary evidence throws some light on the phase of industrial activity in Grady's Yard. This is found in the Civil Survey of the Cromwellian Settlement in Waterford (Simington 1942, 234). It states that in what is now Grady's Yard there was a

> 'dwelling house stone walls and slated lyinge backwards of ye west side of ye (John's) gate. A Tan house backwards of ye former stonewalls and Thatcht. A yard in which is a Thatcht house mudd walls with a barke Mill therein. Another Thatch Caben in ye said yard. A garden backwards in which are som fruite trees'.

All the above property was then in the possession of Owen Silver, while the previous proprietor back in 1641 was Thomas Wyse. On the far side of John's Street, the Civil Survey noted that Thomas Bolton had a tan house with two yards, each having 'several Tan pitts'. The reference to a 'barke Mill' in Grady's Yard is interesting since fragments of bark were found in some of the tanning pits.

It is interesting that the Ryland Map of 1673 (Fig. 5) shows a boundary wall running along the S-W side of John's Street from the junction of Manor Street to John's Gate, with an archway at the entrance to what is now Grady's Yard. On the inside of the latter there is a building depicted that maybe 'dwellinge house' that is referred to in the Civil Survey, while the building shown further into Grady's Yard maybe the 'Tan house'. The trees that are shown further on, towards the Watch Tower, could be the 'garden in which are some fruite trees'. The excavations would support the view that after the build-up of ground in the N-W end of Grady's Yard that it became a garden or orchard during the second half of the seventeenth century.

The tanning pits and vats within the Watergate are not specifically referred to in the Civil Survey, but their existence is inferred by the references to the tan house and a bark mill on the site. By the end of the seventeenth century, some alterations had been carried out to the tannery within the Watergate. Some of the pits within the S-W half of the interior were back filled and new ones were constructed (Fig.10).

The development of Grady's Yard during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Around the beginning of the eighteenth century, the industrial activity in Grady's Yard was phased out (Fig. 10). The vats and pits were back filled with stones and organic deposits (Level 4). The latter were rich in archaeological finds. The tannery and the interior of the Watergate were sealed with a thick layer of re-deposited clay and silt. This raised the ground level throughout Grady's Yard. During this period, the area on the outside of the Watergate and adjoining city wall was banked and reclaimed from the river. This was consistent with what was happening elsewhere around the edges of the city at that time.

In Bergin's Garden, the reclamation work involved the deposition of a layer of stones down upon the esturine mud of John's Pill around the Watergate. This in turn was covered by a thick layer (0.6 – 0.7 metres) of re-deposited clay (Pl.14). Also, as we have seen, the section of city wall at the north of the Watergate and running N-E to John's Gate, was reduced in height to the new ground level. During the eighteenth century, a dwelling house was built within the N-E half of the Watergate (Level 5). The floor of this was 0.4 metres below the current ground level. Above the floor level, the inner face of the old Watergate was removed, and refaced in brick, thus narrowing the thickness of the wall (Fig.11). Furthermore, the remainder of the wall of the N-E half of the Watergate was reduced to its present height, to support the roof of the house (Pl.1). A large window was inserted through the N-E wall. The wide breech that is located in south corner of the Watergate, above 2.5 metres over Datum, was made at this time, to give access out into what is now Bergin's Garden (Pl.14). Within the S-E half of the interior of the Watergate, a brick well was constructed on the inside of the blocking of Arch A (Fig. 11 & Pl. 4). This descended down onto the sixteenth century dock (Fig.8; Pls. 7 & 8).

The Richards and Scalé Map of 1764 shows that by this time, there was a short laneway running from the present entrance at the end of John Street, beside John's Gate into Grady's Yard (Fig.6). On either side of this are two rows of housing. Dave Pollock found the remains of these in the excavations that he conducted earlier this year. The outline of the Watergate is still shown on the map. The land out in Bergin's Garden has been reclaimed by this time. The breech that exists above ground level between the Watergate and the N-W section of city wall, at the end of the terrace of houses on Mendicity Lane, is shown. The N-W part of Grady's Yard is depicted as a garden, or orchard as it had been during the second half of the seventeenth century. To the N-W of the latter, the Quaker meeting house that was built at the beginning of the eighteenth century is shown (see Johnson 2000, 70-71). A wall of this building could still be seen above the ground at the time of the excavations in the 1980's, but this is now gone.

During the nineteenth century, another dwelling house was built on the S-W half of the interior of the Watergate. The floor of this was roughly at current ground level. Above this, the construction of the rear of the house involved the removal of the S-E inner face of the Watergate (Pl.4). During this period, housing was built through the rest of Grady's Yard, which was a cul-de-sac . These buildings were occupied until the 1970's, when most of them were demolished by Waterford Corporation.

Conclusion

After the sixteenth century timber dock was exposed in 1986/87, it was left in situ under waterlogged conditions. It was sealed in 1989, when Waterford Corporation back filled the excavation trenches in Grady's Yard. The Watergate, along with the timber dock within, is the only structure of its kind that is known to exist in the country. Accordingly, their preservation is of the utmost importance. I would suggest that these structures, together with the adjoining city wall, should now be taken into state care with a view to conserving and making them accessible as a visitor attraction, as was originally envisaged when the archaeological work ended on site in 1987.

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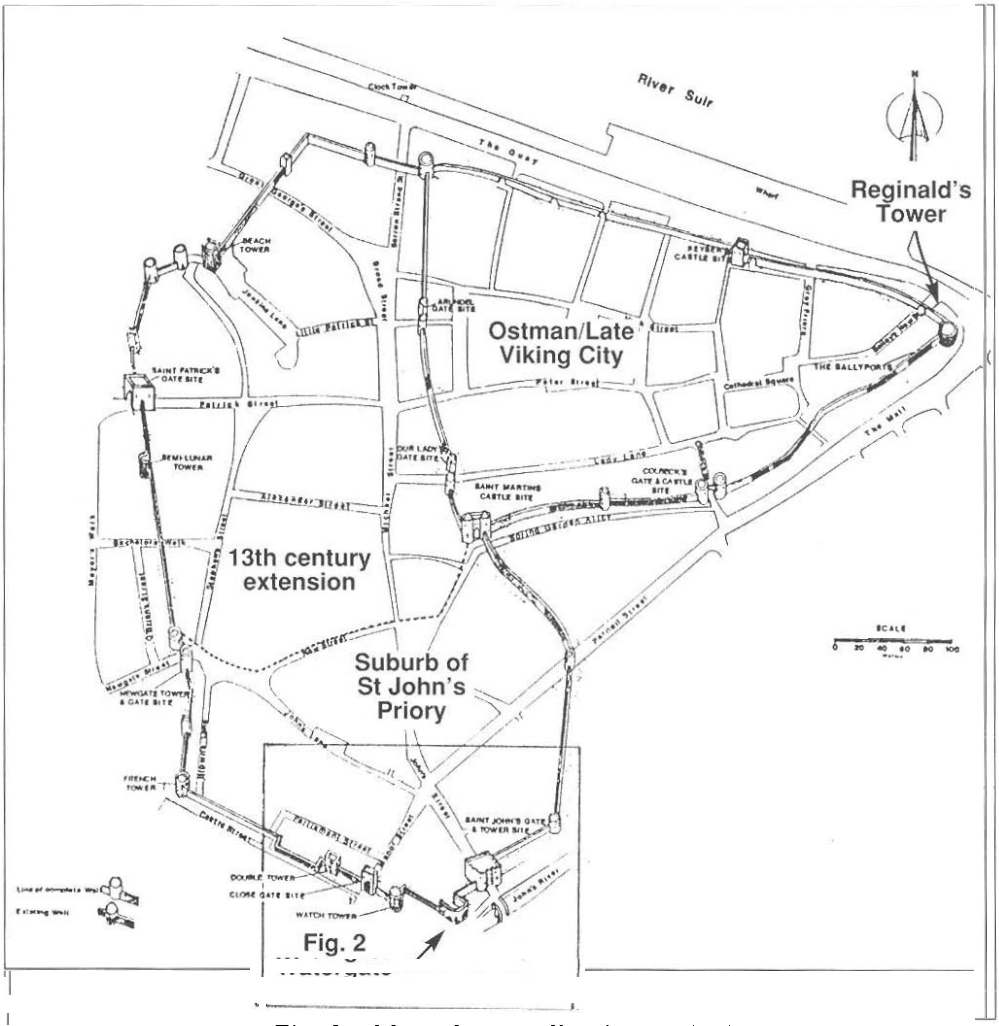


Fig. 1 – Map of city walls of Waterford

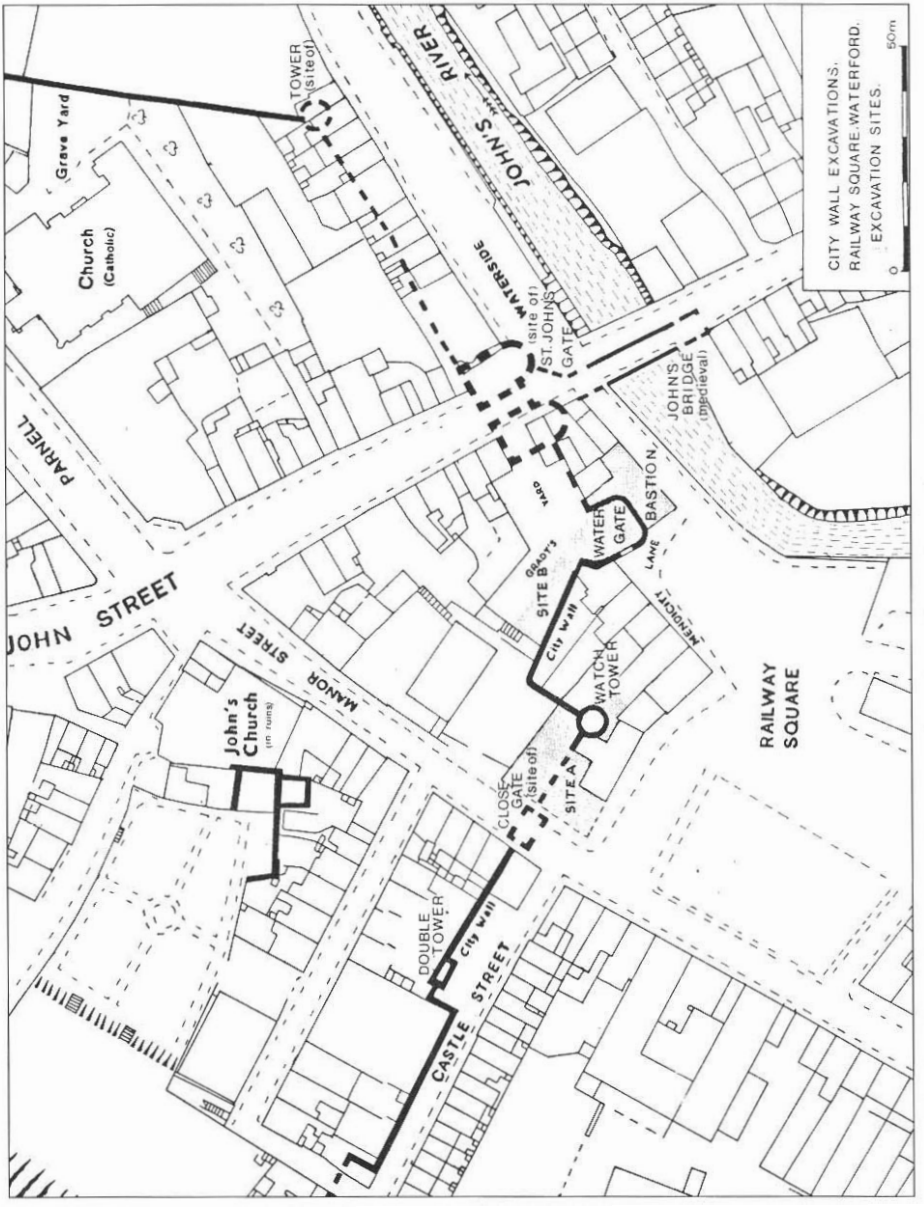


Fig. 2 – Location map of excavation sites (A and B) of south end at Waterford's city walls

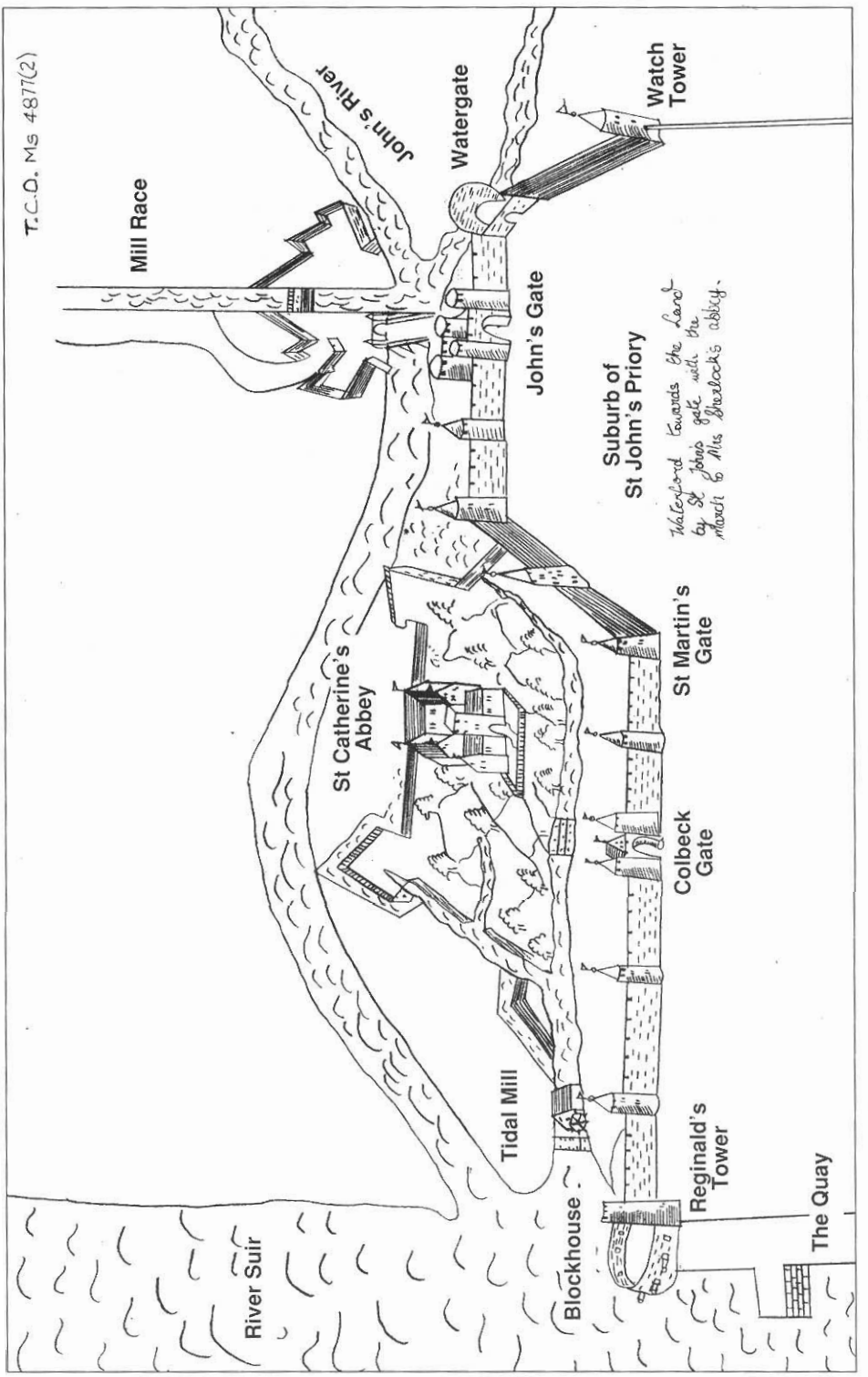


Fig. 4 – The Watergate as depicted on pictorial map of city walls, dating to c1590.

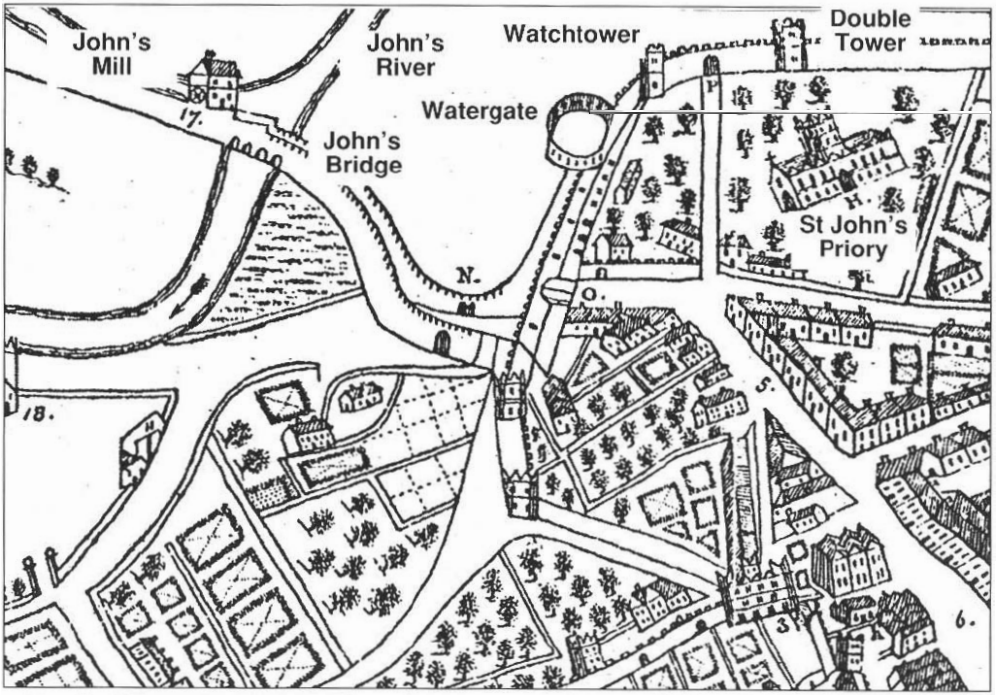


Fig. 5 – The watergate as shown on a pictorial map of Waterford city, purporting to date from 1673, as reproduced Ryland in 1824

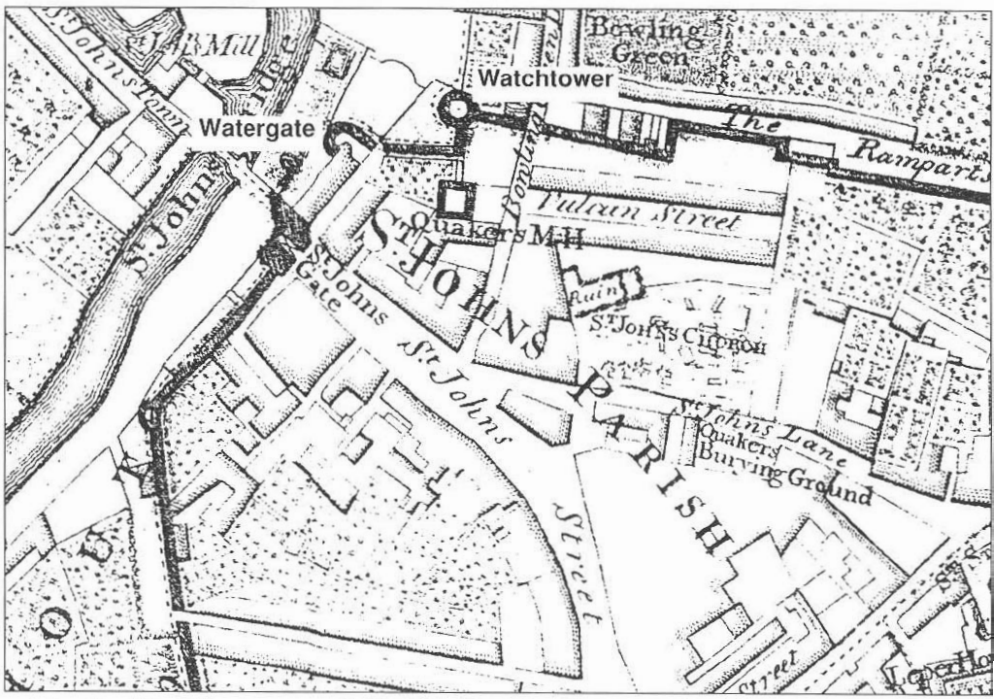


Fig. 6 – The Watergate and Grady's Yard as depicted on the Richards and Scalé map of Waterford, dating to 1764

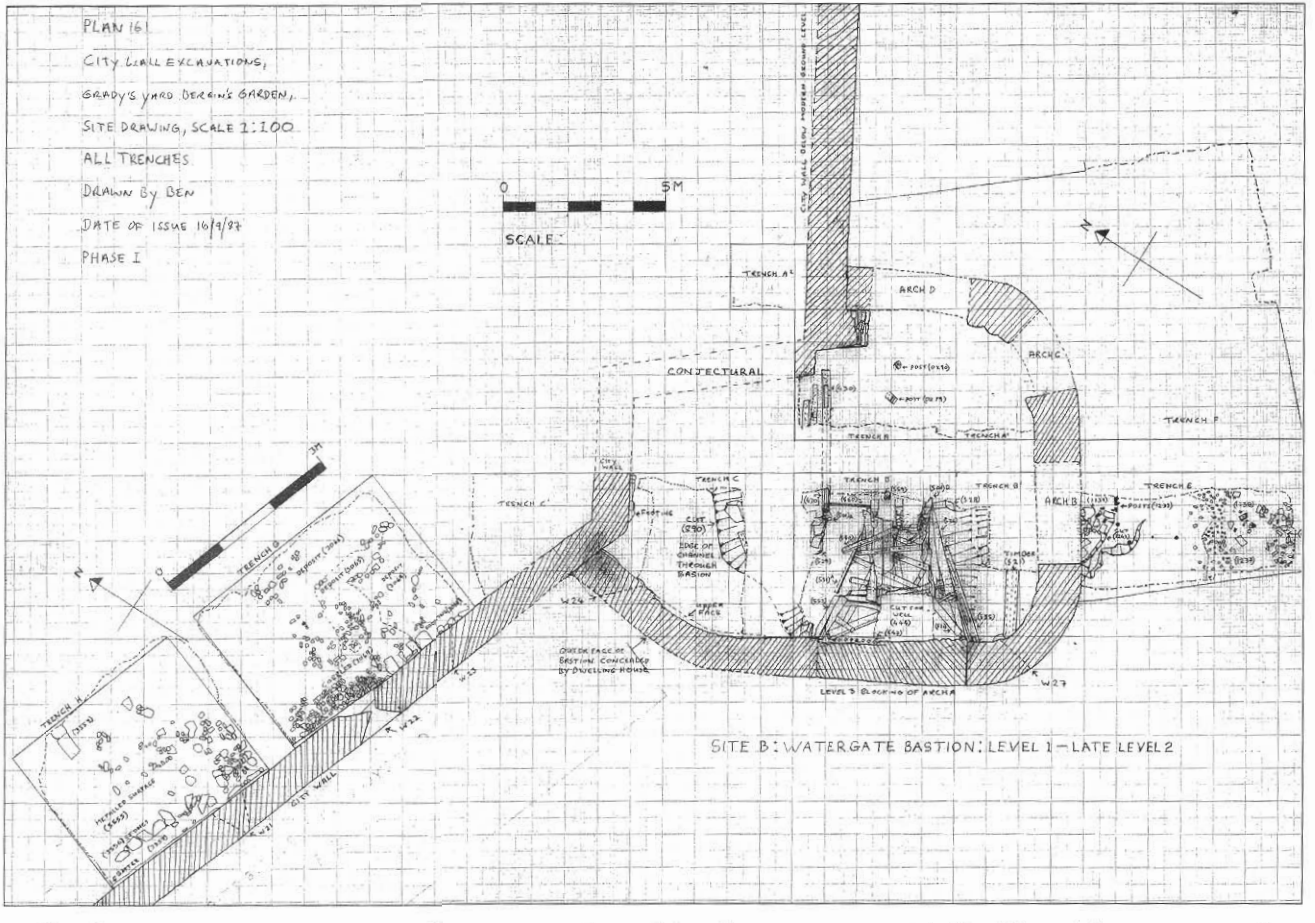


Fig. 7 – Plan of the Watergate and adjoining city wall in what is now Grady's Yard/Bergin's Garden, during the second half of the sixteenth century (Levels 1 and 2).

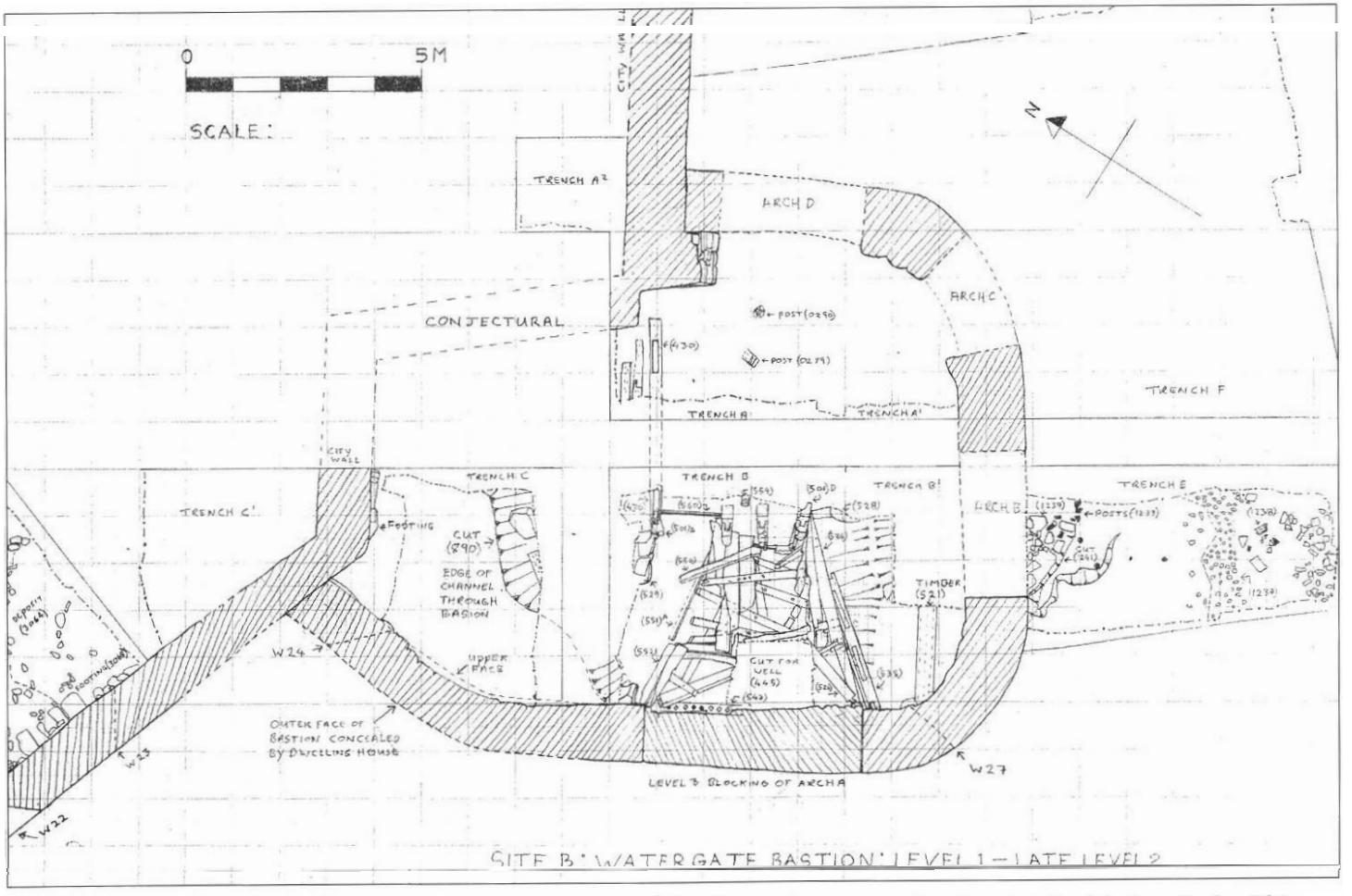


Fig. 8 – Plan of the Watergate during the second half of the sixteenth century, showing detail of timber dock within.

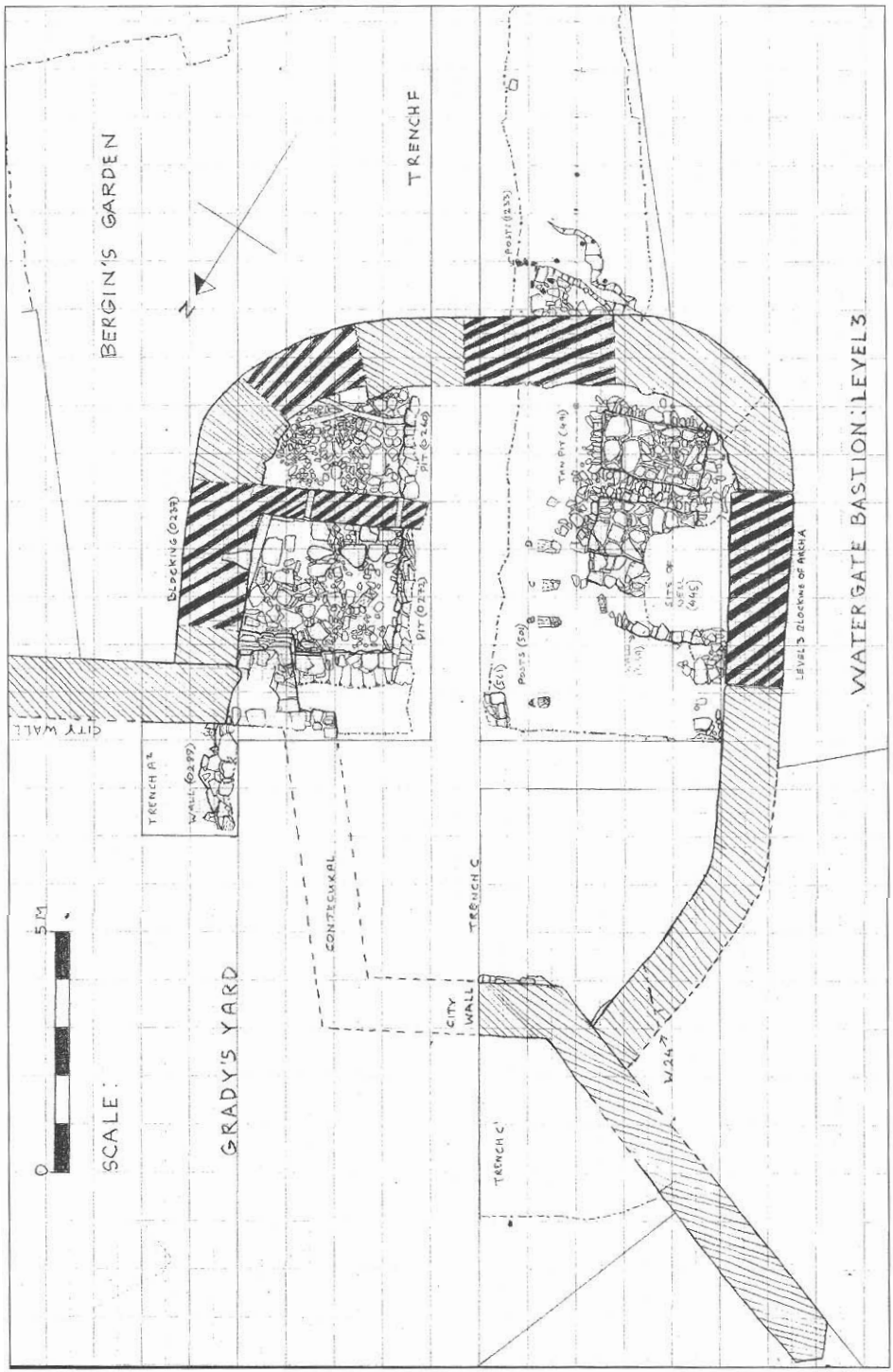


Fig. 9 – Plan of the Watergate in the mid-seventeenth century, showing tanning pits within (Level 3).

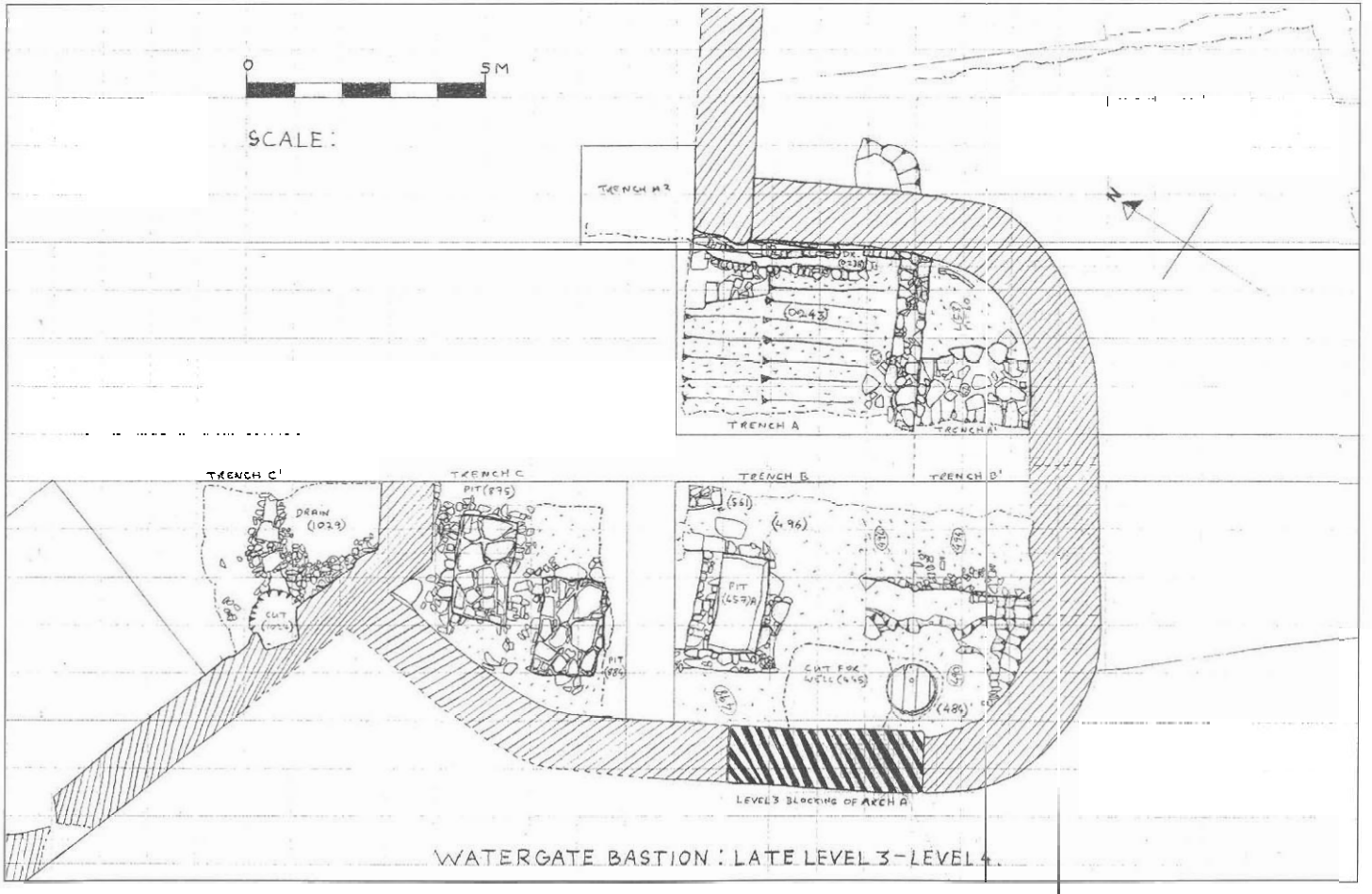


Fig. 10 – Plan of Watergate showing tanning pits – c. late seventeenth century (late Level 3 to Level 4).

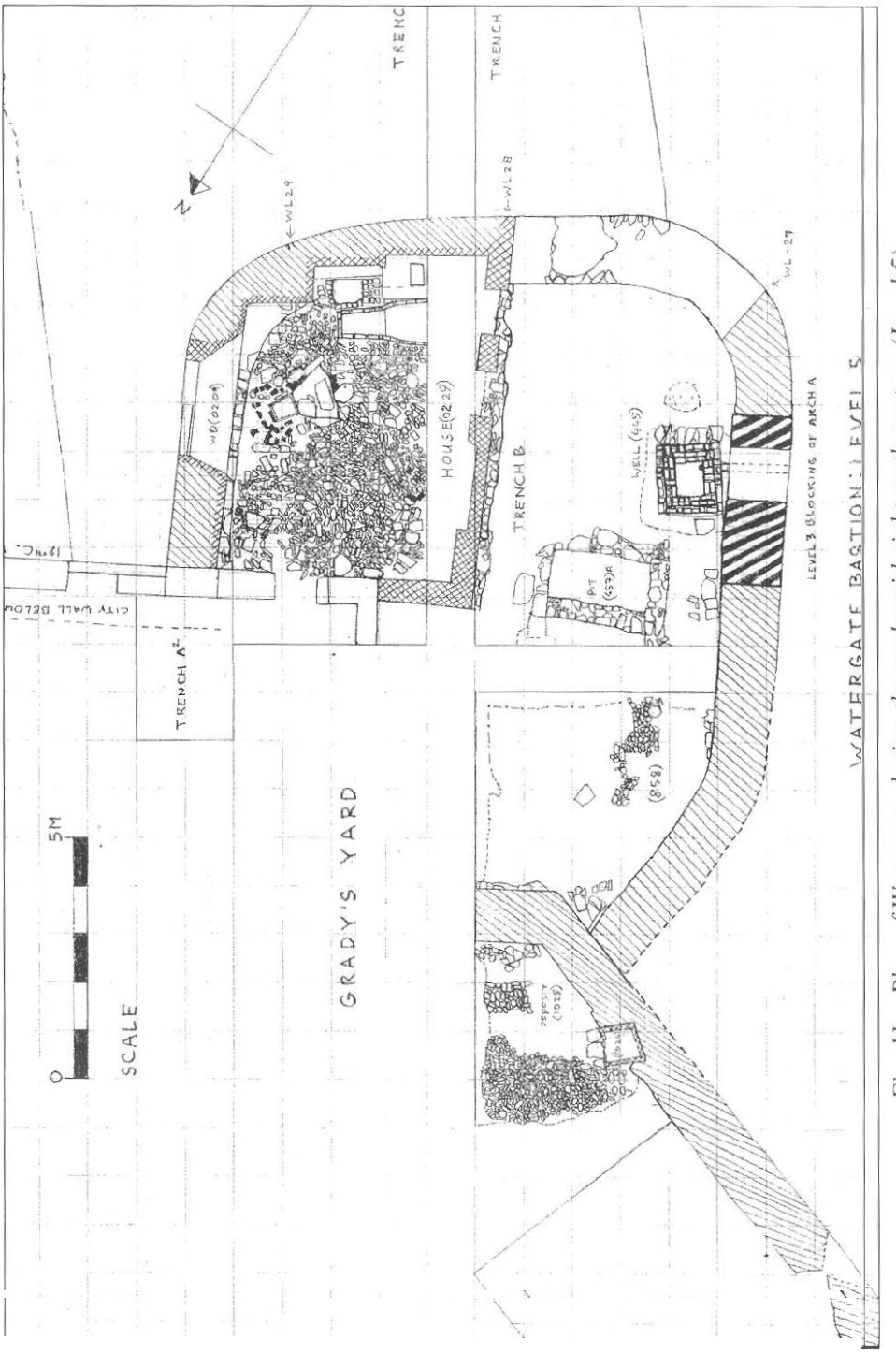


Fig. 11 – Plan of Watergate during the early-mid eighteenth century (Level 5)

Plate 1 – The upper exterior of the Watergate from N-E, prior to the commencement of excavations in Bergin's Garden in 1985.

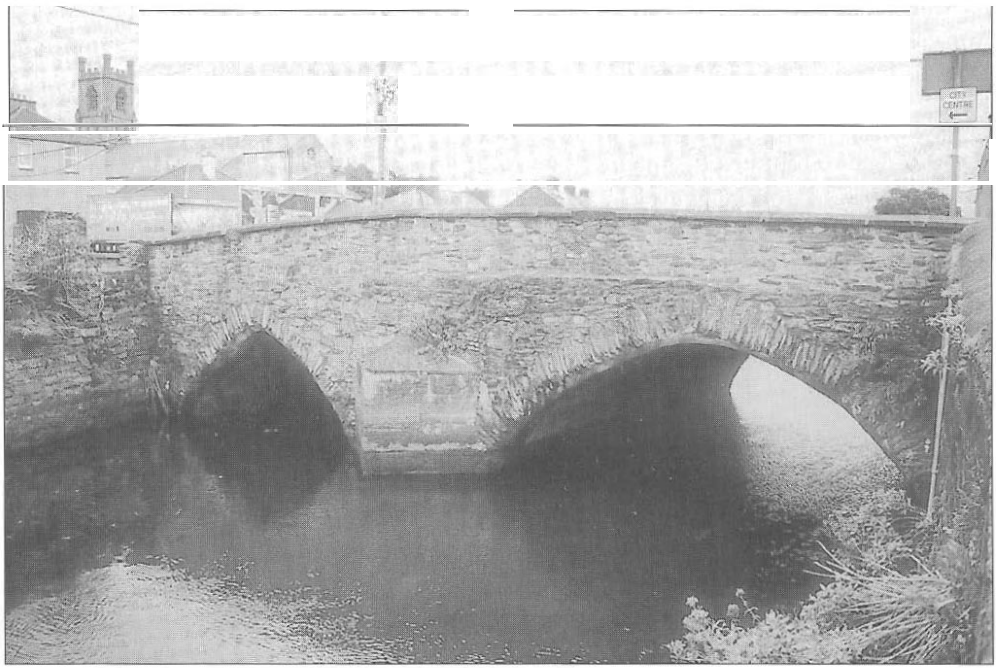


Plate 2 – The S-W exterior of the medieval John's Bridge, from south. The Watergate is located further to the left. B.M. October 2001

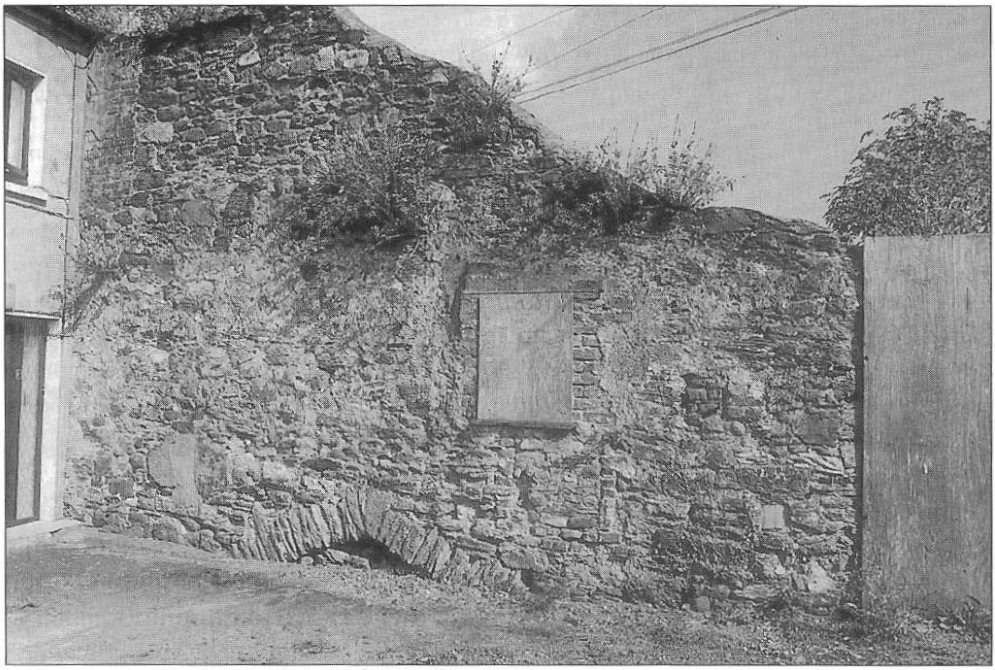


Plate 3 – Top of the main archway (Arch A) into the Watergate as viewed from Mendicity Lane. B.M. September 2001

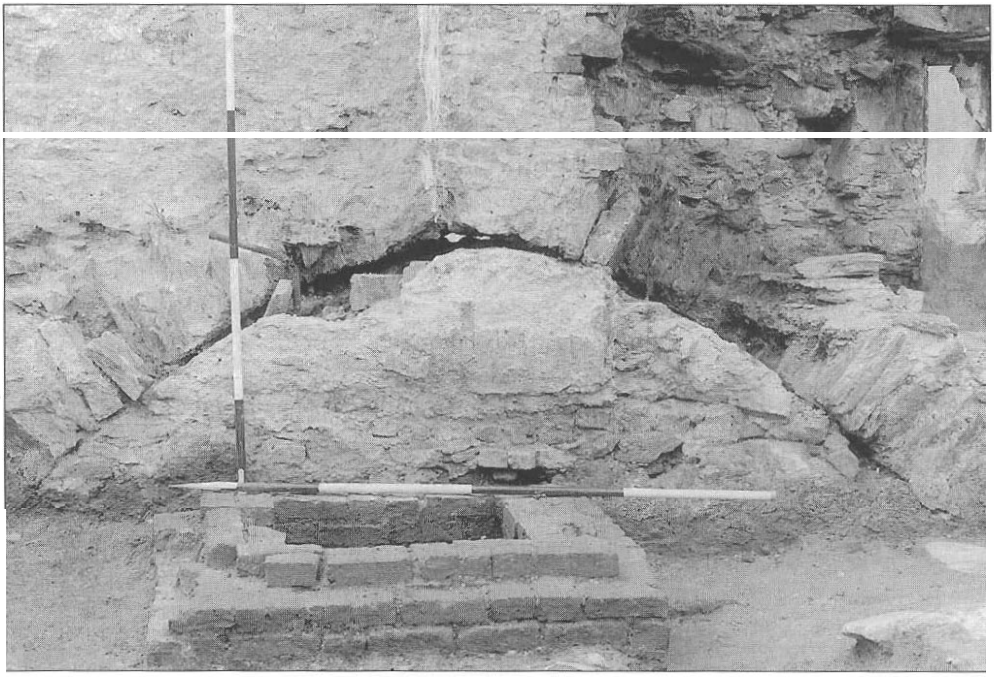


Plate 4 – Top of the main archway (Arch A) from inside the Watergate, during the first season of the excavations, showing eighteenth century brick well in foreground. B.M. July 1985

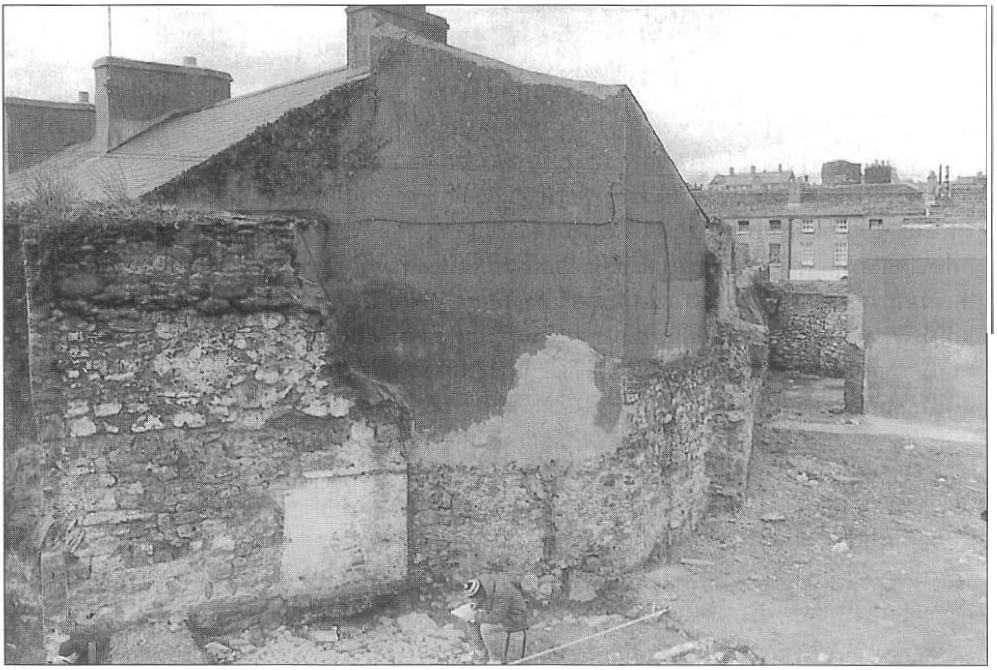


Plate 5 – View of N-E end of late Georgian terraced houses fronting onto Mendicity Lane from Grady's Yard, during the first season of excavations in 1985 – showing the wall-walk level of the inner face of the Watergate, on the left and the end of the city wall above ground level on the right.

Plate 6 – N-E corner of the Watergate during excavations, showing the modern boundary wall overlying the section of the city wall that runs N-E towards the site of John's Gate. B.M. September 1985

Plate 7 – The sixteenth century timber dock on the inside of the blocked main archway (Arch A) from within the Watergate (Trench B) – looking west. B.M. 1987

Plate 8 – The sixteenth century timber dock, that is located within the Watergate, from S-E. B.M. 1987

Plate 9 – The remains of the city wall below ground level at the N-W corner of the Watergate in Grady's Yard, between trenches C and C'. B.M. July 1986

Plate 10 – The inner face of the city wall skirting the N-W end of Grady's Yard – looking south – showing excavation trenches G and H in the foreground. B.M. 1987

Plate 11 – The S-E exterior of the Watergate, during excavations in Trench F in Bergin's Garden, showing exposed esturine mud from John's Pill. B.M. 1986

Plate 12 – A blocked sixteenth century gun-port on S-E exterior of the Watergate, after being exposed during excavations in Trench F in Bergin's Garden.
B. M. August 1985

Plate 13 – Discarded seventeenth century cattle horn cores dumped onto the esturine mud of John's Pill that skirted the S-E exterior of the Watergate in Trench F in Bergin's Garden. B.M. 1986

Plate 14 – Esturine mud of the former John's Pill exposed at the bottom of the excavation of Trench E in Bergin's Garden – showing the S-E exterior of the Watergate and underlying blocked archway (Arch B). B.M. August 1986

Plate 15 – Seventeenth century sluice exposed in Trench A that controlled the flow of tidal water in and out of the tanning vats within the Watergate – inserted into the sixteenth century blocked N-E archway (Arch D) of the latter. B.M. 1987

Plate 16 – Seventeenth century tanning vats exposed in Trench A within the N-E half of the interior of the Watergate – looking S-E – showing blocked archway (Arch C) in the background. B.M. 1987

Plate 17 – Overhead view of seventeenth century tanning vats exposed in Trench A within the Watergate, looking N-W. B.M. 1987

Plate 18 – View of the seventeenth century tanning pits overlying the sixteenth century timber dock in Trench B, within the S-W half of the interior of the Watergate. B.M. August 1986

Reformation in Elizabethan Waterford

By Niall Byrne

ANY attempt to record a history of the city of Waterford without reference to those external events which shaped its course would be futile, since being devoid then of motivation, it would simply portray the series of events as an apparently random lurching from one crisis to another. This is particularly true of the Reformation History of Waterford, because developments in Spain, France, Italy, Germany and especially in England had such a considerable relevance for the city at that time. Practically all the local eventualities of note in this era were reactions to influences which originated far from Waterford, and almost all were dependent on controversial religious innovations. It would be virtually impossible to overemphasise the importance of religion in the life of any medieval or early modern community. Consequently, resulting from its re-appraisal of both religious thinking and of the practice of religion, the Reformation occasioned a major upheaval in the every day life of each individual citizen of Waterford.

Since Christianity was totally pervasive in the lives of its inhabitants, the history of the city in the early modern era relates specifically to the effects of this religious re-assessment on the lives of the people. The theological controversies arising from the Reformation were subjected to extreme politically motivated exploitation, which had enormous social, economic and cultural effects locally. Therefore the Reformation History of Waterford city records not only the attempts to introduce religious reform, but additionally recounts the concurrent political exploitation of these innovations, with particular reference to the response of the citizens to these endeavours. Intermingled with the actions of the authorities and the reactions of the citizens are to be found the influences of the apologists of both Protestant and Catholic confessions of faith. In reality it is the jaundiced views of these apologists which often colour the current perceptions of the history of this period, by omitting unpalatable facts, and by emphasising their interpretation of events.

Urbs Intacta

Several misconceptions permeate the popular interpretation of the history of the city. These have sometimes developed anachronistically from later occurrences, or have more likely resulted from the successful manipulation of events by the apologists of the day. Pride of place in this regard must be given to King Henry VII's grant of the motto *Urbs Intacta Manet Waterford* being interwoven with the soubriquet *Parva Roma*, the latter character being attributed to the city a century and a quarter later, not by Papal Nuncio Rinuccini as is generally believed, but by

King James I.[1] Facilitated by the passage of half a millennium of time, and by the apologists of the intervening period, the perception has arisen that *Parva Roma* and *Intacta Manet* are practically synonymous in indicating that Waterford city never deviated from Roman Catholicism, which is, of course, an utter fabrication.

The rejection of the Pope as Head of the Church and the embrace of Royal Supremacy, as exemplified by the actions of two successive Bishops of Waterford and several Mayors of the city, have now been forgotten. Yet, the acceptance of the King as Head of the Church pertained from the time of the visit to Waterford of the reforming Archbishop Browne of Dublin, and the subsequent Synod of Clonmel[2] in mid January 1539, until Bishop Walshe of Waterford and Lismore profited from the general absolution granted to England and Ireland by the Papal Legate Cardinal Pole in 1554,[3] during the reign of Queen Mary Tudor. Bishop Walshe, and thereby Waterford city, then re-embraced Catholicism for the remainder of Queen Mary's reign. Yet, following Elizabeth's succession, and constrained by the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity enacted by the Irish Parliament in January 1560, they reverted to overt Protestantism, maintaining this stance publicly until Bishop Walshe's re-conversion to Catholicism in 1576.[4] Although Catholic apologists have portrayed this period as a tongue-in-cheek rejection of Papal authority in favour of Henry VIII's control of the church, nonetheless it is an indisputable fact that Waterford city supported Royal Supremacy, to the detriment of the Pope, for a period of about thirty-three years. Apologists, both Protestant and Catholic, have contrived to emphasise whichever interpretation of the ambivalence of this era best suited the needs of their divergent confessions of faith.

Bishop Nicholas Comyn's collusion in, and Mayor William Wyse's total support of the ecclesiastical administrative changes are glossed over by repeated references to the avarice and marriages of Henry VIII. Waterford city's religious communities undoubtedly suffered considerably in the Dissolution of the Monasteries, this entire debacle being attributed to the insolvency of the monarch, but no mention is made of the theological motivation which influenced the attempted dispersal of the monastic orders. Little attention is paid to the massive financial rewards which were gained by leading Waterford families, such as the Wyses, the Sherlocks, the Walshes, the Aylwards, and even Waterford Corporation from the confiscation of monastic estates. While the jurisdictional changes occasioned in the church by the King are criticised continually, there is scant recognition of his refusal to countenance those doctrinal changes advocated by his officials. The fact that Henry VIII, a committed friend and serious benefactor of Waterford city, died an excommunicated schismatic on 28 January 1547 always receives prominent attention, but his refusal to allow doctrinal change, which meant that he was never a heretic and that he died a Catholic although not a Roman Catholic, is seldom acknowledged in Waterford or elsewhere.

1. Patrick Comerford, (1644) *Inquisition of a Sermon* (Waterford) p. 154.
2. *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, 1509-73* p. 47.
3. *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1515-74* p. 251.
4. *Calendar of State Papers Rome, 1572-78* p. 288.

Protestant Rule

Henry VIII was succeeded by Edward VI, his ten years old son from the King's marriage to his third wife Jane Seymour. Ruling through his Protectors of the Realm, this young king's brief reign was committed to Protestant rule. The new Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Edward Bellingham, who landed in Waterford in 1549 with an army of 600 horse and 400 foot,[5] soon began to enforce Protestantism by implementing the New Injunctions. The first evidence of any Counter Reformation attempts to reverse religious trends in the city came in 1550, with the Papal appointment of the Franciscan John McGrath as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Belatedly refusing to recognise the episcopate of Bishop Nicholas Comyn, the Vatican appointed John McGrath, not to replace Comyn, but to succeed Bishop Thomas Purcell, who had died in 1517, and whom Comyn had succeeded in 1519. This papal attempt to invalidate the entire episcopate of Bishop Comyn was unsuccessful, since it is doubtful if John McGrath was ever consecrated bishop, and it is even more doubtful if he ever took possession of the See.[6]

Weary of an episcopate of thirty-two years duration, Bishop Comyn resigned his See in June 1551 and following the issue of a *congé d'élire* by King Edward VI,[7] Patrick Walshe was consecrated Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. While Bishop Walshe took the Oath of Supremacy, he did not instigate major liturgical change, causing the visiting John Bale, Bishop-elect of Ossory, to severely criticise religious observance in Waterford city. Landing in Waterford on 23 January 1553, *en route* to his See, John Bale reported the city's lack of progress in implementing the liturgical changes demanded in Archbishop Cranmer's recently published Second Prayer Book. The extremely partisan Bale recorded, '*In beholding the face and order of that city, I see many abominable idolatries maintained by the epicurish priests for their wicked bellies sake. The communion or supper of the Lord was there altogether used like a popish mass, with all the old apish toys of Antichrist, in bowings and scrapings, kneelings and knockings.*'[8] Bale's caustic but nonetheless valid description of Waterford's Liturgy of the Eucharist typified his vitriolic outbursts, '*there standeth the priest, disguised like one that would show some conveyance or juggling play. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the wall, in a foreign tongue.*'[9]

Despite Bale's criticism, religious practice in Waterford continued as before, the isolation of the city from the English court enabling Bishop Walshe to ignore most of the innovative liturgical proposals. The ailing young King Edward VI died from Tuberculosis on 6 July 1553.

5. Charles Smith, (1746) *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford* (Dublin) p. 142.
6. Canon Power, (1937) *Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History of the United Diocese* (Cork University Press) p. 11.
7. *Fiants of Edward VI,* no. 801 Vol. 1 p. 173.
8. W. Oldys & T. Parke, (eds) (1810) 'The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishopric of Ossorie in Irelande' in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London) Vol. vi p. 446.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and his divorced first wife Catherine of Aragon, succeeded to the throne on 19 July 1553, immediately re-imposing Roman Catholicism throughout her realm. Queen Mary married King Philip II of Spain in 1554, the arrival of Cardinal Pole as Papal Legate to the court in November of that year formally re-introducing Papal jurisdiction to England and Ireland. Cardinal Pole absolved the English authorities of their heresies on 30 November,[10] and it is thought that Bishop Patrick Walshe of Waterford profited from this absolution also. Walshe recanted his sinful deeds from the pulpit, ensuring that Waterford was once again a Roman Catholic city. Queen Mary's reign then initiated a purge of Protestantism in England, which resulted in the burning of 283 people as heretics, numbering five bishops and fifty-one women amongst this group of Protestant martyrs. There is no record of any such retribution locally, but Mary's death on 17 November 1558 led to the succession of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth I.

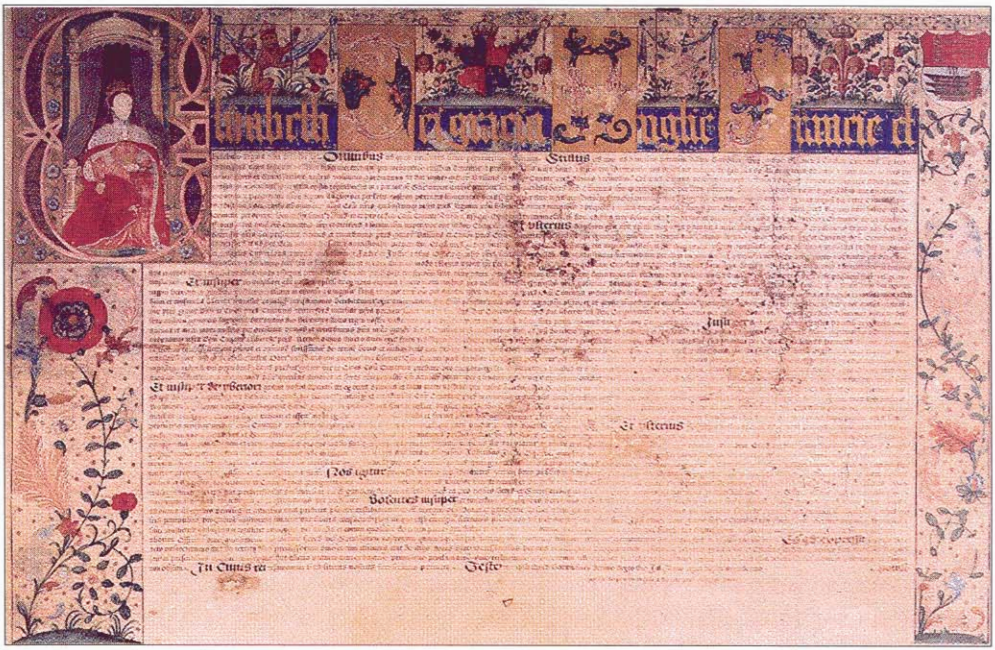
Elizabeth I

The forty-two years old Queen Mary was succeeded by her twenty-five years old half sister Elizabeth on 17 November 1558, the new monarch, who would reign for forty-five years, being the daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife Anne Boleyn. The new queen had inherited her mother's Protestant proclivities, but during her predecessor's reign had been forced to conform to Catholicism, some of Mary's councillors even advocating that Elizabeth should be executed for treason to preclude a Protestant succession. Now, free from constraint, Elizabeth would rule, in a reign which would witness significant English success internationally, with a total commitment to Protestantism.

Five days after Elizabeth's accession, the Earl of Sussex arrived at Waterford as Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was accorded a ceremonial reception, being met on the Quay by the Mayor, Maurice Wyse, by the municipal dignitaries, and by Bishop Patrick Walshe in *'his Pontificalibus, with the clergy in their copes.'* Jacques Winfield, the Master of Ordnance, bore the ceremonial sword donated to the city by Henry VIII in procession before the Mayor.[11] The Lord Deputy then *'went to church, and there offered, and being sensed (incensed), according to order Te Deum being sung, repaired to his lodging.'*[12] This was a traditional civic and ecclesiastical greeting for such a dignitary at this time. Initially unaware of Elizabeth's succession, Sussex remained in Waterford, pursuing official duties, such as accepting the oath of homage of the new Earl of Desmond, Gerald Fitzjames, which was sworn in the city on 28 November. Sussex left Waterford early in December to attend the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, a ceremony which was performed according to the old Catholic rite.

The succession of Elizabeth posed a very serious dilemma in Catholic canon law, since she was the bastard daughter of an adulterous king. Because of her

10. *Carew MSS.*, 1515-74 p. 251.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
12. Trinity College Dublin, Manuscript 1066 (untitled).



Elizabeth I Courtesy Waterford Corporation

known Protestant sympathies, the populace had quietly received Elizabeth's coronation, but at court the anti-Catholic party now began to assert itself. The Queen appointed new Protestant councillors, led by William Cecil. She stormed out of Mass on Christmas Day; she called for the use of English prayers in the liturgy; she forbade the elevation of the host; she fulminated against religious processions where she upbraided the Westminster monks for bearing candles: '*Away with those torches for we see very well.*' In spite of being warned that the Pope would excommunicate her, that the French would attempt an invasion through Scotland, that the Irish would rebel, and that the English Catholics would cause trouble, Queen Elizabeth insisted on her policy of religious reform.[13]

Royal Supremacy

The initial efforts of the English Privy Council to reintroduce royal supremacy and to revive the liturgy of the Second Prayer Book were defeated by the English bishops. The Queen broke the power of the bishops by arresting two prelates, discrediting some, and by profiting from the natural deaths of others. The new legislation was attempted again after Easter, but in a slightly different format. The Supremacy Bill was to make the Queen '*supreme governor*' of the church, allowing the possibility that there might be some other '*supreme head*' such as Christ or the Pope.

13. Christopher Haigh, (1993) '*English Reformations*' (Oxford) p 238.

This new bill passed the House of Lords with difficulty. All the bishops present opposed the bill, but there was only one lay dissenter. The Uniformity Bill, imposing the 1552 Prayer Book liturgy, eventually passed in the House of Lords by three votes and thus the Church of England was established.[14]

The Irish had monitored these events in England with considerable interest, hoping to profit from the mistakes of their English counterparts, but imperceptibly the change had already begun. When Sussex returned to Ireland, and made his appearance at the religious welcoming service in the Dublin cathedral, the Litany was sung in English.[15] This was in sharp contrast to the official Catholic reception, sung in Latin at Waterford some months previously. An Irish parliament, which convened on 12 January 1560 in Christ Church Cathedral Dublin, passed a number of Acts, among them the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity. Later, Catholic apologists attempted to excuse the Irish bishops for permitting this introduction of heterodoxy, but their claims have an unconvincing tenor. Patrick Walshe, noted parliamentarian and Bishop of Waterford, attended this parliament which ratified Irish Protestantism.

The Act of Supremacy declared that Queen Elizabeth was the supreme governor of the Church of Ireland and that it was treasonous to deny her this authority. The Act of Uniformity ordered that only that liturgy prescribed in the 1552 Second Book of Common Prayer was to be performed; that attendance at Divine Service was mandatory; that non-attendance was subject to a fine of 12d, which was to be imposed and collected by justices of the peace or mayors of towns. The Irish Uniformity Act differed from its English counterpart in that it permitted the use of such church ornaments and clerical vestments as had been allowed at the beginning of King Edward VI's reign, and that Latin prayers could be used where English was not spoken.[16] As may be imagined, the latter two stipulations were subject to evasion and manipulation. In Waterford, the liturgy of the Second Prayer Book was chanted in Latin on the pretext that not all the congregation could understand English. The clerical vestments were unchanged, a matter which would have an unusual relevance for Waterford in later years. The entire liturgical performance was made to look as much like a traditional Mass as possible.

The Protestant historian, WD Killen, asserted that Bishop Walshe and his clergy totally ignored the Act of Uniformity, claiming that Walshe sanctioned the worship of images, and the celebration of the Mass, and that to the day of his death he permitted the rankest Popery to be publicly preached in Waterford's Christ Church Cathedral. While this assessment was not entirely correct, it is certain that every effort was made to circumvent the new legislation. The Mass was counterfeited; unfamiliar prayers were uttered quickly and quietly in Latin; hosts were consecrated at private Masses, and were later distributed at Protestant Communion Services.

14. *Ibid.*, p 240.
15. Loftus Manuscript, Marsh's Library Dublin, Z427 F 434.
16. H. A. Jeffries 'The Irish Parliament of 1560: The Anglican Reforms Authorised' in *Irish Historical Studies* Vol. xxvi pp. 128-141.

Bishop Walshe did accept Royal Supremacy, but did not really implement doctrinal or liturgical change. Clearly, the citizens of Waterford could publicly sustain the monarch as supreme governor of the church in the realm, while privately they might acknowledge that the Pope was Christ's vicar on earth; but they had no desire for enforced liturgical or doctrinal change. It is patently evident that their public and private manifestations were completely at variance with each other.

The efforts to circumvent the requirements of the Act of Uniformity led to an attenuated Catholicism in Waterford, through the emergence of Survivalist Catholicism. Most Catholics swayed in the wind of necessity, hoping that by being overt Protestants and covert Catholics, they could wait for better times. Many priests who conformed to the Prayer Book also offered under-the-counter Catholicism to parishioners. Almost all the Catholics were Church Papists in that they conformed sometimes, conformity meaning that they attended reformed liturgies in the former Catholic churches; yet they declined to support the new theology, indicating that they were not converted. The *modus vivendi* in Waterford exactly mirrored that in England. The danger from the Catholic point of view was that, as time passed, Survivalist Catholicism would be diluted by conformity until it disappeared completely. The authorities were well aware of the situation. On 22 July 1562, the Earl of Sussex complained to the Queen that the people treated the Protestant Service as a May game, adding *'our religion is so abused as the Papists rejoice.'*[17] The Ecclesiastical Commissioners reported a total lack of success in enforcing reform, since the people would not listen to Protestant preachers. The Commissioners thought it *'better not to meddle with the simple multitude for the present.'*[18] Those recusants who refused to conform suffered the 12d recusancy fine, which was collected diligently, and soon forced many to attend Divine Service. However, the people then attended Mass very early in the morning and Church Service later on Sundays.[19]

Writing from Waterford at about this time, Diego Ortiz refers to the citizens protecting their municipal liberties as best they could, but being compelled occasionaly to admit English forces into the city. At such times, according to Ortiz, the Franciscans and the Dominicans fled Waterford, to hide until the English had vacated the city. He further stated that English was not used in the liturgy practised in Waterford churches.[20]

The political situation in Waterford was also deteriorating rapidly at this time. Sir Maurice Fitzgerald refused to pay dues for his land, which caused Gerald, 15th Earl of Desmond, to sally into the Decies to collect the taxes owed to him. This immediately exacerbated the long-standing hostility between the two great houses of Desmond and Ormond. The evenly matched forces of the two earls came into armed conflict on 1 February 1565, at Affane in county Waterford. The Battle of

17. State Papers Ireland, 1509-73 p 199.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Loftus MS., f 439.
20. Diego Ortiz, (1867) 'Report on the State of Ireland' quoted in Maziere-Brady *The Irish Reformation* (London) p. 179.

Affane took place at a ford on a tributary of the Blackwater, just south of Cappoquin. Displaying its banners, Desmond's army charged the Ormondite forces, but ran into a carefully prepared trap. Desmond, wounded in the affray, was captured. His routed supporters, attempting to escape by swimming the Blackwater, were surrounded by armed boats, from which many were piked to death as they swam.

The captured Desmond was taken to Waterford city for interrogation. Angry at the public display of banners in a private war, Queen Elizabeth summoned the two earls to court. Desmond and Ormond appeared before the Privy Council in London, where both were bound over in the sum of £20,000 each. Some time later, Bishop Walshe was one of the Commissioners appointed to investigate the matters in controversy between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, which had led to the Battle of Affane, this appointment being seen by some authorities to be an indication of Walshe's conformity. On 31 October 1567, the Earl of Ormond was awarded £20,894 13s 4d Irish, to be paid by the Earl of Desmond, concerning which Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney wrote *'the Earl's whole inheritance will not answer for these forty years to come.'*

Counter Reformation in Waterford

Bishop Walshe resigned the Deanery of Waterford on 15 June 1566, nominating Dr Peter White as his successor; the appointment was ratified on 22 June by the Lord Deputy.[21] A native of Waterford, White was educated at Oxford University, being made a Fellow of Oriel College in 1551, graduating MA in 1555,[22] and then returning to Waterford where he set up his renowned school. The resignation of Bishop Walshe as Dean of Waterford has again been seen by some historians as an indication that Walshe was now definitely a Protestant. But White, a well-known opponent of Protestantism, was recommended by the bishop as *'a man very well learned, past degrees in schools, and of virtuous sober conversation,'*[23] clearly indicating the ambivalence pertaining at that time. Catholic apologists contend that Walshe nominated White in order that the articulate new Dean might thus more effectively oppose further religious reform in Waterford. White was a very successful schoolteacher who was responsible, to a very large extent, for the lack of progress of the Reformation in Waterford and Kilkenny. Without equivocation, he was the most important and the most effective agent of the Counter Reformation in Ireland at this time.

The Papacy was now adopting a much stricter Counter Reformation line. By 1566, Pope Pius V had formally forbidden Catholics to attend Protestant services, thus placing Waterford's Church Papists in a seriously invidious position, and causing major unrest in the city. New English adventurers, with Sydney's connivance, were attempting to gain possession of disputed lands. The peace was only maintained by the presence of large numbers of English soldiers, who were supported

21. State Papers Ireland, 1509-73 p. 258.
22. Edmund Downey, (1914) *The Story of Waterford* (Waterford) p. 76.
23. Letter of Bishop Walshe to Lord Deputy Sidney, 15 June 1556.

by taxation of the landed gentry. Jacques Wingfield, (erstwhile Master of Ordnance at Waterford's reception of Lord Deputy Sussex in late 1558), was authorised by Lord Deputy Sydney to seek out crown titles to monastic lands in Munster, thus officially authorising this freeman of Waterford to begin a scrutiny of leases. Wingfield's searching for defective leases was to be undertaken specifically along the coastal regions with which Spanish fishermen and merchants traded. The depredations of adventurers such as Sir Peter Carew, who ceaselessly searched out properties with suspect titles for acquisition, a practice known as land racking, added to the atmosphere of unrest. The Lord Deputy patrolled Munster early in 1567, holding assizes in each county, and actively encouraging the searching out of titles to monastic lands and to forfeited estates, which, on confiscation, could be peopled by English born settlers. The climate of fear, tension, and trepidation resulting from this searching of title deeds had two major repercussions, the first locally in Waterford, and the second nationally.

While there is no real evidence to support the theory, it is presumed that the extremely unsettled civic situation precipitated Bishop Patrick Walshe into an unprecedented liquidation of church property. In an effort to accumulate disposable income, church dignitaries began to lease houses and lands for such inordinately long leases as to suggest a sale, usually on the payment of a sizeable lump sum or '*fine*', after which only a moderate rent would be sought. In the twenty years between 1559 and 1579, seventeen Waterford properties belonging to Christ Church Cathedral were disposed of. However, these transactions, recorded as single items, were not simply leases of individual buildings; for example, one transaction in 1575 is detailed as '*several thatched houses in St. Michaels,*' while the disposal recorded for 1579 is in fact '*a row of slated houses in Christ Church lane and in High Street.*'[24] It is possible that the church dignitaries were unable to collect rents, tithes, or other dues because of the civil and ecclesiastical upheavals of that time, or perhaps the titles may have been suspect. Whatever the reason, a process was begun which would reduce the income of the diocese to such a state that it would soon become impossible to entice suitably qualified personnel to minister to the congregation. Furthermore, a precedent was created which subsequent incumbents of the episcopate would exploit mercilessly for their own avaricious ambitions.

On the national level (ie the nation of the Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland) the gentry of the Pale and of the south-east were gradually becoming frustrated by Sydney's policies, by the wave of English adventurers, and by the incessantly increasing tax demands, known as '*the cess.*' They began to separate themselves from both the Gaelic inhabitants of the region, and from the newcomers from England. From the late 1560's they began to refer to themselves as '*Her Majesty's old faithful English subjects in Ireland.*' By the end of the century this had been abbreviated simply to '*Old English.*' From this time onwards, the Catholic Old

24. *'Thomas White's Chancery Pleading - 1680'* in Julian C Walton (ed), Calendar of the Records of Christ Church Cathedral Waterford (unpublished-compiled 1981) pp. 156-160.

English alienated themselves from their Catholic Gaelic Irish neighbours, and from the Protestant New English settlers. A further division had been formed. The New English were quick to seize on the common denominator of the Catholicism of both groups who now confronted the official Protestant regime. This alienation of the Old English from the state further reinforced their strong commitment to Catholicism. The situation continued to deteriorate, tension constantly increasing, so that the prospect of insurrection was undeniable. The divisions between the Gaelic Irish and the citizens of Waterford worsened further. On Good Friday 1569, the gates of Waterford were opened to allow 1,100 poor people to shelter in the city. During the night, the poor, now refreshed, began a riot in which they '*broke up houses and fell to spoil.*' They were ejected from the city with difficulty.[25]

James Fitzmaurice, first cousin of the Earl of Desmond, had been ousted from his lands and now rose in revolt in 1569. He immediately played the Counter Reformation card, emphasising the religious aspect of the general unrest. He supported the attempt of Maurice Fitzgibbon, papal Archbishop of Cashel, to enlist aid from King Philip II of Spain for Catholic opponents of Queen Elizabeth. English settlers outside Cork city were attacked, and soon an attempt was made on Waterford without any serious consequences. The rebels ranged the countryside, terrorising the country populace, and maiming cattle and horses. Those whom they captured were stripped naked, and were forced to walk to the nearest haven to seek aid. Naked men, women, and children soon converged on Waterford city seeking shelter. The Abbey at Owney was despoiled, as were the houses of the gentry at Callan and Knocktopher.[26]

In September, Humphrey Gilbert was appointed Colonel and Governor of Munster, and soon began a campaign of merciless savagery to contain the rebellion. Within six weeks he had captured twenty-three castles, and had slaughtered all their occupants, men, women, and children. His ruthless tactics, such as the slaughter of non-belligerents, or the grisly use of a corridor of severed heads to induce surrenders, succeeded. By late 1569, most of the Geraldines had submitted, although Fitzmaurice was still at large. The walled city of Waterford was a major seat of the enforcement of New English justice, Sir Peter Carew reporting that '*at Kilkenny he caused execution to be done upon a great number....and divers others at Waterford.*'[27] The authorities, hard-pressed to contain the rebels and depleted by casualties, sought reinforcements from the city of Waterford, but relying on ancient privileges granted in numerous royal charters which authorised them to retain their soldiers solely for the defence of the city, officials of the municipality insisted on their right not to supply troops to the crown forces fighting the insurgents.[28] This narrow, insular declaration of self-interest, at a time of crisis for the crown, would not easily be forgotten, since it was perceived that the local officials placed the safety of the city ahead of the interests of the government.

25. State Papers Ireland, 1509-73 p. 406.
26. *Ibid.*, 1509-73 p. 412.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 397.
28. Smith, '*Antient and Present State of Waterford*' p. 138.

Waterford's insistence on its chartered rights began to create an atmosphere of distrust in establishment circles towards this hitherto most loyal of Irish cities. On 26 October, Lord Deputy Sydney, writing to the Privy Council, complained of the insolence of Waterford's refusal.[29] Nor were the citizens ignorant of their *faux pas*, for three days later George Wyse wrote to Cecil, seeking to excuse Waterford for its refusal to send 300 men to assist Sydney and reminding the London government that when all Ireland rebelled in Perkin Warbeck's time, only Waterford stood firm to the crown.[30] In England, civil and ecclesiastical unrest culminated in the 1569 Revolt of the Northern Earls. Westmorland and Northumberland were forced into rebellion, and as Fitzmaurice had done in Ireland, they played the religious card. An army of some 5,000 men from Durham and Yorkshire marched southwards, probably intending to free the captive Mary Queen of Scots who was imprisoned at Turbury. Following an indecisive campaign, the Earls and their close allies fled into Scotland on 20 December, leaving their followers to pay with their lives, and with heavy fines. In a belated response to a plea from the English Catholic northern Earls, Pope Pius V excommunicated Queen Elizabeth in 1570.[31]

Excommunication of Elizabeth

On 25 February 1570 Pope Pius V issued the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* which excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, absolving all those who had sworn any oath to her from their obligations to her, and commanding all her subjects to refuse to obey her, or her laws, under pain of excommunication. The wording of the Bull was very explicit:- '*We declare the said Elizabeth heretic and fautress of heretics and her adherents to have fallen under sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ, and her, Elizabeth, to be deprived of her pretended right to the said realm and of all and every dominion, dignity and privilege; and also the nobles, subjects and peoples of the said realm and all else who in any manner have made oath to her, to be forever absolved from such oath, and all duty and of liege-fealty and obedience, as by the authority of these presents. We absolve them, and deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended right to the realm and of all else aforesaid, and lay upon all and singular the nobles, subjects and peoples, and others aforesaid, our injunction and interdict, that they presume not to yield obedience to her, or her admonitions, mandates and laws; otherwise we involve them in the like sentence of anathema.*' [32]

While the Bull was issued in February, and was not unexpected, it took some time to reach England. A newsletter which was published in Rome on 13 May, focused on the fact that not only was the Queen a heretic, but that because of her illegitimate birth, she was not fit to rule the realm. It further emphasised that the Pope had absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance and had granted a licence to every Christian Prince to invade and occupy Elizabeth's realm. The

29. State Papers of Ireland, *1509-73* p. 421.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
31. State Papers Rome, *Elizabeth 1558-71* Vol. 1 p. 335.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 328.

misogynistic disquiet of the time was expressed succinctly at a later date by Viscount Baltinglass, who wrote *'Questionless it is great want of knowledge, and more of grace, to think and believe, that a woman uncapax of all holy orders, should be the supreme governor of Christ's church; a thing that Christ did not grant unto his own mother.'*[33]

The English authorities were well aware of the existence of the Bull of Excommunication, but it was ignored in England until 15 May 1570, when it was surreptitiously nailed to the door of the Bishop of London's palace. Neither was it a total surprise in Ireland. The matter had been discussed at the Council of Trent in 1563,[34] where the decision had been taken to authorise the excommunication of the queen if ever necessity should warrant it. Three Irish bishops, of Ross, Raphoe and of Achonry, had attended the closing sessions of the Council of Trent, and all three had signed this decree. However, the exhortations of the Pope to Elizabeth's subjects to disobey her laws and her officers was an incitement of the populace to rebellion, and consequently to commit treason. Furthermore, the licence to every Christian Prince to invade the realm was an inducement to any disaffected Irish rebel to seek foreign aid, and the inference was that this would receive papal support.

Reaction in Waterford

The excommunication of Elizabeth was very keenly felt in Waterford. Until now the citizens had been able to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown, while still remaining predominately Catholic. This exercise in ambivalence was now to become much more difficult. In addition, the prosperity of the city depended on its maritime commerce and brought its merchants into close contact with their counterparts in Spain and in France. The Pope's exhortation to Christian Princes to invade Elizabeth's kingdom was seen as being directed specifically towards King Phillip II of Spain, who, twelve years previously had been husband and consort of Queen Mary of England. Naturally therefore, the citizens of Waterford expected that they would be subjected to detailed scrutiny by the Protestant authorities, which, because of their non-conformity, or perhaps because of their reluctant Church Papistry, was not a welcome prospect. Consequently from this time onwards, the citizens made every effort to be, and to be publicly seen to be, loyal to the English Crown, but to cloak their non-conformity from the authorities. The Mayor, the Sheriffs and the merchants were keen to inform the establishment of all troop concentrations in Spain and France, and all increased maritime activity on these coasts. The State Papers of the time are full of reports from Waterford concerning military and naval activity on the continent.

In the summer of 1570 the Dean of Waterford, Peter White, refusing to acquiesce, and declining to take the Oath of Supremacy, was ejected from office. Thereafter he concentrated on his occupation of schoolteacher, at which he was so proficient that he earned the soubriquet *'the lucky schoolmaster of Munster.'* David

33. *Cal Carew MSS., 1575-88* p. 289.
34. State Papers Rome, *1558-71* Vol. I Preface pp xiv & xv.

Clere MA was appointed White's successor on 9 August. In spite of much privation, including a later attempt by Miler Magrath to have him suspended, Clere would hold the office of Dean until his death in 1602. On 30 November, both Bishop Patrick Walshe and Sir Edmund Fleminge, Treasurer of the Cathedral of Waterford, were appointed Commissioners to make inquisition of the number of acres in county Waterford, to extend it into ploughlands, and to divide them into baronies; and to find out what places were cessable.[35] In spite of religious difficulties, three Waterford clerics had now been appointed to prestigious civil positions by the government.

In February of the following year Sir John Perrot was appointed President of Munster and was ordered to mop up the revolt. He spoiled the country, executing all those captured in arms. In March the papally appointed Archbishop of Cashel, Maurice Reagh, who had been sent to Spain by James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald to seek aid for revolt in Ireland, was rumoured to be returning with a great fleet of French and Spaniards.[36] A further rumour, contained in a letter of the Mayor of Waterford to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam on 20 July 1572, warned of an imminent invasion by the King of Portugal, on account of the quarrel of religion.[37] These threatened invasions failed to materialise, but within a week the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre had scandalised Europe. On the night of 23-24 August, (the eve of the feast of St. Bartholomew), the Huguenot leader Gaspared de Coligny, and numerous other prominent Huguenots in Paris were massacred, the killing fervour being taken up by the people and becoming a widespread slaughter. A few days later, believing that they were acting on royal orders, numerous provincial cities began similar purges. A non-partisan account estimated that 30,000 Protestants were killed in these pogroms.[38]

In April 1573 Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald surrendered. The Earl of Desmond was sent back to Dublin. By the end of September Justice Nicholas Walshe was able to report from Waterford that the entire province of Munster was peaceful, that '*idle people had fallen to husbandry.*' The insanity of the Huguenot massacre had momentarily silenced militant confessionalism, but at an enormous cost. The shadow of Pope Pius V's Bull still hung over all. The threat of invasion was ever present.

The Jesuit, David Wolf, described Waterford in 1574 as '*a city well walled in the ancient fashion; the wealthiest city in Ireland; with a population of almost 1000, all of whom are Catholics, with the exception of 4 or 5 young men; that all the citizens are merchants or artisans, given to business rather than warfare.*'[39] It is further recorded that all the Catholic bishops of Munster had been deprived of their Sees by the Lady Elizabeth,[40] and that Waterford, being within 4 days sailing

35. *Irish Fiants Elizabeth I,* no. 1635 Vol. ii p. 216.
36. State Papers Ireland, *1509-73* p. 443.
37. *Ibid.,* p. 477.
38. Euan Cameron, (1991) *The European Reformation* (Oxford) p. 375.
39. State Papers Ireland, *1572-8* p. 161.
40. *Ibid.*

distance of Biscay, was one of the ports of choice for an invasion of Ireland.[41] Throughout the year the merchants of Waterford, returning from France and Spain, reported any suspicious activities to the authorities. A new charter was granted, creating a separate county of the city.

However, in this year, 1574, the first wave of continentally trained, Tridentine inspired Catholic clergy began to arrive back in England and Ireland. Insisting that it was totally unacceptable for Catholics to attend a heretical service, and countermanding those compromises made by Church Papists, these new priests began to introduce the innovative Tridentine liturgy to Waterford. The liturgy practised up to that time had not really been standardised, except perhaps in those areas where the Sarum Rite prevailed. Individual pastors celebrated the Mass as their fancy took them, this being particularly so in the Ecclesia inter Hibernicos. Now the liturgy, which the Protestants had tried so hard to conform to the mode stipulated in the 1552 Second Book of Common Prayer, was being reformed and standardised by Catholics, not only in the Ecclesia inter Hibernicos and in the Ecclesia inter Anglicos, but throughout the entire Catholic world. The calls for the reform of the liturgy uttered half a century previously by the Catholic Humanist, Desiderius Erasmus,[42] were now to be implemented. Acting on the recommendations of the Council of Trent, Pope Pius V promulgated a revised breviary in 1568, and a revised missal in 1570, by his Bulls '*Quod a nobis*' and '*Quo primum,*' with stern injunctions that no one should use a liturgy other than those in these books unless their Rite was two hundred years old or more. This new Tridentine Rite was considered to be a bulwark against Protestantism.[43]

However, the long awaited abolition of Latin in favour of the vernacular was considered to be too radical a step, which could be misinterpreted at that time as pandering to heresy, and as a victory for Protestantism, and thus was not conceded.[44] The progress of liturgical reform, typified by the Tridentine Mass, was extremely slow, and while it would take decades to implement fully, it would remain in vogue for almost four hundred years, until replaced by that new liturgy formulated by the Second Vatican Council, which opened on 11 October 1962. From 1570 the Catholic liturgy entered a period of stagnation. Thereafter, nothing in the liturgy could be changed or developed. Every word printed in black had to be uttered, every action printed in red had to be performed. A special branch of knowledge was developed for this purpose, the science of rubrics.[45]

The influx of Tridentine inspired clergy was small initially but was fortuitously timed, the early Counter Reformation clergy and their new Tridentine tenets arriving in Waterford at that time when the Edwardine and the Marian clergy, who had countenanced partial reform, Survivalist Catholicism, and Church Papistry, were

41. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
42. James McConica, (1991) *Erasmus* (Oxford) p. 62.
43. J D Crichton, (1997) *The Once and Future Liturgy* (Dublin) p. 7.
44. Clifford Howell, (1992) 'From Trent to Vatican II' in *The Study of Liturgy* (London) p. 287.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

beginning to die out. The new seminary priests, educated at Catholic training colleges on the continent (the Irish College in Paris was founded in 1578; Salamanca founded 1592; Douai established 1594), were specifically forbidden to be missionaries intent on converting Protestants. Rather, they were ordered to concentrate on reinforcing the faith of the Catholic population.[46] They were further commanded not to waste their efforts on the lower, poorer stratum of the populace, but to deliberately target the more affluent, more educated, and more influential upper echelons of society in order that a committed, prestigious cadre of informed Catholics would be *in situ* whenever Roman Catholicism would be restored as the established religion, and in the hope that the masses would follow their masters.

On this account, little notice was taken of the large numbers of the poorer working class Waterford citizens, who, perforce, had to attend Divine Service since they could not pay the Recusancy fine. The new clergy concentrated their attentions on the wealthy, committed Catholics in Waterford's merchant families. Initially, their emphasis was on persuading Church Papists not to receive Protestant Communion, but within a short period they began to pressurise their flock to refrain completely from attending Protestant services. The very success of the clergy soon began to create serious problems for Waterford Catholics, because the New English were quick to seize their opportunity. Recusancy was now ascribed to treasonous adherence to a foreign command.

Influenced by Counter Reformation rhetoric, the Earl of Desmond threw down the first gage of battle in defence of faith and fatherland on 18 July 1574,[47] by the formation of a great Catholic Confederacy of the South of Ireland. Rejecting the Munster presidency as an alien, heretical influence bent on the destruction of the old order, the radical Geraldines adopted a strident Counter Reformation tone allied to Gaelic symbolism.[48] To curb this antagonism, Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney appointed Sir William Drury as President of Munster. Drury's new tactic was to force the greater and the lesser lords to commute their material dues to him as a money payment, which would subsidise the presidential army. Drury stamped out coign and livery and in a bid to reduce any capability of opposition many unlisted, masterless swordsmen and some 400 unregistered soldiers were executed, causing the Earl of Desmond to disband his private army. Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, now landless and without a protector, emigrated to France with his wife and family early in 1575. He was soon in touch with the Catholic diplomatic nexus, first at Paris where he spent two years, and later at Rome. Once again playing the religious card, this time in the Counter Reformation suit, the disaffected Fitzmaurice sought both papal and Spanish aid for an expedition to Ireland, as had been promised in *Regnans in Excelsis.*

46. L. Hicks (ed), (1942) 'Letters and Memoirs of Fr Robert Parsons' in *Catholic Record Society* (Dublin) p. 320.
47. State Papers of Ireland, *1574-85* p. 33.
48. Colm Lennon, (1994) *Sixteenth Century Ireland:The incomplete Conquest* (Dublin) p. 217.

Waterford had hoped to profit from the setting up of a Munster presidency by capitalising on the firm structures of a central authority. But more mundane matters elicit attention in Waterford at this time. Bishop Tanner of Cork, in pursuit of his Catholic episcopal duties, was arrested in Clonmel by the Protestant authorities.[49] Tanner was well treated by his captors, who sought instructions from the Queen of England as to what should be done with him. While awaiting the reply from England, Tanner was committed to the custody of the *'heretic'* Bishop Patrick Walshe of Waterford. Writing on 25 September 1576 to John Andrew Cagliari, Collector and Commissary at Rome, Bishop Tanner explained that, by propagating the gospel even in prison, he had converted Bishop Walshe and had *'induced him to adjure all heresies with many a tear and token of penitence. I replied forthwith, consoling him and encouraging him to play the man, and asking him to report to me from time to time how he fares.'* [50]

In this same year 1576, while the Bishop of Waterford re-embraced Roman Catholicism, his son Nicholas Walshe was consecrated Protestant Bishop of Ossory by Archbishop Loftus of Dublin.[51] There were many defections of clergy from the Reformed Church at this time,[52] of which Bishop Walshe's defection (if it could truly be called either a defection or a conversion), was only one of many. There is little doubt that this publicised reconversion of Walshe was a humiliation for Protestant aspirations in Waterford, and was claimed as a major Counter Reformation coup. The Bishop faded into historical oblivion subsequent to this episode. His name was omitted from later Commissions on which he would, hitherto, have sat. He died two years later.

The unrest increased day by day, Lord President Drury continuing to utilise severe force to maintain control of a very threatening situation. Drury wrote from Dungarvan to Walsyngham on 14 April 1577 warning of intelligence that the Turks were about to invade Germany, the French King was about to cause another persecution of Protestants, and that James Fitzmaurice was ready to invade Ireland.[53] The city of Waterford was intent at this time on maintaining a low profile and sought to impress the government with reports of troop and naval movements on the continent. But once again non-conformity was the source of its misfortune. Drury wrote again to Walsyngham, this time from Waterford, reporting that on arrival in the city at 5 am on a Sunday morning, he found the citizens *'resorting out of the churches by heaps.'*[54] Drury complained that the Waterford citizens had *'masses infinite in their several churches every morning without fear.'* He described four principal preachers operating in the area between Waterford and Clonmel, namely John White, James Archer, Dr. Quemerford, and most notorious of all, Chaunter Walsh of Waterford. He condemned Walsh for preaching the Cult of the

49. Canon Power, *Compendious History*, p. 12.
50. State Papers Rome, *1572-78* p. 288.
51. W Maziere-Brady, (1867) *The Irish Reformation* (London) p. 193.
52. Alan Ford, (1997) *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland 1590-1641* (Dublin) p. 26.
53. State Papers Ireland, 1574-85 p 112.
54. *Ibid.*

Saints and going on pilgrimage. The citizens were described as fearing neither God nor man and of having painted images, candlesticks and altars in plain view in their churches. All of these practices had long been condemned by the Protestant authorities and had no place in the liturgy of the Second Prayer Book. In disgust, the Lord President complained '*This is disgraceful in a reformed city.*'

Rumours of Invasion

In an effort to determine the situation and plans of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, six men and one woman were subjected to interrogation at Waterford, but no details are given of any information that may have been gleaned from them.[55] Again rumours of an invading army abounded, being attributed on this occasion to a French force of 4,000 men. The Huguenot massacre had made the Irish Protestant authorities fearful of a similar atrocity in Ireland.

Throughout 1577, 1578 and 1579, Waterford was full of rumours of threatened invasion, and France had by now become as great a threat as Spain. Merchants continually furnished reports of concentrations of troops in both France and Spain. One Waterford merchant, Patrick Lombard, wrote from Lisbon to his wife in Waterford confirming that he had finished his business in Spain and Portugal, describing deaths from plague among the English community there and listing numbers of warships, their armament, and their complements of soldiers, all ready to join Fitzmaurice in his threatened invasion. Lombard asked his wife to secretly inform Waterford's Mayor of this assembly.[56] Fitzmaurice was busy on the continent, although it was Thomas Stukely who was put at the head of 1,000 Italian swordsmen, with the Pope's blessing, and the approval of Fitzmaurice. Progressing to Spain and Portugal in search of further reinforcements, this force was commandeered at Lisbon by King Sebastian of Portugal to fight the Moorish ruler of Morocco at Alcazar, where Stukely was killed. Fitzmaurice then set about reorganising the remnants of this force, in preparation for his expedition to Ireland. Fitzmaurice's force sailed from Lisbon on 18 November and headed northwards towards Corunna. En route they fell in with an English ship, attacked and captured her, and took her crew prisoners. It would appear that Fitzmaurice intended to massacre the prisoners but was prevailed upon by his travelling companion Bishop Patrick O'Hely of Mayo, to spare their lives. The English crew was sent ashore to be dealt with by the Spanish Inquisition.[57] It seems that their salvation was brief. Drury later informed the Privy Council that the Spanish Inquisition had executed the entire crew.[58] Undeterred, Fitzmaurice continued on to Corunna where he began to fit out his invasion force.

Sir William Drury now became Lord Justice of Ireland. Bishop Patrick Walshe of Waterford died in early Summer 1578 and the temporalities of the diocese were sequestered by the crown. Walshe was replaced on the following 14 November by

55. *Ibid.*, p 114.
56. State Papers Ireland, *1574-85* p. 160.
57. State Papers Rome, *1572-78* p. 395.
58. State Papers Ireland, *1574-85* p. 130.

Fr John White SJ as Vicar Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore. Henceforth there would be no Catholic bishop of the diocese until Patrick Comerford was consecrated in 1629. It is noteworthy that Dean Clere was not promoted to this See. At this juncture the diocese was without a prelate, and the opportunity was now available for the Protestant authorities to review the religious situation in Waterford, and to take such steps as they thought fit. Lord Justice Drury, who had complained bitterly in the previous year about the disgraceful attendance in a reformed city of Catholics at masses infinite, was now in a position to implement changes. Archbishop Loftus wrote in derogatory terms of the late Bishop Walshe's '*wicked dealings,*' probably referring to his repudiation of Royal Supremacy and his reacceptance of Roman Catholicism.[59]

Obstacles to Protestantism in Waterford

Now the way was clear for the appointment in Waterford of a preaching Protestant prelate, who would implement in full the liturgy of the Second Book of Common Prayer, emphasising the focal point in the Divine Service, which was the sermon, the preaching and teaching of the Word of God. Hitherto, an unwilling clergy had not expounded reformed theology to the populace, partly because of lack of conviction and partly because of inability to preach coherently. Some of the reformed pastors were reading ministers only and were not competent to preach and elucidate the Protestant interpretation of the Word of God. It was obvious that the provision of a Protestant preaching prelate of known theological orthodoxy was essential for the See of Waterford and Lismore. Clearly therefore, a local candidate could not be considered, and this would prove to be a very contentious issue.

The ambition was, that in coherently explaining Protestant theology, an educated preaching minister should guide his congregation away from the sacramental liturgy devolved from the *Sola Gratia* dogma of Augustine of Hippo, towards Martin Luther's doctrine of *Sola Fidé*, that salvation or justification was by faith alone. John Calvin's development of the tenet of Election into the doctrine of Double Predestination, confirming both the salvation of the Elect and the damnation of the Reprobate, was intrinsic to this Protestant manifesto. Scriptural knowledge was essential to this life of faith to achieve which congregation was exhorted to read the Bible, since there could be no profit from sermons for those '*that have not been trained up in reading.*' Literacy was therefore a prerequisite for the propagation of the reformed religion, but the perception was that the ministers seemed to advocate too intellectual and too demanding a religion, above the capacity of ordinary people. Here again was a second contentious issue facing those about to make a new appointment to the See of Waterford and Lismore.

The people who perforce attended Divine Service in Waterford were mainly the impoverished, illiterate working class people who could not afford to pay the recusancy fine. They could neither read, nor write, nor understand the new theology, and consequently, while forced to attend the Divine Service, the objective of achieving their genuine conversion was highly improbable. The merchant class

59. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 85 / 133.

was literate; the merchants could read and write in Irish, in English, and perhaps even in French or Spanish because of their mercantile background. Without doubt not all their wives and daughters were literate, although perhaps this has been overemphasised. It is pertinent to remember that Patrick Lombard had written highly specialised information to his wife which he wanted her to impart to the Mayor of Waterford. In addition, most of the rural gentry were illiterate. Thus the only literate section of the community was the merchant class, who, because of their relative affluence, could not be forced to attend the Protestant Divine Service. Consequently, although the educated, mercantile cadre was the prime target for both Reformation and Counter Reformation activists, the inability to force them to come to church and to hear the Word made their conversion to Protestantism almost unattainable.

It has been claimed that the literacy problem was a huge obstacle to the advancement of Protestantism in the city at this time. Yet, it is much more probable that the population of Waterford, conditioned by centuries of traditional Roman Catholic liturgical practices by which they considered they received the grace essential for salvation, was inured to the dogma of *Sola Gratia*. It was inevitable that the austerity of the new doctrine of *Sola Fidé* had no appeal for them, since it expressly refused to countenance such traditional practices as adoration of the elevated host, the cult of saints and their shrines, pilgrimages, processions, the use of apotropaic sacramentals and countless other treasured and cherished religious practices. There is no doubt that the population had no deep understanding of the theological implications of either *Sola Fidé* or *Sola Gratia,* nor did they care. They simply wanted to be allowed to worship God as they had always done.

Herein lay the secret of the success of the Counter Reformation in Waterford. The Catholic clergy, now mainly represented by literate, erudite, well-educated seminary priests who were equal in theological training to their Protestant counterparts, were quick and eager to reinforce traditional religious practices. The Protestant clergy faced an uphill battle to sway the populace towards the reformed religion, since the acceptance of '*justification by faith alone*' would automatically render redundant the sacrificial nature of the Mass, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the validity of the sacraments and their hitherto essential infusion of grace, the penitential cycle, the efficacy of prayers for the dead and countless other offshoots of *Sola Gratia.* While the indigenous Catholics of Waterford knew little of the pertinent theology, they were adamant in their rejection of the liturgical practices and prohibitions which were the corollaries of this new expression of Christianity. The single most important factor, which would assist the Protestant church to inculcate its doctrines into the population of Waterford, was the militant support of the government. As in England, reformation would not be by popular acclaim; it would be reformation '*from above.*'

Queen Elizabeth I appointed Marmaduke Middleton as Protestant Bishop of the united diocese of Waterford and Lismore on 31 January 1579. Middleton's appointment was poorly received in Waterford.[60] The local Catholic clergy immediately

60. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 70 / 45.

objected that since his appointment had been by the Queen, and his consecration had been by a hierarchy not in communion with Rome, the new appointee was just another on the increasingly long list of those who could not trace their line of succession back to St Peter and the college of the Apostles. In refuting the heresy of Gnosticism at the end of the second century, St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, had stipulated that apostolicity (the proven direct descent of bishops from the Apostles) was one of the essential signs of the True Church.[61] Middleton's appointment embroiled Waterford in this theological debate, which had emerged at the inception of the Reformation and has been ongoing since then. A Welshman by birth and a rabid reformer, Middleton began to implement religious reforms in the city, but the citizens did not appreciate his zeal. He immediately antagonised the Mayor and his brethren, and the leading citizens.

Rebellion

Momentous events, which would affect the whole country, were now about to unfold. Early in July the expedition of Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald embarked at Corunna, Dr Nicholas Sanders, an eminent, exiled, English priest accompanying Fitzmaurice as papal commissary. The squadron reached Smerwick harbour near Dingle, on 18 July 1579. Several informants, among whom Patrick Walsh of Waterford was to the forefront,[62] immediately reported this invasion to the authorities. Flanked by Dr Sanders, by a bishop in his mitre bearing his crozier, and by two friars bearing ensigns and a papal banner, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald landed, to immediately proclaim the holy war sanctioned in letters from Pope Gregory XIII.[63]

The initial response by local magnates to this summons for Jihad was disappointing. Fitzmaurice had solicited his cousins, the Earl of Desmond and the Earl of Kildare, to join him in this venture.[64] Neither complied, Desmond assuring the Lord Deputy that he would deal with this situation personally, because Fitzmaurice could now be seen as a threat to the earldom. Henry Davells, the New English Constable of Dungarvan, and Arthur Carter the Provost Marshal of Munster, were sent by the government to inspect the entrenchment at Smerwick. While sleeping in a tavern in Tralee both these officials were assassinated by Sir John of Desmond. This catapulted Sir John of Desmond and Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald into the leadership of a nakedly, political revolt, to which hundreds of swordsmen flocked, isolating the Earl of Desmond in a political wilderness with a paltry force of sixty men. In a bid to escalate the rebellion, Fitzmaurice set out on a sortie to Connaught. Attempting to cross the Shannon at Castleconnell on 18 August, his men seized some horses belonging to the Burkes of Clanwilliam. Fitzmaurice was killed in this skirmish, leaving Sir John of Desmond as undisputed leader of a army of 3,000 men.

61. J. N. D. Kelly, (1989) *Early Christian Doctrines* (London) p. 36.
62. State Papers Ireland, *1574-85* p. 173.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Lord Justice Drury, commanding 600 men at Limerick, empowered Sir Nicholas Malby to assume the governorship of Munster with a force of 1,100 men. The New English force was routed at Springfield near Lough Gur, causing Lord Justice Drury, in failing health, to retreat towards the safety of Waterford. Two clerical prisoners, the recently returned Bishop Patrick O'Hely of Mayo, and a friar named O'Rourke (a brother of the Lord of Breifne) were sent captive to the retreating crown forces at Kilmallock. Both were tortured to elicit information, their thighs were broken with hammers, and being hanged from a tree, their bodies were used for target practice.[65] Continuing his withdrawl to Waterford, Drury held courts at Cashel and Clonmel where ten men were executed for treason and felony, and one was pressed to death for refusing to plead. Finding shelter and succour for his troops within the walls of Waterford, the ailing Drury died in the city on 30 September.[66]

Malby turned the tide of the war by inflicting heavy losses on Sir John of Desmond at Monasternenagh on 3 October, and consolidated his victory by marching on a punitive expedition through north Limerick to Desmond's stronghold at Askeaton. Lord Justice Pelham proclaimed the Earl of Desmond a traitor, charging Desmond with foreknowledge of Fitzmaurice's invasion, with condoning the murders of Davells and Carter, and with succouring the papal commissary Dr.Sanders.

Desmond denied all these charges, but to no avail. Desmond's spectacular retaliation was staged at Youghal on 13 November, where his followers sacked the town, abused the women and carried away rich plunder. From this point onwards, the Earl of Desmond was leader of the rebellion.[67] The Earl of Ormond was appointed General of Munster, sharing joint command with Lord Justice Pelham, and making Waterford their headquarters. They removed the threat to the city by sending Captain Zouch and his force of 400 foot and 100 horse to engage the rebels who were active near Dungarvan. Pelham continued to direct operations from the city, receiving English reinforcements of 500 men under the command of Captain Boucher and Captain Dowdall, and two brothers Carew.[68] Waterford became the nerve-centre of the military operation, as the leading officials of the government located there to co-ordinate the efforts to contain and suppress the rebellion. Reinforcements, pouring in from England through the port were victualled in the city, and re-routed towards the areas in revolt. Obviously there was little support in the city for those who were fighting and dying for religion's sake in other parts of Munster. Nicholas Wyse was thanked publicly by the Mayor for his assistance in reporting the arrival of Fitzmaurice at Dingle, and was rewarded by being granted a licence to import food.[69]

In a concerted effort to overcome the rebellion, the Earl of Ormond and Lord Justice Pelham carried out a campaign of attrition throughout Munster during the

65. P.M. Egan, (1894) *History, Guide and Directory of Waterford* (Kilkenny) p. 151.
66. Smith, *Antient and Present State of Waterford* p. 143.
67. Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland* p. 225.
68. Smith, *Antient and Present State of Waterford* p. 142.
69. *Calendar of the Salisbury Manuscripts* (HMC 1888) p. 33.

Spring and early Summer of 1580. Pelham was determined to deal with the revolt as a Spanish plot against the church and the monarchy. Ormond and Pelham laid large tracts of Munster waste by burning all lands and property which might be of value to the insurgents, and conducted a vicious campaign of indiscriminate killing of non-belligerents. By Summer, lords such as Decies, Roche and Barry were responding with alacrity to Pelham's summons to Limerick. The Earl of Desmond was a fugitive in the Kerry mountains, and the rebellion in Munster was fizzling out. The pursuit of Dr Sanders, the papal commissary, was relentless.

Local resistance

However, in spite of their patent antagonism towards the ostensibly Catholic insurrection, the people of Waterford would not tolerate the attempted religious reforms of the Protestant Bishop Middleton. Led by the Mayor and Dean Clere, the populace opposed all attempts by Middleton to stamp his authority on them. Yet, it is probable that it was during this period, when the city was full of government officials and soldiers, that Middleton consolidated the prohibition of the public celebration of Mass in the city churches, so that henceforth it could only be celebrated privately in citizen's homes. Lord Justice Pelham's prolonged residence in the city had made him fully aware of the local situation, causing him to report his impressions to Chief Secretary Walsyngham on 7 December. Pelham praised Bishop Middleton for his efforts in Waterford although severely hindered by the Mayor, his brethren, and Dean Clere. Clere had been recommended to the crown for promotion as Bishop of Ferns, but Pelham, highly critical of Clere's behaviour towards Middleton, called for Clere to be deprived as Dean of Waterford, and advocated that Middleton instead should be transferred to Ferns. Pelham was well aware of the religious situation in Waterford, describing the townsmen as '*the most arrogant Papists that live within this state.*'[70] The city officials were quick to refute these charges, further accusing the Bishop of robbery and sacrilege.[71]

Bishop Middleton wrote to Walsyngham on 29 June, complaining of the superstitious practices in vogue in the city. While his letter is a long list of complaints concerning the abuses practiced against the reformed religion, it also is a valuable description of the customs of the citizens at this time. Middleton reported '*Massing in every corner; no burial of the dead according to the Book of Common Prayer, but buried in their houses with diriges and after cast into the ground like dogs; Romerunners and friars everywhere; public wearing of beads and praying on the same; worshipping of images and setting them openly in their street doors with ornaments and decking; ringing of bells; praying for the dead; dressing their graves with flower pots and wax candles; no marriages in accordance with the ritual of the Prayer Book because they marry in their houses with Masses; the windows and walls of their churches full of images.*'[72]

70. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 70 / 45.
71. *Ibid.*, SP 63 / 85 / 60.
72. *Ibid.*, SP 63 / 73 / 70.

Middleton complained that the people would not break the stained glass windows in the churches, nor deface their statues, and that he was afraid of the consequences if he himself did so. He lamented that none of the women would attend Divine Service or listen to his sermons. The greatest offender was named as being Mayor of the city in the previous year, Sir Patrick Walshe, a counterfeit Christian. Middleton was incensed that none of the citizens would obey the Queen's laws respecting religion, except when their lives, goods, or lands might be forfeited. He castigated Dean Clere as a hypocrite. He further claimed that the See of Waterford (which in 1551 had been valued at £1,179-6s-4d) was now not worth £30 annually, since '*all the spiritual livings are in temporal men's hands.*'[73]

The Bishop wrote to Walsyngham again on 21 July reiterating the same complaints, but in more general terms. He informed Walsyngham that he had in captivity a Catholic priest, '*one Robert Poure, a simple man devoid of learning, a Jesuit papist and a daily mass-monger, a traitor to God, and no good subject to her majesty.*' He described how Fr Power was accustomed to sit at the Custom House on the Quay, waiting for ships to arrive, which might carry letters from Rome or Louvain, which Power might forward '*to advance the Pope's proceeding in Antichrist's kingdom.*' Resisting the bribes and intimidation of the citizens, who were fearful that Power might '*divulge their lewd dealings*' under torture, Middleton recommended that Power should be stretched on the rack.[74]

James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, a lawyer who had spent some years in Rome, rose in armed rebellion in mid July 1580. The principal reasons for his rebellion were the cess controversy and his religious zeal for the restoration of the Catholic Church in Ireland. Members of the Catholic gentry of Kildare and south Dublin joined the Baltinglass insurrection, in addition to several Catholic priests including Fr Robert Rochford SJ. Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne of Wicklow allied himself to Baltinglass, and their combined forces inflicted a humiliating defeat at Glenmalure on the forces of the new Lord Deputy, Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton, on 25 August 1580. This new rebellion re-inspired the followers of Sir John of Desmond and Dr Sanders, both of whom travelled to Leix to meet James Eustace. The Earl of Desmond stayed in Munster. For two months, a new front was opened up along the Barrow valley by both insurgent forces.

Despite Waterford's continually proclaimed loyalty to the crown, there were obviously some citizens who supported religiously motivated insurrections, such as the Baltinglass rebellion. Bishop Middleton became particularly incensed by a document entitled '*Eve's Seditious Libel,*' which was published anonymously in Waterford, and which allegedly expressed the views of the Pope and of the King of Spain. Denying the illegitimate and heretical Elizabeth her right to rule, it urged the Catholic nobles to elect a new monarch, cautioned the people to return to Roman Catholicism, and demanded the return of ecclesiastical property to the church.[75] This document may have been a hoax but it certainly received attention at

73. *Ibid.*
74. Pubic Records Office, SP 63 / 74 / 53.
75. Carew MSS., 1575-78 p. 288.

the highest level, antagonising Bishop Middleton, who demanded from Walsyngham that the traitors be prosecuted with fire and sword, without mercy. He claimed that Baltinglass, who was now being termed '*the Pope of Ireland,*' was insisting on public celebrations of the Mass.[76]

Pope Gregory XIII despatched reinforcements numbering 600 soldiers, mostly Italian but with some Spaniards also. They landed at Smerwick on 10 September 1580; but Waterford again forewarned the authorities by providing intelligence on their imminent arrival. This force barricaded itself into the fort of Dún an Óir which Fitzmaurice had used in 1579, being contained by Lord Deputy Grey de Wilton, who blocked their exit from the peninsula by camping at Dingle with his army while awaiting the arrival of the fleet of Admiral Sir Henry Winter with heavy guns. The Earl of Ormond chased the Irish rebels through north Kerry, preventing them from linking up with the Smerwick force. Intelligence reports suggested that the Earl of Desmond and Sir John of Desmond had promised the invaders they would be ready with 4,000 men to unite with them. Ormond's strategy prevented this.[77]

Inside the fort fever had struck. Within a month 100 men had died.[78] The bombardment of the fort of Dún an Óir with heavy guns commenced on 7 November. The commander, Bastiano di San Giuseppi, was forced to surrender in two days. The garrison was marched out of the fort, disarmed, and marched back in again. All the Irish, men and women, were hanged. An Englishman who had served Dr Sanders, and two others in the party, had their arms and legs broken for torture, before being executed. The Colonel and twenty or thirty Spaniards were spared to return to Spain and report what they had seen.[79] Grey then sent '*certain bands*' of men into the fort who slaughtered all the unarmed survivors of the original force of 600. Captain Raleigh, later Sir Walter of Youghal fame, was prominent among this band of executioners. The Munster rebellion continued but the morale of the leadership never recovered. The massacre at Smerwick had national and international reverberations, but the Queen never disowned her governor's actions. It is notable that all the Irish and Italian (ie Papal) soldiers were executed. The small Spanish contingent was sent back to Spain.

The city of Waterford remained the headquarters of the government's efforts to subdue the rebels. Its situation was ideal, being far enough to the east to be impervious to the deadly strife in western Munster, while it remained on the periphery of the turmoil in south Leinster caused by the Baltinglass rebellion. Its magnificent port and quays were utilised to the full by shipping from England bringing reinforcements and munitions to the conflict. These supplies and troops were billeted in perfect safety within the massive fortifications of Waterford's walls. The broad River Suir was a perfect conduit on which to ferry all these victuals of war towards those areas where they were most needed.

76. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 75 / 59.
77. State Papers Ireland, *574-85* p. 267.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

Throughout November the reinforcements poured into Waterford. Captain Barkley reported his arrival with 700 soldiers on 19 November, further adding that they had been '*received with all the courtesy that might be required of dutiful subjects.*'[80] Captain Thomas Hoorde also reported his arrival, alluding again to the hospitality tendered, and mentioning that the citizens all wished to honour Walsyngham. The Mayor James Sherloke, wrote to Burghley, that the four ships involved in this transport still remained at Waterford.[81] Since these English reinforcements were undoubtedly of the Protestant persuasion, Bishop Middelton and his reformed clergy were busy ministering to the spiritual needs of those who were shortly to be engaged in deadly combat. This was a golden opportunity for the reformed clergy to impose their lawful requirements on the citizens, suppressing the public celebration of the Mass. Middleton is recommended time and again in official reports for his attempts to enforce conformity at this time. But his progress was not as smooth as might have been anticipated.

Mayor James Sherloke wrote to Walsyngham on 18 November pointing out that the people of Waterford were well aware that the Bishop was in daily communication with the Privy Council, boasting of his efforts to erase their papistry and superstitious practices. The Mayor advised Walsyngham '*I know your honour do receive daily cumbersome letters from our Bishop, charging us with backwardness in religion, and advancing his own forwardness in abolishing of papistry and superstition, I will say nothing of the way at this time for modesty's sake, but I do wish that your honour were acquainted with the state and condition of his life from my Lord Chancellor of this realm, my Lord Archbishop of Dublin, or other the like great men; whose life and conversation being once known to your honour, I doubt not all deserve small credit. To his letters one thing I dare undertake to your honour, that all the men within Waterford, whereof unworthy this year I have the charge, do come every Sunday to church to hear divine service according the Queen's injunctions, three or four only excepted, which have been before the Bishop and have discharged them, after what sort we know not.*'[82]

Mayor Sherloke's guarantee that almost all the citizens attended Divine Service, confirms the opinion that the inhabitants gave no cause for offence when the city was full of English soldiers, but was so obviously untrue of their usual practice as to also cast doubt on his assessment of Middleton's character. Sherloke hinted at something untoward in the state and condition of the Bishop's life, which the Archbishop of Dublin might confirm. This fault in Middleton's character was never explicitly described, but one wonders if this was the inspiration for the spurious charges which resulted in Bishop Atherton's death many decades later.

Charge and countercharge of various abuses, illegalities, robbery and sacrilege followed, one fast upon the other, as the Bishop and the officials of Waterford complained each other to high government officers. The matter finally erupted early in 1581 when both Bishop Middleton and his accusers were summoned to

80. Pubic Records Office, SP 63 / 78 / 53.
81. *Ibid.*, SP 63 / 78 / 53.
82. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 78 / 45.

face legal proceedings in Dublin. Walsyngham, Waterhous and Lord Deputy Grey supported Middleton. Because of their loyalty to the crown forces in the current rebellions, particularly that of Baltinglass, the Waterford contingent did not dare to travel to Dublin by land. Instead they felt it was safer to travel by sea, a journey which was of little consequence to international seafarers such as themselves. The voyage to Dublin proved hazardous for the Mayor and his officials, and Dean Clere. Their ship was wrecked in a gale, four of their company were drowned and the Cavenaughs captured the survivors who struggled ashore on the Wicklow coast.[83] They received some very rough handling from their captors, and were lucky to escape with their lives. Eventually they staggered into Dublin, but the court case was long over. Their account of events was initially received with some scepticism, but it was eventually accepted as being true. Because of their non-attendance, the Lord Deputy had given judgement to the Bishop and awarded him expenses of £40. In addition Middleton and his reformed clergy were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor and magistrates of Waterford, and were granted safe residence in the city, which was to be guaranteed by Her Majesty's officers. The Lord Deputy also gave judgement against those who, because of the last incumbent's (Bishop Walshe's) corruption, currently had possession of the Bishop's revenues. Middleton was well satisfied.[84]

The matter did not rest there. Dean Clere, the Mayor, and other officials of the city continued their accusations, particularly of a sacrilege purported to have been committed by the bishop in a church in the city. Lord Deputy Grey wrote a report to the Privy Council on 10 July, informing them that he had tried this charge of sacrilege against the bishop, at Rosse, at which court all parties were present. Again Grey found in favour of the prelate, pointing out to the Waterford officials that they were at fault, ordering them to pay expenses of 100 marks to Middleton, and further ordering that the acquittal judgement should be proclaimed in all towns and cities, including Waterford.[85]

Further strife erupted in Leinster. The Earl of Kildare and his son-in-law, the Baron of Delvin, had both been arrested at Christmas 1580, because of the unrest associated with the Baltinglass rebellion. Delvin's brother, William Nugent, agitated at his brother's arrest, rebelled in mid 1581. Some Old English and some Gaelic dissidents, for whom the suppression of the Catholic Church and the enforcement of the cess were intolerable, supported him. This Nugent revolt was quickly suppressed, and with some ferocity. Many of the humbler people involved were executed under marital law. Matthew Lambert, a baker, and a company of Wexford sailors were executed under common law, Lambert protesting at his trial that he knew nothing of religious controversy, but being a Catholic he believed what the '*holy mother church*' believed. Some twenty gentlemen were executed for treason, and dying on the scaffold they professed their Catholicism and were claimed as

83. State Papers Ireland,*1574-85* p. 290.
84. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 81 / 3.
85. *Ibid.*, SP 63 / 84 / 12.

Catholic martyrs.[86] These, and other executions, were to have a devastating long-term effect. These martyrs would not be forgotten, indeed their cause for canonisation, in tandem with that of other Catholic martyrs of this era, has recently been mooted by the Catholic Church, some four hundred years after the event. As with the senseless murder of Protestant martyrs in England during Queen Mary's reign, Tertullian's maxim '*the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church,*' was once again relevant.[87]

Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, had been installed as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. In September he wrote to Walsyngham, that Marmaduke Middleton could no longer suffer the treatment being meted out to him in Waterford; that he could not endure the malice of the people; that his mind was unquiet and that he was to be pitied and lamented. Hinting that the prelate was to some degree mentally unsound because of the hatred of the citizens, he affirmed that the bishop had sought a transfer to England.[88] Lord Deputy Grey also solicited support for Middleton, citing the smallness of his living, the lack of conformity in his diocese, and his continued protestation of innocence of the charge of sacrilege, as the reasons for the bishop wishing to leave Waterford. The Lord Deputy called the citizens '*the most obstinate papists*'[89] who were totally unsupportive of the bishop. The rebellions, while still in progress, were now more muted. The papal commissary, Dr.Sanders, worn out by hardship, had died from dysentery in late Spring. Baltinglass fled to the continent in November. The executions under martial were still being carried out in Leinster.

Even in the midst of such calamities the church authorities in Waterford persisted in their attempts at reform. John Wyse, Chancellor of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, who had died, had bequeathed his lands and tenements to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and citizens of the city, for certain superstitious uses, probably endowing chantry masses and obits for the repose of his soul. His bequests were confirmed, on condition *'that they be not converted to the same or any other superstitious use.'*[90] It was obvious that the rebellions in the country were being successfully contained. London offered pardons to all but a few named revolutionaries, and so defections consequently increased from the rebel forces. William Nugent fled to the continent in January 1582. Sir John of Desmond was killed near Cork city, and his head was sent to Grey as a new year gift. Castigated by Sir Walter Raleigh and other New English as being too lenient to the families of insurgents, Ormond was dismissed as General of Munster.

Lord Deputy Grey spoiled Munster, ruining the inhabitants by burning their corn, destroying their harvest and killing their cattle. Grey was removed from office in the Summer of 1582, but the damage had been done. Famine and disease were rife. Within a six-month period down to mid 1582, at least 30,000 people

86. Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland* p. 317.
87. Henry Chadwick, (1967) *The Early Church* (London) p. 29.
88. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 85 / 33.
89. *Ibid.*, SP 63 / 85 / 60.
90. *Fiants of Elizabeth I,* no. 3776 Vol. ii p. 523.

were said to have died.[91] Ryland described the desolation. He instanced the miserable and ignorant Irish, so long treated like beasts of prey that they became like them. They lived on purloined horseflesh, prowling at night, sleeping during the day, they protracted a miserable existence.[92] The poet, Edmund Spencer, secretary to Baron Grey, eloquently depicted the scene.'*Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat of the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves. And if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man or beast.*'[93] The famine and the war of attrition led to depopulation on a large scale. Munster was devastated.

The city and the inhabitants of Waterford remained quite safe throughout all these fateful events which destroyed the southern third of the country. Middleton still continued his agitations, and the officials of the city still opposed him. The new Mayor, Richard Strange, reported that the bishop persisted with his charges of treason, which he could not sustain; and that he had not a friend in the city '*because the officers in his time did in some order stop the gaps of his greediness.*'[94] The Lord Deputy supported the claim of the city for the fee farm of the dissolved nunnery of Kilkillehen (present day Rathculliheen / Ferrybank), because of their loyal and dutiful behaviour and '*their great charge by cess of soldiers in the late rebellion.*'[95] The loyal city of Waterford was back in favour. The city was soon rid of its bumptious bishop, because Middleton's long sought transfer was granted; he was to return to his native land. He was appointed Bishop of St.David's in Wales in November 1582. Some years later, the citizens of Waterford were vindicated. Their erstwhile bishop, probably lacking the government support which he had enjoyed in Ireland, was accused of contriving and publishing a forged will.[96] In addition he was charged with bigamy, simony, selling off church lands and abuse of charitable monies. He was unfrocked and died in ignominy.[97]

The Earl of Ormond was reappointed Lord General of Munster and he harried the Earl of Desmond relentlessly throughout 1583. Desmond was tracked to a cabin at Glenageenty, east of Tralee, where on 2 November, despite his pleas for mercy, he was beheaded. The rebellion was over. Now the mopping up could begin.

91. Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland* p. 227.
92. R. H. Ryland, (1824)*The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford* (London) p. 59.
93. Edmund Spenser, (1890) 'View of the State of Ireland' in *Ireland under the Tudors* (London) p. 143.
94. Public Records Office, SP 63 / 88 / 23.
95. *Ibid.*, SP 63 / 92 / 51.
96. Smith, *The Antient and Present state of Waterford* p. 142.
97. Julian C Walton, (1992) 'Church, Crown and Corporation in Waterford 1520-1620' in *Waterford History and Society* (Dublin) p. 186.

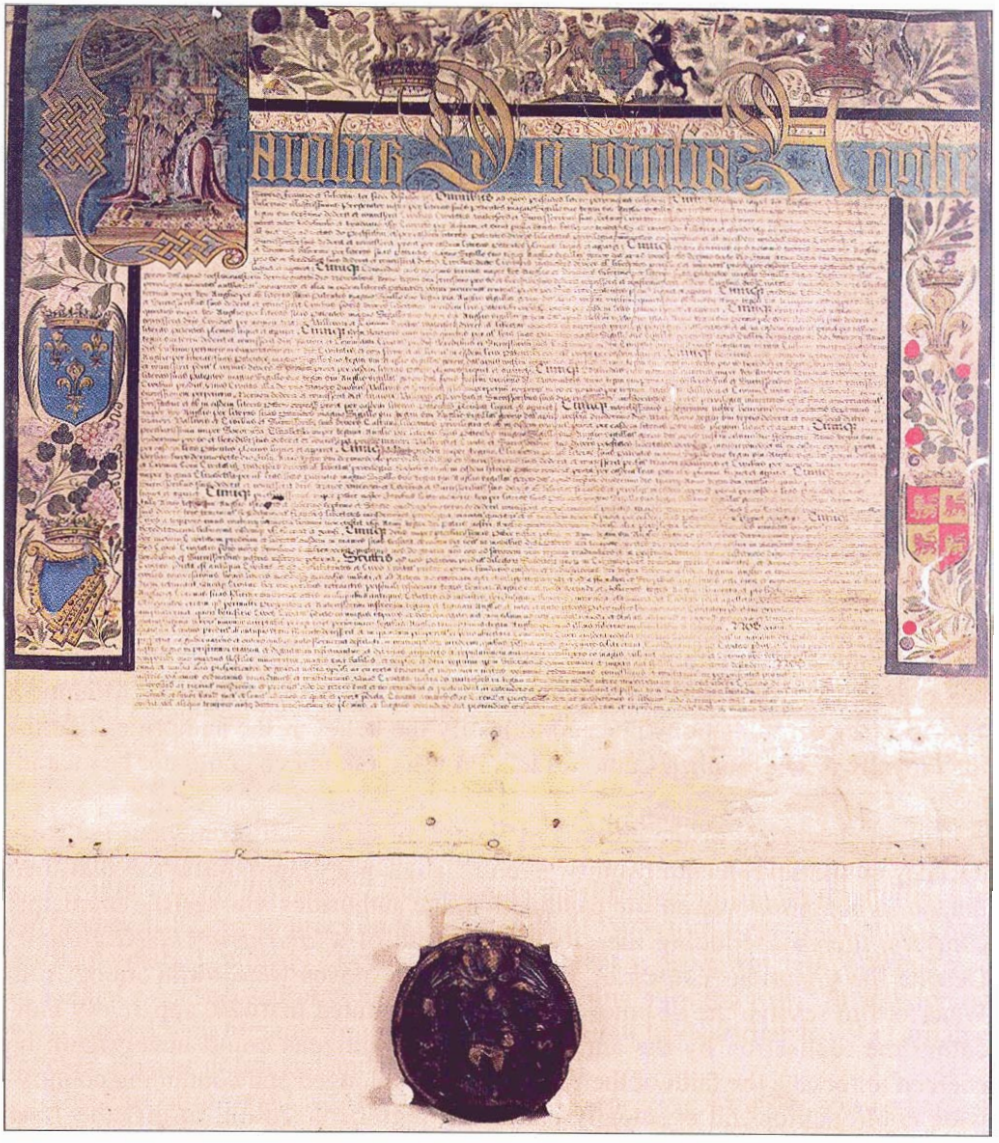
Conclusion

The foregoing chapters delineate the initial events in the religious confrontation, which would eventually have such catastrophic consequences for Waterford city. Despite the efforts of the London and Dublin governments to enforce religious reform, the citizens continued their rejection of Protestantism throughout the succeeding decades of the sixteenth century. Proudly cherishing the city's motto *Intacta Manet Waterfordia*, they persisted in their allegiance to an English crown which was becoming increasingly sceptical of the total loyalty of Old English Catholics.

Desperately hoping for an improvement in their circumstances, but adamant in their refusal to conform, they also spurned all efforts by their co-religionists to involve them in supporting rebels who claimed a religious motivation for their insurrections against the throne. Waterford remained steadfast in its support of the English monarch, throughout the successive Desmond, Baltinglass and Nugent Rebellions, even throughout the long years of Tyrone's Nine Years War. Yet, the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and their hopes that her successor King James I would prove more amenable to their Catholicism, saw the city as the leader of the Recusancy Revolt in the Spring of that year. This religiously inspired rebellion, involving the southern half of the country, witnessed the unlikely event of the city being besieged by crown forces under the command of Lord Deputy Mountjoy. This military confrontation appeared to justify the belief of the authorities that the total loyalty of Old English Catholics to a Protestant monarch could not be guaranteed.

The intransigence of the citizens of Waterford continued throughout the early decades of the seventeenth century, even in 1618 when, in expectation that their draconian actions would ensure capitulation, the authorities revoked the municipal charters, thereby reducing the city to the state of a '*disenfranchised village.*' Despite the privations caused by this seizure, no moves were forthcoming from Waterford to resolve the dispute; a new charter, granted in 1626, apparently indicating the realisation by the authorities that the citizens could never again be coerced to forsake the faith of their fathers. The prolonged and continuing country-wide confrontation did eventually provoke a regrettable result, in that the 1641 Rebellion racked the entire country. Within a few short years, through the common denominator of their shared Catholicism, those unlikely bedfellows, the Old English and the Gaelic Irish united in the uneasy alliance of the Confederation of Kilkenny against a perceived common foe.

Religiously motivated animosity, which in Scotland fomented rebellion and in England erupted into the Civil War, witnessed the success of Parliament and the execution of King Charles I. The corresponding war in Ireland fractured the Confederation of Kilkenny, with the nation divided once again on ethnic and religious grounds. Within a few short years Oliver Cromwell's Irish campaign was in being, amongst the awful casualties of which was the city of Waterford, besieged twice, and eventually reduced to a shattered, burnt out shell of a city, with its population dispersed in another religiously motivated diaspora.



Charles I

Courtesy Waterford Corporation

Lord George Beresford and three Waterford Elections, 1830, 1831

by Eugene Broderick

THE DEFEAT of Lord George Beresford in the famous 1826 election is a widely known incident in Ireland's and Waterford's history.[1] The victory of the Catholic Association inspired other counties to confront the power of the landlords in the struggle for Emancipation. The events in Waterford were a significant milestone in the achievement of equality for Catholics in 1829. This inspirational episode in the county's political history was invoked in later popular struggles. For example, in 1868, during a particularly bitter by-election campaign, a ballad reminded voters that

> We've at our side, our strength and pride,
> Lord Stuart, stout and hearty;
> In '26 he foiled the tricks
> Of this same Orange party.[2]

What is not realised by many people, however, is that the 1826 defeat did not mean the end of the political career of Lord George Beresford, as he contested three elections in Waterford during 1830 and 1831. His subsequent career revealed the continuing difficulties facing a Protestant conservative in the face of a changing political climate inimical to the values he espoused.

Politics in the 1830s

As a consequence of the Emancipation campaign, when O'Connell turned Catholic Ireland into something like a gigantic political party,[3] there were unbreakable links between nationalism, democracy, and Catholicism. Although he might declare his desire to create a nation in which Protestants would feel at home, O'Connell's whole career was dedicated to eroding their power and was based on the assumption that Catholics, being in the majority, would displace Protestants from their dominant political and social role.[4]

O'Connell's Catholic nationalism was combined with radicalism. He advocated and supported reforms in church and state. He demanded disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, and tithe and municipal reforms among other things. His demands and rhetoric alarmed Protestants. It was in his campaign for Repeal that

1. For an account of the 1826 Waterford election see Eugene Broderick (1997) 'Protestants and the 1826 Waterford county election' *Decies,* **53**, pp. 45 - 66.
2. Dermot Power (1992) *The ballads and songs of Waterford from 1847, with musical notation* (Waterford: Scolaire Bocht Publications), p. 125.
3. Oliver MacDonagh (1989) 'The age of O'Connell, 1830-45', in *A new history of Ireland,* **V**, (Oxford University Press), p. 144.
4. D. George Boyce (1991) *Nationalism in Ireland* (London: Routledge), p. 144.

Portrait of Daniel O'Connell by P. J. Haverty. Courtesy National Museum

his radical Catholic nationalism became most apparent. Though O'Connell never defined Repeal with any precision[5] - describing it generally as meaning 'an Irish parliament, British connection, one king, two legislatures'[6] - his espousal of this cause repelled most Protestants because it implied tampering with the act of Union, regarded by them as their safeguard in a country where they were a minority of the population. For its supporters, Repeal, however vague its definition, came to symbolise the surest means of securing justice for Catholics. The rejection by most Protestants of Repeal infuriated O'Connell, thus increasing the tensions in their relationship. Repeal confirmed the hostility, even hatred, of conservative Protestants for the Liberator and sundered the links between him and liberal Protestants. O'Connell felt an intense exasperation at what he came to regard as the political stubbornness of the Protestant community as a whole.[7] As the leading Catholic layman, he had a deep realisation of the sufferings and virtues of his religious community.[8] This took precedence over Protestant opposition to any cause which had as its objective the improvement of the condition of his co-religionists. O'Connell did wish to establish good relations with Protestants, but he was 'above all a Catholic leader, playing the Catholic card'.[9] In playing this card he had the advantage of the numerical predominance of Catholics. The significant numerical inferiority of Protestants in most parts of Ireland meant the importance of their support diminished according to political circumstances. The demands of victory necessitated the creation and maintenance of solidarity among Catholics. The achievement of this solidarity meant that sometimes O'Connell and his supporters used the language of sectarianism and national hate.[10] At the very least they showed 'scant regard for the deep-seated fears of Protestants that, at bottom, Catholic triumph meant Protestant overthrow.[11]

1830 By- election

Tensions between Protestants and Catholics were rekindled in Waterford shortly after the passage of the Emancipation Act. In June 1829 Henry Villiers Stuart resigned unexpectedly from his parliamentary seat. He explained his decision by reference to the disenfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders, to whom he owed his election and which made it impossible for him to continue as an MP.[12] The initial reaction in Waterford was one of surprise,[13] which soon changed to criticism.[14] The motives for Stuart's decision were the subject of speculation. For

5. R. F. Foster (1988) *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London: Allen Lane), p.308.
6. Gearoid Ó Tuathaigh (1972) *Ireland before the famine* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 162.
7. R.B.McDowell (1952) *Public opinion and government policy, 1801-1846* (London: Faber and Faber), p.124.
8. *ibid.*
9. Foster, *Modern Ireland,* p. 301.
10. Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland,* p. 144.
11. D.George Boyce (1991) *Ireland 1828-1923: from ascendancy to democracy* (Oxford: Blackwell) p. 12.
12. *Chronicle,* 11 June 1829.
13. *ibid.,* 13 June 1829.
14. *ibid.,* 23 July, 25 July 1829.

example, it was alleged that he had been bribed to resign[15] and that the resignation was due to a secret arrangement between Stuart and Lord George Beresford.[16] The fact is that his tenure of the Waterford seat had not been a happy one. The sufferings of the freeholders in the aftermath of his election tarnished his victory and Stuart was criticised for his ungenerous response to their plight.[17] He also found it necessary to defend himself against charges of political opportunism - that his public espousal of Emancipation owed more to calculated ambition than conviction.[18]

The prospect of an election alarmed some people in the constituency, after the turbulence of the 1826 election and the whole Emancipation campaign. Colonel William Currey, the agent of the Duke of Devonshire, was informed by a correspondent that he was sorry that Waterford was to be 'so soon exposed to the peril of an election',[19] while Benjamin Currey informed the colonel that 'he regretted the occurrence, particularly at this time when abstinence from all excitement is so much to be desired'.[20] However, the parliamentary vacancy afforded conservative Protestants the opportunity to redress the political situation in their favour and to exploit the advantage of the disenfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders, which had accompanied the Emancipation Act. It was reported that the 'Protestant party' was determined to secure Lord George Beresford as its candidate.[21] When Beresford announced his intention to contest the seat,[22] it was inevitable that comparisons were going to be made with the 1826 contest. The by-election was characterised by some of his opponents as a replay of the general election in an obvious attempt to consolidate support for their candidate.[23] The reality is that the by-election was a very different affair. Emancipation was not an issue and this changed the political climate. In contrast with 1826, Beresford and the conservatives were on the offensive, their opponents obliged to defend the seat.

Beresford's electoral strategy

As part of his electoral strategy Beresford consolidated his support among Protestants, the majority of whom had voted for him in 1826. His first election address was aimed at them, affirming his attachment to the British constitution and the Protestant religion.[24] At a dinner given in his honour on 9 February 1830 in Waterford city he told his predominantly Anglican audience that he was an avowed

15. *Mail*, 27 June 1829.
16. *Chronicle*, 23 July 1829.
17. James Matthew Galwey to Thomas Wyse, 24 Aug. 1826. Wyse was informed that Stuart had failed to respond to an appeal for additional subscriptions to alleviate the plight of the freeholders. Wyse Papers, NLI, Ms., 15,023.
18. Henry Villiers Stuart to Thomas Wyse, 18 Aug. 1826, Wyse Papers, NLI, Ms., 15,023.
19. James Abercromby to Colonel Currey, 14 June 1829, Lismore Castle Papers (LCP), C/1/7.
20. Benjamin Currey to Colonel Currey, 15 June 1829, LCP, C/1/7.
21. John Baldwin to Henry Witham, 13 June 1829, LCP, C/1/7.
22. *Mail*, 7 Nov. 1829.
23. See *Chronicle*, 11 Aug. 1829, when Thomas Wyse was reported as saying that the election was as important as 1826; and *ibid.*, 4 Feb. 1830 when an editorial judged it to be of more importance.
24. *Mirror*, 7 Nov. 1829.

Protestant.[25] The identification of Anglicans with his cause was evident in the support he received from Established Church clergy. At the February dinner twelve clergymen were present.[26] Church dignitaries canvassed on his behalf.[27]

Victory required that Beresford secure the support of a sufficient number of Catholics and it was therefore a crucial element of his campaign to actively seek their votes. It was observed that the Beresfords were holding out 'the right hand of fellowship to the Catholics';[28] and Colonel Currey commented: 'Lord George Beresford is now truckling (sic) to the Catholics. He will probably eventually make his peace'.[29] In his first election address he confronted the issues of his opposition to Emancipation. He declared that he always considered the matter a political one and as such was conscientiously opposed to it. He accepted the decision of parliament and, adopting a statesmanlike stance, he expressed the view that it was 'the bounden duty of every good subject to co-operate in bringing about the happy result which the legislature contemplated'.[30] In a later address he again acknowledged his former opposition but insisted that he accepted the Emancipation Act as 'final and irrevocable'.[31] By employing this direct approach and not denying his former convictions, and by emphasising they were political rather than religious, he was seeking to remove his record on Emancipation as an electoral obstacle. He was presenting himself as a principled and reasonable man, who accepted, without reservation, the changed circumstances wrought by the granting of equality to Catholics.

In a deliberate attempt to present himself as a man of moderation and conciliation, Beresford attempted to secure O'Connell's professional services at the election. David O'Mahony, an attorney, wrote to O'Connell:

> The anxiety on their part [Beresford's solicitors] to retain you on behalf of Lord George Beresford is the strongest mark of his lordship's desire to bury in oblivion and forever the political differences which formerly existed between you and his lordship, and that he wishes to become the representative of the County of Waterford and not of any particular party in it. His object will be, during his canvass as well as during the election, to give an example of forebearance and forgetfulness of all past differences.[32]

O'Connell considered the offer but eventually declined it.[33]

Beresford made a direct appeal to the more conservative element among the electorate, including Catholics. He was seeking to exploit any reservations they

25. *Mail,* 13 Feb. 1830.
26. *ibid.*
27. *Chronicle,* 14 July 1829, 9 Feb. 1830.
28. Benjamin Currey to Col. Currey, 23 July 1829, LCP, C/1/7.
29. Rough notes of Col. Currey, late July/early August 1829, LCP, C/1/7.
30. *Chronicle,* 5 Nov. 1829.
31. *Mirror,* 13 Feb. 1830.
32. Maurice R. O'Connell (1972) *The correspondence of Daniel O'Connell* (Dublin, Irish University Press), IV, 1583.
33. *ibid.,* 1584, 1588.

might have about O'Connell's democratic and radical tendencies. Lord George accused his opponents of trying to subject Waterford to the 'tyranny of the mob'.[34] He argued that he regarded the contest as one between the constituency of the county, and intimidation, democracy, and mob rule.[35]

Beresford's efforts to secure a measure of Catholic support were successful. Of voting intentions among Catholic tenants of the Duke of Devonshire, Colonel Currey observed:

> The majority would go with the liberal or rather Catholic members, but there are some who would be anxious to vote for Lord George Beresford.[36]

Two prominent Catholics, Nicholas Power of Faithlegg and John Archbold attended the dinner for Beresford in February 1830.[37] Richard Smyth of Ballynatray, a conservative Protestant, proposing Lord George at the election, expresses pleasure at the number of Catholic gentlemen supporting his nominee. The candidate was seconded by a Catholic, Thomas Fitzgerald of Ballynaparka. Beresford himself recited the names of Catholics who intended voting for him.[38]

Beresford also secured the support of Protestants who were regarded as liberals during the struggle for Catholic Emancipation. A comparison of the signatories of a Protestant Declaration of October 1828 in favour of Catholic Emancipation with the names of some of those who attended the dinner for Lord George in February 1830 reveals that ten were in attendance.[39] Of particular significance was the presence of Simon Newport, members of whose family had been synonymous with liberal Protestantism in the Emancipation campaign.

A number of factors explain why Beresford gained liberal Protestant support. There was the fear of O'Connell's radical and democratic tendencies. More important, the first rumblings of his campaign for Repeal of the act of Union were heard in 1829. Writing to Fr. John Sheehan regarding the by-election, O'Connell informed the Waterford priest that he would support any candidate who offered himself as a reformer and an advocate of Repeal.[40] In an open letter to the Protestants of Ireland in January 1830 he stated:

> For my part I candidly confess that I think a domestic government can alone sufficiently attend to the wants of Ireland.[41]

Such sentiments alarmed Protestant opinion, which regarded the act of Union as sacrosanct. Commenting on the prospect of a pro-Repeal candidate, Benjamin Currey wrote:

34. *Mirror,* 13 Feb. 1830.
35. *ibid.,* 3 Mar. 1830.
36. Draft letter of Colonel Currey to Benjamin Currey, 20 June 1829, LCP, C/1/7.
37. *Mail,* 13 Feb. 1830.
38. *Mirror,* 24 Feb. 1830.
39. See *ibid.,* 4 Oct. 1828 for the signatories of the Protestant Declaration and *ibid.,* 13 Feb. 1830 for a list of those in attendance at the dinner.
40. See *Mirror,* 11 July 1829, for the text of the letter.
41. See *Mail,* 6 Jan. 1830, for the text of the letter.

> If the Catholic candidate is to allow Repeal of the union as one of his political objects, and if he is supported in this by the Catholic body generally, then have we gained little by Emancipation, a question capable of being peaceably settled, but the Repeal of the union, a question that can scarcely be set at rest except by civil war or revolution.[42]

Returning to the open letter to Protestants, many of the sentiments it contained were antagonistic to those to whom it was addressed. In it O'Connell lauded Catholics for their conciliatory behaviour since Emancipation. However, he asserted that they had not met a corresponding spirit from many of their Protestant countrymen. In his opinion the Protestants had not 'made the advances which charity requires in order to promote benevolence and mutual reconciliation'.[43]

Such a letter was not calculated to win Protestant support in an election. It reveals the difficulties that O'Connell was having in establishing a relationship with the minority community, whose status was threatened by changing political circumstance and his championing of Repeal. That this relationship was fragile was once again made apparent in the heat of election politics in Waterford.

Campaign of Beresford's opponents

Beresford's opponents had a disastrous campaign. The nomination was first offered to a liberal Protestant, John Musgrave, but he declined. Henry Winston Barron was then selected. He was forced to withdraw when Lord George Beresford revealed that Barron had sought to come to an electoral arrangement with him, by which Barron would support Beresford in the county by-election in return for Beresford's promising his influence to secure Barron's return for the city at the next general election. John Barron became the candidate after this fiasco.[44]

The initial stages of the canvass saw those opposed to Beresford articulate anti-sectarian sentiments, which were obviously deemed to be in accord with the new era of toleration between Catholics and Protestants, supposedly heralded by Emancipation. It was claimed that future elections in Waterford would not be religious as well as political struggles, as they had been in the past.[45] Indifference was expressed as to the religious affiliations of candidates[46] and the idea of looking for votes on a denominational basis was rejected.[47]

However, as the election campaign of Beresford's opponents began to unravel, recourse was had to the political weapons provided by religious divisions. As the contest was judged to be as important as that of 1826, the demands of victory predominated and the reservoirs of sectarianism were utilised to full measure. The

42. Benjamin Currey to Col. Currey, 23 July 1829, LCP, C/1/7.
43. *Mail*, 6 Jan. 1830.
44. See *Chronicle* and *Mail*, various editions, August to December, 1829.
45. *Chronicle*, 13 Aug. 1829.
46. *Mirror*, 13 July 1829. These sentiments were expressed during a meeting of the Catholic Association at the Corn Exchange in Dublin.
47. *Chronicle*, 13 Oct. 1829, quoting John Barron.

presence of Beresford facilitated this. Voters were admonished to choose 'any man rather than a Beresford ... choose a West Indian slave driver rather than a Beresford'.[48] The Beresfords were described as 'the scourge and curse of Ireland'.[49] The identification of Catholic and true Irishman was made once again, and Catholic loyalties were demanded in favour of Barron. Catholic supporters of Beresford were branded as traitors to religion and country. In a letter to the Catholic rent collectors of Waterford O'Connell fulminated:

> No Catholic.....surely no Catholic can without being a double traitor to his country and religion vote for the Beresfords, who insult them by declaring themselves unchanged. Now I should like to see the face of the paltry Catholic slave who would barely crawl before the old lash-masters, lick the hand that often smote his kin and kind.....and sell both his country and his creed.[50]

Panic gripped Barron's supporters and the necessity of O'Connell's presence in the constituency was impressed upon him.[51] When he did arrive the *Mirror* claimed that 'anti-Beresford was the prevailing, almost the only, topic of the orators'.[52] Commenting on a speech delivered by O'Connell, one critic accused him of reviving religious discord:

> Protestant and Catholic, Catholic and Protestant are placed in hostile antithesis to each other through all the periods [of history], as if the present struggle between the houses of Curraghmore and Belmont [the Barron family seat] involved the rights or hopes of one or both of the Churches.[53]

The priests too played a role in the attempt to defeat Lord George.[54]

Beresford defeated Barron by 461 votes to 318.[55] His election victory was due to a political accommodation with a sufficient number of Catholics and disaffected Protestant liberals. These votes, added to the votes of Protestant conservatives, assured him victory, especially against opponents who were in confusion and disarray.

General election, 1830

Not long after the by-election Beresford faced the prospect of a general election. When Daniel O'Connell declared himself a candidate[56] an interesting contest might

48. *ibid.*, 15 Oct. 1829.
49. *ibid.*, 17 Oct. 1829.
50. *Mirror*, 1 Feb. 1830.
51. Rev. John Sheehan to Daniel O'Connell, 13 Jan. 1830; *ibid.*, 17 Jan. 1830, in O'Connell (ed.), *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, **IV**, 1629, 1630.
52. *Mirror*, 25 Jan. 1830.
53. *Mail*, 27 Jan. 1830.
54. Dominick Ronayne to Daniel O'Connell, 17 Jan. 1830, in O'Connell (ed.), *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, IV, 1631.
55. *Mirror*, 3 Mar. 1830.
56. *Chronicle*, 20 July 1830.

have been expected. In fact, Beresford and O'Connell were the only candidates: the other sitting member, the liberal Protestant, Richard Power, withdrew before the day of the election;[57] while the other candidate, Thomas Wyse, resigned in favour of O'Connell on the second day of the poll (13 August).[58]

Both Beresford and O'Connell were delighted that a contest had been avoided. The by-election had been costly for Beresford,[59] and O'Connell, having been forced to withdraw from Clare,[60] selected the county Waterford constituency mainly because of the prospect of being returned in an uncontested election.[61]

Had there been an electoral contest it is very likely that Beresford would have been returned. There is evidence that his recent political accommodation with Catholics and liberal Protestants would have remained intact. The broad spectrum of Protestant support which he enjoyed is apparent from the fact that he was proposed by John Kiely of Strancally Castle, a conservative Protestant, and seconded by Henry Amyas Bushe, a former liberal Protestant. Bushe's reported reasons for supporting Lord George indicate that this once sincere advocate of Catholic equality now had deep reservations about the democratic tendencies of O'Connell's politics:

> The question he ever had dearest at heart was Catholic Emancipation. While they were at variance on that question he could not, without inconsistency, support Lord George Beresford..... Since the passage of the Relief Bill Lord George's conduct had been most liberal..... He liked property to have its influence, not upon any aristocratic principle, but because the greater the property the greater the security.[62]

It was O'Connell's view that 'a contest could not be carried on with any prospect of returning two members in the popular interest'. He stated that this was the view also of the vast majority of gentlemen who knew the situation in the constituency.[63] Hence Power and Wyse received no encouragement to continue in the election. Had there been a contest, O'Connell believed that

> The Catholics and liberals who had voted for Beresford in the last contest could with difficulty disengage themselves – some only of them could and would do it – many would again have their passions engaged with the Beresfords, and against the people.[64]

57. *ibid.*, 31 July 1830.
58. *Mirror*, 14 Aug. 1830.
59. Fr. John Sheehan to Daniel O'Connell, 13 Jan. 1830, in O'Connell (ed.), *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, **IV**, 1629.
60. The reasons for this are recounted by Oliver MacDonagh (1989) *The emancipist: Daniel O'Connell, 1830-47* (London : Weidenfeld and Nicholson), p. 37.
61. For O'Connell's thoughts on the matter of selecting a constituency, and the Waterford one in particular, see Daniel O'Connell to Richard Barrett, 8 July 1830; and Dominck Ronayne to Daniel O'Connell, 12 July 1830, in O'Connell (ed.), *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, **IV**, 1692, 1693.
62. *Mirror*, 14 Aug. 1830.
63. *ibid.*, 22 Sept. 1830.
64. *ibid.*

Beresford's prospects were also enhanced by bitter divisions among his opponents as a consequence of O'Connell's decision to opt for a seat in Waterford. Richard Power was angry at being forced to withdraw[65] and Wyse resented the frustration of his own political ambitions.[66] O'Connell himself described these divisions as a 'feud', which was 'multitudinous in its aspects and inveterate in some of its properties'.[67]

General election, 1831

Beresford's tenure of the seat was brief. Parliament was dissolved in April 1831, when the government was defeated on the first reform bill against which he had voted.[68] In his election address Beresford stated that he opposed the government's proposals for parliamentary reform because he regarded them as an attempt to deprive property of its legitimate influence.[69]

The *Mail* echoed the sentiments of conservative Protestant opinion. It deplored the democratic tendencies of the bill, terming it a 'Jacobin' measure, which would change totally the United Kingdom's ancient representative system, throwing all power into the hands of the 'rabble'.[70] The institutions of state were endangered, the new democracy being more likely to sweep them away than preserve them.[71] More especially, in the Irish context, increased democracy meant additional power for Catholics:

> Reform, we will see, will prodigiously fortify the Roman Catholic interest and weaken the Protestant..... Augmenting the weight of Roman Catholic power, it will naturally induce Roman Catholics to press forward more eagerly those objectives within the scope of their exertions.[72]

However, most people in Waterford supported the bill. Sir John Newport, MP for the City of Waterford, presented a petition in its favour signed by 400 inhabitants of the city.[73] The corporation petitioned the king, describing the reform proposals as 'calculated to place the Throne of these Realms on a more firm and

65. *Chronicle*, 29 Mar. 1831.
66. James Auchmuty (1939) *Sir Thomas Wyse 1791-1862: the life and career of an educator and diplomat* (London: King & Son), pp. 126-7.
67. *Mirror*, 22 Sept. 1830. Of O'Connell's conduct during the 1830 general election Professor Oliver MacDonagh has written: 'From beginning to end, it was a lamentable performance by one who had set up to be a professional politician. O'Connell had disturbed arrangements, strained supporters' loyalties, alienated Wyse and offended potential colleagues' (*Emancipist*, p. 37). However, this 'lamentable performance' does not detract from the accuracy of O'Connell's assessment that it was unlikely that two anti-Beresford candidates would have been elected.
68. *Chronicle*, 29 Mar. 1831.
69. *ibid.*, 30 Apr. 1831.
70. *Mail*, 7 May 1831.
71. *ibid.*, 6 Apr. 1831.
72. *ibid.*, 18 Jan. 1832.
73. Hansard, Third Series, vol. ii, 135-6.

secure basis'.[74] A petition to the House of Commons reiterated the corporation's approval.[75] In January 1832 yet another petition was sent to the House of Lords in favour of reform, and describing the opposition of peers as 'threatening the derangement of our whole social system'.[76]

Beresford's opposition cost him vital support, especially that of Catholics. Some who had voted for him in the by-election were disconcerted by this attitude and decided to vote against him.[77] Colonel Currey was informed by a correspondent:

> When I left Lismore a fortnight since, the cry of Lord George's best friends was loud against him, and in Waterford City I found a universal sentiment of indignation against him, particularly among those Catholic friends who gave such strenuous support at the last election.[78]

Beresford withdrew from the contest. He informed voters that 'several of those friends whose support I had heretofore experienced feel themselves constrained to withhold that support upon the present occasion'.[79]

Beresford and Repeal

Beresford's opposition to reform of parliament alienated Catholic and Protestant voters disposed to support this measure. However, his long-term prospects of a career in Waterford politics were very uncertain due to his hostility to Repeal. Even during his short period as an MP the momentum of the campaign for restoration of an Irish parliament was increasing. Favoured by most Catholics, this was a development which conversely alarmed the majority of Protestants. This is evident from a debate in the House of Commons on 19 November 1830, involving Waterford's three MPs. A petition in favour of Repeal from Carrickbeg, County Waterford, caused a clash between Daniel O'Connell on one side, and Sir John Newport and Lord George Beresford on the other. While the two Protestant members, Beresford and Newport, had differed on the matter of Emancipation - the former having been a staunch opponent and the latter a vocal supporter[80] - they were both united in their rejection of Repeal. Beresford discounted the idea that the decay of woollen manufacture in Carrickbeg was due to the union, a fact argued in the petition. This decay he attributed to the poor quality of the finished product.[81] Newport rejected the idea that all of Ireland's economic evils were due to the union, as advocates of Repeal tended to suggest. He deprecated the agitation being orchestrated by Repealers, though he acknowledged many of his constituents held

74. Waterford Municipal Archives, Corporation Minutes, 14 Mar. 1831.
75. *ibid.*
76. Waterford Municipal Archives , Corporation Minutes, 3 Jan. 1832.
77. *Chronicle,* 30 Apr. 1831.
78. Nicholas Power O'Gorman to Col. Currey, 30 Apr. 1831, LCP, C/1/7.
79. *Chronicle,* 10 May 1831.
80. See Broderick, 'Protestants and the 1826 Waterford county election', pp. 47-52.
81. Hansard, Third Series, vol. 1, 19 Nov. 1831, 584.

views contrary to his.[82] It was precisely the fact that Catholics generally supported Repeal which would have undermined Beresford's electoral prospects in the longer, and even in the medium term.

Conclusion

Lord George Beresford was a reactionary politician. He was a trenchant opponent of three highly popular causes - Catholic Emancipation; parliamentary reform; and Repeal. The electoral successes he enjoyed in 1830 occurred at a time when there was a period of relative calm in Irish politics. The Emancipation struggle was over and those for reform of parliament and Repeal were yet to intensify. When they did Beresford faced almost inevitable defeat. Confusion and division among opponents also contributed significantly to his victories in 1830. For conservatives Beresford was an inspirational figure. When he died in October 1839 an editorial in the *Waterford Mail* referred to the 1826 election

> when Lord George mounted the forlorn hope of the landed interest against the desperate and desolating war of priests and demagogues.

His part in the election was described as 'conspicuous and heroic'.[83] A brief respite in political passions allowed him regain his parliamentary seat. However, he was the representative of political views which were discordant in an Ireland which was beginning to witness the triumph of a Catholic democracy over a erstwhile Protestant ascendancy. Popular issues such as reform of parliament and Repeal meant that his tenure of his Waterford seat was not going to be of long duration.

The assistance of the Waterford County Librarian, Mr Donal Brady, is duly acknowledged for facilitating access to the Lismore Castle Papers.

82. *ibid.*, 584, 775-6.
83. *Mail*, 2 Nov. 1839.

Litir Ghaelach, 1848

le Pádraig Ó Macháin

Ar theaghlaigh mhóra na hEaglaise i ndeoise an Leasa Móir agus Phort Láirge sa naoú haois déag bhí muintir Mhaonaigh Chill Loinín, i gCluain Fhiadh Déiseach.[1] Bhí triúr deartháir acu uair éigin ina sagairt pharóiste ar Chill Rosanta: Seán (*c.* 1778-1819), Donnchadh (*c.* 1762-1831), agus Pádraig (*c.* 1784-1836).[2] Deartháir leis an dtriúr san, Piaras, bhí seanmóintí an Ghallchóirigh de ghlanmheabhair aige agus iad á n-aithris ag bun an tséipéil aige Dé Domhnaigh focal ar fhocal leis an sagart, más fíor.[3] Duine fadshaolach ab ea Piaras agus bhí dhá bhliain agus céad slánaithe aige nuair a cuireadh i reilig Chill Rosanta é Samhain 1875.[4] Ar chlainn Phiarais bhí triúr sagart eile: Seosamh, Gearóid agus Pádraig.[5] Leis an mbeirt déanach a bhaineann an nóta gairid seo.

Litir ó Ghearóid dtí Pádraig atá á tabhairt anso thíos. Bhí Pádraig cheana féin tar éis cúig bliana a chaitheamh ina shagart óg sa Lios Mór, agus ceithre bliana eile i gCluain Meala mar a raibh sé fós, nuair a cuireadh an litir seo ag triall air. Fear cúise ab ea an tAthair Pádraig, fear go raibh an-chumas eagraithe ann, an-mhianach chun tionscnaimh ar nós tógaint séipéil - sa Lios Mór agus i gCluain Meala - a ghlacadh ar láimh agus a chur i gcrích.[6] I gcúrsaí polaitíochta bhí sé gníomhach go maith sna daichidí, agus nuair nár réitigh lena shagart paróiste sa Lios Mór, an Dr Ó Fógartaigh, thug sé a chuid tuairimí leis soir go Ceapach Choinn mar ar ghnách leis aithisc Ghaeilge a thabhairt agus fáilte an phobail roimhe.[7] Níor mhaolaigh ar a dhearcaint pholaitiúil tar éis dó aistriú go Cluain Meala 1844. Bhí sé ina measc súd a tháinig le chéile in Aibreán 1848 chun a míshástacht le gabháil Meagher, O'Brien agus Mitchel a chur in úil ag cruinniú poiblí.[8] Breis agus deich mbliana ina dhiaidh sin bhí an fuinneamh céanna le tabhairt fé ndeara ann nuair a bhunaigh 'Fuirionn Dhochtúir Céitín' 1861. Thráigh an teaspach san ar ball, áfach, nuair a ghaibh galar meabhrach greim air de réir a chéile.[9]

1. Táim an-bhuíoch dem chara, an Dr Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha, as dréacht den alt so a léamh. Tá cuntas áirithe tugtha ar chuid de mhuintir Mhaonaigh cheana in Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Sagairt an Leasa', *An Linn Bhuí* 3 (1999) 72-81.
2. Leaca uaighe i reilig Chill Rosanta; féach leis Patrick Power, *Waterford & Lismore: a compendious history of the united dioceses* (Corcaigh 1937) 202.
3. *Nation*, 4 Eanair 1890 (litir ó Sheán Pléimeann dtí an tEagarthóir).
4. Leac uaighe.
5. Tá cuntas ag Eddie Cantwell ar dheartháir eile, Dr Denis Meany, le léamh san *Dungarvan Leader*, 29 Deireadh Fómhair, agus 12 Samhain 1999.
6. Ó Macháin, 'Sagairt an Leasa'; Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, 144.
7. Michael Cavanagh, *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher* (Worcester 1892) 44. Maidir leis an bhFógartach de, féach Robert Arthure, *A priest of his time: Patrick Fogarty (1791-1866)* (Ceapach Choinn 1998).
8. William Nolan, 'The Irish Confederation in County Tipperary in 1848', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1998) (2-18) 6-7.
9. Tá i gceist agam insint níos mine ar scéal an Athar Pádraig a thabhairt amach anso.

Níl an oiread céanna ar aon chor ar eolas againn i dtaobh an Athar Gearóid is atá i gcás a dhearthár Pádraig. Is eol dúinn go raibh sé go maith níos óige ná Pádraig. Mar a léiríonn an litir thíos, is i mblianta déanacha na ndaichidí a bhí sé ag freastal ar Choláiste Eoin, agus Pádraig fén am so ag sagartóireacht sa tarna paróiste. Agus Gearóid i bPort Láirge tháinig sé fé anáil Thomáis Uí Iceadha, ollamh le Gaeilge sa Choláiste.[10] Duine an-thábhachtach i stair na Gaeilge sna Déise is ea Ó Iceadha, agus ar na rudaí suimiúla atá sa litir thíos tá nárbh é seo an chéad duine de mhuintir Mhaonaigh a fuair oiliúint uaidh. Ós eol dúinn gur 1834-9 na blianta a chaith Pádraig Ó Maonaigh i gColáiste Eoin,[11] agus go raibh Tomás Ó Iceadha ann 1835-54,[12] an-sheans gur do Phádraig féin a thagraíonn sé seo.

Tá an ceangal idir Gearóid agus Tomás le feiscint in dhá lámhscríbhinn Ghaeilge a mhaireann fós againn: Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann LS G 403, agus Ollscoil na hÉireann Gaillimh LS 24. Idir na blianta 1845 agus 1849 a breacadh na cáipéisí atá bailithe in G 403. Cnuasach filíochta atá ann don gcuid is mó, cuid mhaith de agus baint aige leis na Déise, formhór an téacs i láimh Thomáis Uí Iceadha. Tá ábhar a bhaineann le huncail Ghearóid, an tAthair Seán, ina thosach agus ina dheireadh: an caoineadh cáiliúil[13] agus seanmóin. Tá ainm Ghearóid fé dhó ann, i nGaeilge uair amháin: 'Agus misi fein aig caoineadh chlana Gaodhal Graoid O Maonaidh. Calaoisga Naomh' (lch 59.y-z); agus i mBéarla: 'Mr. G. Meany St. John's College Waterford' (lch 308).[14] Ón síniú Gaelach is féidir lámh an Mhaonaigh a aithint sna codanna seo leanas den lámhscríbhinn: lgh 81.20 – 82.5, 82.21-z, 83.5-8, 290, 291.14-21, 292.10 – 293, 308.1-2. Ina theannta san go léir tá dán leagtha air ag Ó Iceadha (lch 32), le teann grinn ní foláir;[15] agus tá lipéad leabhair 'Rev G. Meany' greamaithe chun tosaigh.

Cnuasach d'fhilíocht na Mumhan atá i nGaillimh 24: Tomás Ó Iceadha a bhreac, 1827.[16] Níl de lorg Ghearóid ar Ghaillimh 24 ach an méid seo: 'Graoid O Maonaidh / de Claonaidh Gesat[17] / Cat*air* Partlarga / 1851' (lch 164). Cruthú is ea

10. Cuntas air ag Donnchadh Ó Duibhir, 'Tomás Ó hÍcí, scríobhaí Chill Náile', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1990) 97-102; agus ag Eoghan Ó Súilleabháin, 'Scríobhaithe Phort Láirge', William Nolan, Thomas P. Power, *Waterford history and society* (Waterford 1992) (265-308) 284-90.
11. Ó Macháin, 'Sagairt an Leasa', 75.
12. Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, 'Seanmóir ar an mbás', *Éigse* 13/1 (1969) (11-25) 11.
13. An t-eagrán is déanaí: Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Marbhchaoine an Athar Seán Ó Maonaigh' in Pádraigín Riggs et al., *Saoi na héigse: aistí in ómós do Sheán Ó Tuama* (Baile Átha Cliath 2000) 197-208.
14. Féach Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland* 9 (Baile Átha Cliath 1986) 45-9.
15. An dán, 'Moladh an Tobac', tá fáil air i lámhscríbhinní ón 18ú haois (m.sh. Acadamh RÉ 27 (A iv 2) f. 70v). D'fhoilsigh an tAthair Michéal P. Ua hIceadha leagan G 403 in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* 6/7 (1896) 82-3 á mheas gurbh é an Maonach a chum. Ó dhearthair an Athar Ó hIceadha, Muiris, a cheannaigh Séamas Ó Casaide an leabhar agus uaidh sin a fuair an Leabharlann Náisiúnta é.
16. Tá an lámhscríbhinn seo ina foinse le dán atá in eagar in Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Tomás na Sop agus Tadhg Ó hÁinle', *An Linn Bhuí* 4 (2000) 146-8.
17. Iarracht ar Chluain Fhiadh Déiseach a scríobh is ea é seo. Is léir air seo agus ar an inscríbhinn in G 403 go meascadh an Maonach na litreacha *g* agus *d* i scríobh na Gaeilge uaireanta.

an droch-scríbhinn sin, im thuairimse, ainneoin a raibh de theagasc faighte ó Iceadha aige, ná raibh an Maonach iomlán ós cionn a bhuille i scríobh na teangan in 1851, ná baol air, agus míniú is ea é leis ar an litir seo thíos a bheith ní ina láimh fhéin ach i láimh Uí Iceadha. Rud eile: ós cionn an tsínithe sin tá síniú Phádraig Uí Dhubhshláine as Cill Síoláin, agus tá a shíniú san arís ar an mbileoig dhéanach laistigh den gclúdach. Tá sé suimiúil gur shínigh an Dubhshláineach G 403 leis, díreach san áit gur shínigh an Maonach í, ar lch 308. B'fhéidir, mar sin, gurb é Pádraig Ó Dubhshláine an Gaeilgeoir eile atá luaite ag Gearóid sa litir thíos.[18]

Dála mórán eile ón Deoise seo,[19] is ar Dheoise Salford i Sasana a bhí triall Ghearóid tar éis dó a chúrsa a thabhairt i gColáiste Eoin. Bhí a dheartháir Seosamh, a bhí tar éis léann a dhéanamh sa bhFrainc, roimhe agus é ina reachtaire ar Pharóiste Áine Naofa i mBlackburn. Is ansan a chaith an tAthair Gearóid a thréimhse thall leis, ón mbliain 1853 nó go bhfuair bás ann, an 12 Iúil 1864, agus é sa naoú bliain déag ar fhichid dá aois. Deich mbliana eile a mhair Seosamh, agus cailleadh eisean an 15 Deireadh Fómhair 1874.[20] Bhí an tAthair Pádraig ó mhaith le fada an lá agus riarthóirí i mbun a pharóiste i gCloichín an Mhargaidh. Bás uaigneach a fuair sé in Óspaidéal Phádraig Naofa, i gCathair Phort Láirge, an 10 Lúnasa 1889, agus é in aois a thrí bliana déag agus trí fichid..

Maidir leis an litir féin, is i láimh Thomáis Uí Iceadha atá. Tharlódh, ó bhí scríobh na Gaeilge ag Gearóid taca an ama so (ar fhianaise G 403), gur dréacht is ea é agus gurb amhlaidh a chóipigh an Maonach litir ina láimh fhéin ón dréacht san; *argumentum e silentio* é sin, áfach. Ní fhéadfaí áiteamh gur cleachtadh scríobhnóireachta atá ann mar sin; agus ba dheacair, dá réir sin, a rá fiú gur chéadiarracht foghlaimeora is ea é ar chumadóireacht Ghaeilge, mar tá lámh an mháistir le tabhairt fé ndeara ansan leis, go háirithe sa bhfoclaíocht – leithéidí Crumdu,[21] ón tís,[22] agus tulrádh.[23].

An fíor fiú gur iarratas ar iasacht de leabhair Ghaeilge atá anso, nó ar litir i nGaeilge a fháil óna dheartháir; agus mara bhfuil ann ach taispeántas ar a chumas sa Ghaeilge, cad chuige san nuair ba dhóigh le duine nár ghá do Ghearóid é sin a chur i bhfios dá dheartháir féin? An bhféadfadh, mar sin, gurb é atá anso, sa bhliain gur briseadh arís ar éirí amach na nGael, dá leibidí é - gluaiseacht a raibh baint chliathánach ag an Athair Pádraig leis - iarracht chaolchúiseach ó Ghearóid ar mhisneach a mhúscailt ina dheartháir, tré Ghaelachas a léiriú agus a chur in úil, agus é sin a dhéanamh le cúnamh Thomáis Uí Iceadha? Bhí deireadh leis na

18. Tá ainm an Dubhshláinigh le láimhscríbhinn eile le Tomás Ó Iceadha chomh maith: Acadamh RÉ 134 (24 L 33) lch 120. Is é seo, b'fhéidir, an Dr Patrick Delaney a bhí ar ball ina uachtarán ar Choláiste Eoin agus tamall ina shagart paróiste ar Bhéal Átha Póirín agus áiteanna eile (Power, *Waterford and Lismore*, 92).
19. An tAthair Risteard Paor ón bhForadh Liath, cuirim i gcás: féach Pádraig Ó Macháin, *Riobard Bheldon amhráin agus dánta* (Baile Átha Cliath 1995) 12-13 agus dán 8.
20. Eolas ó chartlannaí Dheoise Salford, an tAthair David Lannon.
21. 'Mí Crumdu .i. an Mí is duibhe agus is naomhtha' míniú Uí Iceadha féin air (Cnoc Mhellerí LS 17, lch xxiv). Mí na Nollag atá i gceist.
22. Cúlfhoirm bunaithe ar phatrún *go dtí*?
23. Réamhrá nó brolach; cf. Cartlann Choláiste Ollscoile Bhaile Átha Cliath (cnuasach na bProinsiasánach) LS A 38, f. 4r.

'Trialacha Stáit' i gCluain Meala; bhí Meagher agus a thriúr páirtí ag fuireach lena ndíbirt thar sáile, agus aoinne a raibh aon chumann aige leo ní fhéadfadh gan an lug a bheith titithe ar an lag aige. 'Éireannaigh sinn uile' adeir Gearóid, agus cá bhfios conas a chuaigh na focail sin i bhfeidhm ar a dhearthair tráth nár léir aon bhrí puinn a bheith in Éireannaigh, óg ná aosta.

Tá an litir seo le fáil mar chuid de lámhscríbhinn chumaisc atá anois ar coimeád in John Rylands University Library, Manchain: LS Ir. 134. Tá an-tábhacht leis an leabhar so maidir le litríocht na nDéise de sa naoú haois déag, mar a léireod uair éigin eile tá súil agam. Is é atá ann, go hachomair, ná deich gcinn ar leithligh de lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge agus iad ceangailte le chéile laistigh d'aon chlúdach amháin. Baineann sé cinn díobh leis na Déise, agus dhá cheann desna sé cinn sin is le Tomás Ó Iceadha iad. Tá ann leis - an naoú ceann - lámhscríbhinn le muintir Athairne ó cheantar an tSráidbhaile, agus is i ndiaidh na coda sin atá an litir seo fuaite isteach.

Tá ceangal eile ag an lámhscríbhinn seo le Déisibh. Sa mbliain 1870 bheartaigh Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann ar chomórtas a chur ar bun a mheallfadh an aiste ab fhearr ar staid na Gaeilge. Ní tharla faic áfach go dtí Geimhreadh 1872-3 nuair a cinneadh gur fé cheannteidil áirithe a scríofaí na haistí. Ar na ceannteidil sin bhí 'Letterwriting in Irish, if practised and specimens'. An Ghaeilge mar a bhí sa Mhumhain agus i gConnachtaibh a bhí i gceist. As na seacht n-iarrachtaí a hosclaíodh Márta 1874 socraíodh go mbronnfaí duaiseanna ar thriúr údar: An tAthair Uileog de Búrca, Seán Pléimeann, agus Proinsias Ó Catháin.[24]

Maireann na hiarrachtaí seo in ARÉ LS 1126 (12 Q 13).[25] In iarracht an Phléimeannaigh, fén gceannteideal a bhaineann le litreacha a scríobh, tá cóip chiorraithe den litir atá i gcló anso móide aistriúchán ar théacs na cóipe sin. Cruthú é sin, ní hamháin ar chaidreamh Sheáin Phléimeann leis an Athair Pádraig Ó Maonaigh, rud ab eol dúinn go maith, ach ar Rylands 134 a bheith i seilbh an Phléimeannaigh tráth. Tá a thuilleadh cruthaithe fós ann maidir leis an gceist sin ná baineann díreach le hábhar anso, ach is é a bhun agus a bharr ná gurb é Rylands 134 an lámhscríbhinn de chuid Sheáin Phléimeann a measadh go dtí seo a bheith imithe gan tuairisc.[26]

Bíodh mar sin ar an gcéadfhéacaint gur cáipéis neafaiseach gan luach an litir atá i gcló anso, ach an scéal a scrúdú tá le tabhairt fé ndeara inti gnéithe de shaothrú na Gaeilge san Déise sa naoú haois déag agus dlúthbhaint aici le roinnt desna pearsain a bhí mór le rá sa ghluaiseacht san: Tomás Ó Iceadha, Pádraig Ó Maonaigh, agus Seán Pléimeann.

24. Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann: miontuairiscí Committee of Polite Literature and Antiquities, agus miontuairiscí Chomhairle an Acadaimh.
25. Tuairisc ar chuid an Chathánaigh go háirithe ag Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, 'Oralisierung: Der Fall der Handschrift RIA 12 Q 13', in Hildegard L. C. Tristram, *(Re)Oralisierung* (Tübingen 1996) 263-82. An ceathrú aiste sa lámhscríbhinn seo - aiste eile ón gCathánach - baineann sí ní le comórtas 1873-4, ach le comórtas 1874-6 ar staid na teangan i Laighnibh agus in Ultaibh.
26. Pádraig de Brún, *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: treoirliosta* (Baile Átha Cliath 1988) § 314.4.

Coláiste N. Eoin. Crumdu 2. 1848.

A Dhearbhrathair ionmhuin airbhidnigh,

Ó'n tís gurab Eireanaig sinn uile, tá sé dlightheach gur ceart dúinn ár smuainte agus ár mbriathra uile d'foillsiughadh ionnár máthair-theangan dhílis féin, gan claonadh do chum conganta d'fhághail o aon teangain choimhtheach; gurab air an adhbharsan do ghabhasa orm féin an litir bheag so do chur a nGaoidheilge, gé nach fuil mórán tathaighe agam air a leithéid. Air a shon san, budh mhaith liom tathaighe a dheunadh dhe theangain mhilis mo dhúthaigh féin, mar is í is blasta, giodh gurab í an Laidion is leughanta, gan mórán oile trácht a dheunadh a ccosmhúlacht tulrádh.

Atáim anois ábalta air mhórán de leabharaibh clodhbhuailte Gaoidheilge, agus roinnt leabhar sgriobhtha do leughadh, fá stiuradh ár n-Oide, do shean-duine muinnteardha, .i. Tomás O Iceadha - an té ar ceart dúinne a bheith robhuidheach de, mar gheall air a chaomhaireachas agus a dhúthracht dúinn, do bhrígh nach mise an chéad éan de'n ccine do thairbhig dá theagasg agus dá fhoircheadal.

Do bheinn ró-bhuidheach díot dá ccurthá leabhar no dhó Gaoidheilge chugham do bheinn a leughadh, agus chuirfinn chughat arís iad an tráth bheidís léighte agam. Atá sé ródhéigheanach anois chum iad a chur annso, air an adhbhar go ffuaramair uile cead ath-sgrúdadh (nó friothâilte) don cceastughadh thoiseóchas seachtmhuin ó'n Luan so chughainn. Dá ffaghthá uain air litir a sgríobh a nGaoidheilge chugham, is amhlaidh b'fearr liom thu a sgríobh a ccomhnaighe. Atá fear san tigh seo, chum a sgríobhann a dhearbhráthair a nGaoidheilge, agus cread fá nach eitealoch éan chomh maith le h-éan eile, go h-áirighthe an uair dob' eidir leat agus nuair thabharfaidís solus domhsa air imtheacht a slighe mhilis dhoimhinn na Gaoidheilge. Ní ffuil mórán aimsire agam, anois go speisialta, chum a thuille do chur síos ann so go ttí an chéad uair eile.

Athchuingim ort leithsgeul an treoruigeacht bheag an-eoluighe do ghabháil anois, mar, as bheagán tagann mórán,

Creid gur me do dhearbhráthair dílios go bás.

Gearóid O Maonadh

Chum an Athar Pádruig Ui Mhaonadh
san mBaile Ghaodhlach a Ccluainmeala

'To the Taxpayers of Waterford': the demise of Anglican political supremacy in Waterford

By John M Hearne

IN IRISH politics the Famine years coincided with the splintering and ultimate decline of the once powerful popular movement for repeal of the Act of Union. Already before the Famine the unity of the Repeal movement had been badly shaken by the consequences of the failure of its basic strategy.[1] The ideological fissures apparent prior to O'Connell's capitulation at Clontarf in 1843 were significantly widened in the following years. These divisions, between 'old' and 'young' Irelanders, were accentuated by the government's attempts to pacify the Catholic clergy and middle class, by introducing measures deliberately designed to detach these sectors from Repeal. In particular, the foundation of the Queens Colleges was the major source of discord between the Liberator and the Young Irelanders. O'Connell, by casting himself as the political guardian of the interests of the Catholic church on this issue ensured that the breach between the two groups was now out in the open.[2]

Having been imprisoned following the anti climax of the Clontarf monster meeting, O'Connell was eventually released in September 1844. Though he attempted to renew the demand for Repeal, the spontaneous enthusiasm characteristic of the original agitation could not be rekindled. In a follow-up to the smothering of the Repeal agitation, Robert Peel introduced a package of measures ostensibly aimed at gaining the confidence of the Catholic middle class, and particularly of their church's hierarchy.[3] The ulterior motive, was of course, to detach the middle class and clergy from Repeal aspirations. In 1844, The Charitable Bequests Act established a board of charitable bequests to enable beneficial bequests be made to the Catholic church permitting its endowment. The following year the government proposed raising the grant to Maynooth seminary from £9,000 to £26,000, and making this a permanent grant from the consolidation fund.[4] During the same year, 1845, the university colleges at Cork, Galway and Belfast were founded. However, these measures did not buy the loyalty of the Catholic clergy. Although the establishment of non-denominational institutions of higher education was fully consistent with the non-sectarian cultural nationalism propagated by Young Irelanders

1 J. S. Donnelly, Jr (1989) 'A Famine In Irish Politics', in W. E. Vaughan (ed) *A New History of Ireland, V, Ireland under the Union 1801-70* (Oxford,) p. 357.

2 *ibid.*, p. 358.

3 D. A. Kerr, (1982) *Peel, Priests And Politics: Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland 1841-1846.* (Oxford, 1982) pp. 224-89.

4 Broderick, E (2000), Waterford's Anglicans: Religion and Politics, 1819-1872. Unpublished PhD. (National University of Ireland, Cork, 2000) p. 332.

such as Thomas Davis, John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy, they were branded by O'Connell as 'godless' or 'infidel' colleges. O'Connell was thus echoing and in support of the Catholic hierarchy's opposition to their establishment, as they were worried lest Catholic education was wrested from their control.[5] While this opposition represented a consolidation of a Catholic phalanx it did, nonetheless, manage to crystallise the fundamental ideological difference between the old and Young Irelanders. Davis and his fellow Young Irelanders could not accept where many of O'Connell's policies led, namely

> the conclusion that the Roman Catholics, as the Irish people and the majority, must in the last analysis make their will prevail, and their power felt in Ireland.[6]

In place of this Davis propounded the idea of the essential unity of all Irishmen, of whatever race, creed or class.[7] As his long-term ideal was peasant proprietorship, Davis hoped to achieve these aims by gaining the support of the landlords by appealing to their sense of duty.[8] The difficulty for Davis was that most liberal Protestants had been pushed aside in the polarisation of the O'Connellite era. Hence, Protestants generally were not too interested in alternatives to political conservatism; especially when they believed that it was at their expense.[9] Fundamental ideological divisions such as this were often overlooked in order to maintain a facade of unity. By 1845 it was getting more difficult to conceal that the breach between the two groups was growing steadily wider. Nowhere were the divisions between 'old' and 'young' Ireland more visible than in Waterford. Indeed Waterford, at this time, was a microcosm of the political tensions being played out all over Ireland.

Local politics

Peel's Catholic measures received a mixed reaction in Waterford; and these reactions were articulated openly in the print media during 1844 and particularly in 1845. The response from the *Chronicle,* mouthpiece of Waterford's Catholics, was predictable. Though initially low key and reactive, it became more bellicose in the face of increasing Anglican intransigence. While at all times adhering to the official Repeal party line regarding its opposition to the 'godless colleges' the paper warned against

> ...conciliating those who are educated in bigotry against them (Catholics), as they risk their religion striving to obtain the good graces of those who seem determined to keep aloof from them.[10]

5 Donnelly, *A famine in Irish Politics,* p. 358.
6 Quoted in Broderick, Waterford's Anglicans, p. 333.
7 D. G. Boyce, (1991) *Nationalism in Ireland; The search for stability* (London, Gill), p.156.
8 G O' Tuathaigh, (1991) *Ireland before the Famine 1798 - 1848* (Dublin, Gill & Macmillan), p.196.
9 Broderick, Waterford's Anglicans, p.333.
10 *Waterford Chronicle,* 15 February 1845.

The editor went on to state that he did not believe it possible to conciliate a Tory and 'we confess that we have no great hopes of uniting contrary religionists.' Nonetheless, the *Chronicle* welcomed Peel's attempts to address Catholic dispositions and his recognition of the separateness of the Catholic religion. On the other hand the *Mail,* representing the Anglican viewpoint in Waterford, was alarmed at Peel's Catholic relief measures; and his flirtation with the Church of Rome was seen as treachery by members of the Established Church.

Initially, the *Mail* was supportive of Peel's attempts to ameliorate the Catholic hierarchy. It was of the belief that if the loyalty of the Catholic clergy could be won without compromising Protestantism, then 'we have no scruple in confessing that our prejudices ought to give way to the public good...'[11] But before long the editor, while still claiming to be a supporter of the Charitable Bequests Act, was warning that the act endangered 'the very existence of the British Constitution in church and state, as established at the Glorious Revolution'.[12] By early 1845, rumours of further concessions to Irish Catholics led Anglicans to question the future security of their privileged position in a country where the majority had allegiance to a foreign spiritual and temporal power. What was most worrying was that this majority was now being subvented by the government and, Anglicans believed, at their expense.[13] The vituperation of the *Mail's* editorials was now directed towards Sir Robert Peel. An editorial of February 1845 succinctly stated,

> We believe that Maynooth and the Irish Roman Catholic colleges will add but new fuel to the flame; and that the cardinal point on which Sir Robert Peel's fortune turns is the religious education of Ireland.[14]

By April, as rumour turned into reality, Peel was branded a traitor by the *Mail* asking,

> why when the Established Church has been cut down .... should the church of Rome be taken up and cherished by the state, and endowed with funds for the propagation of her anti-scriptual and soul destroying and unsocial doctrines...

Anglicans believed that Catholics were wealthy enough to maintain their own church. They were also fervent in their views that Peel, by endowing Catholics' education, merely consolidated Catholic power and thus enabled the eventual overthrow of Peel himself and of Protestantism in general in Ireland.[15]

On 21 May 1845 the Maynooth College Bill passed its final stage in parliament by 317 votes to 184.[16] It was quickly followed by the Irish University Act 1845, which voted £100,000 for the establishment of four provincial colleges at Cork, Belfast, Galway and Dublin.[17] In response, the *Mail* stated that 'the Anglican

11 *Waterford Mail,* 1 January 1845.
12 *ibid.,* 29 January 1845.
13 *ibid.,* 5 February 1845.
14 *ibid.,* 12 February 1845.
15 *ibid.,* 5 April 1845.
16 *ibid.,* 31 May 1845.
17 *ibid.,* 6 September 1845.

church appears doomed, and the church of Rome is rising on her ruins.'[18] In one last swipe at Peel, the editor accused him of treachery and of violating the Protestant constitution; and warned that as Protestants now mistrusted a government now perceived as their enemy, their loyalty could no longer be taken for granted.

For all his worthy intentions Peel found himself assailed on the one hand by Irish Anglicans, who believed that the amelioration of the Catholic church was at their expense. Anglicans now felt isolated, vulnerable, insecure and unsure of their long term privileged position. As a result they rounded on Peel and his government, but to no avail. It would not take much more provocation for Anglicans to abandon the Conservative party and seek refuge in Russell's Whigs. On the other hand, the majority of the Catholic hierarchy, following Archbishop McHale's example, criticised Peels 'package' for not going far enough by establishing a Catholic University. O'Connell supported McHale and attacked the government also. But Peel's actions had split his own party. Furthermore, O'Connell's support of McHale had created divisions between the orthodox Repeal party and the Young Ireland faction. In many respects, this was the beginning of the end of Peel. Within a year he would be ousted from power.

1847 General Election

The religious animosities engendered by the Charitable Bequests Act and the Colleges Bill did not end with their enactment. They were quickly resurrected during the 1847 general election in Waterford city. Although the two sitting MPs, Sir Henry Winston Barron and Thomas Wyse were seeking re-election, realistically their chances of success were slim. Their opponents, Thomas Meagher, first Catholic mayor of the city following the Municipal Corporations Act of 1840 was, according to the *Chronicle*, assured of success; and Daniel O'Connell, son of the Liberator, whose father had only recently been buried in Dublin, was expected to take the second seat. James Delahunty, director of elections for the Repeal party in the city, reminded Catholics,

> Did you not break down the Tories in '26 - shatter the ascendancy, and establish freedom on its ruins? Rally now round Thomas Meagher and Daniel O'Connell. He whose remains are now in Dublin calls on you to return him (his son) .....[19]

From early on the tone of this election had been set by the town clerk, Mr. J. E. Feehan. Of Barron, Feehan stated that he would cut of his right arm rather than vote for him. His most caustic remarks were saved for Wyse. As a supporter of the Bequests Acts and main promoter of the Colleges' Bill, Feehan said that "such men as Wyse are more dangerous, if possible, than such men as Barron".[20] At an election meeting some weeks later Wyse was again castigated by the Tipperary Friar,

18 *ibid.*, 9 August 1845.
19 *Waterford Chronicle*, 31 July 1847.
20 *ibid.*, 23 June 1847.

Fr. Cuddihy, who stated that there was a clear difference between Barron and Wyse, the latter he considered

> a very honourable Saxon, a very respectable Englishman, a man unexceptionable as an English Whig, but a man totally alien from Irish sympathies, the tastes, habits and political opinions of the Irish people. As to Sir Henry Barron, I never heard one man say that he represented this city or did any good whatever for it. I have always heard it said that he represented his own interests .....[21]

It was left to Meagher to finally seal the fate of Wyse, but in a more dignified manner. Reminding his supporters that there was one major difference between them and the opposition; simply, they were Repealers the opposition were not. But he said

> One of them - a man of honour and a gentleman - tells you plainly that he is not a Repealer, and you ought to give him credit for the admission. The other gives you to believe that he is a Repealer .....[22]

Victory

The election was an emphatic victory for the Repeal candidates. Meagher topped the poll with 521 votes while O'Connell was a close second with 499 votes. Wyse received only 252 votes.[23] All Repeal candidates in Waterford were successful in 1847. The county also returned two Repealers in Robert Keating and N. M. Power, while Dungarvan with one seat, returned Richard Lalor Sheil. Although Sheil was a Whig and had been appointed Master of the Mint in 1846,[24] he was accepted by the *Chronicle* as a 'splendid Irish sprite',[25] or not an objectionable Whig. With the triumph complete the *Chronicle* dubbed Waterford, 'Repeal county'.[26]

But the cornerstone of this victory had been firmly laid during the first two years of the newly reformed Corporation's existence. During that time the final heave to oust the remaining Protestant influence within the Corporation was made. The instigator of the assault on the two remaining Anglican positions within the council chamber was James Delahunty, chief organiser of the Repeal movement in Waterford city during the 1840s.

The final showdown

On 13 February 1845 a pamphlet, *To the Taxpayers of Waterford,* was circulated in Waterford city criticising the recent appointment, and manner of that appointment, of James Delahunty to the position of chamberlain of the Corporation.[27] The three

21 *ibid.*

22 *ibid.*, 4 August 1847.

23 B.M.A. Walker, (1978) *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy) p. 317.

24 *ibid.*, p. 277 and p. 318.

25 *Waterford Chronicle,* 11 August 1847.

26 *ibid.*

27 Waterford Municipal Library, 31/8. Pamphlet - *To the taxpayers of Waterford.* 13 February 1845. It was clear from the tone of this pamphlet and from the subsequent meeting to discuss the accusations therein, that the authors were prominent members of the Anglican community.

James Delahunty

Source: *The Hornet*, 18 April 1877.

main accusations contained in the pamphlet were (i) that Delahunty had conjured up fictitious charges of embezzlement against the chamberlain (treasurer) of the Corporation, Mr. Edwards; and contrived to involve the town clerk, Mr. Cooke in colluding with the Treasurer, and thus orchestrating their dismissal: (ii) that the Catholic corporators had conspired to manipulate the Burgess Roll, or to pack the electoral roll with unqualified freemen, thus ensuring Catholic electoral success in subsequent Corporation elections and by implication giving Catholic candidates an advantage in parliamentary elections; (iii) that the council members were using Corporation or public monies to finance their own personal debts. The pamphlet was not signed but was obviously written by a disgruntled Anglican or by those whom the *Chronicle* referred to as 'the avowed enemies of the people - by men old in the ways of intolerance, and franchise-stealing'.[28] The pamphlet also gave notice of a public meeting to discuss these allegations to be held in City Hall on Friday 14 January. These accusations resulted from decisions taken by the majority of the Corporation a week earlier and which had led to the dismissal of the town clerk and the chamberlain - the last remaining Anglican representation within the Corporation. This specially convened Corporation meeting of Monday 10 February 1845 was called to discuss one item namely, the dismissal the previous week of the two Anglican corporators, Cooke and Edwards.[29] Hopelessly outnumbered by their Catholic counterparts and subjected to the taunts of a packed public gallery, the town clerk and chamberlain were from an early stage left in no doubt that their fate had already been sealed.

Proceedings were started with Alderman Delahunty, acting as secretary, reading a requisition outlining the objectives of the meeting. He was followed by counsellor Robert Curtis who then read the charges and justified the decision to dismiss the named officials. From the outset Curtis admitted that the main reason for the dismissal of the town clerk Mr. Cooke, was that his position was independent of the council in matters pertaining to the admittance of freemen to the Burgess or Electoral Roll. This, he stated, was at variance to that pertaining in Dublin, Limerick and Cork and

> ...when it would leave our Burgess Roll in the power of a town clerk to do as he liked, then a necessity had arrived, it was considered by the council, to have a town clerk more liked by the majority of the council.[30]

In other words Cooke was a Protestant and could not be allowed hold such a sensitive position in a predominantly Catholic Corporation, lest he put that majority in danger. But as Delahunty later stated, this action was similar to what had already occurred in Dublin, Limerick and in Cork where he informed the meeting

> ...they turned out the town clerk, but he had played them a trick before that, he had managed the Burgess lists, and without knowing

28 *Waterford Chronicle*, Editorial, 5 March 1845.
29 *Waterford Chronicle*, 11 February 1845.
30 *ibid.*

> how it was done a Conservative majority was again creeping in to the Corporation...

And he asked, 'have we not reason to think that the same thing might occur here.'[31] Alderman Delahunty then revealed to the meeting how he had ensured that such a situation would not occur in Waterford in the future, by stating that he had 'destroyed for ever the possibility of Whig or Tory ever again misrepresenting us - by placing 170 sterling repealers on the burgess roll.'[32]

The charges levelled against Edwards were much more serious. Counsellor Curtis outlined how the chamberlain had pocketed rent amounting to £364 from Corporation property. Delahunty then gave more detail on this matter. He informed the meeting that as a result of this abuse being brought to his attention a committee had been set up to carry out an audit on Corporation property. The chamberlain he stated, had for over a year frustrated their committee's attempts to complete an accurate audit. Furthermore he mentioned, the town clerk Mr. Cook had refused to hand over an account book when requested to do so. Cook was now being implicated in the more serious charge of fraud. As Delahunty asked the meeting while pointing to Cook, "will you allow yourselves be trampled upon by this Conservative", loud cheers and cries of 'never' was the empathic answer.[33] Finally, Delahunty asked the assembly if they were prepared to allow the people and their representatives be insulted and Corporation property be neglected, or whether

> you think it necessary that our Corporation should be placed on the same footing that the independent men of Cork, Limerick and Dublin have placed themselves upon, or be deprived as you have heretofore been, of the enjoyment of your rights by the Orange executors placed over it.[34]

It was no surprise when the decision to dismiss the town clerk and the chamberlain was upheld. Indeed it was a foregone conclusion, given the ulterior motive that instigated the charges. Edwards being one of the architects of, and witness to, the compact of 1818 (which inhibited the quest for local political power by Waterford's Catholic middle class) and Cooke being a major beneficiary of that agreement, rendered both parties repugnant to the Catholic middle class in Waterford. The now vacant positions were to be filled at the next council meeting which was fixed for Tuesday 18 January. But before this meeting took place the meeting called for by the signatories of the pamphlet - *To the taxpayers of Waterford* - and supporters of the dismissed Corporation officials, was to be held in City Hall on Friday 14 January.

Self destruction

This meeting effectively ended for ever the political power of Anglicans as a political elite in Waterford. In effect, the Anglicans by calling this meeting had handed

31 *ibid.*
32 *ibid.*
33 *ibid.*
34 *ibid.*

the Catholic Corporation a golden opportunity to destroy for ever the last vestiges of Anglican political ascendancy which remained in the city since the council election of 1842. Indeed this is how this meeting was seen by the Catholic press. In a report on the meeting some days later, the *Chronicle* captured perfectly this sense of anticipation, stating that

> The objects of the Requisitionists in calling the meeting were, in their own language, to adopt such measures as might be deemed advisable in consequence of the wanton dismissal of the town clerk and treasurer, by a majority of the town council at their last quarterly meeting....the meeting was called for one o'clock, but long before the appointed hour the hall was crowded by the people anxious to witness and take part in a discussion which they knew would in great measure destroy the party which provoked it.[35]

Ostensibly called by the Anglicans of Waterford city to demonstrate the wrongs which had been perpetrated against their two representatives, and to profess their liberality, the meeting represented, in many ways, their last chance to retain political respectability and leverage. But at the end of an unruly, boisterous and at times bitter debate they were left with neither.[36] As the *Chronicle* put it,

> There they stood in all their deformity, pretending liberality to the last, but betraying the principles (which was visible to all), of relentless, cowardly, avaricious Toryism.[37]

This indeed was the great political showdown of pre-Famine Waterford city. Its conclusion witnessed the destruction of the Anglican political edifice in the city and its replacement by a new political ascendancy; one that was Catholic, middle class and nationalist, and supported by the public in general. When at the next council meeting John Carroll and James Delahunty were elected to the vacant positions of town clerk and chamberlain respectively, the *Chronicle* stated that

> ...the victory - the honesty of the patriots who formed the majorities today...have performed the duty they owed to their country, to their city particularly, ...Toryism nor Orange patronage existed not for them; they were there as the representatives of the Repealers, the Catholic portion of the people, and how nobly did they discharge the honourable trust reposed in them.[38]

The bitter arguments pertaining to national and local issues which ensued in Waterford during the immediate pre-Famine years helped consolidate Catholic cohesiveness in the county in general, and Catholic supremacy within the Corporation in the city. However, these arguments only served to polarise religious divisions and to instil further insecurity and uncertainty within Waterford's

35 *ibid.*, 19 February 1845.
36 *ibid.*
37 *ibid.*
38 *ibid.*

Anglican community. The public perception of Catholicism was that it was merely the obverse side of the nationalist coin. Likewise, the lacuna between liberal and conservative Protestant also disappeared. Protestantism was equated with Toryism and indeed began to publicly align itself with Toryism during the 1840s. Those of either religion espousing liberality were derided by their own co-religionists and left isolated in a political no-mans-land. Thomas Wyse and Thomas Davis were examples of politicians who found themselves in this unenviable situation. Daniel O'Connell failed to bring many of the liberal Protestants and some liberal Catholics who has supported the quest for Catholic Emancipation along with him into the campaign for Repeal of the Act of Union. Wyse was one of those liberal Catholics. As has already been mentioned, Wyse was closely associated with the College's Bill. There was also a rumour that he was to become the first President of University College Cork.[39] But given the Catholic hierarchy's opposition to non-denominational education, Wyse became an easy target of derision. At the height of the colleges debate in 1845, Archbishop McHale of Tuam, the *Tablet* and the *Chronicle* openly rounded on Wyse for his involvement in such a scheme. According to a correspondent in the Chronicle,

> The Archbishop of Tuam...the Tablet...and the Catholic press of Waterford have spoken out in terms not to be misunderstood; and Mr. Wyse (who shall be assuredly obliged to look to some less Catholic constituency), may feel persuaded, that when he will have presented his favourite scheme for withdrawing the Catholics of Ireland from the influence of the Catholic spirit in a more defined shape - when he shall endeavour to attain in the British House of Commons, an unenviable notoriety by a supercilious contempt for the religious feelings of his fellow countrymen, his abortive attempt will meet with the indignant opposition of all who are desirous to maintain the integrity of the Christian religion, and the purity of its faith.[40]

Wyse was thus branded a traitor to his country and to his religion. As Fr. Cuddihy and Thomas Meagher stated during the 1847 general election, 'one knows where one stands with those who openly profess Repeal or Toryism'. But men like Wyse because they could not be trusted were therefore perceived to be more dangerous.[41]

The *Mail* also had little sympathy for Thomas Davis and the Protestant involvement in the Young Ireland Movement. Referring to the confrontation between O'Connell and the Young Ireland Movement over the Colleges Bill, the *Mail* questioned the stance of Davis in particular. In an editorial it asked

> If he thought he could succeed against the leader of the "Ould Ireland Party", he reckoned without his host; and overlooked the main element which comprises the Repeal conspiracy. He did not take the priests into account; and forgot that he himself was a Protestant.[42]

39 *Waterford Mail,* 31 May 1845.

40 *Waterford Chronicle,* 19 February 1845.

41 See notes 20 and 21 above.

42 *Waterford Mail,* 31 May 1845.

The editorial went on to warn

> Mr. Davis and others of his persuasion that they cannot co-operate with Papists in their political movements without abandoning their own free principles servilely adopting those of their associates.[43]

Liberality on either side of the religious divide was now perceived to encompass varying degrees of political weakness, disloyalty and at worst treachery; this at a time when strength of character, loyalty to religious convictions and to country were required. In such a hostile environment it is easy to understand why Wyse in particular, and to a lesser extent Barron, stood little chance of success in the 1847 general election.

Though defeated in both the political and religious arenas up to and including 1847, necessity forced a more united and cohesive countenance on Protestantism in Waterford. By now (1847) Protestants were clearly a minority religious and political group. Their basis of local power, the Corporation, had been wrested from them and the monster meetings of the early part of the decade had highlighted in no uncertain terms their numerical inferiority. Of more immediate concern was the thought of being abandoned by the government. Peel's education reforms had lent reality to these concerns and to the unthinkable dilemma of the eventual severing of their political umbilical cord. Thus, supporting Lord John Russell's Whigs in 1847 can be seen as a manifestation of this sense of insecurity.

In Waterford these events served to temper the Anglican resolve and bestowed more focus on their political activities. Anglicans thus took refuge in an increasing awareness of their religious identity which in turn helped create a greater sense of communal solidarity,[44] no more than one would expect when faced with extinction. It was, one could argue, merely an instinctive act of self preservation. Although now only bestowing pretensions of ascendancy, the Established Church nonetheless became the gelling agent in uniting Anglicanism as it made a determined effort for survival. But it could not withstand the relentless progress of democracy nor the remorselessness of unfavourable demographics,[45] which would eventually sweep aside its political and temporal authority. By the early years of the 1850s Waterford's Catholic middle class was firmly ensconced in a position of unrivalled political supremacy. The relentless pursuit of political power had at last been realised; political status was now commensurate with its economic power.

43 *ibid.*
44 Broderick, Waterford's Anglicans, p.237.
45 *ibid.*

Political activity in Cappoquin in the 1840s: Michael Cavanagh's obituary of Hugh Collender

By Pádraig Ó Macháin and Thomas F. Overlander

THE following contribution is offered as an appendix to our article on Michael Cavanagh published in the previous number of *Decies*.[1] It consists of a lengthy obituary, or appreciation, of Hugh Collender published by Cavanagh shortly after Collender's death, 1 April 1890. This obituary took the form of a series of articles published weekly – every Saturday in the *Worcester Messenger* from 19 April to 19 July. One instalment is lacking from this sequence: no copy of that number of the *Messenger* which was published on 24 July 1890 is known to survive.[2] That issue would have contained the first section of Part 6 of Cavanagh's narrative, and this is therefore absent from the obituary as published below.[3]

Hugh Collender was baptised on 24 December 1828 (*pace* the 1829 date given in the source below).[4] He was the eldest child of William Collender and Catherine Smyth, who had married on 19 January 1828,[5] and whose other children, born between 1830 and 1840, were Mary, Catherine and Ann (twins), Catherine,[6] Richard, and Alice. Of these, perhaps Richard was the best-known, and would be

1. P. Ó Macháin, T. F. Ovaerlander, 'Michael Cavanagh of Cappoquin, 1822-1900', *Decies* 56 (2000) 97-122.
2. We are grateful to Russell L. Martin III, Curator of Newspapers and Periodicals at the American Antiquarian Society, for his great help in facilitating our continuing research on the *Worcester Messenger*.
3. The *Messenger,* which published a great amount of Cavanagh's writings including the serialisation of his biography of Meagher, was an Irish-American owned and edited paper which addressed itself to the sizeable Irish population of Worcester. In 1900 that population had reached 30,000: 11,000 immigrants, 19,000 second generation; Meagher Timothy J., (1982) 'The Lord is not dead': Cultural and social change among the Irish in Worcester, Massachusetts PhD Thesis (Brown University). In 1893 the manuscripts of Cavanagh's *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher* were gifted to the city of Waterford by Cavanagh's friend, Richard O'Flynn. O'Flynn (1829-1905) was a native of Greenane near Newtown, Kilmacthomas, who became a bookseller and historian in Worcester Mass. The manuscripts are now held in the Waterford City Archives, and designated P11/14/1-4.
4. Cappoquin Parish, Baptismal Records 1810-70, p. 176.
5. Cappoquin Parish, Marriage Records 1807-71, p. 52.
6. One presumes that the earlier Catherine (baptised 18 February 1834) died in infancy; the second Catherine died in 1875, according to the Collender headstone in Affane (*Irish Genealogist* 2 (1943-55) 285). We may also add that, since our previous article, twin sisters of Michael Cavanagh – Elizabeth and Catherine – have come to light, baptised in Cappoquin 24 July 1824; as in the case of Collender, this Catherine must also have died in infancy (see *Decies* 56 (2000) 98).

deserving of a study in his own right. Born in December 1838, he developed a talent for poetry as a contributor to the *Irishman*, and in 1860 composed a poem addressed to his brother Hugh, beginning 'Though wide is the ocean between us that rolls'.[7] In 1869 he followed Hugh to America where he worked as a colleague of Michael Cavanagh's on the *Celtic Monthly*. He returned to Ireland in 1883 and became involved in politics, working *inter alia* as local secretary of the Land League, as a member of the United Irish League, and as a member of the Board of Guardians of the Lismore Union where he was vice-chairman in 1892 and 1904.[8] He continued his literary activities, contributing poems to *United Ireland*. He died on 7 March 1905 and is buried in Affane.[9]

William Collender had a bakery and public house,[10] which in due course young Hugh inherited, together with 'a small farm contiguous to the town'.[11] This he had to forsake in 1849 on fleeing the country for permanent exile in America. There, as Cavanagh recounts, he became one of many in the Young Ireland movement who prospered in their newly adopted country. Collender became friendly with Michael Phelan (1816-71), a silversmith and jeweller by trade and a native of Kilkenny who had come to America at an early age and who was deeply involved in the Irish revolutionary movement there, being one of the founders of the Irish Republican Union in 1848 and of the Ninth Regiment, New York State Militia (where he was Commandant of Company D), and eventually a prominent Fenian.[12] Regarded today as the father of American billiards, in addition to being an accomplished player Phelan owned billiard rooms on Broadway, New York, and for a while in San Francisco; he wrote authoritative books and articles on the subject, and had his own company manufacturing tables and accessories.[13]

After his marriage to Phelan's daughter Julia,[14] Hugh Collender eventually joined his father-in-law in the billiard business, forming the company of Phelan

7. John Boyle O'Reilly, (1887) *Poetry and song of Ireland* (New York) 985.
8. *Thom's official directory* (1892 and 1904) (Dublin). The *Waterford News* was strongly opposed to him: see e.g. editions of 13 February 1892 and 30 March 1895.
9. D. J. O'Donoghue, (1912) *Poets of Ireland* (2nd ed., Dublin and London); O'Reilly, *Poetry and song of Ireland*; *Waterford News,* 10 March 1905.
10. *I. Slater's national commercial directory of Ireland* (1846) (London and Manchester), 281.
11. Perhaps the ten acres in Shanbally listed in Griffith's *Barony of Coshmore and Coshbride ... primary valuation* (1851) (Dublin) 98.
12. *Irish-American,* 14 October 1871; Frederic Boase, (1897) *Modern English Biography* 2 (Truro) col. 1489; Michael F. Funchion (ed.), (1983) *Irish American voluntary organizations* (Westport Conn.) 101; Michael Cavanagh, (1892) *Memoirs of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher* (Worcester Mass.) 314.
13. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (eds), (1888) *Appletons' cyclopaedia of American biography* 4 (New York) 750; *American biography: containing sketches of prominent Americans of the present century by eminent authors* 3 (New York n.d.) 1-3; J. Kenneth T. Jackson, (1995) *The encyclopaedia of New York City* (New Haven Conn.) 108-9; Carl Wittke, (1956) *The Irish in America* (Baton Rouge) 266.
14. They had a son, William Vincent, whom Hugh outlived, and six daughters.

and Collender in 1854/5 and co-publishing *The rise and progress of the game of billiards* in 1860. Thenceforth Collender went from strength to strength, running the renamed H. W. Collender Company following Michael Phelan's death as a result of an accident in October 1871,[15] and merging with Brunswick and Balke in 1884[16] which he ran until his death in 1890. He died of Bright's Disease in New York on the first day of April of that year at his residence at 5 East 86th Street, and following a service at St Patrick's Cathedral on April 4 (Good Friday) he was interred in Noroton Connecticut.[17]

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The following is an eye-witness account of political developments in the town of Cappoquin in the 1840s, and of Hugh Collender's and Michael Cavanagh's part in them. The author takes us through the advent of the Repeal movement, the disillusionment of Young Ireland with O'Connell, the formation of the Confederate Clubs,[18] the events of 1848 and those of 1849, and the early years of exile in America, and all viewed from the perspective of two young men from a small town in Co. Waterford who became involved in momentous events which radically affected their lives. While it is very much to be hoped that the present article may encourage someone to conduct a thorough study of Hugh Collender, our main purpose in publishing this narrative is to supplement our knowledge of the background to Cavanagh's political awakening, and to add further details to what is known of the movement which organised the attack on the police barracks in Cappoquin in September 1849.[19]

Though displaying his usual coyness over the actual events of 16 September 1849 in Cappoquin, Cavanagh's narrative may still be regarded as a primary historical source. Among the noteworthy events in this context, the labour protest organised by Cavanagh and Collender in Cappoquin in 1847 stands out; so too the

15. *New-York Times,* 9 October 1871.
16. *New-York Times,* 18 August 1885; *The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator,* 12 April. 1890. For further details on Collender see Brendan Kiely, (1999) *The Waterford rebels of 1849* (Dublin) 24.
17. *New-York Times,* 2 April 1890, 5 April 1890.
18. The following are the names of the Cappoquin Confederates who contributed one shilling each to the Confederate funds in 1847 and 1848. 5 October 1847: William Lennen, John Long, Charless Connell, Maurice Moore, Patrick Kenny, John Trihy, James Crowley, James Murphy, William Murphy, Hugh William Collinger [*sic*], Michael Cavanagh, Considine Daly, James Kennedy, Thomas Reardon, Thomas Quinn, James Ryan, Michael Curran, James Keating, Thomas Murphy, John Connell, Charles Casey; 17 January 1848: Michael Power, George Saxon, William Walsh, William Russell, William Smith, John Power, Rudolphus Whelan. (RIA MS 23 H 62 pp. [40, 66].)
19. Regarding Cavanagh's route to America in 1849 (*Decies* 56 (2000) 105 n.46) we omitted his own reference to staying in Dublin with John Duffy, a printer on the *Nation* (*Memoirs,* 148).

confrontation with the Lismore garrison in September 1848. Of interest also is Cavanagh's account of his meeting with Philip Gray,[20] and of the role of John O'Mahony in the development of the new revolutionary movement and of his strategical differences with it regarding the conduct of any future rebellion.

In editing the following account we have allowed Cavanagh's American spelling conventions to stand, merely standardising where inconsistencies occur; similarly, inconsistencies such as Gray/Grey have been standardised, in this case to Gray. The *Messenger* compositors appear to have had a particular difficulty with dates: wherever we have perceived an obvious error in this regard we have sought to correct it and noted the original reading as a footnote. Cavanagh conceived his narrative as consisting of ten Parts, with some Parts continued over two issues of the paper. These divisions are retained below, with the relevant Part and the date of the issue being given within square brackets in every case.

20. On Gray see Nicholas Anthony Leonard, 'Philip Gray – a forgotten revolutionary son of Meath', *Ríocht na Midhe: records of Meath Archaeological and Historical Society* 12 (2001) 165-75.

Our Dead Comrades

Hugh William Collender

[Part 1: 19 April 1890]

Then here's their memory - may it be
for us a guiding light,
to cheer our strife for liberty,
and teach us to unite.

On the first of the present month, the news of Hugh Collender's death was flashed over the wires from New York to San Francisco. It was received with universal regret, and, by thousands, with sincere sorrow, for his name was more widely known for the past thirty years than that of any other businessman of Irish birth on the continent. This was due to his reputation as the greatest and most successful billiard-table manufacturer in the United States - if not in the world; for, it may be safely stated, that there is scarcely a spot in the country where civilization has penetrated in which tables bearing his trade mark are not to be found.

But, it is not of his unparalleled success as a manufacturer and an inventor, in his peculiar line, that I intend to write. Hundreds of his business associates and intimates of recent years are far better qualified than I am to treat of that portion of his career, and to some of them I leave that agreeable task, while, as his lifelong friend and most intimate companion since early boyhood, and the one who, outside the circle of his family and near kindred, most deeply feels his loss, it becomes my mournful duty to record the story of his life in his Irish home - including the antecedent circumstances which eventually led to his self-expatriation, and, under Providence, to the fortunate destiny which awaited him in this asylum of Liberty's oppressed votaries.

Hugh William Collender was born in Cappoquin, county of Waterford, Ireland, in the month of December, 1828.[21] His parents were among the most prosperous shopkeepers of his native town, esteemed and beloved by all their neighbors in a degree commensurate with their many amiable and generous qualities. His father, William Collender, was a man of fine personal appearance, and distinguished for his urbanity of manner, kindness of heart, and patriotic, independent spirit. But, endeared as he was to his townfolk by these attributes, neither he, nor any other man, could attract the spontaneous warmth of affection which all hearts, of both old and young, accorded his amiable wife. To the first she was a sympathetic friend, a helper in difficulties, and a consoler in trouble; to the young she was almost as endeared for her motherly gentleness and cheerful nature as their own

21. Text reads 1829.

parents. To the poor she was ever a free-handed benefactor. She was, indeed, a typical representative of that class of good women by no means rare in Ireland, and all the more appreciated on that account. And when she was at length called to her reward, and her children developed the kindly traits which so won the hearts of the people, and especially of the poor, to her, the greatest praise bestowed upon them was *''Tis kind mother for them!'*

This worthy couple had six children - two sons and four daughters, of whom Hugh was the oldest. He had scarcely attained his fifteenth year when both his parents died within a brief interval of time, leaving their young orphans a fair inheritance of the world's goods, and a far richer one in the good name which won them the sympathy of their kindhearted neighbors. With the assistance of an old and confidential employee of their parents, Hugh and his eldest sister carried on the business successfully in the house they were born in, while the younger children were cared for by their maternal grandmother in [a] neighboring town.

Thrown thus early on his own resources, Hugh developed business capacity rarely found in a boy of his age. In addition to the 'shop', he managed a small farm contiguous to the town, which he inherited from his father. His naturally buoyant disposition, the love of his favorite sister, the companionship of congenial friends, and a taste for books - which his means enabled him to indulge in - combined to render his life a happy one at this period.

From time immemorial, the people of Cappoquin had been distinguished for an ardant love of country and an ineradicable detestation of foreign dominations, and its local representatives - the *shoneen* aristocrats and their satellites - the 'Peelers'. In no town in Ireland had O'Connell more devoted and enthusiastic supporters during his aggressive struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and when that and the 'Tithe War' were ended - by compromise - and he commenced what he announced to be his final agitation for a 'Repeal of the Union', he found no more eager and active adherents than the sons of the sacrificed 'Heroes of '26' - the gallant 'Forty-shillling Freeholders' of West-Waterford. Few towns of its size contributed more liberally to the National Exchequer - than did Cappoquin - for nearly all the adults in the town were enrolled members of the 'Association'.

This active exhibition of local patriotism was, to a very considerable extent, due to the influence exerted by the recently founded popular journal - the *Nation*, on the minds of the rising generation - boys fresh from school - and the more enlightened of their elders. How eagerly did they watch the arrival of the paper each succeeding Sunday, and with what anticipations of delight did they turn to the 'Poet's Corner', seeking fresh incentives to patriotism and love for the beautiful and good in the songs of 'The Celt', that lit the hearts of old and young as with an electric spark - for, in the words of their oracle:- 'A soul had come into Ireland'.

[Part 2: 26 April 1890]

When boyhood's fire was in my blood,
I read of ancient freemen,
for Greece or Rome who bravely stood
three hundred men and three men.
And then I prayed I yet might see
our fetters rent in twain,
and Ireland, long a province, be
a Nation once again.

- Davis

Chiefly through the influence of the national educators, Duffy, Davis, and their colleagues of the *Nation,* the Repeal Association was induced to encourage the establishment of reading rooms throughout the country, and to aid in their support by a certain percentage of the parish contribution to the Association exchequer. Davis advocated that, at least, one third of the local contributions should be devoted to this purpose; but one fifth was the proportion granted. This entitled Cappoquin to ten pounds worth of books, papers, maps, etc. annually - for the expense of maintaining the room was defrayed by private subscriptions. From its inauguration the institution was a success. One of the Catholic curates was elected president and helped to draw closer the bonds of affection which then existed between the people and their patriot priests. Donations of books were given by several friends of the national cause and among these Hugh Collender was one of the most liberal for his means. Owing to this fact, and to his general activity in furthering the national movement, he was, notwithstanding his youth, elected one of the seven local Repeal Wardens - a distinction shared in by the present writer at the same time. John Daly, Hugh's foreman, being a veteran nationalist, had been a Repeal Warden from the initiation of the movement, but not even his youthful associates - and I might say 'disciples' - were more ardent admirers of the *Nation* than he was, and when the clouds of doubt and suspicion rose, ominous of disaster, above the horizon, and the proposed Whig Alliance heralded the storm which was destined to disrupt the Association hitherto supposed to be united in aim and heart, John Daly was the first to give warning of the treachery that was at work undermining the confidence and blasting the hopes of the people.

The proximity of Dungarvan to Cappoquin caused the approaching election in the borough to become a matter of almost personal interest to the Repealers of the latter town, and when, through the connivance of his Whig allies in the council of the Association, Shiel was re-elected without opposition, their chagrin and indignation was, with difficulty, stifled for the time. That ill-omened election was the match that fired the long-prepared mine whose explosion split the advocates of Irish freedom into two hostile camps.

The indignant remonstrances of the *Nation* brought down the wrath of the ruling powers in the Repeal Association on that independent journal, and the reading

rooms were forthwith notified that the paper would be discontinued, but any other publication they might select would be sent in its stead. A majority of the Repeal Wardens of Cappoquin protested against this decision of the Association and absolutely refused to dispense with the *Nation* in any event, as long as the reading room remained in existence. They carried out their avowed intentions - for one of the members supplied the proscribed journal at his own expense. As time passed the breach widened, in spite of the efforts of many life-long followers of O'Connell to close up the national ranks. Among the most energetic of those friends of union were the Cork Repealers. They held a public meeting and adopted a respectful and touching address to O'Connell, beseeching him to put an end to the quarrel which he could easily do by coming to an amicable explanation with Smith O'Brien. O'Connell ridiculed the idea of an explanation. He replied by a quotation from Sir Lucius O'Trigger in Sheridan's play of The Rivals: *I think the quarrel is a pretty quarrel as it stands; explanation would spoil it.*

That flippant manner of disposing of a question involving the existance of a national party in Ireland, precluded any further hope of union, and many who up to this clung to the Repeal Association, felt that they could do so no longer without silently acquiescing in the insult offered their compatriots and to some of the noblest and most self-sacrificing gentlemen ever connected with the national cause. Among the first of these to act upon their convictions was John Daly and his two associate Repeal Wardens of Cappoquin. Without consulting any of their colleagues the three sent a joint letter to the secretary of the Association 'tendering their resignation as members of that body - as the answer given by Mr. O'Connell to the Cork Repealers destroyed whatever hopes of union that had hitherto [been] entertained, and left them no alternative between coinciding with his action and retiring.'

Three days after mailing our letter the reply came. It curtly informed us that our names had been erased from the books of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland, as we were advocates of 'Physical Force'. The precious document was signed by T. M. Ray, secretary.

Mendacious as it was, it was but a sample of the stereotyped replies sent to all who dared dissent from the course of the Association under the new *regime.* Still, in our case, it so happened that in charging us with that dreadful sin Mr. J. T. Ray [*sic*] was only anticipating coming events. He may have been gifted with the faculty of 'second sight'; but if he was, he might have known that, in consequence of his letter, he was never to see another remittance of 'Repeal Rent' from Cappoquin - except the balance then in the treasurer's hands.

At this time the disaffected men of Dublin were preparing to take united action on the question at issue. They had already formed a preliminary organization called the 'Dublin Remonstrants', of which Thomas Devin Reilly was secretary. They issued an address to such as shared their views on national politics, requesting them to open communication with the central office for the purpose of eventually adopting a permanent plan of proceeding. One of the first responses Mr Reilly received was from Hugh Collender, who sent him T. M. Ray's letter, with an account of the occurrances which called it forth.

In Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's 'Four Years of Irish History', page 336, will be found a synopsis of the great public meeting which the 'Dublin Remonstrants' held in the Rotunda, in December, 1846.[22] At that meeting, Thomas Francis Meagher, in exposing the duplicity of the Conciliation Hall official, cited the reply to the Cappoquin Repeal Wardens as an instance of their mendacious hypocrisy.

Thus it came to pass, that in his seventeenth year, Hugh W. Collender's name was first prominently introduced in Irish politics.

[Part 3: 3 May 1890]

The Irish Confederation

To cowards and despots a hatred undying,
for freedom a passion intense and relying,
a pride in the resolute hand;
a hope that could not see a danger to shun,
when bonds should be broken and liberty won -
a faith in the book and the brand.

- I. Frazer

The above quotation - originally applied to Thomas Davis - embodied the political creed of his disciples throughout Ireland, and found authoritative expression at the first meeting of the Irish Confederation held in Dublin on the 13th of January 1847. The new organization was composed of the independent and unselfish young men of Ireland whose hearts were devoted to the freedom of their native land. Ten thousand members were soon enrolled, principally in the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford, where Confederate Clubs were established at once. They constituted the 'forlorn hope' who volunteered to stem the tide of ruin which was then sweeping relentlessly over the land, overwhelming in its course the moral reforms and self-reliant principles established by the united labors of Father Mathew and the writers of the *Nation,* and converting the buoyant, enthusiastic peasantry who marched so proudly to the 'monster meetings' three or four years previously, into famine-stricken miserables, hopeless and helpless, withered in heart and spirit as the food from which they had drawn their sustenance.

Cappoquin had the distinction of being the second of the rural towns in Ireland to found a Confederate Club - Bootherstown near Dublin being the first. Both clubs were organized by a member of the Council of the Confederation, Mr. John Williams, then a commercial traveller in the hardware business, and, some years subsequently, the founder, in New York, of the *Iron Age,* a paper which now, under the management of his son, has become the leading organ of the trade in America.

22. Text reads 1849.

From its foundation the Cappoquin Club was a success; for, while its members were mostly recruited from the younger portion of the community, they had as their guiding spirits some of the most prominent and public spirited veterans in the national ranks; and, save a little good-humored badinage from other life-long followers of O'Connell (which they generally returned in kind) they met with no active opposition from their former associates. They had the field to themselves, for the local branch of the old association had died of inanition, and, at heart, their neighbors mostly sympathized with them. There were a few bitter old irreconcilables who still, with ludicrous self-conceit, kept growling their impotent wrath at the juveniles; but in a fun-loving community such as ours, those characters had but a poor show, and were mercilessly laughed out of countenance by their incorrigible antagonists in the contest of sarcasm which they foolishy provoked.

The 'Repeal Reading Room' had been closed for lack of support since the end of the previous year; but one of the first steps taken by the Confederate Club was the establishment of a new reading room, which was generously supported by individual subscriptions and donations of books. Hugh Collender was librarian. To him the office was a congenial one. He had acted as secretary to his associates prior to the regular formation of the club, but declined the office at the first election, in favor of an older and more experienced member.

In those days Hugh and I were almost inseparable companions. Whatever time could be spared from ordinary avocations we spent together, and to prolong those pleasant hours, I passed the night at his house, sleeping with him in the same bed, and growing, if possible, more attached to him daily. These were happy days to both of us, and, in the intervening years which we have since passed, of necessity, apart, it is a happiness to the survivor to feel that our affection for, and confidence in one another continued uninterrupted to the end.

In the spring months of 1847, the twin plagues of famine and pestilence - which wrought such desolation in the ensuing summer, had not yet extended to Cappoquin. Destitution and hunger there was among the poor, but it was, in a great measure, alleviated by local charity, so that there were no deaths from actual starvation among our people. Hugh Collender and his sister acted nobly in this emergency. Their business included a bakery, and to this circumstance an old neighbor owed the preservation of their own and their children's lives. Then it was that the virtues inherited from their parents shone forth in God's sight, in their kindness to His poor, and to an extent which few but He, the 'Great Provider', were cognizant of. But *I* know how hard the indulgence of their benevolence bore on their own resources, limited as these were by the amount of credit which they gave customers placed under temporary straits by the stringency of the times.

Subsequently, Hugh Collender showed himself possessed of sterner traits of 'heroism', such as men generally estimate the exhibition of courage in the face of danger; but in deeds of chivalry, such as I now record, his memory should be credited with the higher type of heroism accorded a self-sacrificing action, done in secret for its own intrinsic merit, and the indulgence of the humanity implanted in his heart by his Creator.

It forms no part of my purpose at present to recur to the horrors of that fatal summer, when fever, engendered by famine, at length reached our town (though in mild form) and prostrated one fourth of the population - killing but few outright, but leaving the survivors helpless and emaciated to walk the streets like living skeletons for months after convalescence. But the sight still haunts my memory, and can never be forgotten - or its authors forgiven. It was a fearful ordeal to pass through, but the 'Spirit of Irish Nationality' outlived it, though sorely depressed.

The Confederate Reading Room, which had been closed during the prevalence of the fever in the town, was again opened, and, by the opening of the new year, was in good working order. Early in February the announcement was made that John Mitchel was about to issue a new paper of avowed revolutionary tendencies. In the divergence of opinion which had taken place recently between Mitchel and his adherents in the Confederation, and the other leaders of the party, the Confederates of Cappoquin unanimously decided with the latter - not that they admired Mitchel less, but they believed the time inopportune for adopting his policy. However, when the publication of the *United Irishman* was announced and our local post-mistress - who, heretofore, acted as agent for the various newspapers and magazines required in the town - declined, for obvious reasons, to connect herself with [the] ultra-radical organ, Hugh Collender - in the absense of any other fitting person - undertook the agency, as a labor of love, and, for the first three weeks of publication the green posters of the *United Irishman,* in spite of the nightly raids of the police, adorned the public places of the town, under the vigilent protection of the clubmen. But an event transpired which rendered such action unnecessary - and gave the Peelers something else to think of.

[Part 4: 10 May 1890]

Go, to find mid crime and toil,
the doom to which such guilt is hurried,
go, to leave on Indian soil,
your bones to bleach, accursed, unburied.
Go, to crush the just and brave,
whose wrongs with wrath the world are filling:
go, to slay each brother slave -
or spurn the blood-stained Saxon shilling.

- T. K. Buggy

Among the other national lessons which the young men of Ireland had taken to heart in those days, was that conveyed in the above stanza - an abhorrence of enlisting in the English army; and, consequently, but few of the peasantry, or the inhabitants of the country towns could be induced to *take the Saxon shilling,* while any honest means of support was left them. But the second year's failure of the

potato crop caused numbers of farm laborers to be thrown out of work, and many of these had no alternative between entering the 'army' or the 'poor-house', and if they chose the former who could blame them? An instance of the dire straits to which these poor fellows were driven came under my own observation, and as it had some bearing on after occurrences in our town I will relate it here.

During the previous year (1846),[23] a recruiting party for the 60th Rifles had been stationed in Cappoquin. In six months they only succeeded in enlisting one man - and he ran away while *en route* to the depot at Fermoy. But after the scarcity of employment had set in, there came another recruiting party to the town. They were not of the royal English army, but of the East India Company's service - then a distinct organization. In the course of two months these latter obtained over eighty recruits. Their recruiting office was next door to my home, and one day I was surprised and grieved to see three fine young country boys of my acquaintance waiting outside the door until the recruiting sergeant should make his appearance. In answer to my inquiry they told me they were about enlisting in the 'Company's service'. On my expressing surprise and sorrow at boys of their spirit and intelligence going into such a detested service one of them answered: 'Don't blame us Mick! We are driven to it. We spent the past two days going through the country looking for work from the farmers, asking no wages but our support for the winter, but no one would take us on them terms. What, then, can we do? We must either enlist or go into the poor-house, and, much as we all hate enlisting we won't go there, and I'm sure you wouldn't ask us to take it as a choice!' 'God forbid! my poor fellows!' was my reply, so I shook hands and bid them good-bye.

I went straight to Hugh and told him of the occurrence. We came to the conclusion that something should be done at once to force the landlords to furnish employment to the willing able-bodied laborers, or take the consequences of driving them to desperation. After consultation with other members of the Confederate Club we organized a 'labor demonstration' through the streets of the town for that very night. It was easily arranged. A lighted tar-barrel placed on a hand-barrow and borne on the shoulders of four stalwart men led the procession. Immediately behind it came a loaf of bread on a tall pole, surmounted by a flag with the inscription:

'We Must Have Bread. And Work To Earn It.'
'We Won't Starve - or Die in The Poor-House.'

As the shouting concourse paraded the streets it was joined by three-fourths of the population, and cheered by the remainder standing at their doors to witness the unexpected and exciting demonstration. It had the desired effect. It thoroughly frightened the neighboring gentry who, until then, took no action towards alleviating the condition of the poor. The landlord of the town, Sir Richard Keane, addressed the people on the street the next day, telling them they should get work *at once* - that all who could get a spade, shovel or pick-axe should go to work

23. Text reads 1843.

making a new channel for the stream that ran by the town, so as to keep it from cutting away the banks of the 'inch' adjoining; that in the meantime he, as Deputy-Lieutenant of the County, would convene a meeting of the neighbors to devise a system of permanent public works. He kept his promise in this respect. But our improvised labor demonstration so alarmed himself and his colleagues that they made a requisition for such a display of troops in the town as would deter the discontented from resorting to extreme measures. They came, a battalion of infantry and two troops of the 8th Huzzars, bivouacked in the streets for a couple of hours, chatted pleasantly with the people (some of the Royal Irish in Gaelic), and withdrew as they came. But a few days afterwards a company of infantry was quartered in the town - in the absence of barrack accommodation being billetted on the shopkeepers. This fact contributed towards leading them to fraternize with the people, so that after a few months' sojourn in our midst, to keep their loyalty inviolate, it was deemed necessary to dissever them from contaminating influences, and accordingly, much to their regret, they got the rout for Lismore, where they were quartered in the convent - the nuns having to vacate to suit government exigencies. No soldiers were sent to replace them in Cappoquin at that time, or until more pressing exigencies rendered it necessary to keep a stationary garrison there.

In the mean time, a more destructive agent of the foreign government had taken possession of their vacated billets, and done the work expected of it far more effectually than the red-coats could do. Yet even the fever failed to crush out the spirit of disaffection indigenous to the soil.

[Part 5: 17 May 1890]

Lift up your pale faces, ye children of sorrow,
the night passes on to a glorious tomorrow,
hark hear you not sounding proud liberty's paean
from the Alps to the Isles of the tideless Aegean,
and the rhythmical march of the gathering nations,
and the crashing of thrones 'neath their fierce exultations,
and the cry of Humanity cleaving the ether,
with hymns of the conquering rising together -
God, Liberty, Truth! How they burn heart and brain -
These words shall they burn - shall they waken in vain?

- Speranza

When, six years ago, Hugh Collender named his new pleasure-yacht 'The Speranza' his thoughts were reverting to the day when, with hopeful, exultant hearts, we, together, read that glorious lyric, which, like the blast of a trumpet, rang through the Island waking responsive echoes in the souls of her Liberty-loving sons; souls which, one short week before, were sunk in deep despondency, in contemplating the desolation of their country and their impotence to counteract the evils which were crushing her life out.

In that month of February, 1848, there was indeed but little encouragement for the most hopeful in the condition of Irish affairs. True, the worst of the famine and fever had passed, but the poor-houses were kept filled, and so were the emigrant ships; evictions were going on at a fearful rate, and roofless cabins were becoming thicker over the face of the land. The political prospect was almost as dreary. The Whigs were in office and had won over the great majority of O'Connell's Parliamentary followers by their usual methods of 'places and pensions'. The last of these recipients of Government favors was Daniel O'Connell, the youngest son of the Liberator. He had been Member of Parliament for the City of Waterford, and resigned to accept the office of British Consul at Boulogne, France. Patrick Costelloe, a local political hack, aspired to fill the vacant seat - until something more profitable came his way. He might possibly have succeeded had not Thomas Francis Meagher determined that his native city should not be desecrated into a training school for ambitious place hunters, and offered himself as a candidate for the suffrages of his fellow-citizens.

A third candidate appeared in the person of Sir Henry Winston Barron, a fossilized 'Liberal' who had lain on the political shelf for years back and now seeing a favorable opportunity for getting back into his old seat by the help of his former opponents - the Conservatives - made one in the triangular contest. As the suffragists of Waterford at that time numbered less than 800, the antiquated baronet got elected.

Though neither Thomas Francis Meagher or his fellow-Confederates attached any value to a seat in the British Parliament, yet they felt interested in keeping a man of Costelloe's corrupt school out of it, and therefore viewed the result of the contest with complacency, and in some places, with exultation. In Cappoquin, as was natural, a keen interest was had in the election, and, when the news of the result arrived, several enthusiasts illuminated their houses as for a popular victory.

But there was other news came to us that day that caused parliamentary elections to be thought no more of than puppet-shows. It was news of the Revolution in France, the flight of Louis Phillippe, and the Proclamation of the Republic! That news came to us as a Revelation from Heaven. What promises it conveyed, what hopes it created, can never be told in words. It gave us a foretaste of Freedom so exquisite and exhilarating that its memory is a blessing. And for the time being *we felt actually free*. The general enthusiasm was intensified when the Tricolor was flung out from the Confederate clubroom window. It was the gift of our girls, made within an hour, and had any attempt been made to remove it by the satellites of the 'Lion and Unicorn', they'd rue it. But these gentry knew better than to test the temper of the people at such a time, and so the flag waved unmolested for weeks afterwards.

I do not know how long it remained there, for, three weeks subsequently, I and a near kinsman, Dan. McGrath (late of Marshall, Missouri) left home, ostensibly for America, by way of Dublin, but really with the intention of remaining in the Irish Capital until, as we confidently expected, it should set a worthy example for the country to follow, and give us the pleasure of assisting in the initiatory cere-

monies. Hugh Collender was the only one of our comrades taken into our confidence. Before we left I had arranged with him as to how we could correspond without risk of our secret being discovered, and, for the four succeeding months, I kept him enlightened regarding current events at the Revolutionary Headquarters.

In the meantime Hugh managed to involve himself in the meshes of the law at home. Himself and three more of my town's-boys were prosecuted for poaching on the mountains owned by a member of the foreign (landlord) garrison. They did not answer the judicial summons in person, but were defended by counsel. The trial resulted in each of the accused being fined five pounds, with the alternative in default of payment, of being imprisoned for a month in Waterford Jail.

[Part 6: 24 July 1890, *does not survive*]

[Part 6 continued: 31 May 1890]

The eagerness with which the peasantry and mechanics of the Valley of the Suir flocked around the insurrectionary standard raised by John O'Mahony in September of that year, and the courageous devotion with which they adhered to him for the seven weeks during which he battled all the forces the authorities could bring against him, and plotted against them in their very garrisons and camps, afforded sufficient proof that, had they been properly organized, and led by a sufficient number of skilled officers, they could, even with their scanty armament, have inaugurated a formidable insurrection that would extend through the three above mentioned counties in a week, and, eventually over the Island.

The County of Waterford, from the Suir to the Blackwater, was especially excited. At the first signal of the rising near Carrick, bonfires blazed on every hill and cross-road between that town and Cappoquin. The loyal magnates of the district quickly took the alarm, and cleared out for Dublin, or England. The police were again concentrated in Lismore Castle, Dungarvan, Ballinamult Barracks, and Waterford City. Cappoquin was thus left free to follow its natural impulses - and it did.

At the first sign of the landlord exodus, a volunteer set out for the scene of operations over the Commerachs, and, after three days, returned with his report just in time to visit a scene that satisfied him as to the temper of his fellow townsmen. It was about 9 o'clock at night, and an excited crowd of people were congregated round a bonfire in the center of the town when, suddenly, a company of soldiers with fixed bayonets turned the corner of the Main street, within ten yards of the unconscious enthusiasts. These were the Lismore garrison on their way to attack the insurgent camp. As they came into the light of the fire, someone in the outskirts of the crowd called out: 'Boys! Three cheers for John Mitchel!' The crowd turned in the direction of the voice, and saw the column of soldiers with their bayonets flashing in the firelight. The effect was maddening. With a wild cheer for Mitchel and O'Mahony, the crowd, men, women, boys, and girls, rushed

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after the soldiers, who seemed to take no notice of them but tramped steadily on. The crowd grew momentarily larger and more excited. About a dozen of the clubmen, fearing a collision between the people and soldiers, formed in the rear of the column and strove to keep the crowd from pressing upon it. Some parties had meantime hurried ahead of the military to the bridge at the outlet of the town, and barricaded it with some carts, while the crowd in the rear sent volleys of stones rattling among the bayonets; but the soldiers still kept on. They reached the bridge and were met by the barricade; the narrow street was filled, the open doorways thronged with people; another volley of stones showered from the rear; the rear rank of soldiers turned and thrust their bayonets at the men who were doing their best to keep back the maddened crowd.

The officer in command was at first undecided. He was about giving orders to fire but was prevented by the fear of being attacked by pikemen from the houses on each side of him (for he never imagined an unarmed crowd would have dared attack him), and so as soon as his men had removed the obstructions in his front, he gave the command, Forward! March! and they continued their long night march to the Commerachs, with the uncomfortable feeling of leaving an enemy in their rear. They came back a few days afterward so wearied and fagged out that they were hardly able to hold up their heads in marching through the town, and were glad enough when they reached their quarters in Lismore Castle.

There were some good Irishmen in that same company, for soon after their return to Lismore, one of them assured a friend of mine, that, 'had they seen the flash of but one *pike* in Cappoquin that night, and so became assured that the attack was pre-determined and not the mere impulse of a mob, half of them would, on the instant, have turned on the rest, and marched at the people's head to the support of O'Mahony, in place of being led against him'.

In revolutions important events are often controlled by incidents trivial in themselves.

Hugh Collender was among the clubmen who received the bayonet charge on the above occasion, but, more fortunate than some of his comrades, he escaped unhurt. He was not even suspected of being implicated in the transaction, when, after the panic was over, the magistrates and other runaway loyalists had returned, and held a meeting to investigate the attack on the military. The officers and some of the soldiers testified to the attack and to the fact of some of the people being wounded by the bayonet charge. The two doctors in the town were questioned about their knowledge of the wounded, but they gave no information.

So the 'investigation' ended by a reward being offered for information concerning the parties implicated in the attack - *with no takers.*

In the following month Hugh attended the 'State Trials' in Clonmel, and there it was that he first became personally acquainted with Thomas Francis Meagher. Little either of them then thought what the future had in store for them, or that the ties of sympathy which, in that period of darkest gloom, brought them together, should, in the sunshine of American liberty, be strengthened and drawn closer by the bonds of gossippred and affectionate comradeship: 'There is a Providence which shapes our ends'.

[Part 7: 7 June 1890]

The patient dint, and powder shock,
can blast an empire like a rock.

- Davis

Though, owing to want of proper organization, and regular officers, the movement organized by John O'Mahony had to be abandoned for the time, yet it cannot be deemed an utter failure, for it demonstrated that they who stigmatized the Irish people as cowards - *lied;* and it also showed the people themselves both their strength and what was needed to develop it, so that it could be utilized in any future trial.

Fully impressed with this conviction, O'Mahony, before departing for France, laid the foundation of a secret revolutionary organization in the Vale of the Suir, only about a half-dozen of his most trusty and intelligent companions in arms forming the nucleus thereof. Among these were two enthusiastic members of the Dublin Confederate Club, John Savage and Philip Gray.

As this portion of my dead comrade's memoir was closely connected with the new movement of which Philip Gray [was] the most active propagandist, a few words concerning the latter will not be out of place here. But, before giving my own impressions of the man, I will show what John O'Mahony thought of him and of his fellow Confederate, John Savage.

In a letter to Thomas Francis Meagher which was published in the *Irish News* of September 20th, 1856, O'Mahony says:

> Foremost among my fellow-workers was our young friend John Savage. Him I met for the first time as he was looking for you, a few days after that night of gloom when you and I last parted with drooping hearts upon the side of Slíabh-na-mon. From that time until all our hopes were shattered, John Savage never flinched from the post of danger, nor was any duty left dependent upon him left undone. If the truth, fixedness of purpose, untiring work and buoyant enthusiasm of any one man could have made up for the disadvantages resulting from youthful inexperience, want of previous political fame, and of not being known in the locality where he labored, could then have retrieved our cause, John Savage would have done it. He participated in all my plans, and attended all my midnight councils. He shared with me the bivouac upon the bleak hills, and partook of my hard bed in the rock-bound grot of Ballygurkeen; or, as we lay side by side in some fragrant meadow by its banks, we listened to the Suir's wild lullaby singing us to sleep.

Of Philip Gray he writes:

> Philip Gray I found to have been the most untiring and indomitable of all the men that then took the field for Fatherland. He could never be made to understand that we were beaten. It was he that worked hardest of us all to retrieve our lost cause. He is also the man of whom the least has been said, even in our Democratic ranks. Of him I must say that Ireland needs but a few such steady, silent and persevering laborers as he, with some cool-headed planners to point their work for them, in order to be again ready for revolution, whenever internal agitation, England's difficulties, or external events afford her an opportunity therefor. I have said be *ready* for revolution, because, after considering the subject a good deal, and having had some experience at home and in France, I have come to the conviction *that no society of men who are not armed, disciplined and regularly officered, can make a revolution at any stated time fixed upon by themselves beforehand.*
>
> I have thought it right to state this opinion of mine here, apropos of the indomitable carbonara, Philip Gray, because some give me the credit of thinking that a revolution can be effected in Ireland by popular conspirators at some *pre-determined* time, or upon some *pre-arranged signal.* I do not now believe any such thing. But what I think is, that unless our countrymen at home do organize always and run the risk of being now and then condemned by our tyrants as traitors and conspirators therefor, that opportunity will come to them either from without, as it did in '48, or from some political ferment within, as it has often done, and that they will be found undecided and unready; and thus let the chance glide by in *omne volubilis avum.*

I give the above maturely considered opinions of John O'Mahony, to show that they consitiuted the basis of the policy on which, two years subsequently, he founded, in conjunction with James Stephens, the co-operative organizations of the 'Fenian Brotherhood' in America, and the 'Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood' in Ireland.

To return to Philip Gray. My personal acquaintance with him commenced in March 1848, in Dublin, when I became a member of the Swift Confederate Club, of which he was secretary. During the ensuing four months I became much impressed with his earnestness and ingenuity in forwarding the preparations for a rising in Dublin, an event which we then looked upon as almost certain to take place. In his role of perambulating revolutionary propagandist I became more intimately acquainted with him, and my impressions of him were that no more energetic, persevering or unwearied agent of a secret conspiracy exercised his vocation in Ireland since the days of William Putnam McCabe. If ever man was a 'born conspirator' Gray was. He pursued his object with the persistency of a sleuth-hound, and was as unscrupulous in his means as he was untiring in his efforts to advance the cause to which all his energies were devoted.

[Part 7 continued: 14 June 1890]

In his zeal to obtain available recruits he drew considerably on his hopes - or his imagination, and in this respect he seemed to hold with Danton that the great essential to success was - 'Audacity'.

John Savage having left for America soon after the formation of the new organization, Philip Gray became its most active propagandist left in Ireland. He returned to Dublin, where in the absence of nearly all the prominent national leaders of '48 he communicated the plan and purport of the conspiracy to his trusted associates of the Confederate clubs still resident in the national capital. A Central Directory was formed from the most active and intelligent of these. Its most prominent members were James Fenton Lalor [*sic*], Thomas Clarke Luby, Philip Gray and Joseph Brenan (after his release from prison in March 1849). Of these Luby alone survives.

The existence and objects of the organization were known to many prominent nationalists in Dublin who were not officially affiliated with the society. From one of these, Mr. John Williams, of the late Central Council of the Confederation, I first learned of the new movement. Mr. Williams had been my warm friend during my stay in Dublin, and when, in May 1849, he came to Cappoquin on professional business, he sent for me - asked if I had been communicated with in reference to the new society, and on my answering in the negative, he told me I would be very soon, and then gave me a general idea of its construction and objects. While we agreed as to the difficulties of the undertaking, yet, as I learned that the rescue of the political prisoners (then awaiting their fate in Dublin jail) was to be the signal for the general outbreak, I signified my intention to aid in the work, though Mr. Williams told me he was not himself an affiliated member of the organization.

To Hugh Collender alone I communicated the purport of my interview with Mr. Williams. He at once said he would go with me, but I, unhesitatingly, opposed this resolution, until, at least, I would be in a better position to estimate the chances of possible success, for, as to the risks to be encountered, I saw them clearly enough then.

Three weeks afterward, I met Gray, who unfolded the plan of the organization in detail. He met my chief objection - the want of regular officers to conduct the insurrection after the first blow was struck - by the assurance that these would come from France with John O'Mahony; that he had been to Paris and had O'Mahony's authority for the promise. This satisfied me at the time. I found years afterwards, from John O'Mahony himself, that Gray had authority to make such a promise - *after O'Mahony had got due notice and satisfied himself by personal inspection, that adequate preparations for an outbreak had been made in Ireland.* Gray made no mention of this most important proviso at the time, and O'Mahony never got the stipulated notice. The following is Mr. O'Mahony's written statement of the contemplated course of action of the organization founded by him:

> The home organization was to be perfected and extended quietly but indefatigably. The initiated members were to consist of but a few tried

and active men in each locality. The masses were to be instructed to be in readiness for action, to watch attentively the course of events and bide their time. They were not to be required to commence any aggressive movement, but were to be taught to remain as if in ambush until the Irish flag should have been raised by *a body of armed and disciplined men from without,* around whom they would, at a fitting time, be required to rally. Until such a body were actually in the field the Irish peasantry were not to be asked to take up arms. I was to have been present myself with such armed force before the general rising. And if I, or someone else, could not take the field in the first instance with such armed force, there should, with my consent, have been no rising at all; in which case the people generally would have no cause to complain of being misled, for they would not have committed themselves to run any risk. Their actual position would not have been altered in the least degree.

The initiated and working members of the organization were to be made understand that their great duty consisted in obedience to the orders of their officers. They were to have been forbidden to discuss the prudence or imprudence of the orders. It was also recommended that the members of any one company or club should not seek to know the individuals that composed any other. All business communications was to have been carried on through their officers or delegates. The care of subordinates was to have been to hold themselves in readiness for immediate action. It should have been my care and that of those who were then acting with me to superintend the working of the whole, to watch opportunities, and to find *external military aid.* The latter was by me deemed indispensable in the position of our party at that time. I and those who thought as I did felt that the Irish people could then make no effective attempt at any rising without *powerful impulse from without.*

[Part 8: 21 June 1890]

My own friend: My own friend!
There's no one like my own friend;
For all the gold
The world doth hold
I would not give my own friend.

- Charles Wolfe

From the foregoing extracts it will be seen that the organization, as originally founded by John O'Mahony, was wisely planned. I do not know on what grounds the Dublin Directory saw fit to depart from the programme laid down by him.

When they did so his immediate friends no longer constituted the bulk of the organization; and distance, and want of safe means of communication, prevented him from taking much part in guiding them. He was decidedly opposed to the policy of immediate action as advocated by the more hasty and unreasoning members of the conspiracy; and accordingly, when he was informed that a general rising in September had been decided upon, he 'condemned it as unreasonable, premature, and fatal to our cause'.

He showed that, however wide the organization had extended itself, it was still in a very imperfect state of discipline - that many conditions which he deemed indispensable had been entirely disregarded - that no foreign or domestic excitement existed to prepare the popular mind for a revolution - that the numbers of which they boasted would but render the array the more unmanageable. Under such circumstances he would assume no responsibility of leadership, nor would he allow his name to be used as the adviser of an insurrection in the conducting of which he would not have any part - neither would he solicit any others to enter into any enterprise whose defeat he considered certain. He added, however, that he would return to Ireland and participate in their dangers, but that he would betake himself to some part of the island where he would run no risk of being made a leader, for, though he could not induce others to risk their lives on a forlorn hope, he felt at liberty to stake his own at any hazard.

But no time was allowed him to fulfil this chivalrous resolution - the revolution was begun and ended in a night.

The vast majority of the local leaders of the movement were unaware of O'Mahony's condemnation of the proposed change of plans; in fact they never knew that there was any *radical* change from the original programme at all - they received their instructions from their superior officers, and carried them out as best they could, in most instances up to the final crisis.

The leaders, too, strove zealously and manfully to fight their way through the difficulties and entanglements in which their unfortunate abandonment of the road mapped out by an abler mind had involved them. But the task was above their ability. They failed, but took the responsibility. They risked life and liberty but saved their honor, and demonstrated that there was still life left in the old land. They could not map out 'Freedom's Highway' but they set up a finger-post pointing in its direction.

But, to return to my interview with Philip Gray. His assurance in regard to John O'Mahony's promise satisfied me, and I undertook to do whatever lay in my power to prepare for our chief's return, in accordance with the instructions I then received.

When I laid the whole programme, as I had it from Gray, before Hugh, he would no longer listen to my objections to his joining the movement. He knew they proceeded from personal affection to himself, and a desire to shield him from the risks which we both saw were inevitable, viewing the undertaking in its most favorable aspect. 'But,' he said, 'You have consented to organize our town, how then can you omit *me* - your nearest and most confidential comrade - unless you doubt my courage, which I know you don't,' - he hastily added on seeing my surprised look.

That settled the question finally. We were in it together, and would see it out whatever came of it. So, taking our mutual friend, Mick Lennan, into our council, we three settled on a systematic plan for organizing a select body, of limited numbers, in the town and the adjoining district. Every man initiated had, from the first, our entire confidence, as was his right. The hopes, dangers, and difficulties of the cause they were embarked in were freely discussed with them all. When the state prisoners were transported without any attempt having been made to rescue them, the reasons given by the Central Directory for the change of programme were communicated to every individual associated with us. So also were the details of an interview which I subsequently had on the subject with the most venerated nationalist then in Ireland, in which, while admitting the truth and force of his reasoning, I, in their name, declined to be guided thereby, giving as my reason therefor, that we voluntarily pledged our lives to the cause, and would keep our promise - be the result what it would. And, with their eyes open to the probable consequences, every one of my associates coincided with my decision; moreover, I never since met with, or heard of, one of them who expressed regret for it.

[Part 9: 28 June 1890]

> 'The story of that outbreak at Cappoquin has not yet been told. It shall be known one of these bright judgement days the dawn of which sparkles in the West. Poltroons and rogues have sneered at it. Fastidious patriots - the aristocrats of revolution - have declined to sanction it. But it was the first, though solitary, expression of a vast organization skillfully constructed, nobly inspired with the calmest courage and sternest fidelity sustained.'
>
> - Thomas Francis Meagher

While the ubiquitous Phil. Gray was flitting all over the country keeping up communications between the several branches of the organization and its headquarters in Dublin, the other members of the Directory were no less earnestly fulfilling their allotted tasks in their chosen localities. James Fintan Lalor and Thomas Clarke Luby worked together in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, and with the help of several no less active and enthusiastic local organizers, sowed the seeds of revolution from the Liberties of Clonmel to the banks of the Shannon. Joseph Brenan, naturally, selected his native city, Cork, as the theatre of his labors. His work was, in a great measure, already cut out for him, for no where else, outside of Dublin, did the Confederate clubs of the previous year embody such a number of intelligent young men, so well armed and organized. His efforts were, for some time, effectively seconded by his equally enthusiastic lieutenants, so that he felt confident that his native city was both able and willing to respond to *any* call on her courage and devotion to Ireland. But in this he was too sanguine as afterward

events showed. There is no necessity for particularizing the *cause* of his disappointment here, and its revelation would do no good, so I will say no more on the subject - save the remark that it would be well if some who were partly responsible for his disappointment on that occasion were equally silent on the subject, or, if they must talk, that they speak the truth, and not by direct misstatements or flippant innuendoes falsify history and villify men who were faithful to their country and their pledges, under the supposition that none are now living who can controvert them. Ah! it is easy for those whilome conspirators, who have since cut their wisdom-teeth to speak of their incorrigible 'comrades dear and brother sinners' as *madmen* and of their undertaking as *desperate.* And, in fact, it was so. The undertaking *was desperate,* and its promoters were *madmen.*

They were *mad* because the memories of the famine horrors were searing their hearts and brains and inciting them to vengeance on the murderers of their kith and kin! They were mad, because the chalice of Freedom from which they expected to drink was dashed from their hands when it had touched their lips! They were exasperated at having the chosen men of their race torn from their midst without a hand being raised to prevent the outrage! They were wild, because for their forbearance then their enemies taunted them with cowardice, and the world seemed inclined to accept the charge as true. And finally, as if all those incentives were insufficient to drive them to madness, they were tantalized by seeing the English Queen - the incarnate representative of the author of all their wrongs - flouting the land by her presence, at a time when her war-ship was conveying her victims to the Antipodes - and this to make the world imagine that we were *loyal slaves in heart and will.* This LIE they were determined to stamp out at all hazards - and they *did it* - MADMEN as they were.

Who, since this ebullition of her children's hereditary malady, dare to accuse Ireland of *loyalty* to her tyrant?

On the fifth of September, 1849, a convention of delegates from the several branches of the organization was held in Clonmel. Hugh Collender and I were present. It was then definitely resolved that a rising should take place at several specified places on the night of the 16th of that month. Cappoquin was one of the places so selected. I was asked which of the leading men in the movement I wished should take command of our district; and, as no leader of any military capacity was available, I named Joseph Brenan as our choice; for, besides having a warm personal regard for him, I had full reliance in his truthfulness, courage, and resolution. Brenan was not present at the convention, nor had I seen him since our parting in Dublin in July, 1848. But, four days before that set down for the outbreak, we met in Clonmel, and there it was arranged that he should meet me on the night of the 15th at 9 o'clock on the road outside Cappoquin. I met both Brenan and Gray at the time and place appointed, and was deeply grieved to find the former seriously ill. His malady in its symptoms alarmingly resembled cholera, which disease was then fearfully prevalent in various parts of Ireland.

[Part 9 continued: 5 July 1890]

I conveyed both gentlemen to Hugh Collender's house, and throughout that night and the following day, Hugh was unremitting in his endeavors to alleviate Brenan's sufferings, and succeeded so well that, as the hour for action drew near, the brave invalid expressed himself fully prepared to perform the part assigned him. That he did it to the satisfaction and admiration of his followers, all who witnessed his cool, self-possessed courage bore testimony when, in after days, they, among themselves, discussed the occurrence of that eventful night. He, on his part, was equally satisfied with the conduct of his comrades, and was enthusiastic in speaking of their courage, and their devotion to himself personally - stranger as he was to nearly all of them.

As that 'bright Judgement-day' referred to by Meagher has not yet dawned, the time has not yet come for relating, in detail, the story of that night in Cappoquin. Some of the best and bravest of their countrymen have commended the action of those engaged in the transaction; their old neighbors take pride in their 'rebel town's-boys', while they mourn the fate that separated them from their kith and kin. But their own feelings at the time found after-expression in the words of a young local poet:

> Yet though we part in sorrow,
> Still, John O'Dwyer a chara,
> Our prayer is: 'God save Ireland
> And pour blessings on her name'
> May her sons be true when needed
> May they never feel what we did -
> For John O'Dwyer a' Ghleanna,
> We were worsted in the game.

After the failure of the attack on the police-barrack and the partial dispersion of those engaged therein, Hugh Collender and some others rejoined Brenan and they proceeded to Dungarvan. On the road Brenan was again prostrated by the malady which, while he had an onerous duty to perform, he had repressed by the power of his determined will. He told me afterward that he owed the preservation of his life on that night to the devoted care of our friend Hugh, who never parted with him until he found a safe asylum next day in the house of a gentleman farmer in the vicinity of Dungarvan.

Brenan's host, Mr Kennedy, was an ardent sympathizer with the national movement. He prevailed upon his guest to remain in his house until he was quite recovered, while he meantime would take the necessary measures for insuring his escape from the country. This he successfully effected, and accompanied Brenan to Waterford where they parted, Brenan proceeding towards Dublin, and from thence to London, whence he took passage for America, landing in America on the 30th of October, 1849.

As the adherents of the English Government were, for some time, utterly at a loss as to the cause of the 'Cappoquin outbreak', they never suspected any conspicuous nationalists of being connected therewith. Hence there was no impediment in the way of Brenan's escaping. But three of his confederates - Hugh Collender, Dan McGrath, and the present writer - being 'reasonably suspected' were consequently caricatured in her Majesty's *Hugh and Cry.* But after some months experience of life 'on the *shaughraun*' they - thanks to Providence and the fidelity of their countrymen - in spite of the imps and emissaries of Satan and Victoria, were enabled to rejoin their young leader in the Land of the Free.

Their comrade and fellow-townsman, Mick Lennan, though the most efficient and widely known of the co-workers (for on him devolved the organization of the farmers and peasantry in the country districts), was, like Brenan, unsuspected for some time, though two of his brothers were among those arrested; one of these, John, subsequently died in the convict depot at Spike Island; the other, Luke, served seven years in the hulks at 'Bermuda of the Damned'. Mick, however, seeing that several of his townsmen, whom he knew to be innocent of any connection with the conspiracy, had shared the fate of his two brothers, thought it advisable to leave home while he had yet the opportunity, and accordingly, he quietly took his departure, and reported for duty at the new revolutionary headquarters, towards the end of February 1850.

Ours was the time - like the fierce Arab ranger -
We stood, like the children of Ishmael - alone!
When all hands were lifted to smite us with danger,
And none sang the 'Song of the Old Cornerstone'.
Then they thought our hope was spent,
Our life sapped and gone our strength -
Macrach: if they knew but how true we have grown -
Grown - though our hearts were sore -
Crushed with the ills we bore.
Hurrah for the boys of the old cornerstone.

[Part 10: 12 July 1890]

Let us to our purpose bide,
We'll have our own again
Let the game be fairly tried,
We'll have our own again.

- Davis

Joseph Brenan, soon after his arrival in New York, joined one of the Irish military organizations which then existed in that city, and which soon afterwards were

incorporated into the Ninth Regiment, NYSM, and, when his Cappoquin comrades, Hugh Collender and Mick Lennan landed, they were not long in following his example. The three became members of Company C, Ninth Regiment (otherwise known as the Mitchel Guard) Captain James F. Markey commanding. This was the first military company raised in America for Irish revolutionary purposes.

Through Brenan and Captain Markey the newly arrived refugees were introduced to the other officers of the Irish regiment. They made a favorable impression on all, and were greeted as brothers tried and true. Captain Michael Phelan was among the first and warmest of their new found friends. To Hugh he took an especial liking from the beginning of their acquaintance - attracted by his open-hearted, boyish frankness, his intelligence, self-sacrificing patriotism, and manly attributes of character. Their mutual esteem soon ripened into the closest intimacy, and, eventually, was indissolubly cemented by Hugh's marriage to Captain Phelan's eldest daughter.

But, in the meantime, Hugh prepared to enter the battle of life in the new sphere where Fortune cast him. He determined to become a mechanic, and, accordingly went to serve his apprenticeship to the 'sash and blind-making' business at a weekly remuneration of three dollars, for the first year. His comrade, Mick Lennan, found employment in a glass factory in Brooklyn at three dollars and a half a week. Mick, subsequently, became book-keeper in the establishment and, eventually, partner; but, in this first year of their new career the comrades learned practical economy at the best possible school. They passed the ordeal, however, preserving their cheerfulness, and under pecuniary obligations to no man:

Poor, but not in spirit, they had hearts as big as lords.

In this year of straitened finances, they felt unable to meet the expenses attendant on their connection with the State Militia - for at that time, members of the organization had to buy their own uniforms. So after consultation with Brenan, it was determined to raise an independent company and adopt a cheap but neat and appropriate uniform.

The Mitchel Light Guard (as the new company was named) was almost entirely composed of natives of Cappoquin and Dungarvan, and their rallying around Brenan was a proof of their appreciation of his bravery in their old home. Some of them who did good service in the defence of the Union owe their first lessons in 'the soldier's glorious trade' to the young leader of the Cappoquin rebels.

For, soon after Thomas Francis Meagher's arrival in New York, in the summer of 1852, a new Irish regiment was formed under his auspices. It was then known as the Republican Rifles and the Mitchel Light Guard had the honor of constituting its first company. At the first public parade of the Republican Rifles on Patrick's Day, 1853, the Mitchel Guard, Co. A, was commanded by Lieutenant H. W. Collender. On the Fourth of July in the same year the Republican Rifles were reviewed by Thomas Francis Meagher at Old Fort Diamond, on Staten Island. The name of this regiment was subsequently changed to that of the Irish Rifles, under

which designation it constituted the nucleus from which sprang the famous 37th New York Volunteers, than which no better nor braver regiment fought for the preservation of the Union.

In the spring of 1853, Mr Collender was married to Julia, eldest daughter of Captain Phelan. Towards the close of the same year, he accompanied his father-in-law to California, Hugh going as business manager for Thomas Francis Meagher, who was about going on a lecturing tour through the United States, commencing at San Francisco, and had prevailed on his young friend to accompany him. It was at first arranged that they should leave New York together, but the news of John Mitchel's escape and his expected arrival in New York towards the close of November, determined Meagher to postpone his own departure until he had participated in the welcome to his friend and fellow-rebel. This purpose having been accomplished, Meagher rejoined Hugh in San Francisco and together they made the tour of California and the chief cities of the Southern States. Shortly after their return to New York, their friendship was more strongly cemented by Meagher becoming godfather to Hugh's first-born child.

[Part 10 continued: 19 July 1890]

Hugh resumed work at his trade, and continued thereat until after his father-in-law's return from California in the spring of 1855. Captain Phelan had conceived some important improvements in the manufacture of billiard tables and cushions. He communicated his ideas to Hugh, who, being gifted with considerable aptitude for invention, intuitively grasped them, and commenced a series of experiments with the view of carrying them out. The result was a radical change in the form of the pocket of the table and the discovery of the 'Combination Cushion', an invention which marked the commencement of a new era in the game of billiards and enabled its votaries to execute the most complicated strokes with a precision and certainty never attained before. This great discovery was principally due to Mr Collender's proficiency in chemistry, of which he had long been an enthusiastic student.

The new cushion was at once patented by the inventor. It was subsequently improved by him from time to time until it won the unqualified approval of professional and amateur players. Since then the billiard tables thus improved have, literally, been *nationalized,* and are known all over the world as the Standard American Tables.

About the time that Messrs Phelan and Collender had satisfactorily tested their new improvements, Mr Christopher O'Connor had succeeded to the business of his father, who had borne the reputation of a good billiard table maker of the old style, and, in the summer of 1855, a copartnership was formed under the firm of O'Connor & Collender to manufacture Phelan's Model Billiard Tables with combination cushions. Six tables were constructed in the first lot, which were set up in Captain Phelan's new billiard room, 39 Chambers Street, where they were

critically tested by scores of competent judges, and pronounced by all to be the most perfect and accurate billiard tables ever constructed.

In 1859 Mr O'Connor retired from the manufacturing business, the old firm was dissolved and a new one known as the firm of Phelan & Collender became their successors.

From thenceforth Mr Collender's business career was one of uninterrupted prosperity. Though his onerous duties absorbed all his time, and he could no longer attend personally to the active work in which his compatriots were engaged, he never ceased to take a heartfelt interest in the advancement of the Irish national cause. At the organization of the Fenian Brotherhood, himself and his father-in-law contributed most liberally to its funds; and, soon afterwards, when explaining to me his inability to attend the meetings of the organization, he requested me to call on him wherever money was required for any purpose connected with Ireland, and that I should find him ready, as I always knew him to be, to do his part. I promised to do as he desired, but never did - for the all-sufficient reason that the firm of Phelan & Collender never waited to be solicited for contributions to the cause of Irish nationality. They always anticipated calls of that nature - on a scale commensurate with their means - if not with their patriotism. May God recompense them according to their works. My labor of love is over for the present.

Proud and tenderly I lay this tribute of affection upon your grave, dear friend:

Would 'twere on a hillside in the land of the Gael,
Where the dew falls like teardrops and the wind is a wail.

The diary of a young lady, Mary Anne Power, 1868-1873[1]

By Anthony McCan

THE AUTHOR of this short diary, Mary Anne Power, was born on 26 April 1849 in Dublin, where her parents Pierse Power and Eliza Hayden were living at the time. However, on the death of Eliza's father Patrick Hayden, in 1851 they moved back to Carrigbeg. Pierse Power took over the provision business founded by Patrick Hayden in 1813 and ran it for some years until the family moved to the seaside Tramore in 1875. In Carrigbeg they lived in Carrigbeg House, a solid but unpretentious two-storey house with four bays built in 1822 by Patrick Hayden, at a cost of £400. They must have been rather crowded, because in addition to the parents and six children there was also Grandma Hayden, Aunt Jane and two live-in servants. The family seem to have been reasonably prosperous. As well as their mercantile interests, in 1878 Pierse Power owned 3,418 acres of land in county Waterford; though much of this was poor land. The family had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, many of whom we shall meet in the *Diary*.

While the world of the Anglo-Irish Big House is well trodden ground, the world of the Catholic middle class Big House is virtually undocumented. Thus, as a social commentary this *Diary* is a fascinating, albeit rare, insight into the post-Famine social lives of the wealthy Catholic middle classes in Waterford and adjacent counties.

The *Diary* begins with Mary Anne leaving her convent boarding school in England, ready to embark on the grown-up world of Balls and marriage proposals back home in Co. Waterford.

> ***7 April, 1868.*** Tuesday in Holy Week I left Stone Convent Staffordshire (where I had spent four happy years) in company with Maria Smith, our nurse, who had been sent from Carrick Beg to escort me. After bidding farewell to all my old mistresses, & to my sister Jane, who still remained at school, we sailed from Liverpool to Waterford. After a fine passage in the *Camilla* we reached Waterford about 11 o'clock in the morning next day. We went to the Adelphi Hotel to await Mama who promised to meet us. Maria Smith went down the town & I remained in the hotel. It was very cold there and I was anxious for a fire, but not knowing the prices of hotels, & having always heard they were exorbitantly dear, I was afraid to get one lit. I had black coffee and dry bread for breakfast (it being Spy Wednesday). After some time Mama arrived and brought me down town and bought me a pretty hat & silk jacket, as my convent attire was rather antiquated.

1. Mary Anne Power, *Personal Diary, 1868-1873.* In private possession of Mr A. McCan, Cork.

We drove to Carrickbeg in a covered car afterwards, and found there Grandma, Papa, Aunt Jane, Fanny, Mat, Kate, Lizzie and Danny. My room was 'God sees me'. I was in great grief after Stone & my happy schooldays.

11 May, quarter past midnight. Mother Margaret Hallahan, for many years Prioress of Stone Convent, Staffordshire, died at Stone after a long and painful illness. She was buried in the Choir there. She had been a kind & sincere friend to me, & was always glad to see me. R.I.P.

August 1868. MY FIRST BALL at Gardenmorris, Co. Waterford. Mr. O'Shee took Mama into supper. She was there with my brother Joe and a great aristocratic crowd

Gardenmorris (Gurteenmorris in old deeds) was the home of the O'Shee family for generations. At this time, the 17th century house had recently been rebuilt in the style of a French Chateau with turrets and mansard windows looking out on a lake whose surface was covered with water-lilies. It must have looked wonderfully romantic to a 19 year old.

1 September. We had taken Seaview, Tramore (Fr. O'Briens house) for the month of September, & Jane, Joseph and I, with Fanpaw the dog, went there to take up the house. Jane got very sick for a few days. Her mouth was swollen and she very cross owing to the pain. Later on, all the children came down from Carrick Beg, even Aunt Jane went for a few days. Grandma had been in Dublin staying at Mrs. W. Orr;'s & came down for a few days to Tramore, *en route* for Carrick Beg. She brought me a gold watch and chain. We left Tramore early in October. Mama, Joe, Papa and I remained the last. December. Mama and I went on a visit to the Misses Cody, Dungarvan. We remained three days. Got my first proposal of marriage after my return. I was very sorry to leave them, they were so kind, & had every kind of intellectual amusement.

The name of this first suitor who was so brusquely disposed of is unknown. The Codys were business people in Dungarvan, owning several shops in the main street.

2 February, 1869. Feast of the Purification. Mama and I drove to Kilkenny in a covered car on a visit to Fr. W. Hayden, P.P. St. Patrick's. We remained a week & during our stay there, our cousin Fr. Tom Murray came down to see us from Dublin & spent two days.

The Lowes gave a party for us. We had a very pleasant time.

Fr. William Hayden was a first cousin of Mama and one of many clerical relations in the family. Fr. Tom Murray was a son of Bridget Hayden, Mama's sister, who had married Thomas Murray in 1840.

1 September. We took Rose Valley, Tramore, for the month of September. We were all there except Lizzie. Jane was home for the holidays.

26 September. Jane and I left Tramore for England. She returned to Stone & I went on to pay my old friends a visit. We got on very well. I remained part of three days and the nuns provided me with an escort from the hospital at Stone back to Liverpool. I forgot to mention that we had to sleep at the convent in Stoke, when we were *en route* for Stone, as the train did not proceed to Stone that night. The nuns were astounded to see us both. We knew them all. Next day being Sunday, we heard Mass at Stoke & proceeded by the midday train to Stone. I took my meals with the pupils. They were for the most part strangers to me. Returning from Liverpool to Waterford, I came short of money and Capt. Coffey of the Tara advanced the sum I needed, though he knew me only by appearance. Jane and I had travelled on his boat, the Tara, a few days previously from Waterford to Liverpool. Mama met me in Waterford & repaid Capt. Coffey. I returned to Tramore with her.

October. We left for Carrick Beg in the first week of October. In the last week of the said month Mat, Grandma & I returned to Tramore for one week and stayed at Ellen Carberry's on the 'Terrace'. I bought a night sachet for Mama's birthday when there and braided it. Mat and I spent an evening at Mrs. Gallwey's.

8 January, 1870. Mr. William Cody of Dungarvan died of bronchitis at his residence, Dungarvan. RIP.

26 July. Mama, Joe and I drive from Carrick Beg on a visit to Fr. Hayden, P.P., St. Patrick's, Kilkenny.

27 July. Mama left Kilkenny for Kingstown, where she was to meet my sister Jane, who was leaving Stone Convent.

2 August. Joe & I left Kilkenny & joined Mama in lodgings at Mulgrave St. Kingstown.

We met there Jane and Fanny Power, who had come out for a few days from Loretto Convent, Bray, where she was at school. Fanny

returned to Bray that evening. Joe had been staying with Fr. Adalbert Sullivan at Leopardstown, but could not return he felt so ill after the journey up to Dublin. He therefore slept at Mulgrave St. and left for Leopardstown the following day.

1 September. After a pleasant month in Kingstown, Jane, Mama & myself left for Carrick Beg via Cooladangan in the Co. Wicklow, the residence of Thomas Murray Esq. There we met Aunts Bidney & Mary, Willy, Fr. Tom, Dan & Mr. Murray Senior. Fr. Tom was dying. I shall never forget his changed appearance from the last time I had seen him in the August of 1869. He had spent then some time with us in Carrick Beg, & though looking delicate was cheerful and chatty as ever. He sat at a picnic in Malahide on the grass, & caught cold, & was suffering from the effects when we had last seen him in Carrick Beg. He stood on the steps at Cooladangan to welcome us. Consumption had set its seal upon his face. Two deep hollows were over his eyes & his mouth was drawn. The back of his neck was contracted & his whole gait was that of a dying man. Mama did not think him so bad, but I could not get over his altered looks. I had never before seen anyone so far gone. His manner was listless & he did not listen to any conversation going on. His poor parents were distracted about him. It was the first glimpse of my two aunts that either Jane or I had ever seen & our first meeting was everything to be desired. Fr. Tom's brother Dan was soon to follow him to the grave, but no one thought of his delicacy just then. He was home from Baltinglass where he was stationed in the National Bank. We remained at Cooladangan three days. We saw the Vale of Avoca & Arklow. Tom Murray Senior and Willie his son accompanied us. When leaving, Fr. Tom wanted to accompany us. He followed us out on the lawn, & waved his poor lean hands after us as we drove away to Arklow on an outside car, accompanied by Willie Murray and his father Tom Murray.

This tragic picture of the ravages of tubercolosis, or consumption as it was called, on an Irish family was one that was to be repeated on many occasions until quite recently. Whether for genetic reasons, or simply because it was passed on to other family members by contagion, it seemed to haunt certain families. In the next generation of Murrays at Cooladangan, three daughters were to die young from Tuberculosis. Aunt Bidney was Bridget Hayden, who had married Thomas Murray in 1840, Aunt Mary was her sister who had entered a convent but had been obliged to retire for health reasons. Thomas Murray senior was a grand-nephew of the famous Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, and each generation of Murrays produced a priest.

9 September. Dear Fr. Tom broke a blood vessel & died in his mother's arms at Cooladangan RIP. We lost in him a truly affectionate cousin, as gentle as a child, & brimful of affection for our family.

15 October. I went down to Temple Mungret, Co. Limerick, on a visit to Mrs. M.R. Ryan. Joe accompanied me. We travelled with two others also bound for Temple Mungret viz. Mr. Healy, an officer, & Miss Julia Ryan of Wexford. Mr. M.R..Ryan met us at the train.

17 October. Day of the races. Mr. Ryan had a wagonnette and carriage on the course. I was in the former, with Miss M. Kelly (now Mrs. Coppinger), Miss Rose Kelly (Mrs. O'Reilly) & Miss Ryan (a nun in the Convent of St. Leonards-on-Sea). The day was very fine. In the evening there was a ball at Temple Mungret. I wore a white tarletan spotted with pink. I enjoyed myself extremely & met a Captain Massy Drew, who danced a great deal with me – too much for etiquette sake. He was very ugly and pranced about the room, in fact I was quite tired of him, but did not know how to shake him off. At last I refused to dance any more & rid myself of his company. He since married a daughter of Lord Hawarden's & is now a widower. The dance lasted until six in the morning. The 47th regiment were present.
They were a heavy set of men, dreadful drawls etc. Some lovely girls were present, especially the Misses Cooper of Cooper Hill. The next day was so wet we did not go to the races.

It is a remarkable tribute to the stamina of these young people that they should even have thought of going to the races after dancing until six. The Power family seemed to have enjoyed Big House hospitality from a wide set of acquaintances, although there was no possibility that they could have returned it in their own small house in Carrick Beg. Rather surprising also is the freedom this young lady of twenty-one had to travel to distant parties accompanied only by her young brother, a doubtful chaperone. Her disdain for the bewhiskered beauties of the 47th may possibly be explained by the example of Aunt Jane before her eyes. In 1851, she had married Lieut. Owen Wynne Gray, fresh home from India with a medal for gallantry at Maherajpor on his chest, and whiskers enough to make any maiden swoon. A few years before this ball took place, he had returned to India leaving Jane with her relations at Carrick Beg.

19 October. We had a scrap dance. We drove over during the day to Mr. Kerin's place & asked him to spend the evening at Temple Mungret. He was young and unmarried and had several beaux staying with him. They all drove over that night & we had a delightful dance. Mr. Kerin was Mrs. Ryan's brother. He was very affected but good natured. He since married a Miss Russell from Dublin & is now a widower (1887).

Photograph taken in September 1888 showing most of the people mentioned (15 years on). Standing (left to right) – Danny, the younger brother; Fanny (Power) Smithwick, sister; Mary Ann, author of the diary; Matt, brother, shortly to be ordained S.J.; Lizzie, sister. Sitting – Patrick Joseph, Nationalist MP for West Waterford; Frank McCan; Jane Power McCan.

20 October. We went *en masse* to the theatre to see 'The Lady of Lyons'. I must admit that I enjoyed the after piece far more than the sentimental play. I saw Capt. Drew there in a box & he barely looked at me. I never thought of looking towards him a second time, as I always suspected him. I spent a fortnight at Temple Mungret and then returned with Joe to Carrick Beg. They were all there (Ck. Beg).

8 April, 1871. Saturday in Holy Week, Jane and I drove from Carrick Beg House to Kilkenny. We went in Mr. Brenan's covered carriage & stopped an hour to rest the horse in Kilkenny *en route* to Ballyragget. Miss M. Feehan accompanied us.

10 April. Easter Monday we drove to the Gaulstown races with the Brenans. I saw Mr. H. Loughnan for the first time, with his sister Mrs. Cusack. I did not like his appearance. Mrs. Brenan gave a dance that night, at which he assisted, though we were not introduced. He was not well.

11 April. Another dance & I was introduced to Mr. Loughnan & we danced several times.

I did not like him at all.

24 May. Grandma & I left Carrick Beg in a covered car for Mrs. Wall's lodgings. Sometime afterward Kate followed us down & later on Jane. We remained there six weeks.

In June Mama came down to Tramore to see us, & told me that Mr. Henry Loughnan had been to Fr. William Hayden P.P. Kilkenny, and was anxious to marry me. I threw cold water on the whole affair. A few days after, Mr. Loughnan arrived to visit me in person. I had just come in from bathing & was made to enter the room to see him by Jane. I had a great objection to meet him & went into my room & said a prayer to St. Anthony, whose statue was hanging in a sponge bag on the wall. At last I went in & found Grandma sitting with Mr. Loughnan. He told me immediately the object of his visit & I thanked him very politely and stiffly. I wore a muslin dress with coloured flowers on it & a black velvet jacket, trimmed with satin. He asked leave to visit me when I returned to Carrick Beg & this I immediately declined. Grandma urged me to reconsider this decision, but I remained firm, as I saw no use in it. I said I was a bad housekeeper & he said his MOTHER would housekeep & Grandma told me afterwards, she saw my face fall & she knew his doom was sealed. Mr. Loughnan was sure I would accept him & told some Kilkenny friends in Tramore the object of his visit. He had to leave by the mid-day train & was very much in earnest. Mr. Rivers came in to see us

towards the end of the visit & sat for some time. I thought the interview with Mr. Loughnan would never end. It lasted two hours in the drawing-room at Mr. Wall's. At last Mr. Loughnan stood up, bowed stiffly & banged the door. I never felt so relieved & free.

13 August, Sunday. Joe, Jane & I went up to visit at Cottage after last mass, and comimg back by the road, we saw Miss Feehan & Mr. Loughnan walking on the quay. We delayed, in order to let them get on, & barely escaped meeting them. When we got home we heard Mr. Loughnan and Miss Feehan had been to visit at Carrick Beg & had asked us over to spend the evening. I said I would not go, but Mama made me go. I cried with vexation. I wore a black and white muslin dress. There was no one but ourselves, Mr. & Miss Feehan & Mr. Loughnan. Jane and Joe danced together & I danced with him. I spent a most disagreeable evening. Mr. L. walked home with us & though it was after twelve o'clock he came in, much to our vexation. He sat for a long time & then said he would be over the following day for a walk.

14 August. Miss Feehan, Jane, Mr. Loughnan & I set off for a walk up the Coolnamuck road. After a time, we went up the wood & Mr. Loughnan & I paired off. He asked me again to reconsider my answer, or even to become engaged to him for a month & if we did not get on, he would set me free. I would not hear of this. He then asked me if I was attached to another, and I said no. Mr. Loughnan had a disagreeable way of making remarks on my family, & though he was really fond of me, he pressed his suit more to conquer me than anything else. This was quite evident, and I resented it. Our interview ended by his declaring that he would propose for me again that day year, if we were both free. I told him not to do so, as my answer would be the same. Jane and Miss Feehan met me in the wood, & the former asked me if I was engaged & I said not, & she said she was delighted. She and I ran down the wood, followed by Mr. Loughnan.

7 September. The Burkitts & Bennets of Portlaw gave a picnic to Curraghmore & we joined them. James Feely came down to us for it. We saw through the demesne etc. and enjoyed ourselves very much. The evening turned out very wet & we retired to Bennet's, where we danced till morning. We drove home in the old covered carriage, & a pair of hired horses. We had to drive Mrs. Burkitt's home first. James Feely got very wet. He left next morning. Mama sat up to receive us and got a cold doing so, which was nearly proving fatal.

September. The last week, Mama, Joe, Danny and I went down to Mrs. Wall's, as Mama could not get rid of her cold. She got very ill, & Dr. Stephenson was called in. Fr. Phelan, P.P. of Carrick Beg was the first to advise the doctor to be sent for. He did not know Mama's delicate lungs, & alarmed us all. He even advised the South of France. Aunt Doty came down to nurse her. Mama left Tramore in the middle of October, & was reassured by Dr. O'Ryan of Carrick, who had known her delicate state of chest from girlhood. He said it was a severe cold, doubly so from her having delicate lungs. I left Tramore before Mama in a covered car with Papa, taking Sweep the black cat with us. He was then a young kitten. (He died Nov. 29th 1885).

Honoria & Anne O'Donnell had been staying at lodgings opposite the Tramore terminus, & were very kind to us. The latter got me asked to a dance at Mrs. Fowler's, Belleview Terrace, Tramore, where I first met Pauline Sherlock. From that time we saw plenty of her, as she tried to secure Joe's affections, without avail. We went with her & Mr. & Mrs. B.D.Walsh to a public ball in the Waterford Town Hall. I slept at Riverview, Mr. Walsh's place outside Waterford. Joe drove from Tramore with Dr. Stephenson, & met us in the room. We had a delighful night. The 13th Regiment were present in uniform & some cavalry. Next day, Joe, Pauline, & I returned to Tramore. Pauline was staying with her grandmother on Summer Hill. I wore at the ball a beautiful dress from Mrs. Whitstone's. White tarletan embroidered in pink flowers & silver wheat, trimmed with pink satin & pink roses in my hair. Pauline wore blue satin, trimmed with swansdown & silver. Mrs. Walsh wore white, looped with silver grapes, & her hair in long curls, manufactured by Laffan from her own hair, which she had cut off. Pauline looked very handsome, & Mrs. Walsh fairy-like.

8 December. Mr. Richard Feehan of Carrick died of consumption in Carrick. His eldest daughter was married to Mr. Gerald Brenan, first cousin to Henry Loughnan. Mr. Loughnan came down to the funeral, & after it came over to Carrick Beg to see me. He sat for a long time, hoping to be asked to dine. I warned Mama not to ask him, & when he saw that, he asked if he might come over to tea. He took Mama by surprise & she said 'yes'. When he had gone, I asked Mama to write a letter, saying I had an engagement that evening.

A comic company were performing at the Town Hall, & Jane, Joe & I went to see them in order to fulfil my excuse to Mr. Loughnan. He was dining at Mr. Feehan's house. The performance proved a great failure. The audience pelted the actors with potatoes, & some people mounted the stage & began to act themselves. The audience *en masse* stood up and left the house. Mr. Commins & family asked us in to tea & we accepted. During the performance, I feared every moment Mr.

Loughnan would walk in. I fancied he might hear I was at the performance & come to hear it. Next day Mr. Loughnan came over to Carrick Beg early. As he came in through the front door, I went out through the back door up the field, & did not come in till I saw his train steam out. Mama said he never mentioned my name. He regretted not having been at the Town Hall with us.

24 January, 1872. Lizzie Sherlock was married to Dr. Stephenson in Tramore Chapel. There was a grand ball given by the Sherlocks & the Stephensons in the Great Hotel, Tramore, on the evening of the wedding. Joe and I came down to Tramore for the ball, & slept at Mrs Wall's. We left for Carrick next day after a very pleasant evening. I wore a white skirt with a pink polonaise. The fife and drum band of the regiment stationed in Waterford performed the music. Dr. & Mrs. Stephenson went to Bray for their honeymoon.

They had four bridesmaids, two in crimson & two in blue & white. The bridesmaids were the Misses Stephenson, Miss Bolger & Miss Pauline Sherlock.

26 June. Joe brought Frank McCan to Carrick for a fair. He slept at Carrick Beg. Mama & Jane were spending a week at Fr. Dee's & Aunt Doty was confined to bed with rheumatism. Joe and I drove him to see the Portlaw factory & then out to Fr. Dee's, where we dined on the eve of Sts. Peter & Paul. I liked Frank McCan very much.

Frank McCan, a good-looking young man of twenty-six, had what must have seemed an unusual background. Born in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1847, brought up in Australia and educated at Oscott in England, he must have stood out from the other young men that Mary Anne met. His father had bought Newpark (now Ballyowen) near Cashel in 1864, a typical eighteenth century Big House, together with almost one thousand acres and he must have seemed a suitable match. However, it was her younger sister Jane that he married in 1876. Reading between the lines, it seems clear that Mary Anne had fallen in love and was devastated when negotiations for the marriage with Jane commenced.

1 July. Frank McCan left Carrick Beg for his residence at Newpark. The next day Mama & Jane returned to Carrick Beg from Fr. Dee's.

1 August. Joe and I went down to Tramore to join the rest of the family at No. 7 St. Leger Place, which house we had taken for a month. Lizzie & Aunt Jane were left alone at Carrick Beg.

16 August. True to his word, I received a letter from Mr. Loughnan, renewing his proposal of marriage, as he had promised. I got Mama to reply to him, refusing as before.

17 August. Left Tramore for Carrick, to be present at a dance given at Ballyquirkeen by Mrs. Mandeville. Mrs. O'Ryan offered me a bed, & I drove with her & the doctor to the dance. Dr. O'Brien was there. He married afterwards Mrs. Mandeville's eldest daughter, Mrs. Feehan. I had a very pleasant night.

18 August. Large dance at Ballynoran (Mr. W. Mulcahy's). I went there with Mrs. Feehan, & slept with her that night, as I would disturb the house at Carrick Beg with my late hours. Next day, I went over there, & remained there a few days before returning to Tramore. Fanny had returned from Loretto, Bray, for her summer vacation & was at Carrick Beg with Aunt Doty and Lizzie. I enjoyed Mandeville's dance more than the Ballynoran one. I wore the same dress that I had worn at Miss L. Sherlock's wedding dance at both.

31 August. Large public dance at the Great Hotel, Tramore. Joe, Jane & I went with Mrs. J. Walsh, & danced till five o'clock in the morning. Had great fun.

1 September. Left St. Leger Place, Tramore, for Carrick Beg House. Mama left in the morning, & Joe, Jane & I in the evening. I was never so tired in my life.

In the middle of September, Jane & I, Sarah Corbett & Teresa Mandeville drove from Carrick to Kilkenny in a hired wagonette & pair of horses. We remained a week with Mrs. Gerald Brenan. She gave a large dance during our stay at which ladies were very scarce. Mr. Loughnan came down from Dublin for it. His father, mother & sister were there & saw me for the FIRST time. Mr. Loughnan danced with me, I was very stiff & stopped dancing immediately. Teresa Mandeville left Eden Hall before Sarah Corbett & us. During our stay we saw a great deal of the Cahills of Ballyconra, especially Mr. F. Cahill. He was very fascinating. Mr. J.P. Phelan was staying at Eden Hall. Joe went to Cashel the day we left for Eden Hall. This was the last time I met Mr. Loughnan.

Henry Berthon Loughnan J.P. died at his residence Crohill, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny on Nov. 2 1887, in his 47th year. He is buried in the family vault in the grounds of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, an imposing structure with an elaborate coat of arms over the entrance door. It seems he never married. The Cahills are

recorded in 'Irish Landowners (1878)' as the owners of 2434 acres at Ballyconra, and lived in an early 18th century house, supposed to be haunted according to the Guide to Irish Country Houses. Eden Hall, home of the Brenans, also appears in this book.

> ***27 September.*** Mama heard from Cashel that Joe had fever, & she set off that day with Aunt Jane for Cashel. That same evening Joe was anointed by Fr. Kennedy, C.C., Cashel. He was staying at Mrs. Corcoran's Hotel.
>
> ***28 September.*** Mama drove back from Cashel to Carrick, leaving Aunt Jane to take care of Joe. Jane left with Papa for Cashel that evening. Papa returned next morning at six o'clock. Joe's fever was typhus, & lasted 21 days.
>
> ***23 December.*** Joe's fever was over D.M. & he drove from Cashel to Carrick Beg in the yellow croydon and Nellie the mare. Aunt Jane & Jane came by train.
>
> ***7 January, 1873.*** Mama & Jane went up to Cashel to Mrs. Ryan's lodgings, John St. My grief was intense at not accompanying them. This year was to be for me one of great anxiety and pain of mind.
>
> ***10 April.*** Holy Thursday. Mama & Jane arrived from Cashel to Carrick Beg. Joe accompanied them. After some days he returned to Cashel. In May Mama followed him to make final arrangements with Mrs. Ryan to give up the lodgings. On her return Aunt Doty went up to keep him company, & he sprained his ankle playing ball. Jane went up to them both. All this occurred in May.
>
> Towards the end of May, Grandma, Lizzie & I went down to Mrs. Wall's lodgings. Lizzie was very delicate. Her head was very sore. This was a very wet summer. I enjoyed myself very much. I often felt, however, very sad. I took tea at Gallwey's one night, & we had Mrs. Shearman Loughnan to tea. Every evening I went on the Doneraile with the Feelys. Dear Grandma was very kind to me.

The diary ends here, though later on in 1875, when the family moved to Newtown House in Tramore, she resumed keeping a diary, which gives an interesting picture of social life in the last quarter of the 19th century. She never married, but acted as housekeeper and hostess for her bachelor brother Joe, who was for thirty years the Nationalist M.P. for West Waterford.

From Carrickbeg to Rome - the story of Fr Michael O'Hickey[1]

By Mícheál Briody

Rev. Michael P. O'Hickey D.D.

SHORTLY before mid August 1909, Michael O'Hickey returned to the family home at 'The Hill' above Carrickbeg to stay with his brother Martin, his sister-in-law Hanna Skehan and their young family. A fortnight or so earlier, on 29 July he had been dismissed from his post as Professor of Irish at St Patrick's College, Maynooth. While awaiting dismissal in early July, O'Hickey had written defiantly of his ecclesiastical superiors to Liam Bulfin: 'When they tackled the grandson of a United Irishman, who was not unacquainted with the interiors of a British dungeon, and the son of a Young Irelander and a Fenian – well, they were, as the Yankees say, "up against a very serious proposition," were they not?'[2]

O'Hickey had decided to appeal his dismissal; the rebel spirit was not dead. Sixty odd years before, around the same hearth where O'Hickey now sought temporary refuge, his paternal grandmother, Ellen Power, had given food and shelter to many of the Young Ireland leaders – among others, John O'Mahony, John Savage, and Phil Grey.[3] These men ended their days in exile. Little did O'Hickey realize, while preparing to take his case to Rome, that long years of exile awaited

1. I would like to thank Michael Coady and Prof. R.V. Comerford for editorial help with this article. I would also like to thank Mons. Patrick C. Corish, St Patrick's College, Maynooth, David Sheehy, Dublin Diocesan Archive, the Council of Trustees of the National Library of Ireland, and Seamus Helferty, Archives Department, University College, Dublin for permission to quote from and utilize manuscript materials in their care.
2. Bulfin Papers: National Library of Ireland, Ms. 13, 820; letter dated 8.7.1909.
3. The Young Irelander historian Michael Cavanagh wrote of O'Hickey's grandmother: '[She] was quite a heroine, with an Irish peasant woman's faith and the courage of a Spartan. Whenever the history of 1848 comes to be written, she must not be forgotten for her name is clearly interwoven with the men and adventures of that stirring period.'; quoted by O'Hickey in an article entitled 'Carrick Hill-siders then and now: Then and Now - A Reply', *The Nationalist* (Clonmel) July 27, 1892.

him also. His late father, Thomas Hickey, twice in his lifetime had set out from 'The Hill' to take part in armed insurrection, first in 1848, and then in 1867. As inheritor of this tradition, in six months time his son, Michael O'Hickey, would set out for Rome from the same small hillside farm to face no less formidable a force than the Catholic Bishops of Ireland.[4]

O'Hickey, the Gaelic League and compulsory Irish

O'Hickey was born at 'The Hill' above Carrickbeg in 1861. Both his parents knew Irish as did most of the adult population of Carrickbeg in his youth, but by the time of his birth Irish was receding rapidly in his native town. Nonetheless, he acquired a certain knowledge of the language in his youth, which he added to as he grew older. In 1896 he was appointed Professor of Irish in St Patrick's College, Maynooth. Like many of his generation O'Hickey came to believe that it was possible to turn the tide in favour of Irish. He had been active in the Gaelic League since shortly after its setting-up in 1893 and in 1899 he became one of its two vice-presidents. In the Spring of 1903, however, he resigned from the vice-presidency of the League over differences of policy. Although he remained a member and contributed to it financially, for the next five and a half years he steered clear of his former colleagues in the League.

Although O'Hickeys differences with the Gaelic League were never resolved to his satisfaction, circumstances were to bring about a partial rapprochement between both parties. In late 1908 the Gaelic League, which had since May of that year been proposing that Irish be made a compulsory subject for Matriculation in the shortly to be established National University of Ireland, was taken aback to learn that one of the five ecclesiastical Senators of the new university, Dr William Delaney, President of University College, Dublin, was strongly opposed to making Irish compulsory. It was felt in League circles at the time that Dr Delaney was not only expressing his own opinion, but that of the other four ecclesiastical Senators as well, and possibly even those of the whole Irish Catholic Episcopate.[5] The other Senators were Archbishops, Dr William Walsh (Dublin) and Dr John Healy (Tuam), and the remaining two, the respected educationalists, Dr Daniel Mannix (President of St Patrick's College, Maynooth) and the Rev. Andrew Murphy (St Munchin's College, Limerick). Since the mid nineteenth century sporadic efforts had been made to reach a settlement that would satisfy the desire of Irish Catholics for a university of their own and that would also be acceptable to those in the British establishment opposed in principle to denominational education. Both Archbishops Walsh and Healy as well as Dr Delaney had over the years been very active in trying to achieve such a settlement, and although the 1908 Act – establishing the National University – was not entirely to their liking, their views, and those of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy in general, on how best to implement the

4. For more on the rebel background of O'Hickey's forebears, see ibid.
5. See Thomas J. Morrissey (1983) *Towards a national university. William Delaney SJ (1835-1924)* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press), pp. 321 ff.

provisions of the legislation, were likely to carry a lot of weight.[6] Consequently, the League was suddenly faced with the prospect of defeat, as many of the other Senators, if not already opposed to compulsory Irish, would most likely be swayed by the opinion of such eminent churchmen. Their only hope was to rouse Catholic Ireland in support of their demand.

As part of their campaign the League planned a series of public meetings throughout the country, with the first to be held in Dublin on 7 December, 1908, in the Rotunda. Shortly before this meeting Pádraig Ó Brolcháin, a member of the *Coiste Gnótha* (Executive Committee) of the League wrote to O'Hickey requesting that he speak at the forthcoming meeting. Because of the presumed opposition of the Irish Episcopate many members of the Irish Parliamentary Party as well as the clergy were loath to be publicly associated with the League's campaign. Consequently, it was essential to have some member of the clergy of O'Hickey's standing address the Rotunda gathering. O'Hickey in his reply, although coming out strongly in support of the League's demand, declined to attend, stating his past differences with the League, but he did give Ó Brolcháin permission to read out his reply to the meeting.[7]

O'Hickey, was an accomplished propagandist and a fiery speaker to boot, who did not mince his words, nor ponder too much upon the sensitivities of his opponents. It was years, however, since he had last been heard in public, and this time he had to refute the opinions of, among others, an eminent ecclesiastic, Dr Delaney. Years of exile from League politics had not dulled his edge as a public speaker, nor did he spare his adversaries, however eminent. Towards the end of his letter, he had this to say:

> If we want an Irish University we must be prepared to accept the only conditions on which such a University is possible, or ever will be possible. Let us not consider ourselves to be cajoled and wheedled out of it by a section of the Irish population, who though Catholic, are un-Irish, when not anti-Irish, in every fibre of their being, even in the innermost marrow of their bones. To be opposed by the colonists is a thing we are accustomed to; to be opposed by a section of our own, no matter how worthless and degenerate, is not to be endured; to allow their will to prevail against Ireland's will is not for a moment to be thought of.

Although at this distance in time it is difficult to understand the effect his words had on those assembled in the Rotunda, by all accounts they held the audience captivated. O'Hickey's letter amounted to a call to battle, and his call was taken up.

6. For an account of these efforts to achieve university education for Irish Catholics, see Fergal McGrath (1971) 'The university question', in Patrick J. Corish (ed.) (1971) *A history of Irish catholicism v: catholic education* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), pp. 84-137.

7. See An Monsignór Pádraig Eric Mac Fhinn (1974) *An tAthair Mícheál P. Ó hIceadha* (Baile Átha Cliath: Sáirséal agus Dill) pp.127-130. I have no doubt that O'Hickey foresaw Ó Brolcháin's request and wrote his letter as he would have written a speech to be rendered in public.

'The inflammable heather of Ireland'

Shortly after the Rotunda meeting, on 13 December, 1908, O'Hickey gave, on request, and not as one of his College duties, a lecture on the university question to an audience of senior clerical students of the St Mary's Literary Society, St Patrick's College, Maynooth. This lecture dealt, for the most part, with the shortcomings of the Irish Universities Act in respect of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, but not surprisingly it also dealt with the burning issue of the hour, the compulsory Irish question. Although by no means immoderate in its general tone, when commenting on opposition to compulsory Irish, O'Hickey employed a very highly charged rhetoric. Towards the end of his talk he specifically commented on the presumed stance of the ecclesiastical Senators. He had 'the utmost trust' in one of the Senators, namely the Archbishop of Dublin, but in the other four Senators he had 'little or no trust', although he added he could not 'possibly imagine how any body of responsible Irish ecclesiastics could embark upon a more foolish or reckless course than to take sides in this instance with the enemies of Ireland.' Nonetheless, he was not hopeful, and excepting the Archbishop of Dublin, he commended the other four Senators to the students' 'earnest prayers', including, it should be remembered, his superior, the President of St Patrick's College, Maynooth, Dr Daniel Mannix.[8] On 19 December the text of this lecture was published under O'Hickey's name in *Sinn Féin,* with no substantial changes. Thus, in little less than a fortnight since his letter to Pádraig Ó Brolcháin had been read out at the Rotunda meeting, he became again a household name amongst 'Irish Irelanders'. From mid December 1908 to late January 1909 O'Hickey received numerous requests to speak at public meetings throughout the country in support of compulsory Irish. In each case, he declined to do so, but sent letters of support of a similar fiery nature as the Rotunda letter to be read out. The biographer of one of O'Hickey's main protagonists, Archbishop John Healy, speaks of O'Hickey setting 'the inflammable heather of Ireland on fire' and many contemporary commentators concur in this.[9]

Bishops intervene

The Leagues campaign, although late in starting, soon gathered momentum. County councils and public bodies around the country pledged their support for compulsory Irish, as did many eminent and ordinary people. Not surprisingly, in these circumstances, those opposed to making Irish a compulsory subject for Matriculation in the National University also took to the offensive. By mid January 1909 both proponents and opponents of compulsory Irish were regularly slating each other in the national press. Even if they had been neutral on the issue being debated, the Catholic Hierarchy would have most likely been perturbed by the unrestrained nature of some of the public debate. As things stood, however, they were not neutral, and they decided to intervene. The League had been right in

8. *ibid.*, pp. 157-158.
9. Rev. P. J. Joyce (1931) *John Healy, Archbishop of Tuam* (Dublin: Gill & Son), p. 292

assuming that Dr Delaney's views were also those of the majority of the Catholic Hierarchy. On 19 January, 1909, the Standing Committee of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy issued a statement in which they decried the treatment the Senators of the National University were receiving in the press, and they stated that they were opposed to making Irish compulsory at that time. Nonetheless, they did admit that the question of whether Irish should be compulsory or not was a question 'for fair argument'.

The Bishops did not, however, consider O'Hickey's contributions to the debate as amounting to 'fair argument'. On 29 January, 1909, Dr Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, wrote to him on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Irish Catholic Bishops, informing him that the Standing Committee 'took exception to the language of letters on the subject of Irish in the new University which had appeared over [his] name in the newspapers; that they considered the language employed in these letters wanting in reserve and moderation; and that they felt that the use of such language by a Maynooth professor did not contribute to the credit of a College in which they were so deeply interested...'[10] O'Hickey in his reply to Dr Sheehan stated that he did not agree with their Lordships assessment of his language nor with their claim that he had brought discredit to the College. Nonetheless, he said he would 'take no further part in the Irish controversy' as he no longer felt free to do so.

The Bishops had spoken, and in certain dioceses around the country priests were silenced, but much of nationalist Ireland paid little heed to their Lordships' wishes. County council after county council, and public body after public body continued to come out in favour of compulsory Irish. Moreover, at a convention of the United Irish League (i.e. the Irish Parliamentary Party) held in Dublin on 10 February, 1909, a motion in support of compulsory Irish was passed by an overwhelming majority of delegates. Two days prior to this convention a mass meeting of students was held in the Mansion House in support of the same cause. Although students in Maynooth were housebound, the Columban League (a college society devoted to the study of Irish history and culture) as well as the postgraduate priests of the Dunboyne Establishment (attached to the College) sent telegrams in support of compulsory Irish to the Mansion House meeting.[11]

Continuing controversy

The day he replied to his Bishop a long article very critical of the secular power of Irish Catholic Bishops appeared on the front page of *Sinn Féin.* It was entitled 'The Irish Bishops and an Irish University' and appeared under the pseudonym 'An Irish Priest'. The author was none other than O'Hickey himself, and it amounted to an answer to the Statement of the Standing Committee of the Bishops. Although this article almost certainly was written before he received Dr Sheehan's letter, he

10. *Documents Bearing Upon The Dismissal Of Rev. Dr. O'Hickey From The Chair Of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth*, p. 1. This is one of a number of documents that O'Hickey had privately printed; copy in Bulfin Papers: National Library of Ireland , Ms. 13,820.

11. *See An Claidheamh Soluis,* 13 February, 1909, pp. 9-10.

subsequently republished it as a pamphlet with the same title. It is not certain, however, whether his superiors at this stage suspected him of authorship, or indeed whether they were aware of the existence of this article. However, they were most certainly aware of another publication of his that appeared shortly after his 'silencing', and under his own name. This was a pamphlet entitled *An Irish University or Else–*, containing his lecture to the St Mary's Literary Society (see above), his correspondence with Pádraig Ó Brolcháin, and the various letters of his that had been read out at meetings around the country. The Bishops took great exception to this publication as it appeared after he had received Dr Sheehan's letter, but virtually all the material in it had already appeared in various newspapers before the issuing of the Bishops' statement. Moreover, it would appear that this pamphlet was almost ready by the time the Standing Committee issued their statement.[12]

Although O'Hickey had promised his Bishop that he would take no further part in the campaign, it is not clear what exactly he meant by this. To the extent that no more writings, apart from *An Irish University or Else–*, appeared under his own name, he kept his word. Nonetheless, he continued to publish articles in the press for the next two months or so under assumed names. It is not clear why he chose to do so, nor is it clear if these covert articles of his had any significant effect on the campaign. Once the county councils and the United Irish League had sided with the Gaelic League, it was well on the way to ultimate victory. So why the need to keep the pot boiling? O'Hickey may partly have been afraid of the campaign losing momentum. It is my belief, however, that his silencing had the effect of increasing his indignation as a priest and college professor and of radicalizing him more, so that the question was no longer simply one of compulsory Irish, but also of freedom of speech for priests, as well as academic freedom for Maynooth staff.[13] It is noteworthy that all of O'Hickey's covert writings of the Spring of 1909 were written in response to some action or other of the Bishops in relation to the campaign, either as individuals or as a body, or else were written to refute some interpretation or other of the Bishops' stance.[14]

Towards the end of May the Administrative Council of St Patrick's College, Maynooth, decided not to call to Orders those students of the Columban League who had been responsible for sending a telegram in support of compulsory Irish in February. On 12 June this decision was implemented, and in his Annual Report to the Trustees of the College, who were to meet on 22 June, Mannix complained both the Columban League students and the young priests of the Dunboyne Establishment, who had also sent telegrams of support to the student meeting in

12. See 'Prefatory Note', which is dated January 22, 1909.
13. Maurice Moore Papers: National Library of Ireland, Ms. 10,567; letter from O'Hickey to Moore, dated 3.5.1909.
14. The following is a list of O'Hickey's other covert writings in *Sinn Féin* during Spring 1909: 'Fair argument illustrated and melancholy humbug', signed Balmes (20 February); 'The Irish bishops and West Britain', signed Busembaum, (6 March); 'The Cardinal and an Irish university', signed Lex Dubia Non Obligat (6 March); 'An Irish university: Tuam in eruption', signed An Irish Priest (13 March); and 'An Archbishop rampant', signed Chorepiscopus (20 March).

February. Although O'Hickey is not mentioned by name in this Report, it was well known in the College that Mannix intended to report him to the Trustees.[15]

The Bishops' response

As well as the Trustees of Maynooth, who at the time comprised 21 Bishops, a smaller subcommittee of Bishops, known as the Visitors, meets a few days prior to the meetings of the Trustees. In June 1909 the Visitors met on the 20th of the month, two days before the Trustees convened. With no prior notice, O'Hickey was called before them. Cardinal Logue, who was in the Chair, read out a certain College Statute for him on the duties of professors to 'co-operate in the formation of the ecclesiastical character of the students'. He was then informed that the Visitors took exception to certain passages in *An Irish University or Else–*. In their opinion, the language of the pamphlet was 'unworthy of a professor in that great College, and calculated to bring the authority of the Bishops into contempt'. After the Bishop of Galway, Dr O'Dea, had read out the offending passages, O'Hickey was asked by the Cardinal if he wished to make a statement. He made only a short statement: saying simply that he believed he was justified in writing what he wrote, and was 'prepared to abide the consequences.' Two days later he learned what those 'consequences' were. Shortly before the commencement of the meeting of the Trustees, O'Hickey's Bishop, Dr Sheehan, came to see him and offered him a mission in the Diocese of Waterford. He informed him that if he did not accept this offer he would be called upon to resign, and if he refused to do so, he would be dismissed. O'Hickey refused the offer of a mission and informed his Bishop that they would have to dismiss him. When he went before the Trustees the report of the Visitors was read out for him, after which he was asked if he wished to make a statement. His reply was again short:

> Your Eminence, I have little to add to what I said when I appeared before the Visitors. The writings complained of I published in the discharge of what I felt to be a duty. For any sacrifice the discharge of that duty may entail I am prepared. Whatever may befall me, I cannot play false to my conscience nor to Ireland.

Although informed by the Cardinal before he left the meeting that a certified copy of the motion of his dismissal would be sent to him forthwith, when a communication from the Trustees did arrive it did not contain verification of his dismissal, but rather a threat that he would be dismissed if he did not resign.[16] In fact, O'Hickey was not dismissed until 29 July. In the meantime further efforts were made to get him to resign, but to no avail. It would appear that the bishops expected some sort of pleading or retraction from O'Hickey, and were taken aback by his stance. No less mesmerized, it would appear, was O'Hickey himself. He was not sure what the precise charges against him were, as they had not been given in writing, nor had he been allowed time to prepare a proper statement. Indeed, not

15. See Mac Fhinn, *An tAthair Mícheál*, p. 179. See also Maurice Moore Papers: National Library of Ireland, Ms. 10, 567; O'Hickey to Maurice Moore, dated 15.6.1909.

16. Mac Fhinn, *An tAthair Mícheál*, pp. 179-188.

until he received the report of the Visitors in the post some days later, when although still only threatened with dismissal, he was for all practical purposes dismissed, did he see the precise charges in writing. There was general amazement in the College that it was on the basis of *An Irish University or Else–*, and certain ramifications of it, that he had been called upon to resign. Moreover none of his colleagues were aware of the statute that Logue had read out for him.

O'Hickey, as I have stated above, was finally dismissed on 29 July. The following day the Catholic Hierarchy, some of whom had been greatly annoyed by the criticism O'Hickey's threatened dismissal had been receiving in Irish-minded newspapers such as *An Claidheamh Soluis,* issued a statement in which they said that 'certain steps' which they had recently taken in 'the National Ecclesiastical College of Maynooth' were 'taken solely in discharge of the episcopal duty of maintaining ecclesiastical discipline in the College,' and had nothing to do with the debate concerning the status of Irish in the National University. The statement went on to warn the faithful in a rather strident manner against *An Claidheamh Soluis,* and other newspapers, feeling

> ...it to be a sacred duty to warn the people committed to their charge against allowing themselves to be misled by writings the clear tendency of which is antagonistic to the exercise of episcopal authority and which, in some instances, are calculated to bring into contempt all ecclesiastical authority, not even excepting that of the Holy See.[17]

The cry of anti-clericalism had been heard on a number of occasion during the campaign for compulsory Irish, now it was being levelled specifically at supporters of O'Hickey. It would be used to effect in Rome, and would be a sort of trump card for the Trustees. Despite these solemn warnings many of 'the people in the charge' of their Lordships contributed generously to a Testimonial fund for O'Hickey to help finance his case in Rome.

'The Statement'

From mid August to December 1909, in the congested confines of the small farmhouse above Carrickbeg, the ruins of which still stand today, O'Hickey wrote and compiled most of the documents he thought he would need in Rome, among them his masterly defence, 'Statement Concerning The Dismissal Of The Rev. Dr. O'Hickey From The Irish Chair Of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth', an autograph copy of which was discovered in his native town almost sixty years after the case was closed, and subsequently published as an appendix to Pádraig Eric Mac Fhinn's biography of O'Hickey in 1974. Unfortunately, despite all the toil and effort that went into this document, he would never get a chance to use it in his defence in Rome. As a result of O'Hickey's premature death, this 'Statement' amounts in effect to a sort of last will and testament.[18]

17. *Documents,* p. 22.
18. See Mac Fhinn, *An tAthair Mícheál* pp. 162-233. It was O'Hickey's intention to publish this and other documents, whatever the outcome of the case in Rome, in order to clear his name.

There is, however, much that the 'Statement' leaves unsaid: that he could not say, did not wish to say, or felt he did not need to say at the time. It tells us a lot about the events from December 1908 to his dismissal in July 1909 and about his motives for seeking redress in Rome, as well as revealing much about the man himself. However, it does not tell us why someone who had been out of the limelight of Irish language politics for at least five and a half years, and who was not known to have expressed any opinion in public on the question of compulsory Irish since discussion had begun on the subject almost eight months previously, should suddenly in December 1908 be propelled centre stage in the developing controversy, ready to take on any foe, if need be his own ecclesiastical superiors, and fully equipped with arguments to do so. How could someone who seemed for so long to be shunning the issue at stake succeed overnight, as it were, in almost upstaging the League's campaign and setting the pace for future action? Moreover, this sudden entry of O'Hickey, almost from nowhere, into the campaign (as well as his early departure from it) has caused certain commentators such as León Ó Broin and Michael Tierney to suggest that perhaps his sacrifice was unnecessary: that the League would have won the day without him.[19] Both Ó Broin and Tierney are, in my view, incorrect. Neither of them were old enough to have been fully abreast of the events of 1908/1909 as they unfolded, although they later in life knew people who had been actively involved in the campaign. Of O'Hickey's contemporaries very few, it would appear, knew the real extent of his involvement in the fight for Irish in the National University, and how much the Gaelic League was beholden to him for the victory it achieved. One of the few who did was Arthur Griffith.

In a revealing exchange between Griffith and Douglas Hyde in *Sinn Féin* in July 1913, Griffith in response to Hyde's claim that it was the support of the United Irish League and of the County Councils that won the day for the League, retorted that it was Dr O'Hickey and *Sinn Féin* (the party's weekly paper) that showed the way to victory to ordinary Gaelic Leaguers in the first place.[20] Griffith might have elaborated more, but to have done so would have broken journalistic etiquette, and put O'Hickey in even greater jeopardy, as he was still appealing his case in Rome. Even after O'Hickey's death, it would appear that Griffith kept what he knew very close to his chest, and possibly brought his secret with him to the grave.

One man campaign for compulsory Irish

What Griffith was referring to here was not simply O'Hickey's public campaign, nor to what he wrote in *Sinn Féin* under various names in Spring 1909, but to a far wider involvement on O'Hickey's part in the campaign for compulsory Irish. In fact, O'Hickey was no latecomer to the fight for compulsory Irish. Unknown to the vast majority of Gaelic Leaguers then and later, unknown to his ecclesiastical

19. León Ó Broin (Winter 1963) 'The Gaelic League and the chair of Irish in Maynooth', in *Studies*, LII, p. 356, and Michael Tierney (1980) *Eoin MacNeill: scholar and man of action 1867-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 41.

20. Seán Ó Lúing *(1953) Art Ó Gríofa* (Baile Átha Cliath: Sáirséal agus Dill), p. 198.

superiors, unknown to his colleagues, and moreover unknown to historians of the League and the period, O'Hickey had been involved behind the scenes from the very beginning. Unobserved, he had, in the Spring of 1908, set out on what amounted to a one-man campaign in the 'Irish-Ireland' newspapers in support of compulsory Irish.

Although the leadership of the Gaelic League came out in support of the inclusion of Irish as one of the compulsory subjects for Matriculation shortly after the main details of the Government's Irish Universities Bill were first released for public consumption in Spring 1908, O'Hickey was very critical of the League's approach from the start.[21] For him Patrick Pearse, editor of *An Claidheamh Soluis,* and other Gaelic Leaguers were engaging in little more than wishful thinking. Among other things, in his opinion, they placed too much hope in the Senators of the National University. O'Hickey, on the other hand, believed that given the composition of the Senate, they were unlikely to agree to the League's demands, particularly its demand that Irish be given parity with English in the Matriculation requirements. He was under no illusion as to the daunting task that lay ahead of the League. Issuing demands and expressing aspirations would be of no avail unless it was backed up by a vigorous campaign. Moreover, from the outset O'Hickey saw that one group on the Senate that might vigorously oppose Irish being made compulsory would be the five ecclesiastical Senators, two of whom were Archbishops, and one the President of Maynooth College, Dr Mannix.[22]

From April to August 1908, using various nom de plumes, O'Hickey wrote some 25 articles, amounting *in toto* to well in excess of 50,000 words in *The Leader, Sinn Féin,* and to a lesser extent in *The Peasant.* It is unlikely that very many readers at the time realized who was behind much of the public discussion of compulsory Irish and related matters in these Irish-Ireland newspapers, apart from the editors of the papers in question. Examined together, however, the hand of O'Hickey is obvious in all these writings. Not only are these 25 articles not just random writings he sent off to the press on the spur of the moment, they amount to a well orchestrated campaign to weaken the authority of the *Coiste Gnótha* of the Gaelic League, and, to a lesser extent, the secular authority of the Catholic Hierarch. He hoped, firstly to force the *Coiste Gnótha* to settle their differences with dissenters within the movement and close ranks for the vigorous campaign that needed to be waged. Secondly, he hoped to highlight the Catholic Hierarchy as a possible source of opposition to compulsory Irish, and convince Catholics that the Hierarchy were not invariably 'wise' when it came to secular matters, and that they owed them no allegiance except in matters spiritual and doctrinal.[23]

21. For the *Coiste Gnótha's* view on this question, see Pearse's editorials in Séamus Ó Buachalla (1980) *A significant Irish educationalist* (Cork: The Mercier Press), pp. 183. ff.

22. See articles by O'Hickey in *Sinn Féin* entitled 'The national language and the university question', signed Suaviter in Modo (25 April, 1908) and 'The university question, the national language and other matters', signed Palmam Qui Meruit Ferat (2 May 1908).

23. Shortly before his dismissal in July 1909 O'Hickey, under the name 'An Irish Priest', collected and edited these articles in a volume entitled *Wanted–An Irish University* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker). In a letter in private possession, dated 8.8.1909, to his brother Maurice, he acknowledges authorship of these writings.

In June 1908 a special *Ard-Fheis* of the League was called which passed certain motions in respect of compulsory Irish, but little was actually dòne. O'Hickey continued to slate the League for inaction. The annual *Ard-Fheis* of 1908, held in early August, tried to remedy the situation. However, nothing like a mass campaign emerged and more valuable time was lost. Despite the lack of any evidence that the country was being roused to any significant extent, O'Hickey's pen fell silent from mid August until late November. It is hard to explain this silence, because the campaign could hardly have being shaping up to his liking. However, shortly before he was officially asked to speak at the Rotunda meeting by Pádraig Ó Brolcháin, O'Hickey began once more sending covert writings to the press, this time almost exclusively to *Sinn Féin.* Furthermore, at the same time as letters of his were being read out at public meetings around the country in December 1908 and January 1909, other letters of his were appearing in the press under various assumed names. If the Gaelic League in Spring 1908 had heeded his warnings of the possible stance of the Catholic Hierarchy, they might have stirred themselves into action sooner. But it did not heed his warnings, and needed his help in late 1908. Ironically, the vigorous public campaign eventually initiated in late 1908 and in which O'Hickey was asked to participate in early December, was of the sort that he had been suggesting needed to be organized from day one, and the tactics that eventually won the day for the League had first been proposed by him long before his name ever became associated with the League's campaign.

The complexity of O'Hickey's involvement in the campaign for compulsory Irish, outlined above, helps to explain why a virtual outsider was so well prepared to take a central role in the League's public campaign from December 1908 to January 1909, but it does not explain why he was to vent such fury on opponents of compulsory Irish, particularly ecclesiastical opponents, nor why he was willing to risk his position and livelihood. Certain commentators have given the impression that O'Hickey was some sort of uncontrollable fanatic who, once let loose, was bound to bring about his own destruction. His work as vice-president of the Gaelic League from 1899 to 1903 does not, however, support this thesis. Although O'Hickey was to leave the Gaelic League in circumstances that were rather rancorous, for most of his time in the League he was a compromiser, advising caution where others would have torn the League apart for a point of principle. This is not to say that he could not be scathing of opponents of Irish, such as Dr Mahaffy of T.C.D, but he could, when he chose argue the League's case against its opponents in much more moderate tones. In fact, in the fight to improve the position of Irish in the Primary and Intermediate Schools, O'Hickey was not an unbending fanatic, unwilling to compromise. In particular, with regard to the position of Irish in the Primary school system he was somewhat of a pragmatist, willing to work with what the authorities were offering at the time, while continuing to press for more concessions.[24]

24. O'Hickey's abundant extant correspondence with Eoin Mac Néill in the National Library (Ms. 10,876) and with Archbishop William Walsh in the Dublin Diocesan Archives as well as certain of his published writings supports this assessment.

Although O'Hickey's language in his covert writings of Spring and Summer 1908 is quite restrained, it is evident that by December of that year he was more highly charged than he had been earlier in the year. This would partly seem to have been the result of the fact that the opponents of compulsory Irish had finally come out into the open, and that his worse fears in respect of the Catholic Hierarchy would seem to have been realized. But not all Gaelic Leaguers, however deeply they felt about the justice of their cause, would have given vent to their feelings in the manner O'Hickey did. Indeed, some Gaelic Leaguers believed that even if they did not achieve their aims immediately, they would eventually do so, such was the strength of their organization in the country; consequently they could afford to be more moderate. However, victory at some date in the future did not appeal to O'Hickey. He was in a hurry and unwilling to restrain his anger at what he believed to be 'treachery' on the part of eminent ecclesiastics, and others, towards the Irish language. Why was this so? What drove him to the brink and over from late 1908 onwards?

Maynooth College and Irish

The answer to this lies not in any innate savage fanaticism in the man, but in the position of Irish in Maynooth College, and in O'Hickey's relations with the President of the College, Dr Mannix. It is my belief that by December 1908 he saw little future for himself in Maynooth, if things continued as they had been for the previous year, and indeed to some extent since he first came to the College in 1896. As far as he was concerned, by the time he was asked by the League to participate in their campaign, the situation with regard to Irish in Maynooth was at breaking point.

Since 1905 or thereabouts Bishops could dispense individual students from the obligation to study Irish.[25] O'Hickey was able to live with this as long as the numbers of dispensations remained low, and because he understood that this would only be a temporary arrangement. However, in Autumn 1907 there seems to have

25. For most of the nineteenth century Irish was taught in Maynooth purely for pastoral reasons to the students of certain, mainly western, dioceses. In 1891, however, when Eugene O'Growney was appointed Professor, Irish was made obligatory for all junior students. This remained the position until c. 1900 when students were allowed to choose between Irish, French, Italian, and German. Most students chose Irish under this new arrangement. However, in 1904 it was decided that in future students should study for degrees with the Royal University of Ireland (a purely examination body). Certain decisions made by the Trustees at this time placed Irish at a disadvantage and, in effect, made it a purely voluntary subject, as most students did not have sufficient Irish to present it at the First Arts Examinations, even after a year of study. For a short period, until the situation was resolved (see below), students began leaving the Irish classes to devote more time to their university studies. In 1905 Irish was once again made compulsory for junior students until it should be taught sufficiently well 'in the primary schools and seminaries that it can be taken without disadvantage as a University subject.' Nonetheless, each Bishop was allowed to dispense individual students from this requirement. See Walsh Papers: Dublin Diocesan Archive, (1904) 365/8; letters from O'Hickey to Archbishop Walsh, dated 4/11/1904 and 7/11/1904. See also Minutes of the Trustees: Maynooth College Archives, B2/1/2, pp. 864-865.

occurred a sea-change in respect of Irish in Maynooth. The number of dispensations granted for the academic year 1907-1908 was such that in O'Hickey's opinion, Irish could no longer be considered to be an obligatory subject for junior students; the status of Irish had effectively been lowered. Although the widespread enthusiasm for Irish among the Maynooth student body was mainly manifested in the voluntary classes for senior students, O'Hickey believed that it was in the obligatory classes at the junior level that the foundations of this enthusiasm for Irish were laid. Compounding O'Hickey's sense of grievance, moreover, was the fact that although the teaching of Irish in the secondary schools of the country had taken enormous leaps and bounds since he had first come to Maynooth, the teaching of Irish in the diocesan seminaries had not improved all that much. There were still many seminaries where Irish was not taught, and a majority of students coming to Maynooth still knew no Irish, despite the fact that since 1906 Irish had on paper been a compulsory subject for entrance. Some in the Gaelic League blamed the seminaries for this situation, but O'Hickey believed the blame must be placed on the Trustees of Maynooth, and indirectly on the entire Episcopal Body.[26]

What made the situation in Maynooth all the more volatile, however, with regard to Irish in the College was the fact that relations between O'Hickey and Dr Mannix were not good, and neither were relations between Mannix and many of the students. The souring of relations between O'Hickey and Mannix would seem to date back to Autumn 1904 when O'Hickey was instrumental in having a decision of the Visitors to rescind the obligation on junior students to take courses in Irish overturned. On that occasion O'Hickey appealed over Mannix's head to the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Walsh, and Mannix although professing to be neutral with regard to the status of Irish in the College seems to have resented O'Hickey's appeal to a higher authority. Moreover, the fact that *An Claidheamh Soluis* and other Irish-Ireland newspapers had had the audacity to criticize an internal College decision greatly angered Mannix and he seems to have been determined to prevent it happening again.[27] Although there is no direct evidence to link Mannix with the decree of the Trustees of October 1906 prohibiting certain communications to the press, this decree was in all likelihood inspired by him. It declared that it was an offence for any member of staff to communicate to the press 'any action taken by the Trustees or by individual Bishops in determining the subjects to be selected for study, or presented for examination by their students...'[28] This decree was designed mainly, if not exclusively, to protect the College authorities from criticism with respect to dispensations from studying Irish. Whether it was enacted in response to fresh leaks to the press, or simply to offset a repetition of the discussion of Maynooth's internal affairs in *An Claidheamh Soluis* in Autumn 1904 is not so

26. See the following covert writings of O'Hickey's: 'Maynooth: the seminaries and Irish' (part I & II), signed Corcagiensis, in *The Leader*, 4 July and 18 July, 1908, and 'Maynooth and the national language', signed Pallavicini, in *Sinn Féin*, 25 July, 1908.
27. See correspondence of both O'Hickey and Mannix on this affair with Archbishop Walsh: Walsh Papers. Dublin Diocesan Archives, (1904) 365/8.
28. Copy in Maynooth College Archives: 100/7/4 (3).

clear. That a college should seek to keep aspects of its study regulations secret from the country at large is to say the least rather strange. There is little doubt that O'Hickey had nothing but contempt for this decree.

In any event, this decree did not prevent *An Claidheamh Soluis* getting wind of the spate of dispensations in Autumn 1907, and Patrick Pearse, the editor, condemned in very strong terms the action of the Bishops. It is certain that O'Hickey did not approve of Pearse's attacks, as among other things they had the effect of alienating perhaps the most stalwart supporter of the Irish language among the Hierarchy, Archbishop Walsh.[29] Moreover, Mannix would appear to have been particularly irate with the League. Pearse's initial fusillade probably had the effect of rubbing salt into Mannix's wounds as it followed shortly his public humiliation in the College when at the Prize giving ceremony of Autumn 1907 the students broke with custom and refused to clap whenever the President's name and those of the Trustees were mentioned.[30] Mannix, a very sensitive man, and a strict disciplinarian, was obviously smarting from all this adverse publicity when on 23 November, 1907 detailed particulars of dispensed students were published in *Sinn Féin.* Suspicion fell on O'Hickey, as it was thought that only he would have had access to such details, and Mannix accused him to his face. O'Hickey denied any involvement. As Mannix had no hard evidence against O'Hickey, he could not proceed further on this occasion, but it would appear his suspicions remained.[31]

O'Hickey isolated

Thus, by early 1908 O'Hickey was a very isolated figure. In all likelihood, he was on rather bad terms with Dr Mannix; he was disillusioned with most of the Catholic Hierarchy; and estranged, it would appear, from Archbishop Walsh, on whom he had earlier relied for support in matters relating to the Irish language. Moreover, he was obviously very frustrated with having to teach, year in year out, elementary courses in Irish to young clerical students, when there was far more valuable work to be done. His dream of creating a generation of priests to service the needs of the Gaeltacht parishes and help foster a love of the language elsewhere in the country was being hampered, or at least it would appear that is how he saw it. His isolation was even greater in that he had effectively cut himself off from his former colleagues in the League; but as matters stood he did not believe it to be an effective organization any longer. Finally, the Trustees' decree of October 1906 left him hamstrung, as it prevented him from voicing publicly his opposition to the lowering of the status of Irish in the College.

29. See Maurice Moore Papers: National Library of Ireland, Ms. 10,567; letter from O'Hickey to Col. Maurice Moore, dated 15.6.1909.

30. See Anraí Mac Giolla Chomhail (1983) *Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh. sagart agus scoláire* (Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta), p. 21. See also Minutes of the Administrative Council: Maynooth College Archives, B 4/3/3, p. 399.

31. Damien Ó Muirí, 'Ó Gramhnaigh, Ó Nualláin: ollúna na hAthbheochana', in Pádraig Ó Fiannachta (ed.) (1993) *Maigh Nuad agus and Ghaeilge* [=*Léachtaí Cholm Cille* XXIII] (Maigh Nuad: An Sagart), p. 64. See also Statement of the Trustees of Maynooth College re Dr O'Hickey: Maynooth College Archives, 100/ 3/4 (3), pp. 3-4, and Walter McDonald (1925) *Reminiscences of a Maynooth professor* (London: Jonathan Cape Limited), p. 269.

An opportunity grasped

It would seem to have been a hopeless situation for him. However, O'Hickey was not someone to give in so easily, and when the proposal to establish a University for Irish Catholics, with its centre in Dublin, was first aired in Spring 1908 he grasped immediately the opportunity it offered. In the coming fight he would wield a double-edged sword; fighting on two fronts at once. If parity with English could be won for Irish in the Matriculation requirements of the new University, and the principle of an Irish as opposed to what he considered a provincial university conceded, not only would he achieve one of his cherished dreams, but he would also succeed in turning the tables on Dr Mannix and the Trustees. For if the Bishops wished to see Maynooth affiliated to the National University, they would have to abide by the University's Matriculation requirements, and those seminaries dragging their heels with regard to the teaching of Irish would have to cease doing so. And turn the tables, he did.

A year and a day after O'Hickey was threatened with dismissal by the Trustees, on 23 June, 1910, the Senate of the National University conceded the League's main demand: Irish would be a compulsory subject for Matriculation from 1913 onwards.[32] By this time O'Hickey was in Rome, eagerly waiting for his case to be heard. News of the League's victory must have been sweet to him, and of some solace in the years of struggle that lay ahead. Nonetheless, it must be stressed that the National University of Ireland did not develop into the institution that he had hoped it would become, nor was the cultural revolution he dreamed of and fought for ever realized.

Although the outcome of the case is well known, the details are often hazy in people's minds, and there are many misconceptions about the whole affair. Time does not allow me to treat at length of the case in Rome, and in any event, as I have not yet completed my research on O'Hickey's fortunes there, I am reluctant at this venture to discuss the case except in the most general terms. A number of observations on the case must suffice for the moment.[33]

Dismissal of O'Hickey

In June 1909 the Trustees of Maynooth College were faced with a rather unusual situation. Within living memory a number of professors had been asked to leave the College and had acquiesced. In each case the problem was excessive drinking, which had resulted in dereliction of professorial duties.[34] In deciding to call O'Hickey before them, the Visitors (and later the Trustees) were faced with a very

32. A number of authors who have written on the O'Hickey affair have erroneously given June 23, 1909 as the date when the question of compulsory Irish in the National University was finally decided.

33. For further information on the case, see McDonald *Reminiscences*, pp. 235-275, 358-360, 368-378, and Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, 'An tAthair Micheál Ó hIcí', in Pádraig Ó Fiannachta (ed.) (1986) *Léann na Cléire* [=*Léachtaí Cholm Cille* XVI] (Maigh Nuad: An Sagart), pp. 140-174.

34. See Mannix Papers: Maynooth College Archives, 100/4/5 and 100/4/31; correspondence from Dr Mannix to Mons. Michael O'Riordan.

different problem, for which there was no precedent. O'Hickey was not some little-known professor, debilitated by drink, that could easily be forced to step down, but a very sober, much respected member of staff of national standing, known to be highly efficient, headstrong, and intrepid in his views. What if he refused to resign his post or otherwise comply with the Trustees' wishes? Moreover, what should they accuse him of? No Maynooth Statute explicitly set out the conditions of employment of professors. O'Hickey, like other professors before and after him, had been appointed to his post 'subject to the usual conditions', but had never actually been given these conditions in writing, as they did not exist as such. It was, therefore, not altogether clear what these conditions were, at least not to the teaching staff. It was up to him and every other professor to figure out how they should behave and what statutes, obsolete or otherwise, they should observe. The Trustees, it would appear, were the final arbiters of whether a member of staff had been negligent of his duties or not. In effect, professors in Maynooth held their positions at the 'Trustees' pleasure'.[35] Moreover, for a dismissed Maynooth professor, unlike his counterparts in the constituent colleges of the newly established National University, there was no tribunal of appeal other than to seek redress in Rome. All in all, this was a most unsatisfactory state of affairs.[36]

Although the Maynooth authorities were faced with this unusual, not to mention problematic, situation, it would appear they did little groundwork before charging O'Hickey with infringement of a certain College statute. Neither did they consider all the implications of charging him with an offence which, however they chose to look at it, had national implications beyond the College. It must be said, however, that they were not oblivious of public opinion as they did everything they could to avoid a scandal in trying to get O'Hickey to resign, but they never once seem to have paused to question the fairness of the manner in which they dealt with O'Hickey. They were men used to getting their own way, and certain actions of theirs, from the initial confrontation with O'Hickey on June 20th, 1909, right down to the final conclusion of the case, would indicate to me that saving face at home and victory in Rome were more important for the Trustees than that justice be done and be seen to be done. Despite the fact that the statute O'Hickey was accused of having infringed was soon shown not to be legally binding, due to it having never been promulgated, nevertheless, the Trustees conveniently ignored this fact in presenting their case against O'Hickey in Rome. Moreover, in order, it would seem, to make their case against O'Hickey more convincing before the Rota, in June 1910 O'Hickey was further accused by the Trustees of infringing another statute prohibiting a Maynooth professor from publishing 'any book or writing without the approbation of the President...' This particularly draconian

35. See Patrick C. Corish (1995) *Maynooth College 1795-1995* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 181.

36. This issue, it would appear, was raised by Eoin Mac Néill in the Senate of the National University of Ireland, in all probability when the question of recognition for St Patrick's College, Maynooth was first raised in the Senate in July 1909. See MacNeill Papers: University College, Dublin, Archives Department, LAI/F/48. See also Walsh Papers: Dublin Diocesan Archives (1909) 382/2. Dr Mannix to Archbishop Walsh, dated 23 July, 1909.

statute, although still on the Statutes in O'Hickey's time, had years before been allowed to fall into abeyance; it would, moreover, also appear not to have been legally binding in 1909 due to it not having been promulgated. The fact that a statute of this nature was resurrected against O'Hickey shortly after Maynooth had been accepted as a 'recognized college' of the National University of Ireland is, in my view, not only evidence that they were really desperate, but also it begs the question whether Maynooth should have been given 'recognized-college' status at this time.[37] This statute was still on the College Statutes in 1979. And yet there are people who would claim that the O'Hickey affair had nothing to do with academic freedom![38]

It is it not possible, in my view, to accept the statement made by the Irish Catholic Hierarchy the day after O'Hickey was dismissed to the effect that the recent actions taken by them in Maynooth 'were taken solely in discharge of the Episcopal duty of maintaining ecclesiastical discipline in the College, and had no connection whatsoever with the views of anyone as to whether the Irish language should or should not be an obligatory subject at certain examinations, or in certain courses, of the National University of Ireland.'[39] In fact, as I hope to argue in detail elsewhere, O'Hickey was not a threat to discipline in the College, but became a scapegoat for the spirit of insubordination which had been a problem in Maynooth for a number of years prior to his dismissal. Rather than O'Hickey being the root cause of this rebellious spirit, or guilty of directly fomenting it to any significant extent, Dr Mannix's personality and the strict regime he endeavoured to impose on students was probably a major contributing factor to this unrest, as well as the not unreasonable desire of many students to participate in the twentieth century.

There can be no doubt that O'Hickey's dismissal was intimately bound up with the campaign for compulsory Irish, and with the views he expressed during that campaign. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conclude from this, as some have done, that the Bishops of the time, as a body, were opposed to the Irish language. This most certainly was not the case; indeed a number of Bishops were perhaps as solicitous of the fortunes of the Irish language as O'Hickey himself was. However,

37. This document was drawn up by the College's solicitors in cooperation with Dr Mannix, whose hand is evident throughout. One reason for the delay in sending it to Rome was the fact that Dr Mannix had to consult certain members of the Hierarchy, probably the most eminent, on the contents of the statement. As the Trustees' statement had to be hastily drawn up in order to meet a deadline set by the Rota, we might excuse on that account the inclusion in it of infringement of this statute amongst the charges made against O'Hickey. But despite having had ample time to reflect on the wisdom of doing so, not to speak of the injustice of such a charge, it is to be noted that this was still one of the charges made against O'Hickey in the final draft of this statement presented to the Rota in 1912. Although Dr Mannix was no doubt instrumental in the perpetration of this injustice, there can be no doubt that the ultimate responsibility for this action must rest with the Trustees, for it was in their name that O'Hickey was accused of this offence, and with the knowledge of some, if not all, of their number. See Maynooth College Archives: 100/3/4; 100/4/11 and 100/2/2(1), and also 100/8/5, p. 6.

38. See, e.g. Desmond Keenan (1983) *The Catholic church in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 83.

39. Quoted in Mac Fhinn, *An tAthair Mícheál*, p. 216.

for most of the Hierarchy Irish was not high on their list of priorities. Not surprisingly, the Bishops were able to live with the ultimate settlement of the compulsory Irish question that came into effect in Autumn 1913; for most of them, it would appear, there was no significant issue of principle involved. The key to understanding their stance on compulsory Irish and, to a large extent, the action they took against O'Hickey lies in the issue of power. The Bishops were not opposed to Irish: they were opposed to being opposed on the question of compulsory Irish, or indeed on any major issue. Moreover, O'Hickey and the Gaelic League by making their demands in respect of Irish in the National University were encroaching on an area which the Catholic Hierarchy had come to regard as its own special preserve. Not only did the Gaelic League show no deference to the Bishops' interests and desires, but they succeeded in swinging the country in support of compulsory Irish against the expressed wishes of the Hierarchy. By the time O'Hickey was first threatened with dismissal, while the fight for compulsory Irish was by no means over, it looked as if the Bishops and their supporters on the Senate of the National University would have to compromise, and yield to the League's demands. We would have to attribute superhuman powers of restraint to the Bishops of the time to believe that they were in no measure swayed by this public humiliation in their decision to dismiss O'Hickey. If the O'Hickey case tells us anything about the Bishops of the time, it tells us that they were all too human.

In saying all this, I am not suggesting that it was unreasonable for the Bishops to feel aggrieved against O'Hickey, nor to seek an explanation from him for his actions. Neither am I implying that O'Hickey himself bears no responsibility for the fate that befell him. Obviously he does. He made a number of very conscious decisions in entering the public campaign, and would appear to have been aware of the dangers. Moreover, he deliberately chose to use very strong rhetorical language against certain of his ecclesiastical superiors, although granted at times somewhat obliquely. He most certainly knew the nature of his foe: in the patriarchal world of the Irish Catholic Church at that time he could expect no quarter. As a 'distinguished priest' said to him after his dismissal, he had committed the one unpardonable offence: by criticizing some of the Bishops he had 'ruffled the feelings and outraged the dignity of the entire body.'[40] Dignity can be a fragile thing, and even with eminent people often rests on very shallow foundations. Furthermore, although in the 'statement' he prepared for his defence in Rome he denied that he was in open rebellion against ecclesiastical authority in the country, he most certainly was.[41] I believe it was for tactical reasons that he denied this, for to have admitted it would have weakened his chances in Rome. There is no doubt in my mind that his aim was to weaken the political authority of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy, nor is there any doubt that he was fully conscious of what he was doing. It must be said, however, that he was not opposed to the Bishops exercising their authority in spiritual and doctrinal matters. He simply wanted to limit their authority in the secular sphere, and believed that the best interests of religion would be

40. *ibid.*, p. 215.
41. *ibid.*, p. 213 ff.

served by so doing. That many of the Hierarchy did not see the subtlety of O'Hickey's position vis à vis themselves is perhaps not to be wondered at. After all, in 1909 their power was still on the ascendant, and many, if not all, of them may not have distinguished between their role as moral guardians of their flocks and their role as players on the secular and political stage.

Advocate of clerical freedom of speech

Because of O'Hickey's failure in Rome and his premature death, and, moreover, because of the perceived antagonism of the Bishops of the time towards Irish, there are those who see him as some sort of martyr for the Irish Language.[42] Personally, I do not see him in this light, nor indeed as a martyr for any cause. We do not have to see him as a martyr to appreciate the tragedy that befell him, and the sacrifice he made. If he was a martyr, however, it was not so much for the Irish Language as for freedom of speech for clerics and due process in disputes with ecclesiastical authorities. Two months or so before he left for Rome, in late November 1909, in a hopeful mood, O'Hickey wrote to Eoin Mac Néill:

> Some people are beginning to think, and some to fear, that this case may result in forcing upon the Irish Bishops from Rome a complete revolution in their methods of dealing with all matters that may involve punishment; if I could secure this, even though nominally I lost my own case (which really means nothing to me), I should have done the whole body of the Clergy (who by their present attitude do not deserve it) and the Irish Catholic laity a service. There is nothing more urgent than that the Bishops collectively and severally should be obliged to proceed with the strictest regard for the legal forms whenever anybody's rights or status is in question.[43]

In this he was very much mistaken. The climate in Rome was becoming increasingly anti-modern. Shortly after the Rota first began dealing with O'Hickey's case, the Pope banned newspapers and journals from the Italian seminaries.[44] For one who had made extensive use of newspapers, and who had been supported by a number of 'radical' weeklies, there was less and less hope of getting a sympathetic hearing in Rome. When push came to shove, the representatives of the Bishops in Rome were able to use the anti-clerical card to good effect; in my view dishonestly. To describe O'Hickey's supporters, or some of them, as anti-clericals, was a gross abuse of language, and one would have to question the integrity of those who made such accusations, or else the balance of their judgement. Many

42. In Máirtín Ó Cadhain's estimation, O'Hickey and the publisher Seán Ó hÉigeartaigh were the only two people who could be said to have died for the Irish language. See Liam Prút (ed.) (1999), *Caithfear Éisteacht. Aistí Mháirtín Uí Chadhain in Comhar* (Baile Átha Cliath: Comhar), p. 156, See also Máirtín Ó Cadhain (1999) *Tone Inné agus Inniu* (Baile Átha Cliath: Coiscéim), p. 24.

43. Eoin MacNeill Papers: National Library of Ireland, Ms. 10,876 (1909 file); dated 29.11.1909.

44. Walsh Papers: Dublin Diocesan Archives, (1910) 382/8; letter from Mons. Michael O'Riordan to Archbishop William Walsh, dated 8.12.1910.

of those who supported O'Hickey financially or otherwise were as devout Catholics as any of the Bishops of the time. That the Catholic Hierarchy in 1909 took fright at members of the laity and lower clergy actively opposing them on a certain issue, says more about the former's limitations than it does about the latter's 'evil' intentions against the Church or the downward slide toward godlessness.[45] The Bishops were prisoners of their time, of course, and as many of them were elderly men or of a conservative disposition they were also often behind the times. It might have done the Irish Church (both lay and clerical) a world of good if the Bishops had been reprimanded in Rome. But that was not to happen.

Not only did O'Hickey fail to get justice for himself in Rome, but his hopes for change in the Irish Catholic Church were not realized. Moreover, he left no ostensible legacy of protest in either lay or clerical circles. The Ireland that was emerging while he was away in Rome, and that was to crystallize after the setting-up of the Irish Free State, was an Ireland not conducive to radicalism in Church affairs. For many of those who grew up in the first decades of independence, O'Hickey's stance against the Bishops of Ireland, if they had been aware of the details of the case, would have appeared not only foolish, but also incomprehensible; and to some even unpardonable. As it was, however, his fate was little known by future generations. His memory was preserved among his family and relatives and otherwise mainly among nuns and priests, who were the people who knew him best, and knew more than anybody the injustice of certain of the accusations made against him.

O'Hickey's radicalism

The roots and extent of O'Hickey's radicalism is too complex an issue to be dealt with here. Nonetheless, a comment or two may be called for. One way of looking at O'Hickey is to see him as a priest ahead of his time, radicalized by events, and sacrificed to expediency. However, one might also, with some justification, view him as representative of an earlier age when priests had more freedom of action and could, in certain circumstances, flaunt ecclesiastical authority with greater ease in pursuit of some cause or other. A generation or two earlier O'Hickey might have survived dismissal, if like Fr Patrick Lavelle, the radical Co. Mayo priest, he had been able to take advantage of inter-episcopal animosity. Unlike Lavelle, who was sheltered by Archbishop McHale to spite his opponent, Cardinal Cullen, O'Hickey had no mitred protector to take him under his wing.[46] In fact, his only staunch ecclesiastical supporter of any standing, through thick and thin, was his colleague

45. That anti-clericalism was not taking root in Ireland, to any significant extent, at the time would seem to be corroborated by episcopal assessments of the religiosity of Sinn Féin activists almost ten years later subsequent to the 1918 General Election. It should be remembered that many of those active in the post-1916 Sinn Féin party would have supported O'Hickey in his dispute with the Bishops back in 1909, even if they had not been members of Sinn Féin at the time. For some of these episcopal assessments, see Emmet Larkin (1997 [1976]) *The historical dimensions of Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 117-118.

46. For more on Fr Lavelle, see Gerard Moran (1994) *A radical priest in Mayo* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).

and advisor in his appeal, Dr Walter McDonald, Prefect of the College's Dunboyne Establishment (for postgraduate studies), who of necessity in advising O'Hickey had to keep a very low profile as otherwise his own position in Maynooth might have been placed in jeopardy.[47]

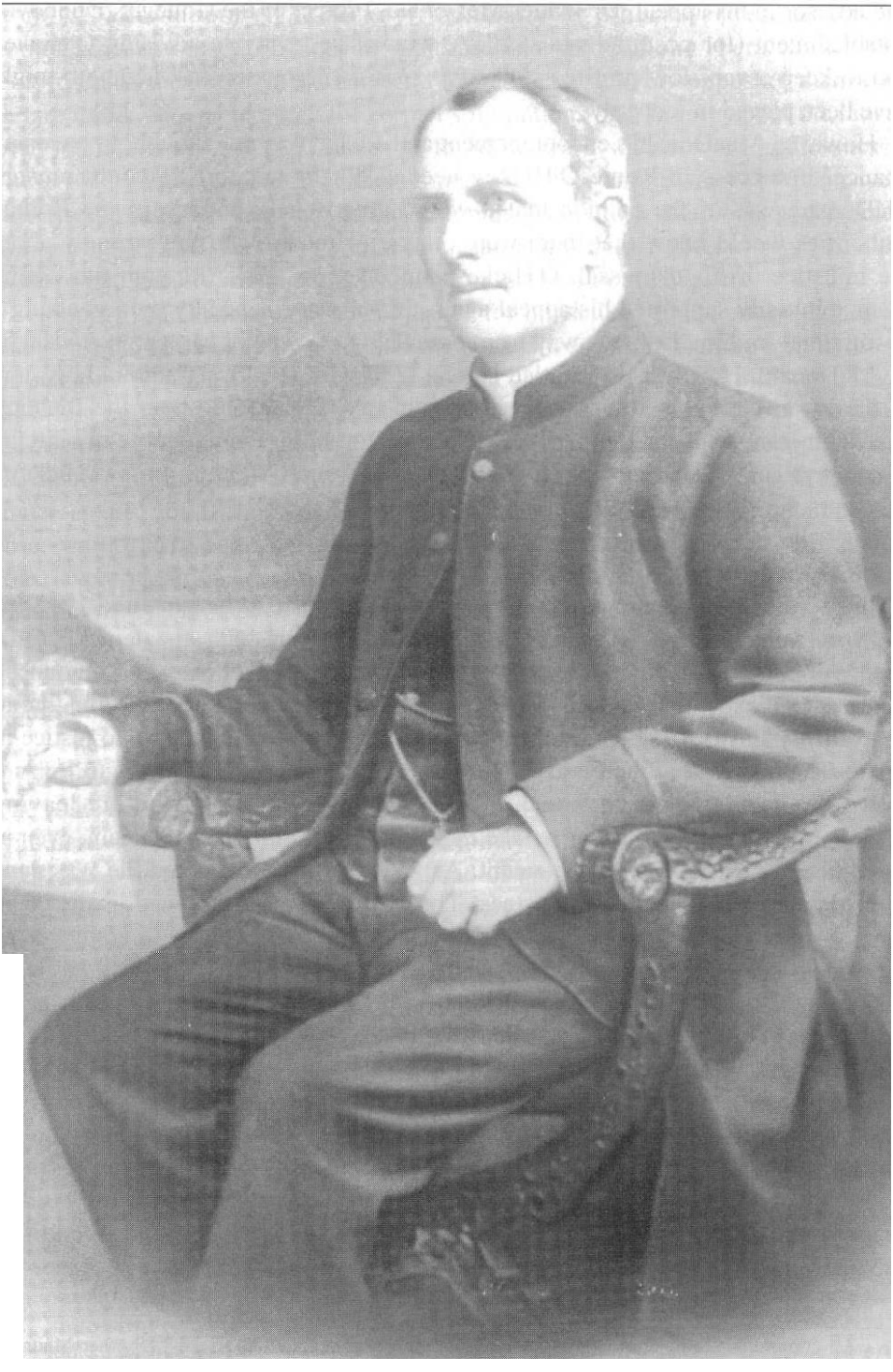
However, MacDonald's encouragement and advice was not enough; to have any chance of success in Rome O'Hickey needed all the support he could muster. McDonald, was of the opinion that it would greatly help his case if the Roman authorities would know that there were others in Ireland who felt strongly about the injustice of his dismissal. O'Hickey concurred in this. Although the Gaelic League initially supported his appeal against dismissal financially by organizing a Testimonial for him, it shied away from organizing the type of campaign envisaged by McDonald. However disgruntled certain sectors of the Irish Catholic laity, and of the lower clergy, were about the treatment of O'Hickey or about the Bishops' stance on compulsory Irish, there was no desire for a long-drawn out feud with the Hierarchy. The wider Church was not in need of a martyr and in time O'Hickey's followers, for the most part, fell back into line.

O'Hickey's death

O'Hickey did not lose his case before the Rota as such. When in June 1912 his advocate failed to reach a deadline and furnish the Rota with a statement of his client's appeal against dismissal, the Rota concluded that O'Hickey had renounced his case. O'Hickey appealed this decision to many different courts in Rome, but to no avail. By Easter 1914 he seems to have realized that he would get no justice in Rome. The outbreak of the First World War probably delayed his return to Ireland. However the case went in Rome, O'Hickey had decided even before leaving Ireland in February 1910 never to take up employment in Maynooth again, even in the unlikely event of his reinstatement. As far as he was concerned, he was done with Maynooth and with the Trustees. Three weeks before he was dismissed in July 1909 he wrote to Liam Bulfin stating that he was not opposed to going on the mission, adding 'and as for money, well I have never known a priest to die of hunger yet...'[48] Many of his private letters from Rome to family and friends show that he was keeping abreast of vacancies in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. He returned to Ireland in the Summer of 1916 hoping to get a mission when one would become available. His brother Martin had some years earlier moved from 'The Hill', Carrickbeg' to Coolfin, Portlaw, and that is where he went to stay on his return, paying occasional trips to his brother Maurice in Carrickbeg. Through late Summer and Autumn, and into early Winter of 1916, he waited in vain for word of a mission. None came. He died suddenly in Coolfin on November 19th, aged fifty-five. O'Hickey did not die hungry, except perhaps to the extent that his hunger for

47. All communications from O'Hickey to McDonald were sent, via O'Hickey's brother Maurice, first to Carrick and then on to Maynooth. This Information is to be found among papers in the possession of Maurice O'Hickey's descendents.

48. Bulfin Papers: National Library of Ireland, Ms. 13,820; O'Hickey to Bulfin, letter dated 8.7.1909.



justice had not been satisfied, but he did die impoverished. He had five pounds to his name when he died, a paltry sum for a priest at the time.[49]

Conclusion

Few in O'Hickey's position, then or since, would have made the sacrifice that he made. Some would call his stance before the Trustees in June 1909 intransigent: that the proper thing for a priest would have been to have apologized to his superiors and have retired to the mission. To have done so, however, would not only have been tantamount to an admission of wrongdoing on his part, but would have been perceived in certain quarters as a battle won by those opposed to compulsory Irish. But apart from such reasons, the summary manner in which O'Hickey had been treated by the Visitors and the Trustees convinced his legal advisor, Dr McDonald, that a stand needed to be made with respect to the rights, or lack of rights, of Maynooth teaching staff, since any illusions they may have hitherto had about the security of their own positions had been shattered. That subsequent generations of Maynooth staff did not suffer a similarly harsh fate to O'Hickey is not necessarily proof that McDonald was wrong in his assessment of the situation in 1909. There may simply have been no O'Hickeys or McDonalds around to test the system, or no one who dared to.[50] Be that as it may, conditions for Maynooth teaching staff were more or less the same in respect of tenure in the early 1960s (when the Statutes were last revised) and indeed much later, as they had been in O'Hickey's time, despite the fact that Maynooth became a 'recognized college' of the National University of Ireland in 1910. That such remained the case is hardly to the credit of those who administered the College in the intervening years, nor, to a lesser extent, to the staff who acquiesced. Nonetheless, the fact that matters remained so is not all that surprising and is symptomatic of more general attitudes towards authority and discipline in a society in which most of the Catholic laity and their political leaders deferred to the Catholic Hierarchy in educational matters and would, for the most part, have seen little need for security of tenure and better professional rights for priests employed in church-run seminaries and educational institutions.

Some of the revelations I have made above in respect of O'Hickey's involvement in the campaign for compulsory Irish may make him seem all the more culpable in some people's eyes. Moreover, if the Bishops of the time had known of

49. Probates: National Archives of Ireland, Rev. Michael P. O'Hickey, dated 6 December, 1916.

50. At least one member of staff did flaunt the authority of the College Trustees. In June 1923, shortly after the end of the Civil War, the College Visitors cautioned Fr Patrick Browne (better known as Mons. Pádraig de Brún), Professor of Mathematics, to comply with the statute that forbade members of staff from taking part 'in politics by presence, word or writing without the approbation of the President'. Browne had been very active on the Republican side during the Civil War. In the long term he did not cease political activity, but the ending of hostilities in May 1923 probably did allow him to adopt a lower political profile for a time, and spared the College authorities from having to follow up their threat with action. Patrick Murray (2000) *Oracles of God. The Roman Catholic Church and Irish politics, 1922-37* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press), pp. 145-146.

the full extent of his efforts to undermine their influence in secular affairs, they would most likely have dispatched him with even less regard for protocol than they did.[51] For me, however, these revelations make him all the more interesting, especially as a priest, giving a deeper dimension to, as well as helping to make sense of, the whole affair. Early on in his one-man campaign of Spring 1908, O'Hickey, in rounding off one of his covert articles critical of the Bishops, had this to say: 'The writer has no interest to serve except the interests of Ireland, and of the religion of which he is a minister, and in his conscience and before God, he is convinced that his zeal for both is as honest and single-minded as that of any prelate who ever ruled an Irish See.[52] Although O'Hickey was definitely not a humble man, few who knew him would dispute his basic honesty and uprightness. If he could have taken on the Bishops openly from the beginning he would have, but he knew he would not be allowed to express his opinions for long. It is my view that in removing O'Hickey from his post the Trustees dismissed as conscientious, exemplary, and hardworking a professor as there was in Maynooth. It is difficult to see what was gained by their resort to such a severe penalty, where instead some lesser sanction might have sufficed. Certainly, Maynooth did not gain by their action, and in the long run neither did the Church at large.

Given the authoritarian nature of the Irish Church at the time, and the lack of security for teaching staff at Maynooth, the Trustees/Bishops may well have been within their rights to dismiss O'Hickey. After all, in 1909 they had a lot of rights. The question, however, is not whether they were within their rights, but whether they did right.

51. While Mannix and others in time came to suspect O'Hickey of the authorship of certain covert writings published in the press from late January to March 1909, it is not clear if these suspicions predated or played any part in O'Hickey's dismissal. Moreover, although Mannix in a submission to the Visitors in June 1909 made vague and unsubstantiated accusations against O'Hickey in respect of leaks to the press about College affaires, there is no evidence that O'Hickey's superiors ever suspected him of authorship of any of his numerous covert writings to the press in the Spring and Summer of 1908. See Mannix Papers: Maynooth College Archives: 100/4/20 and 100/4/23 (correspondence of Dr Mannix and Mons. Michael O'Riordan, Spring 1911). For Mannix's accusations against O'Hickey, see Ó Fiannachta, op cit., pp. 158-159.

52. 'The proposed Irish universities', signed Hibernus (1908) *The Leader*, 2 May.

Dungarvan's first Urban District Council

By Rosemarie Donnelly

IN AUGUST 1898, the Local Government Act (Ireland) was passed in Westminster with little opposition. This new Act replaced the Grand Jury system of local governance, in existence since the eighteenth century. Up until 1798, Catholics were prohibited from serving on grand juries, and even after this date jury lists were predominantly, though not exclusively, protestant, partly resulting from the concentration of property in protestant hands. Although the Local Government Act deprived southern Protestant landlords of an important political power base, it was, however, a base upon which their hold had been slipping for some time. Urban administration was now reorganised and democratised and placed in the hands of County Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians. In many ways, the Local Government Act can be seen as a watershed in the pursuit of self-government and self-rule in Ireland.[1]

Local Government Act, 1898

The Local Government Act was passed in Ireland in August 12, 1898, over three years after it had come into operation in England, Wales and Scotland. With the new Local Government system in operation in Britain it was accepted that it would only be a matter of time until it would be passed in Ireland, especially 'since both liberal and conservative parties now supported the principal of local government reform in Ireland'.[2] To many, both in England and Ireland, the Act was seen not merely as a local government reform in Ireland, but more like self-government. The British government and the Unionists saw the bill as 'killing Home Rule with kindness' while the Irish nationalists saw it as a 'stepping stone to Home Rule' and eventually to a complete break from English governance in Ireland.

Prior to the 1898 Act, those who took charge of the day to day running of Dungarvan, the Town Commissioners, were by and large well off gentlemen due to the fact that to become a Town Commissioner or to stand for election one had to have property or land to the value of ten pounds. This prevented the majority of the population from occupying a seat on these boards and as such, protestant landlords monopolised the commission. The voice of the masses was rarely heard and the Town Commission more often than not ignored their needs. Yet at election time, very large numbers would turn out due to the open voting system. In Dungarvan, its last election in early 1898 was contested with incredibly little interest as reported in the *Munster Express*. There were neither pamphlets nor

1. Virginia Crossman, (1994) *Local Government in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (The Institute of Irish Studies. Queens University of Belfast for Ulster Society of Irish Historical Studies) pp. 28 and 97
2. *ibid.*, p. 91.

banners around the town to promote the candidates and very little talk of the election campaign amongst the traders and inhabitants of the town. Yet out of a population of over 5,500, almost 1,800 men voted. This could have a something to do with the old system of open voting which could have involuntarily forced a lot of tenants to vote for their landlords. This open voting system excluded labourers and women who had to wait until the introduction of the Local Government Act.

This new Act replaced the old system with private ballots and more importantly extended the franchise. One could now stand as a candidate for the Urban District Council if one rented or owned property to the value of four pounds or more. This was a considerable reduction on the previous rate of ten pounds and therefore almost democratised the election campaign. The new system also allowed women for the first time to stand for election if they or their fathers or husbands owned or rented land to the value of four pounds or more. Dungarvan however, would not have a female councillor until the 1970s.

All the provincial and county newspapers reported widely on the announcement of the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act. Its details were noted in the *Dungarvan Minute Book* on November 1898. It stated that the Urban District Council elections would take place on 15 January, 1899 and each candidate elected to the Council would stay in office for a period no longer than three years, the length of time stipulated by the Act. The fifteen Town Commissioners were to be replaced by twelve councillors from the Dungarvan ward and three from the Abbeyside ward. (The town was, and still is, divided into two wards under the Dungarvan Urban District Council. This is due to the fact that though Abbeyside is on the opposite side of the Colligan River to Dungarvan, it is a separate village within the boundaries of the urban district).

Church influence

The announcement of elections brought great excitement to the town and it was decided to hold a meeting to explain the details of the forthcoming election process. Over 300 men and women filled the small town hall for the meeting that was chaired by the Very Reverend Archdeacon Sheehy, P.P., Dungarvan. On the podium along with the Archdeacon were many other members of the church from the surrounding area. Such representation indicates how relevant its view on political matters was to the townspeople.

Archdeacon Sheehy opened the meeting with an explanation of how important it was to vote for the best candidate. He felt that the English would 'jeer' the town and every other county that could not manage their affairs correctly. 'If things were not managed properly it would be a good deal better had they not got the new Act'.[3] The townspeople greeted the Archdeacon's comment with much applause, indicating perhaps strong nationalist support for the Act. Reports in the newspaper stated that the townspeople saw this as a 'stepping stone to Home Rule'. With such strong nationalist fervour, it was clear the people of Dungarvan were glad to see the end of the Town Commissioners.

3. *Munster Express*, 7 January, 1899.

The announcement of the abolition of the Town Commission was welcomed not just because of its mainly Unionist composition but also because of the humiliation that body had caused Dungarvan. The Very Reverend V. Landy, OSA, spoke to the packed town hall about 'the disgraceful scenes that were enacted at the Town Board, and they should all endeavour to remove the men that were the cause of them'.[4] He explained his point further by telling the crowd of a holiday he had taken in England the previous year. There he met and spoke with a man from Northern Ireland. When telling him where he was from, the Northern Irishman said 'you are a pack of cut throats over there'. The man told the priest that the antics of Dungarvan Town Commissioners were frequently published in various newspapers across the country. Fr Landy believed the town had been put through enough humiliation and told the crowd it was time to elect some honest gentlemen to the Urban District Council.

Though nominations were open to most people, the church appeared to have a different idea on who exactly should be on the new council. The clergy on the podium was so determined to have their favoured candidates win that they read out a list of names that the townspeople should vote for. All were males and most with very prosperous businesses around the town. One town commissioner objected to this as he felt the church was ignoring the new rights of women and labourers. However, it was pointed out that the town commissioners had left Dungarvan in such a disgraceful state that it would only be those of a business background who could repair the damage caused. Indeed, not only did the priests name the candidates they favoured to their flock, but they were also mentioned at each mass on the Sunday prior to voting day.

The election

Unlike the previous election of the town commissioners in 1898, which was mostly ignored, the election for the first Dungarvan Urban District Council caused much excitement in the town. The town became a sea of flags and banners (most of which were tricolours); pamphlets and posters littered the town, while candidates rallied the townspeople to vote. Dungarvan ward had twenty-three nominations for its twelve posts, while Abbeyside ward had four nominations for its three posts. Of all the nominations within the two wards, three were disqualified, including Francis Stuart for the Abbeyside ward for handing in his nomination too late and Richard Curran of the Dungarvan ward, 'he being a contractor for roads partly within the urban district boundary'.[5] It was also quite significant to see the type of candidates seeking election. All but two in the Dungarvan ward were businessmen; the other was a labourer and there was one gentleman. In the Abbeyside ward where there were four candidates; two were traders, one a labourer and one was a farmer.

The candidates canvassed for the first two weeks of January until polling day on the fifteenth. Numerous addresses were made to the Dungarvan people, including one by Mr. Philip Walsh who promised to do all he could for the town. Mr.

4. *ibid.*
5. *Dungarvan Urban District Council Minute Book,* 5 January, 1899.

James F. Ryan called on electors to 'Plump for Ryan'! The election campaign certainly attracted a lot of attention, with journalists announcing that 'there is no doubt the election shall be the hottest that has been contested in Dungarvan'.[6] Some of the former Town Commissioners also sought election to the new council. Edmund Keohan and Thomas O'Connor were Town Commissioners whom the church felt were honest and worthy enough gentlemen to stand for election to the first Urban District Council. The Town Commission as a political institution was now nearing its end. By 12 January, the times and places to cast votes throughout the town were announced. Abbeyside ward was to have just one polling booth in its National school. Its presiding officer was Mr. P. O'Connor, and its poll clerk was Mr. Dano Daly. The Dungarvan ward contained two polling booths, number one booth was in the town commissioner's office while number two booth was on the first floor of the town hall. Its presiding officers were Mr. William O'Meara and Mr. Michael Beary, and its poll clerks were Mr. Patrick Daly and Mr. Tomas Cusack respectively. It was also outlined that 'the candidates should not attend in the polling booths and the candidates' agents in each booth should be limited to four in a booth'.[7]

Polling day caused great excitement. The booths opened at 8 a.m. on the morning of Monday, 16 January and closed at 8 p.m. At closing, the three boxes were sealed and taken to the Town Commissioner's office under escort of two constables. The boxes were locked into the office, with Sergeant Devereux and Constable Ryan left in charge for the night. The following day, the presiding officers, accompanied by solicitor Mr. John C. Hurt gathered to count the votes and to settle any legal issues in doubt. By about 6.30 p.m. the votes had been counted. In the Abbeyside ward the votes stood at:

John Griffin	*Shopkeeper*	96
Thomas Veale	*Publican*	78
John Walsh	*Farmer*	74
Edward Cashin	*Labourer*	48

The first three were elected as Urban District Councillors for the Abbeyside ward. In Dungarvan ward the voting was as follows:

James Hayes	*Shopkeeper*	388
Thomas Power	*Merchant*	371
Michael Barry	*Corn Merchant*	354
Thomas Barry	*Shopkeeper*	350
Michael Power	*Hardware Merchant*	331
James Dunne	*Shopkeeper*	326
James Whelan	*Shopkeeper*	305
William Lawlor	*Merchant*	304
Edmund Keohan	*Newsagent*	287

6. *Munster Express*, 14 January, 1899.
7. *ibid.*

Thomas O'Connor	*Shopkeeper*	277
Cpt. Patrick Sheehan	*Coal Merchant*	267
Patrick Veale	*Labourer*	255
		3,815

These twelve were elected as Urban District Councillors for the Dungarvan ward.

It is worth noting that every candidate, including the two former Town Commissioners, which the church felt would be appropriate to stand had been elected. The twelfth candidate elected in the Dungarvan ward, Patrick Veale, was a labourer. Also as a matter of interest, the least number of votes received by a Dungarvan ward electoral candidate was for Mr. John Power, whose occupation was stated as 'gentleman', a final acknowledgement from the Dungarvan townspeople that the nationalist ticket was popular with the electorate.

The vote for women was a significant factor in the elections. For women it was probably the most important piece of political legislation for them; and their new found political freedom was mainly accomplished by Anna Haslam. When the bill was first introduced, women were not allowed on the County Councils and their position regarding District Councils was also unclear. 'As a member of the committee of Women's Local Government Society, Haslam worked ... to amend the bill in order to clarify the position of women'.[8] With the women's entitlement to vote, they, along with the men, packed the Dungarvan town hall to listen to news of the forthcoming elections. During canvassing 'both women as well as men were besieged and their support solicited [by candidates]'.[9] The nationalists saw the women's vote as a significant boost to their chances of success. They had received much praise and encouragement all round, especially from the church which also encouraged the Dungarvan women to vote for the candidates the church felt worthy. One priest, feeling that the women were a powerful factor in achieving the electoral results the town needed also 'wished his thanks be recorded simply on account of what he might call the persecution they had to suffer in coming in there and making their way to the polling amongst the rude gabblers around the booths. It was a courageous and patriotic act on the part of the women of Dungarvan'.[10]

The citizens of Dungarvan had made their point clear through the ballot box that they no longer wanted the town commission them. The people had been humiliated by their on-going arguments and battles at the fortnightly meetings, which were then published in the county and provincial papers. Adjourned meetings due to uncontrollable outbursts were unfortunately not spared at the very last Town Commissioners' meeting in Dungarvan. The last meeting was held during the Urban District Council elections and was attended by all the Town Commissioners. The meeting started on polite formal terms explaining the dissolution of the Board and the commencement of a new local government system to take place the following week. Yet, within minutes, the 'gentlemen' began bickering and shouting at each other. Insults raged, as Mr. Thomas Power shouted at Mr.

8. Crossman, *Local Government*, p. 94.
9. *Munster Express*, 14 January, 1899.
10. *ibid.*, 28 January, 1899.

Scanlon declaring, 'it is a mouse talking to an elephant for you to talk to me'.[11] It continued when 'Mr. Walsh said that Mr. Curran had been robbing the public since he came here, and all he wanted was an independent sworn enquiry, and he would be put in gaol'.[12] Indeed this was quite a serious accusation but probably not too much of a surprise to the Dungarvan people who felt that the Town Commissioners were only there to look after themselves. Knowing that it was the last meeting of this governing body, Walsh decided to continue with his accusations directed at Curran while also insulting Mr. Scanlon. Walsh shouted, 'You, Mr. Scanlon are like a Jack in the Box and Johnny Curran is the greatest scoundrel that ever sat at a Board'.[13] The meeting, already in disarray, was by now out of control. The *Munster Express* journalist attending the meeting was unable to continue writing because of all the shouting amongst the gentlemen. The Chairman, Thomas O'Connor, had no option but to adjourn the meeting. It was certainly a disgraceful display by these men and especially on such a significant occasion as its final meeting. The county newspapers wrote that the Town Commissioners had yet again let Dungarvan down by completely humiliating its people. It is no wonder that Dungarvan celebrated the announcement of a new governing system run by Dungarvan people for Dungarvan people.

It is interesting to note that in the *Dungarvan Minutes Book* nothing had been entered for the last meeting, just the words 'adjourned meeting' and the date. This is even more interesting when reviewing past Town Commission meetings, which also had a number of adjourned meetings. It certainly supports the view that outbursts were a common feature in the day-to-day politics of the town and that their claims of humiliation by the town commissioners were not exaggerated. On hearing the news of the adjourned meeting, the Parish Priest said that he had hoped this was the last humiliating expedition for Dungarvan and that the new Urban District Council Board would act like gentlemen. The Bishop of Waterford agreed and in a letter to the local newspapers he wished the new Board all the best in their new political venture and hoped this would be the end of 'the disgraceful scenes that used to take place at the Town Board to the humiliation of the townspeople'.[14]

The first sitting of the Dungarvan Urban District Council was on Monday, 23 January 1899. In the chair was Mr. Thomas O'Connor, former chairman of the Town Commissioners. He had attended the first meeting as a Councillor and to formally give the chair to one of the newly elected councillors. Because Mr. James Hayes had received the most votes in the election, it was decided that he must chair the meeting. After much hesitation and reluctance, Hayes took the chair. His reasons for being cautious in accepting his new role were his comparative youth and lack of experience in comparison to Curran, who was also on the Board of Guardians. Hayes was 'assailed with epithets and insults, being called a Corkonian'.[15] Indeed he admitted his parents had hailed from Cork but he in fact was born and raised a Dungarvan man.

11. *Munster Express,* 14 January, 1899.
12. *ibid.*
13. *ibid.*
14. *Waterford Star,* 14 January, 1899.
15. *ibid.*, 28 January, 1899.

Mr. Thomas O'Connor formally vacated his chair and handed the position over to Hayes. It had been the customary practice that Hayes, out of courtesy, should have offered that O'Connor remain chairman for the next twelve months. The purpose of this proposed exercise was to enable the incoming chairman to observe and learn from the outgoing chairman and when he felt he was experienced enough he could assume the new position. However, Hayes did not observe this etiquette, perhaps because the presence of a former Town Commissioner at the head of the first Urban District Council would not have pleased the citizens who could have seen it as a last stand by the Town Commission.

Among those at the first meeting were all the newly elected candidates and Mr. John Hart, the Council solicitor, to ensure the proceedings were going as planned. The new Council's first business after giving the chair to Mr. Hayes, was 'to resolve that we, the Dungarvan Urban District Council respectfully request the Local Government Board for Ireland to make the period of office of County Councillors, Section 2, Subsection 2 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 apply to all members of this Council (three years)'. The motion was passed unanimously. The Dungarvan Urban District Council was now in session.

To think of the Urban District Council as just a political entity would be misleading. For some time, the town's clergy and population had rallied behind these Irish Catholic and mainly middle class Nationalists, in order that they would represent the town and what it stood for. By ridding the town of the mainly Protestant politicians, the Dungarvan people were able to express, through their councillors, their feelings on English politics in Ireland. The Urban District Council was not short on expressing its pride, like the rest of the Councils across Ireland and in asserting a Nationalist political outlook, with the possibility that this might lead to Home Rule.

Nationalism

In one of the Council's initial sittings, it was resolved 'that we, the members of the newly elected Dungarvan Urban District Council, take this opportunity of placing on record our firm determination never to rest satisfied until the cherished hope of the nation has been realised by the grant of a generous measure of Home Rule to our country'.[16] This was noted in the Minute Book and a copy was sent to the Chief Secretary, Lord Balfour in Dublin.

It was not too long before Councils across Ireland were notifying each other of their actions. Dungarvan Council had received a letter from Westmeath County Council explaining that they had taken action in placing 'Ireland's flag of green' on the Mullingar courthouse and hoped that all other Council bodies throughout Ireland would follow suit. Indeed, it was resolved 'that we, the Dungarvan Urban District Council, hold our meetings with the green flag floating over us in the Town Hall in future and that a green flag be ordered with the Dungarvan Arm'.[17]

16. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 23 January, 1899.
17. *ibid.*, 30 January, 1899.

Seeing this as a demonstration of nationalist unity 'many Councils attempted to fly what were described as Irish flags from Courthouses, much to the chagrin of Unionists'.[18]

Another circular came from Louth County Council acknowledging the financial relations between Ireland and England and believing that it was unfair that Ireland had to pay taxes to the English Crown annually. Louth County Council 'called on Irish representatives to make a united effort for the redress and called on the electors of Ireland to demand the resignation of the members who do not press the question until justice be done'.[19] It was becoming evident that the County Councils across Ireland were using their nationalist majority on the boards to voice anti-English opinions and they were not going to stop using this platform because the Councils represented the voices of their constituency.

In line with its Nationalist feelings, the Council worked hard with various groups and committees to promote the Irish language and culture. The Gaelic League was a welcome asset to the town and the Council granted the League its Town Hall to hold a *Feis* in December 1899 in order to promote Irish culture. By July 1901, the Council allowed a Gaelic League convention to be held in its Town Hall. The *United Irishman* urged all County and District Councils nationwide 'to give some attention to the erection, in at least the chief town of each county, of a hall capable of affording facilities... such rooms should be at the disposal of every organisation of an education[al] nature ... and could be utilised by Gaelic Leagues'.[20]

The Dungarvan people also showed their pride in Irish culture in another area. It was one of the earliest clubs set up after the foundation of the Gaelic Athletic Association. One of the founders, Archbishop Croke, visited the town and said of the English government: 'We will beat them out of the field of manly exercise as we will beat them out of the field of politics'.[21] Indeed it had achieved the former when Dungarvan 'in June 1908, [hosted] the All-Ireland hurling final [which] was played in the Gaelic field between Cork and Kilkenny'.[22]

The knowledge of the Irish language was widespread in urban and rural Dungarvan with 74.4% being able to speak the language just outside the town in Ring. In 1899, over 87.4% could speak Irish. The Urban District Council along with the Church set up an Education Committee in early 1899 in response to the passing of the Irish Education Act (1892). Dungarvan accepted the compulsory education clauses in September 1898 to give all children an education and more importantly an Irish education. The Church played a major educational role in the town. The Sisters of Mercy arrived in the town in the 1850s and the Christian Brothers were already residing in the town. The Council resolved 'that in all

18. Philip Bull, 'Land and Politics 1879-1903' in D.G. Boyce (ed.) (1988) *The Revolution in Ireland 1879-1923* (London) p.133.
19. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 7 August, 1899.
20. *United Irishman* 29 April, 1899.
21. Patrick C. Power, (2000) *A History of Dungarvan* (de Paor Prints) p.204.
22. *ibid.*, p. 216.

schools where Irish is the home language pupils shall be taught to read and write Irish from their first entrance into the school ... that in places where Irish is not the home language, it shall be lawful to teach Irish as a remunerated subject, within school hours and at the earliest stage at which pupils are capable of learning it'.[23]

It was important for the Council to promote the Irish language and education in the district. The county had one of the worst rates of illiteracy in Ireland and during the Urban District Council elections in the town one priest noted that there were so many townspeople unable to read their ballot cards that literate people had to help them in marking their voting cards. The Council agreed that there was an appalling level of illiteracy and hoped the new Education Act would help the new generations.

The Dungarvan Council also educated the townspeople in Irish history. It organised the commemoration of the Manchester Martyrs. In one of their meetings, it was noted 'that we the members of the Urban District Council of Dungarvan desire to express on the approaching anniversary of the Manchester Martyrs our highest approval of the sacrifices made'.[24] The anniversary was in memory of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien and was celebrated nationwide. It was widely covered in nationalist newspapers such as the *Freeman's Journal,* which commented, 'there are few of the honoured names on the roll of Irish heroes who sacrificed their lives for their native lands ... than those of the Manchester Martyrs'.[25] Dungarvan Urban District Council also put on a parade using their Young Ireland Society Band to celebrate the occasion. It later erected a monument to local man, Edmund Power, who was hanged by the English in 1799.

The Urban District Council also acknowledged international matters at its fortnightly meetings. Its condemnations of the English went as far a field as South Africa. It was resolved by the councillors that 'we...while regretting this unjust war against the Transvaal Republic, we cannot but regard and admire the plucky Boers for the brave and manly stand they are making for their homes, which a syndicate of English stock jobbers are trying to rob from us'.[26]

Financial difficulties

Though there was much increased nationalist enthusiasm amongst the councillors and townspeople for their new form of democracy 'the new emphasis in the country was upon the improvement of social and economic conditions and the demand for home rule had at least temporarily fallen into the background'.[27] The Dungarvan Council decided that one of its first moves was to set up committees. The Harbour Committee included Captain Sheehan, Edward Cashin, Michael Barry and John Walsh. The Road Committee comprised James Whelan, Thomas Barry, Tomas Veale, Michael Power, Patrick Veale and John Griffin. The Finance Committee comprised Thomas O'Connor, William Lawlor, James Dunne, Edmond Keohan and Thomas Power.

23. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 12 February, 1900.
24. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 20 November, 1899.
25. *Freemans Journal,* 21 November, 1898.
26. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 18 December, 1899.
27. F.S.L. Lyons, (1951) *The Irish Parliamentary Party 1890-1910* (Faber, London) p. 69.

The first request from the Finance Committee was to see the clerk's books to assess the financial condition of the town. It was known by the Dungarvan people that the Town Commissioners were not using the rates paid to them to their full potential but no one was prepared for the full breakdown of the town's financial state. Dungarvan was in major financial trouble. It owed very large sums of money to numerous groups. *The Waterford Star* reported that 'the position of the new Urban District Council financially is extremely bad. A sum of £1,703 is due in interest on mortgages, debts of all kinds. There were no less than thirty-six creditors and accounts that will need immediate attention'.[28] It was revealed that £8,431 8s5d was owed on the town's mortgages alone. The Town Commissioners had not even paid the Gas Company for the previous year, and now the company wanted two years payment immediately.

The Finance Committee became very suspicious at the serious lack of funds in the treasury and the huge amounts of debts outstanding. 'The Chairman admitted they were in financial difficulty. He asked one man if the Board owe him money; it did, but there was no record of it anywhere'.[29] One newspaper reported that the 'belief by the Urban District Council of Dungarvan was that Mr. Thomas McCarthy, Treasurer of the Town Commission Board had acted illegally in creating some of the mortgage accounts with current year rates without first having got a cheque from the board'.[30] It was not too long before the creditors began demanding money owed from the new Council. The Board of Works was owed £495 5s11d and sent a solicitor's letter to the Council stating 'unless the amounts set out at the foot of this letter is remitted to the Accountant here before the 20th, I am ordered on that day to commence proceedings'.[31] Another solicitor's letter followed shortly with a bill served by the Queen's Bench, with over £61 due. The Council was asked to attend the Taxation of Costs in Dublin to explain this outstanding debt and why the Queen's Bench had not received its money. Unfortunately again for the Finance Committee, another large debt was demanded: the Urban Sanitary Authority was owed £742 2s 6d and threatened that 'if payment isn't following an application will be made to the High Court of Justice in Ireland ... to compel you to perform your duty'.[32]

Pressured by financial difficulties, the Council felt it unfair and useless to force a large increase in rates to pay their outstanding bills. It was decided to increase rates to a realistic amount each year while giving its creditors payment gradually. But some could not even get this payment. The Gas Company wrote to the Council complaining that the cheque they had received from them had bounced. The town clerk also prepared a circular to ratepayers who had yet to pay, to do so immediately so the Council could pay their debts. The Councillors also noticed that some ratepayers had, even without the increase, great difficulty in paying. The Finance

28. *Waterford Star,* 14 January, 1899.
29. *Munster Express,* 4 February, 1899.
30. *Waterford Mail, 18* February, 1899.
31. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 13 March, 1899.
32. *ibid.,* 2 June, 1899.

Committee acknowledged that there were 'poor people holding small tenements of £1 and ten shillings valuation who in many cases earn scarcely any weekly wages and many nothing at all'.[33] The Urban District Council agreed that demanding rates from these poor people, whom they knew were unable to pay, was unnecessary and unfair. The Local Government Board in Dublin had a different outlook on the issue. It wrote to the Dungarvan Council pointing out that these people were liable to pay the rates owed and if they did not it would mean that Dungarvan Urban District Council would have to pay them. This they said was illegal and ordered the Council to gather all rates required.

By September 1899, the Council like most others in the country, was given notification that the Local Government Board was to send an auditor to inspect the towns' financial state. His task was very grim, nonetheless he complimented the Council on a much improved system but noted that 'the financial position of the town Commissioners was most unsatisfactory, transfers were made from one account to another which was irregular and illegal',[34] The auditor was pleased with Dungarvan's new administration and hoped that 'the various funds will be efficiently and economically administrated with due regard for the interest of the ratepayers'.[35]

Sanitation problems

Sanitary conditions in Dungarvan had also been a matter of concern for the old Town Commissioners. An inability to provide or even to improve sanitary conditions in the town had led to a number of epidemics of cholera and typhoid in previous years. The dispensary doctor had reported a series of epidemics around the town and in the workhouse. The local parish priest openly blamed the Town Commissioners for their ambivalent approach towards any sanitary authority and said that they had contributed to the recent deaths in the town. The priest believed that the Commissioners should visit the streets of the town, especially the artisan dwellings to witness the sewage themselves. The Town Commissioners finally accepted this when the grandson of the last chairman died at twenty-one from cholera. Though the Commissioners said that every landlord should comply with the Sanitary Act, it was not until the introduction of the Urban District Council that any real effort was made to improve this situation.

The Dungarvan Urban District Council was quick to set up a sanitary committee. Its first business was to inspect and report on conditions in the town. The sanitary officer reported on certain parts of the town littered with rubbish, sewage running down the streets and the unbearable stench that the people had to live with. One report said that 'there is an old store in Abbeyside and it's enough to bring fever on the place'.[36] Most of the artisan dwellings 'had earthen floors and were subject to dampness, while the roofs needed repair and there were no sanitary

33. *ibid.*, 18 December, 1899.
34. *ibid.*, 20 November, 1899.
35. *ibid.*
36. *Munster Express,* 11 March, 1899.

conveniences in them and no drains. Eight to ten persons lived in most of the houses.[37] The Council promised that they would do all they could to have all the sanitary laws carried out and also that an order was to be made that in future all persons were compelled to remove their rubbish from the streets.

Another distressing problem was water, or lack of it. The water supply to Dungarvan was very limited and even that supply was not reaching many of the houses in the town because the water pump was ineffective and unable to reach homes in high areas. As well as that the water was hard and unsuitable for domestic purposes. There was only one well for the town and that was over one mile outside Dungarvan. The Urban District Council pointed out that 'more supervision is needed for the water. It's going directly from the Spring to the town without being filtered. The pipes needed to be cleaned. Water can be undrinkable and very muddy at times'.[38]

In 1891 a reservoir was built to supply the town with water. It was to hold nearly ten million litres but proved insufficient. Along with the problem of reaching high areas, the town also expanded and the water pressure wasn't strong enough to reach the new areas. With limited access to water the Council employed a water Inspector, Mr. John Cullinane, with the following specific duties:

- 'The Inspector is to see that there is no misuse of the water supply in the town and the country where any supply is had for domestic purposes and for cattle.
- The inspector may, between 9 am and 4 pm, enter any house supplied with water to examine if there was any waste or misuse of such water.
- If refused entry the undertakers may turn off the water.
- Every person injuring any pipe or connection belonging to the Urban District Council is liable to a fine not exceeding five pounds.
- The inspector is especially to examine the automatic flushing tanks where adopted, and to see that it is but a 'drip' supply, which is flowing, and that the owners have them regulated so that only sufficient flows to start them once or twice in twenty four hours
- The Borough Surveyor will instruct how to regulate the flow and the Town Clerk will give a list where these [cistern] bathes are erected.
- A domestic supply does not include a supply for cattle, or even for flushing automatically.
- He is to practise and make use of the stethoscope for sounding with the ear during portions of the night outside premises on the line of service, so as to detect waste inside'.[39]

37. Power, *A History of Dungarvan,* p.214.
38. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 25 February, 1899.
39. *Dungarvan Minute Book,* 8 May, 1899.

With such limited supplies of water it was not surprising that the water inspector took his job very seriously. Reports were made to the Council on leaking taps and wasted water in certain residences. The inspector was later given the authority to prosecute parties for wasting water. The Council recognised the increased power of the inspector and noted that 'our solicitor be instructed to prosecute the parties reported by our water inspector for interfering with our water supply and illegally using some without any authority from this board'.[40] There were no favours given to any parties or groups. At one stage the Council sent a letter to the committee running the Gaelic Field saying that their water was to be switched off if the Council does not receive the water rates due to them. The Sisters of Mercy were ordered by the Council to stop interfering with the water supply and it was pointed out to them that their supply was for domestic use only. The water inspector also reported on the workhouse with problems of 'constant waste in the laundry with taps not turned off and water running into sewers, waste in the tank and dangerous taps'.[41]

It is interesting to note that on the occasion of detailing the job description for the water inspector and all other meetings in relation to the town's water supply, Thomas Power was always in the Chair. This was perhaps a coincidence, but when looking at his business interests it becomes more complicated. Power was a prosperous businessman in the trade of distilling and distributing cider as well as mineral water. Powers, as the company was known, operated its business on the outskirts of the town. It was a well-established concern and distributed their beverages around the country, and were the largest mineral water suppliers in the county, outside of Waterford city. Powers had their own well close to their premises. The water was sold in bottles or placed in large barrels, which were then placed on a horse and cart. Numerous times everyday an employee of Powers walked around the town and district selling the water to the townspeople. Most used empty buckets when purchasing the water, which was mainly used for domestic purposes. Power held the monopoly of constant pure and regular water in the town, but at a price. It is not clear for how much the water was sold, but either way the Power Company was making a very large profit.

Therefore with Thomas Power always chairing such meetings, it was no surprise when he announced a rise of six pence in the pound for water rates in the town. Though the water rates increased the condition of the water supply remained irregular and dirty. Dungarvan had to continue with these conditions until a new reservoir replaced the old one at the Spring was constructed at Deelish, in December 1909 at the cost of £4,500. Coincidently, with the clean and regular water supply now available in most Dungarvan homes, Powers mineral water component of their company was closed down within a few years.

The establishment of local representative Councils presented many practical difficulties. It was generally believed, in official circles, that the new system of opening the doors of Irish politics to local governance would lead to chaos as the

40. *ibid.*, 3 July, 1899.
41. *ibid.*, 19 June, 1899.

citizens were perceived to be unable to govern themselves. Dungarvan confounded this perception. While the new nationalist councillors rejoiced in what was seen as a 'stepping stone to Home Rule', they proved that not only could they improve the town's economic and social infrastructure but they could also govern their district better than the previous Town Commissioners. The Urban District Council moved the town away from the depression of water shortage, epidemics, financial difficulties and corruption that had been a major burden on the town whilst under the authority of the Town Commissioners. The Council almost immediately transformed the town and Dungarvan quickly acquired a reputation as a serious trading centre and also as a popular tourist destination.

The changeover to the new system of local administration took place relatively smoothly, an indication of the degree to which local government had evolved in Ireland since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dungarvan, like many similar towns in rural Ireland, availed of the opportunities presented by the Act to position itself as the major trading centre and as the political voice of west Waterford; a strategy that was successfully consolidated in the aftermath of independence.

Waterford and IRA Gun-Running, 1917-22

by Emmet O'Connor

AS THE War of Independence escalated in 1920, the munitions requirement of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) far exceeded the capacity of its supply methods, and the shortfall became steadily more acute. The supply of munitions to the IRA during the independence struggle is one of the neglected aspects of the campaign. While more information is coming to light as historians dig deeper, the subject has yet to be treated as other than an incidental sidelight in biographies or studies of more mainstream topics. The want of primary sources is an obvious problem. So too is reliable evidence. Each level of command within the IRA routinely understated to its superiors the armament at its disposal, to get more stuff, or for fear of stuff being redistributed. Even the process of arms acquisition by the brigades remained a mystery to General Head Quarters (GHQ).[1] Gun-runners rarely record their activities until time, exile, or political change have granted them an immunity; and when memoirs do appear, they are often vague or confused in chronology, or in conflict on detail. This article seeks to straighten the tangled narrative of attempted IRA arms importation from Great Britain, the United States (US), Germany, Italy, and Soviet Russia, from 1917 to 1922, with particular reference to Waterford, based on snippets of information in secondary sources, a critical review of recollections, and the few available primary sources.

Supply and demand

Estimates of IRA membership during the war vary from 3,000-5,000 activists, with perhaps another 50,000 involved in some intermittent or marginal way.[2] All sources agree that the force was badly equipped when hostilities began in January 1919, and that there was a progressive improvement in armament, especially during the twelve months preceding the truce in July 1921. The nine brigades later grouped into the 1st Southern Division - those in Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and west Limerick - which accounted for over 25% of IRA strength, started the fight with about 120 rifles, and little ammunition. By June 1921, the 1st Southern Division had 578 modern service rifles, eleven light machine guns, over 1,000 revolvers and pistols, and a considerable quantity of ammunition.[3] The burgeoning arsenal still lagged behind the IRA's expanding operational capacity, and quality and suitability of weaponry and mismatches of arms and ammunition remained nagging

1. John P. Duggan (1991) *A History of the Irish Army* (Dublin), pp. 63-64.
2. Arthur Mitchell (1995) *Revolutionary Government in Ireland: Dáil Éireann, 1919-22* (Dublin), p. 275.
3. Florence O Donoghue (1954) *No Other Law: The Story of Liam Lynch and the Irish Republican Army, 1916-1923* (Dublin), p. 176.

problems. Historians agree too that brigades largely armed themselves. Each volunteer paid a weekly levy to buy his own weapon, and weapons were obtained through purchases, donations, seizures, or captures. Most IRA operations were concerned with acquiring weapons. Nine hundred raids for arms had taken place by August 1920, and two thousand eight hundred by September, after which the level declined due to better security measures. British army captures from the IRA were not significant until the period from March 1921, when major seizures were effected in Dublin.[4]

What we know of Waterford's story fits the general pattern. Following the split in the movement in 1914, the armament of the Irish Volunteers in Dungarvan consisted of one Martini rifle, a few .22 rifles, and two Colt revolvers. Subsequently ten Martinis were seized and sent to Waterford city. Rifles were purchased from GHQ in 1917; raids for arms, chiefly on big houses, began in 1918, and stocks of home made shot and gunpowder were accumulated. Hand guns were bought from sailors in Cardiff, and Joe Wyse, later quartermaster of the (west) Waterford no.2 Brigade, smuggled weapons from Germany and the US when working as a ship's steward. Firepower remained inadequate. In the Pickardstown ambush on 7 January 1921, the IRA's biggest offensive in east Waterford, twenty two of the fifty two snipers were equipped with shotguns.[5]

Since 1917 Michael Collins had been building an arms importation network through the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), of which he was head. Subsequently, as Minister of Finance in the *Dáil* cabinet, he also had responsibility for purchases. Small consignments of munitions were smuggled from Britain and, to a lesser extent, the US.[6] Most British material was collected in dumps around Glasgow, taken by road to Liverpool, and then concealed on regular shipping services, chiefly to Dublin, but also to Sligo, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, for receipt by sympathetic dockers. German interest in Ireland revived on America's entry into the World War in April 1917, and German agents intimated to the US wing of the IRB, *Clan na Gael,* that they would be willing to send arms to Ireland as they had in 1916. Liam Mellows, who had gone to the US after the Easter Rising, was deputed to liaise with Germans, and the Volunteers were alerted to the possibility of an arms landing on the Wexford coast.[7] Pax Whelan, later commandant of the Waterford no.2 Brigade, spent summer nights in 1918 in a rowing boat off Stradbally, vainly awaiting contact with German submarines.[8] As occasional

4. Charles Townshend (1975) *The British Campaign in Ireland, 1919-21: The Development of Political and Military Policies* (Oxford), p. 61, pp. 175-76. Over the six months from December 1920, Crown forces captured 300 rifles, 554 shotguns, 731 pistols, and 45,593 rounds of ammunition. Townshend, *The British Campaign in Ireland,* p. 195.
5. Seán and Síle Murphy (1985) *The Comeraghs: Refuge of Rebels (Story of the Déise Brigade, IRA, 1914-24)* (Waterford), pp. 4-7, p. 13, pp. 27-28.
6. Mitchell (1991) *Revolutionary Government,* p. 116, pp. 230-31; Tim Pat Coogan, *Michael Collins: A Biography* (London), p. 64.
7. C. Desmond Greaves (1971) *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* (London), pp. 126-27, p. 225.
8. Uinseann Mac Eoin (ed) (1987) *Survivors* (Dublin), p. 132.

small supplies became woefully inadequate, and the arms ship from the US never materialized, Collins's eyes turned to Germany. With its defence forces being drastically reduced by the Allies under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was Europe's great arms bazaar. It also attracted some of the strangest characters ever to serve the IRA, 'a weird lot' in Bob Briscoe's opinion.

A weird lot

By 1919 or early 1920, Collins had a buyer in Berlin, John Dowling, who was spending money with no tangible results. In February 1920 Collins asked Briscoe, then attached to the *Fianna* headquarters, to work for Dowling and establish small arms dumps in German, Dutch, and Belgian ports, for shipments to London, Liverpool, and Manchester. An import-export firm, Kenny, Murray and Company Ltd, was set up in Ballinasloe as a front, and Briscoe posed as its foreign agent for woollens. As a Dublin Jewish merchant of Lithuanian descent, Briscoe seemed an unlikely IRA man, and had little difficulty in commuting through England. In dealing with the German military underground he used the swashbuckling pseudonym 'Captain Swift'.[9] Briscoe implies that he went to Germany in February or March 1920. Yet he also says that he met Dowling in the office of J.T. Ryan, and Ryan did not reach Germany until 18 December 1920.[10] Ryan, a techy type who took a dislike to Briscoe, which appears to have been reciprocated, was probably more central to the gun-running than Briscoe suggests.[11] A lawyer and former US army captain, Ryan was also a major arms agent in the US who operated under a variety of code names – including 'Bisonkind', 'Jetter', or 'Professor Jetter'. In 1916 he was the *Clan na Gael* liaison officer with Karl Spindler, who captained the German arms ship *Aud* to Ireland before the Easter Rising, which led to his indictment for treason and flight to Mexico two years later. On 16 August 1920, Ryan informed his *Clan na Gael* colleague, Joe McGarrity, that he was leaving for Germany with $10,000, and intended to send 'a good shipment of the right goods' to Ireland.[12] With a hint of resentment, Briscoe claims he was appointed by the Irish Americans, but acknowledges him as the IRA 'representative' in Germany. Briscoe found Dowling more reprehensible, and thought him honest but out of his depth, trying to pass for an American called James McGregor by sporting riding breeches and a five gallon hat, a disguise that 'would not have fooled a Bavarian shepherd'. He later had him recalled by Collins, and meanwhile liaised with Major Hassenhauer of the Orgesh, a clandestine circle of army officers intent on hiding weapons from the Allied commission supervising disarmament. Large quantities of Peter the Painters, Parabellums, and ammunition were bought and stored, with the connivance of the Orgesh, in warehouses in Hamburg, Bremen, and Stettin.[13]

9. Robert Briscoe (1958) *For the Life of Me* (London), pp. 78-83.
10. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* p. 81; Brian P. Murphy (1995) *John Chartres: Mystery Man of the Treaty* (Dublin), p. 34.
11. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* p. 103.
12. Murphy, *John Chartres,* pp. 30-33; Seán Cronin (1972) *The McGarrity Papers* (Tralee), p. 69, p. 99.
13. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* pp. 78-83.

Collins then arranged for their collection and shipment to Ireland.[14] When this material arrived in Ireland is unclear.

An Italian fiasco

On 18 June 1920, Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh, the Republic's representative in Rome, wrote to Arthur Griffith, advising him of an offer of 'materials' from Gabriele D'Annunzio, leader of the irridentist *Arditi*. Though Ó Ceallaigh was unsure of how seriously to treat the offer, he proposed to pursue it, and suggested that Collins enquire about buying munitions cheaply in Fiume, known to be a centre of arms smuggling to Egypt.[15] Collins seems to have had persistent doubts about the wisdom of running guns along the long sea route from Italy, but he relented under pressure from the Munster brigades, who felt they were doing the bulk of the fighting with little help from GHQ.

Brigade representatives from west Waterford, Cork, Kerry and west Limerick were summoned to GHQ in August to discuss progress, and informed by Collins of negotiations to purchase a shipload of arms in Italy.[16] Problems at GHQ were exacerbated by tension between Collins and Cathal Brugha, TD for Co. Waterford and Minister of Defence, who wanted to make Collins and the IRB more accountable to the Dáil cabinet. Brugha complained in particular of irregularities, and possible corruption, in IRB spending in Scotland. For a time, all purchases were suspended as the confusion of IRA and IRB transactions was sorted out.[17] On 13-14 November 1920 an IRA conference approved a general restructuring of munitions provision; appointing James O Donovan as Director of Chemicals, Seán Russell as Director of Munitions, and Liam Mellows as Director of Purchases. O Donovan established an explosives factory in London. Russell visited the English midlands for components for homemade weapons. Mellows's responsibility was the importation of arms and ammunition. For the moment, Mellows was in an invidious position. In addition to the friction between Brugha and Collins, Brugha insisted that the war be carried to England. On 28 November the IRA burned seventeen warehouses in Liverpool, provoking heightened British vigilance which temporarily choked the Liverpool arms route.[18] In consequence of GHQ's incapacity, the Munster brigades began to pursue an increasingly independent policy.

On 2 December the (west) Cork no.3 Brigade was asked to prepare for an arms landing from the continent.[19] But on 3 December the IRA army council noted that the 3rd Tipperary Brigade, whose operational area included north Waterford, had

14. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* pp. 82-83; Murphy, *John Chartres,* pp. 48-49.
15. National Archives of Ireland, Department of Foreign Affairs collection, Early Series files, Paris 1920.
16. Liam Deasy (1977) *Towards Ireland Free: The West Cork Brigade in the War of Independence, 1917-21* (Cork), pp. 131-34; Coogan, *Michael Collins,* p. 170.
17. Mitchell, *Revolutionary Government,* pp. 230-31; Michael Hopkinson (1988) *Green Against Green: A History of the Irish Civil War* (Dublin), p. 17.
18. Coogan, *Michael Collins,* p. 153.
19. Deasy, *Towards Ireland Free,* pp. 178-79.

collected £3,000 and intended to seek its own supplies – in flagrant breach of IRA policy. Though Mellows travelled to Liverpool before Christmas and got small shipments resumed, he felt obliged to let the 3rd Tipperary Brigade go ahead. Another IRA conference on 11 December agreed to enquire about obtaining arms from the *Arditi*, and shipping them to Ireland on a Tyneside collier. Michael Leahy, vice-commandant of the Cork no.1 Brigade and a marine engineer, left for Genoa on 2 January. Shortly afterwards, Mellows visited Waterford and Cork, and Greaves adds in his irritatingly opaque shorthand style: 'Three vessels came into Waterford, from Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow. Sean Lane who worked for Clyde Shipping used to bring small quantities of chemicals'.[20] Whatever arrived in Waterford was not enough. To make matters worse, GHQ levied a collection of rifles from Dublin units in early 1921 which never reached their intended recipients in Munster.[21] The 'Scotch accounts' dispute also rumbled on, necessitating de Valera's intervention.[22]

On 6 January, the first formal conference of officers of the southern brigades took place at Glanworth, Co. Cork.[23] Another conference on 12-13 February confirmed that an arms landing point had been selected at Squince strand, near Myross in west Cork, and reiterated dissatisfaction with GHQ. Pax Whelan hastened to Dublin to demand a meeting with GHQ staff, and pressed for a landing, preferably at Stradbally rather than west Cork, where the British were more active. To Whelan's dismay, Collins advanced every argument against a landing, and seemed totally opposed to the Italian plan.[24] Over the next three months GHQ dithered. Following divers difficulties, Leahy entered Italy on 28 March, met D'Annunzio, and found a vessel.[25] In mid April the west Cork men were ordered by GHQ to make ready for the discharge of 20,000 rifles, 500 machine guns, and several million rounds of ammunition from an Italian steamer, and began a week of preparations.[26] Now Mellows started harbouring doubts, feeling it would be better to bring a boat from Germany. He was unhappy too with Squince strand, and Whelan suggested Helvic, of which Mellows had colourful memories. In October 1916, while fleeing to Liverpool, his schooner had sheltered in Helvic and Mellows spent a boisterous night in Sylvie Murray's pub with the ship's company, who eventually came to blows with policemen sent to remove them. On 13 April, Máire Comerford visited Dungarvan, inspected Ring harbour at Mellows's request, and sent back a favourable report.[27] Leahy arrived back in Dublin on 26 April, complaining that he had not received any money from GHQ. Ominously, his weekly

20. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 223, pp. 226-28.
21. O Donoghue, *No Other Law,* p. 42.
22. Hopkinson, *Green Against Green,* p. 17.
23. Deasy, *Towards Ireland Free,* p. 227.
24. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 230; Mac Eoin, *Survivors,* p. 139.
25. Coogan, *Michael Collins,* pp. 170-72.
26. Tom Barry (1971) *Guerilla Days in Ireland* (Tralee), pp. 142-45. Barry gives Union Hall as the landing port, but is not as detailed on the landing as Deasy, *Towards Ireland Free,* passim, who pinpoints Squince strand.
27. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* pp. 99-100, pp. 230-31.

despatches to GHQ had not been received.[28] Surprisingly, preparations for a landing at Squince strand continued into late May, when the idea was finally abandoned.[29]

Submarines and Tommy guns

Meanwhile Séamus Robinson, commandant of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade, had asked Briscoe to work for him rather than GHQ.[30] Robinson envisaged seven brigades in Munster backing this independent initiative. When Briscoe refused, Robinson approached Roddy Connolly, a member of the clandestine Irish Communist Groups and a frequent visitor to Germany. Robinson's adjutant embarked for Berlin with Connolly and Billy Beaumont, a polo-playing ex-British army officer and a member of the Communist Groups. With Briscoe's help they contacted a German general staff officer, who offered to sell them 'three submarines, and a large quantity of minenwerfer and anti-tank guns'. It has been claimed that the project unravelled in Germany. At the same time, Seán Beaumont, Billy's brother, travelled to Moscow in September to plead that the obstacle was money and if the Communist International would bankroll the arms deal it would give the Communist Groups a 'tremendous influence' within the IRA. The Comintern declined to receive him.[31]

The request for communist help was not unusual. In May 1917 the IRB appointed Pat McCartan as its envoy to Russia, where 'the representatives of the workmen, soldiers, and sailors had referred to Ireland in a friendly resolution; and we believed they would soon be in power'.[32] Unable to reach Russia, McCartan's mission continued in the US instead. He eventually arrived in Moscow in February 1921 to conclude an Ireland-Russia recognition treaty and, he hoped, secure rifles. Foreign commissar Chicherin received him promptly, but refused to entertain the sale of rifles or ammunition to the IRA. The Soviets had been enthusiastic about a recognition treaty between the two pariah states in 1920, but now feared it would damage their improving relations with Britain. McCartan left Russia empty handed in June.[33]

Characteristically, Collins had his own scheme afoot in the form of a request to *Clan na Gael* for Thompson submachine guns. Prototypes of this new weapon, in

28. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* pp. 230-31; Coogan, *Michael Collins,* pp. 170-72.
29. Deasy, *Towards Ireland Free,* pp. 271-72.
30. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* p. 89.
31. Rossiiskii Gosudartsvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'no-Politicheskoi Istorii, Moscow (Russian State Archive for Social and Political History, cited here and below as RGASPI), Report on the work of the Irish Communist Groups, 495/89/2-30/33; Mac Néill [pseudonym of Seán Beaumont] to Rakosi, secretary of the Comintern, 3 September 1921, 495/89/8-2; Smith to Rakosi, 3 December 1921, 395/89/8-40/41. For other, disparaging, versions of what happened in Germany see Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* pp. 226-27, and Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* p. 89.
32. Patrick McCartan (1932) *With de Valera in America* (Dublin), pp. 2-3.
33. National Library of Ireland, Patrick McCartan papers, ms 17682.

which there was considerable international interest, were made in 1919 and 1920, but the gun did not go into production for other than demonstration purposes before 1921. Irish agents ordered 100 Thompsons in January 1921, and secured nearly the whole of the April and May output. Officers of the Cork no.1 Brigade recalled the receipt of thirty Thompsons from a US ship before 26 April, though the weapon's limited production by that date casts doubt on the claim. There are reports too of a trickle of other consignments being smuggled in, but no evidence of the guns being deployed. Two guns and two Irish American instructors did arrive at IRA GHQ in April. On 16 June, a Thompson riddled a troop train at Drumcondra, its first ever use in warfare. The British thought they had been hit by intense revolver fire. However that same day, 495 Thompsons, destined for landing at Baltimore, west Cork, were seized on the collier *East Side* at Hoboken, New Jersey. Some fifty Thompsons arrived in Ireland around 9 July, but it was to little too late to revolutionise IRA firepower in the war.[34]

The *Frieda*

Despite the truce on 11 July, GHQ ordered the intensification of the search for munitions, and Brugha's Defence Department loaned £1,000 to the 1st Western Division to set up arms factories.[35] British security measures against the importation of arms also remained in place.

Briscoe had made his first visit to the west Waterford Brigade on 9 June to discuss a landing of German arms at Helvic - with almost fatal consequences. On arrival at brigade headquarters at Cappagh he was mistaken for a spy, interrogated, and nearly executed.[36] In early August Mellows was driven to Waterford city by the Woods family, to arrange for the concealment of guns in consigments to McDonald's margarine factory. 'He spent an evening at Gracedieu playing the fiddle with Cormac McGinley and Seamus Nolan, two former *Fianna* boys now in the Volunteers'.[37] Later that month Briscoe returned from Germany and briefed GHQ on substantial purchases. The problem was transport. Billy Beaumont suggested a submarine. Collins liked the idea and recommended Charlie McGuinness, a daredevil sea captain with the IRA in Donegal, as skipper. McGuinness dismissed the submarine plan as absurd, and said it would as wise to use a Cunarder or a Zeppelin. What was needed was a very ordinary looking boat. Collins agreed, and placed £30,000 at his disposal.[38]

34. J. Bowyer Bell, 'The Thompson submachine gun in Ireland, 1921', *The Irish Sword,* vol.8 (1967-68), pp. 98-108; Liam Farrell, 'The Tommy gun: the Irish connection', *History Ireland,* vol.8, no.4 (winter 2000), pp. 5-6.
35. Mitchell, *Revolutionary Government,* p. 313.
36. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* pp. 90-91.
37. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 253.
38. Charles John McGuinness (1934) *Nomad: Memoirs of an Irish Sailor, Soldier, Pearl-Fisher, Pirate, Gun-runner, Rum-runner, Rebel and Antarctic Explorer* (London), pp. 165-67.

McGuinness was not impressed with the 'college professor', Ryan, in Berlin, and decided to implement his own scheme from Hamburg with Briscoe.[39] By 9 September he had found a leaky fishing trawler, the *Anita*, and spent a few weeks caulking it. Seán Beaumont, hot foot from Moscow, provided him with a crew of communist sailors.[40] However, McGuinness, posing as 'Captain Thompson', had drawn attention ashore. Expecting to be arrested at any minute, he tried desperately to get the *Anita's* engine running, and then decided to sail to Helvic! As the *Anita* slipped away she was boarded by harbour police. McGuinness came clean, leaving the police rather crestfallen at having frustrated a blow against their recent enemy. A farcical trial ensued. McGuinness threw himself at the mercy of the court; the judge berated him for the benefit of the British observer, fined him a paltry 2,000 marks, and privately wished him better luck on his next trip.[41] The *Anita* was returned to him, and even the confiscated munitions ended up in one of Briscoe's dumps.[42] The incident attracted plenty of publicity. Questions were asked in the Reichstag, and the British lodged a 'grave protest' with the Irish delegation at the treaty negotiations in London. Erskine Childers, secretary to the delegation, informed de Valera that either the importation of munitions or the negotiations would have to be suspended.[43] On 31 October the IRA Chief of Staff, Richard Mulcahy, ordered an end to arms imports during the truce.[44]

Briscoe and McGuinness meanwhile had taken an option to buy a 3,000 ton tramp steamer, the *Karl Marx*, purchased the tug *Frieda* for £500, and recruited crews from the Orgesh. On 28 October the *Frieda* towed the *Karl Marx* out of Hamburg, ostensibly for sea trials. Instead the *Karl Marx* was cast off to sail around the coast for two days, drawing the attention of the British naval patrols, while the *Frieda*, with customs clearance for a cargo to Rotterdam, headed towards the English channel.[45] Word of the departure had been sent ahead to Mellows. It was a little under 800 miles to Helvic and, at a rate of twelve knots, an untroubled voyage would take three days. On the following evening, Mellows took the train to Waterford and met Pierce Kavanagh, who drove him to Helvic. Above Helvic Head they joined Whelan, Liam Lynch, commandant of the 1st Southern Division, and Joe Vize from GHQ. A distress signal was to be the sign for two fishing boats to rendezvous with the *Frieda* and offload the cargo. Mellows kept returning to

39. McGuinness, *Nomad,* pp. 165-67.
40. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 261.
41. McGuinness, *Nomad,* pp. 168-72.
42. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* p. 101.
43. McGuinness, *Nomad,* p. 172. National Archives, Dáil Éireann papers, Childers to de Valera, 21 October, 2/304/1.
44. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 261. At the same time, in December 1921, the IRA Quarter Master General reported, 'There has been no slackness or neglect in the Department'; University College, Dublin Archives, Ernie O Malley papers, statement of munitions by the Quarter Master General, P17a/2.
45. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* pp. 264-65; Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* pp. 104-6; McGuinness, *Nomad,* pp. 172-73.

Waterford during the next week, leaving the train at Kilmacow for the drive to Helvic. By 10 November he believed that the vessel had foundered.[46] That night McGuinness was cruising up and down off Helvic, bewildered by the absence to a response to his signals.

The *Frieda* had encountered severe storms off Cuxhaven and sheltered at Terschelling, in the Friesian Islands. McGuinness dutifully hoisted the red danger flag 'B', to warn that he was carrying explosives, prompting the locals to speculate that they had a Bolshevik gun-runner in their fishing harbour. The adventure might have come to a premature end had the storms not disabled Terschelling's radio mast. After a nerve wracking delay, calm weather returned and McGuinness steamed into the English channel, making alterations to the *Frieda's* paintwork for disguise. West of Rotterdam, McGuinness's customs papers would be useless. More bad weather blew him off course, and his first sight of Ireland was the light on the Old Head of Kinsale. Hours before McGuinness reached Helvic a fog had set in, and a British cruiser had anchored in Dungarvan bay. When the watch spotted faint signals through the fog it was decided after some argument not to respond. Whelan ventured out in a boat but failed to make contact. McGuinness concluded that Ireland's legendary ignorance of the sea had caused the watch to be cancelled. 'In awful plight', he noted in his diary, 'not knowing where to go and daylight drawing nigh'. The wind and sea were rising, and the *Frieda's* coal bunkers were nearly exhausted. McGuinness then made one of those daring decisions that often separate complete success from abject failure: to run into Waterford harbour in broad daylight and tie up at one of the fishing villages. Captain and crew spent a miserable voyage along the Waterford coast, with the German sailors muttering about the Irish failure to aid Spindler's *Aud*, and warning that another fiasco awaited them.[47]

> Sunday morning. We head up for the Hook off entrance to Waterford River. Reach that point about nine o'clock. We pass Dunmore and its coastguard station, but we hoist no signals past Duncannon Fort on up to Passage. Here all vessels must signal or report, but we keep steadily on, paying no heed to signals flying there. Above Passage we ran on bank, and, after manouevring, manage to get the Frieda off...We keep steaming on, and where the river divided in two at the island we take the old channel to port, and, out of sight in a sheltered anchorage, we let go anchor at noon.[48]

McGuinness then rowed ashore and walked to Waterford, where he knew no one. On enquiring at a parochial house after the commander of the IRA, he was told sharply, 'Why don't you ask the Mayor? He's a Sinn Feiner!'. At 8pm McGuinness returned to the *Frieda* with the Mayor, Dr Vincent White. Without

46. Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 264.
47. McGuinness, *Nomad,* pp. 173-76; for the response at Helvic see Mac Eoin, *Survivors,* p. 141, and Murphy, *The Comeraghs,* pp. 50-51.
48. From McGuinness's diary, *Nomad,* p. 176.

enough coal to raise steam, he floated her down to Cheekpoint, where 200 rifles – mainly Mausers and sporting guns – Peter the Painters and 10,000 rounds of ammunition were manhandled along a human chain throughout the night. Two lorries and four cars took the stuff to Keating's in the Comeraghs.[49] Joe O Connor, quartermaster of the 1st Southern Division, then supervised the distribution.[50] The German sailors were escorted to Dublin and onward to Newcastle on Tyne, from where they could unobtrusively secure a working passage back home. The cargo was a significant fillip for the IRA, given that 313 rifles in total were imported during the truce, and ninety from August 1920 to July 1921.[51] To stiffen their resolve, word was sent immediately to the Irish delegation in London.[52] After the *Frieda* was refuelled and prepared to cast off, two destroyers approached from Waterford. Fearing the worst, McGuinness's IRA crew suggested a dash under the Barrow bridge. The skipper held his nerve, and the destroyers cruised on. They had been delayed in Waterford awaiting prisoners from Kilkenny jail for transport to Cork. The *Frieda* then sailed to Boatstrand, where McGuinness sold her for £1,000 to Captain Jeremiah Collins, a retired mariner and merchant in Cork. Collins put the *Frieda* to ferrying stores for the British navy in Cork harbour, her republican navy days behind her, or so it seemed.[53]

The *Hanna*

McGuinness and Briscoe next formed 'International Shippers' and bought a 2,000 ton tramp steamer, the *City of Dortmund*, from Palgrave Murphy. Briscoe intended that she would run clean cargo between Germany and Ireland, pending a really big job. However the IRA soon availed of the *Dortmund* to smuggle chemicals into Dublin and 200 Parabellums into Cork.[54] Republicans also brought off two spectacular domestic coups. The 3rd Tipperary Brigade captured a sizable quantity of munitions and armoured vehicles in a raid on Clonmel barracks in February. And on 29 March the Cork no.1 Brigade intercepted the British admiralty tug *Upnor*, as she was evacuating munitions from Haulbowline to Portsmouth, and forced her into Ballycotton. The interceptor was none other than the *Frieda*, now named the *Warrior*, and commandeered at gunpoint along with Captain Collins. While the

49. Murphy, *The Comeraghs,* pp. 50-51.
50. O Donoghue, *No Other Law,* p. 225. According to Murphy, *John Chartres,* p. 68, the munitions were distributed throughout the south and west.
51. University College, Dublin Archives, Ernie O'Malley Papers, report on activities, Quarter Master general, 19 December 1921, P17a/2.
52. *Nomad,* pp. 175-76; Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 264; Murphy, *John Chartres,* p. 68.
53. According to McGuinness, *Nomad,* pp. 179-82, Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* pp. 105-6, and Greaves, *Liam Mellows,* p. 265, Mellows insisted to GHQ that McGuinness keep the *Frieda.* However, Mellows later suggested that the IRA might sell its replacement, the *City of Dortmund,* and there is a lengthy report into alleged fraud in the purchase of material in Germany, including the *Anita* and *Frieda*, in University College, Dublin Archives, Ernie O Malley papers, P17a/4.
54. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* pp. 105-6.

British War Office admitted to the loss of 381 rifles, 700 revolvers, and 25,000 rounds of ammunition, it was widely rumoured that the haul was more substantial. Alarmed, Michael Collins accused Winston Churchill of wilful negligence to destabilize the Provisional Government. The British reassured him by equipping the future Free State army with 2,000 rifles.[55]

Back in Germany, the intrepid McGuinness and Briscoe had purchased the *Hanna*, a two masted steel schooner with an auxiliary motor. Briscoe and Ryan arranged to have her loaded with six tons of munitions, including 500 pistols, 200 rifles, machine guns and one million rounds of ammunition.[56] With a German skipper and crew, and McGuinness as navigator, the *Hanna* left Bremen on 24 March, nominally bound for Vigo in Spain with a cargo of cement, which served as ballast and cover for the contraband.[57] Briscoe and Whelan co-ordinated her reception at Helvic. Although the British military evacuation from the south of Ireland was well underway, the possibility of interception by the Royal Navy remained. As late as 2 June, a British destroyer stopped the *Seattle Spirit* in Tralee bay and impounded forty barrels of stuff, bound for Cork from Boston.[58] On the night of 2 April the *Hanna* arrived in rough seas and gale force winds, narrowly avoided the rocks beyond the Gainers' buoy, and groped her way nervously towards the flashing signals above Helvic. The lifeboat and a trawler hurriedly put out to dissuade her from hazarding an entry until daybreak. Next day, the *Hanna's* engine refused to fire, and she sailed into Ballynagaul, and was warped alongside the pier. With no security surveillance to worry about, the munitions were unloaded in broad daylight to horse drawn carts, and removed by the Tipperary no.1 Brigade for despatch to the six counties, in line with Collins's policy of assisting northern nationalists.[59] One Tipperary Volunteer recalled 'a squadron of small vans' from Derry and Tyrone trundling through Birr towards Waterford, and returning late the same day, fully laden.[60] 'Which only goes to show how none of us expected a conflict',

55. Accounts of the *Upnor* incident conflict on detail. See Coogan, *Michael Collins,* pp. 314-15; Hopkinson, *Green Against Green,* pp. 73-74; Duggan, *A History of the Irish Army,* p. 76; Calton Younger (1968) *Ireland's Civil War* (London), pp. 253-54; Eoin Neeson (1989) *The Civil War,* 1922-23 (Dublin), pp. 97-100; *Ireland Over All,* 7 April 1922. Neeson describes the Warrior as Lloyd's tug, but McGuinness, *Nomad,* p. 185, claims she was formerly the *Frieda,* and O Donoghue, *No Other Law,* p. 225, says Collins was the skipper.
56. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* p. 112.
57. McGuinness, *Nomad,* pp. 200-6.
58. National Library of Ireland, Florence O'Donoghue papers, ms 31253.
59. Briscoe, *For the Life of Me,* pp. 115-16; McGuinness logged her as arriving on 3 April, but Whelan claims plausibly that the log was falsifed for the customs, who were not notified until 4 April, after the cargo had been discharged, Mac Eoin, *Survivors,* p. 141; McGuinness, *Nomad,* pp. 200-6; Murphy, *John Chartres,* p. 115. According to Murphy, *The Comeraghs,* pp. 58-59, the lifeboat was mistaken initially for a British patrol boat and nearly rammed. On Collin's assistance to northern nationalists see Michael Farrell, 'Collins and the north', *Irish Times,* 3 September 1982.
60. Mac Eoin, *Survivors,* pp. 268-69.

Whelan later remarked. 'Had we been preparing for a civil war we would have held [the stuff] here...'.[61] It seems a curious oversight on the part of the anti-Treaty Waterford Brigade, given the earlier raids on Clonmel barracks and the *Upnor*. With Whelan's heavily armed entourage in attendance, the customs at Helvic had little choice but to accept McGuinness's yarn about being blown off course *en route* to Vigo. What happened to the *Hanna* is not so certain. 'I cannot say what later became of the vessel, officially my property: it was seized by the Free State', according to Whelan. McGuinness says the *Hanna* was cleared for Wexford, where he sold his cement and put the schooner into legal commerce.[62]

The IRA's quest for arms continued up to the end of the Civil War. In May Briscoe received £10,000 from Mellows to arrange the biggest ever shipment from Germany. Once again, McGuinness was to skipper the boat.[63] As the Tralee bay incident demonstrates, Irish American efforts to aid republicans continued. Up to the eve of the Civil War, Collins had buyers in London finalising a deal to obtain arms for the anti-Treaty IRA, who would then release their weapons to northern republicans.[64] In August two senior IRA commanders signed a provisional agreement with British agents of the Communist International to adopt a radical social programme in return for Comintern aid in funding an arms ship.[65] That same month the naval authorities in Belfast notified Mulcahy that IRA supplies were due to be smuggled on the *Wicklow Head* from Hamburg to Cork, Dublin and Belfast.[66] Until his death in April 1923 Liam Lynch was in touch with agents in Germany, convinced that a battery of mountain artillery or a submarine from Germany would transform the patently hopeless position of the IRA in the Civil War.[67] None of these schemes came to fruition, and the *Hanna* was the last arms landing of the period.

Conclusion

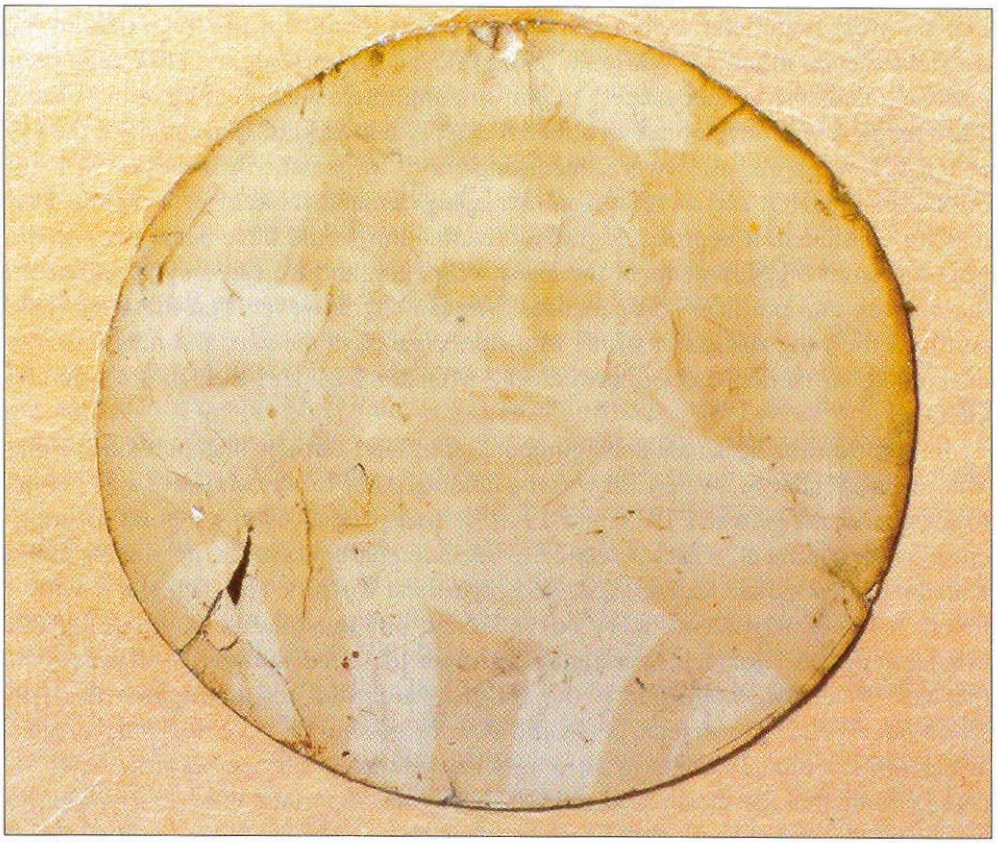
By October 1921 the IRA's arsenal amounted to 3,295 rifles, 15,260 shotguns, 5,917 handguns, sixty one machine guns and submachine guns, 149,480 rifle bullets, 88,360 shotgun cartridges, 25,152 automatic bullets, and 64,820 revolver

61. Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, pp. 141-42.
62. Mac Eoin, *Survivors*, pp. 141-42; McGuinness, *Nomad*, pp. 206-7.
63. McGuinness, *Nomad*, pp. 206-7; the deal fell through in Germany amidst financial irregularities on which the IRA was still taking legal advice in 1924. See University College, Dublin Archives, Ernie O'Malley papers, GHQ Purchases Department, extract from statement made in August 1924, P17a/155.
64. Michael Farrell, 'Michael Collins', *Irish Times*, 14 December 1982.
65. The deal was not ratified by the IRA executive or the Executive Committee of the Communist International. See J.T. Murphy (1941) *New Horizons* (London), pp. 184-86; Russian State Archives, untitled report, 495/89/13-83/84; Connolly to Luise, 22 August 1922, 495/89/12-36; Murphy to the Comintern, 12 December 1922, 495/89/11-15.
66. University College, Dublin Archives, Richard Mulcahy papers, P7/B/282.
67. See Eunan O Halpin (1999) *Defending Ireland: The Irish State and its Enemies Since 1922* (Oxford), 28-9; Murphy, *John Chartres*, pp. 142-43.

bullets. More munitions were imported in the five months of the truce than in the previous eleven months.[68] While the more relaxed security regime after July 1921 partly explains the greater success in gun-running, there is no doubt that from early 1921 the IRA was developing an effective supply network, in Germany and the US at least; foreign supplies were becoming more important in the eyes of local brigades and GHQ; and there was an increasing demand for heavier weapons. Had the war continued, it is probable that more attention would have been given to the importation of big shipments of the latest weaponry, and we can only speculate on the military and political consequences. We can say however, that the arms issue confirms the vanguard status of the Munster brigades in the war, and illustrates the differences in tactical needs between the Munster IRA and the Dublin oriented GHQ.

In addition to the small consignments smuggled through the port during the War of Independence, Waterford was the landing point for the only IRA arms ships to reach Ireland between 1917 and 1923. It was in many ways a good location, close to the continent, with a selection of secluded harbours and arms dumps in the Knockmealdowns and Comeraghs, and proximate to Cork and Tipperary, with a lower level of British military surveillance but reasonably competent IRA brigades. Briscoe, for one, was impressed with the good humoured efficiency of the west Waterford men; and if the Helvic watch did not distinguish itself in November 1921, the discharge of the *Frieda* at short notice was one of east Waterford's better moments in an otherwise lacklustre service record. It was of course ironic that the most elaborate and successful importations occurred after the truce, and that the guns from the *Frieda*, if not those from the *Hanna* as well, were used against the Irish themselves.[69]

68. University College, Dublin Archives, Ernie O Malley papers, statement of munitions by the Quarter Master General, October 1921; report on activities, Quarter Master General, 19 December 1921, P17a/2.
69. I am obliged to the British Academy for a subvention for research on which this article is based; and to Dr Barry McLoughlin for help with Russian sources.



Private John Condon. Photograph courtesy of Peter Condon.

Private John Condon (63222) was born in Waterford city. He enlisted in the 3rd Battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment (Special Reserve) in 1913; he could only have been 12 years of age. He was killed in the second Battle of Ypres, Belgium, on 24 May 1915 and is recorded as being the youngest British soldier to have died in the Great War.

Mark Roper's poem highlights the fact that Condon has been remembered as a mere statistic; it ends with an attempt at redemption of the statistical language, with images of natural fruitfulness.

JOHN CONDON

Little statistic, lost in the ledger
of this century's slaughter, it's said
you fled the stink and crowd of Wheelbarrow Lane
to enlist at Clonmel. Wangled your way
into a draft for France. Lasted one week.
It seems, at fourteen, you were the youngest
of the millions to die in that war.
Killed May 1915, Bellevarde Ridge.

How high it would rise above you, how
it hides you, ridge of that war's dead.
Number's all we can trick you out in:
1 week. 14 years. 1st World War. Millions.
One star burning in the dark of a well.
Fourteen white flowers on an apple branch.
The first swallow's skimming return.
In a poppy capsule, a million seeds.

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