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COMHAIRLE CATHRACH PHORT LAIRGE WATERFORD CITY COUNCIL

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Cover Illustrations

Front Cover: Charter of Charles II, 1666, granting lands in the Barony of Gaultier including Dobbyn lands at Williamstown to Andrew Rickards. Reproduced with permission from Waterford Museum of Treasures. Photograph by Terry Murphy.

Back Cover: Transcript of the Profession of Obedience made by Malchus on 27 December 1096, the day before he was consecrated Bishop of Waterford, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, ChAnt C 117/10. Reproduced with permission from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral.

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The launch of Decies 61 by the Deputy Mayor of Waterford, Cllr. Mary O'Halloran. Left to right, Ben Murtagh (Vice-Chairman), Béatrice Payet, (Hon. Secretary), James Walsh (Chairman), The Deputy Mayor, Cllr. Mary O'Halloran, Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin, (Hon. Editor), Paddy Kenneally, Tony Gunning, (Hon. Treasurer), Pat Grogan, (PRO).

Courtesy of S. Condon

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EDITORIAL

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL site at Woodstown County Waterford was discovered in April 2003 during the course of routine testing in advance of the construction of the N25 Waterford Bypass. The results of these limited excavations were published in *Decies* 60 and 61. However the discoveries at Woodstown are only one aspect of the programme of archaeological investigations carried out by the National Roads Authority prior to the commencement of the bypass. Further major discoveries were made at Granny, Rathpatrick and Newrath, charting the history of human settlement in the region over several thousand years.

During the months of October and November 2006, Waterford Museum of Treasures, in conjunction with the National Roads Authority, staged a highly successful exhibition of the finds from the excavations to date, entitled *Migrants Mariners and Merchants: Archaeological discoveries on the N25 Waterford Bypass.* The exhibition was opened jointly by the Minister for Transport, Mr. Martin Cullen TD, and the Director of the National Museum of Ireland, Dr. Patrick Wallace. In previous editorials in this journal it was pointed out that in the opinion of the members of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society, all finds from the excavations should be permanently displayed in the Waterford Museum of Treasures. It is significant to note that during the course of his address, Dr. Wallace stated that he fully supported the call by this society for a permanent display of the finds in Waterford Museum of Treasures. It is also significant that Dr. Wallace went on to call for the full publication of the results of the various archaeological excavation projects being undertaken in the region.

In general the Society welcomes the ongoing conservation of the city walls and towers. However, we hope that the current scheme is adequately funded to allow a building history of the walls and towers to be traced, and the results published in due course.

'Is cuidiú na lámh a dheineann an obair eadrom', mar a deir an seanfhocal. Therefore I would like to thank the contributors, the members of the editorial committee, and especially Eddie Synnott who as well as serving on the editorial committee, typeset the journal.

I would like to point out to intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for *Decies* 63 is the 1st May 2007. Any submissions received after this date will be held for publication in the following year's journal. Beidh fáilte roimh altanna as Gaeilge nó as Béarla.

Congratulations to our former chairman, Jim Walsh, on being one of the recipients of the Kilkenny Person of the Year Awards 2006 (Hall of Fame Award). The awards were set up ten years ago as a way of recognising people who contribute to society and make an effort to make the world a better place.

The sudden death of Ms. Bréid McNeill in late September came as a shock to her many friends in the Society. Bréid served as Hon. Treasurer of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society for three years (1999-2002). A full obituary will be published in the 2007 edition of this journal.

List of Contributors

Donald Brady obtained his BA in History and English at NUI, Maynooth. He has been County Librarian in Waterford since 1982 and is particularly interested in the preservation and collation of the historical resources of the county. He was director of the West Waterford Heritage Week in 1991 and 1992, and was co-ordinator of Waterford County Council's Famine Commemoration Programme. He is editor of Hansard's *History of Waterford: Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles* and co-editor of *The Famine in Waterford 1845-1850. A Guide to Waterford Writers* was published in June and he is currently working with Cork University Press on a new edition of Power's *Placenames of Decies.* Donald was invited to talk on Cinema in Waterford and the work of Pat O'Connor at the Immrama Festival in Lismore in 2006. He is currently researching the life and work of Regina Maria Roche and working on a new edition of Smith's *History of Waterford.* He has recently been appointed to the Woodstown Working Group.

Julie Brazil, originally from New Ross, now lives and works in Limerick. She attended the Crawford College of Art and Design in Cork and the University of Limerick where she graduated with a first class MA in History of Art and Design. Other published work includes the 2006 *Additions* catalogue for the Self-Portrait Collection in the University of Limerick.

John M. Hearne teaches History and Economics at St. Paul's Community College and Social and Economic History at Waterford Institute of Technology. He is co-editor of *Thomas Francis Meagher: The Making of an Irish American* (London, 2005), has lectured extensively in the United States of America and has contributed to many national and international scholarly publications.

Michael Herity taught Archaeology for over thirty years in University College, Dublin, and was Dean of Celtic Studies between 1984 and 1990. He is a past President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and former Editor of its journal. He served as President of the Royal Irish Academy from 1996 to 1999.

Richard Jennings is co-director of the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project. He has completed a D.Phil. at the University of Oxford on the human occupation of southern Iberia in the Late Pleistocene and has worked on many Palaeolithic excavations in Europe and North Africa.

Ian Johnston is a native of Waterford city. He attended the local St. Paul's Community College before attending University College, Cork where he earned a first class honours degree in Archaeology and History in 2004. The following year, he gained a first class MA in Archaeology at UCC, with a thesis entitled 'New Approaches to Town Walls: The Waterford Case Study'. Ian's interests lie in the

medieval and early medieval period, the representation of Ireland and the Irish through history, the origins and development of urbanism in Ireland and he also specialises in small finds. He has presented papers to the Association of Young Irish Archaeologists and also lectured part-time for the Waterford Institute of Technology night-time education course. Ian is currently employed as the Finds and Post Excavation Manger with the Lismore based firm of archaeological consultants, IAC Ltd.

Liam Mac Peaircín, Léachtóir le Gaeilge i gColáiste Mhuire Gan Smál, Luimneach. Tá taighde ar bun aige faoi láthair ar bhailiúchán lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge ar coimeád i Leabharlann John Rylands, Manchain, Sasana. Tiobraid Árannach, tá cónaí air i mBuiríos Léith, Durlas, Tiobraid Árann. Tá ábhar ó Shéamus Ó Maolchathaigh (údar *An Gleann agus a Raibh Ann,* An Clóchomhar, 1963) i gcló aige in *An Linn Bhuí* le tamall anuas.

Pat McCarthy was born in Waterford and educated at Mount Sion CBS. He holds a Ph.D. in Chemistry and an MBA from NUI, Dublin, where he currently lives. He is employed in the pharmaceutical industry and is Correspondence Secretary of the Military History Society. He is a frequent contributor to *Decies.*

Melanie McQuade studied in University College, Dublin and then completed an MA in University College, Cork in 1998. Since then she has been working as an Archaeologist. Since 2000 she has been employed by Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd., and has been licensed since 2002.

Dónal O'Connor was Professor of Old Testament at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth until 1985 when he was appointed parish priest of Ardmore. He is a frequent contributor to various periodicals, including the *Irish Theological Quarterly*, of which he was Review Editor for some years. His book *Job: His Wife his Friends and his God* was published in 1995 by Columba Press. His booklet, *Walking the Holy Ground* (Dublin, Áis, 2003), deals with early Irish spirituality in Ardmore and Lismore, and is now in its fourth edition.

Cóilín Ó Drisceoil is a director of the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project. He has worked on Palaeolithic cave-excavations in Spain and Morocco and is a director of Kilkenny Archaeology, consultant archaeologists. He is the present editor of the *Old Kilkenny Review: Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society.*

James Walsh is a retired teacher and lives in Slieverue. His published works include, *Sliabh Rua: A History of its People and Places* (2001) and *Gravestone Inscriptions from the Parish Cemeteries of Rathpatrick and Slieverue* (2004). He has been involved with Éigse Sliabh Rua since its inception.

The Dungarvan Valley Caves Project: First Interim Report

Cóilín Ó Drisceoil and Richard Jennings

Introduction

At present there is no convincing evidence for human activity in Ireland during the Palaeolithic, *i.e.* prior to the retreat of glacial ice in the northern hemisphere 10,000 BP (before the present). Whilst this may be explained by Ireland's position at the periphery of Palaeolithic Europe and the affects of intense glaciations that have regularly scoured the landscape during the course of the Pleistocene, the fact remains that Ireland shared largely the same climatic conditions that made human settlement possible in England and Wales, and Irish caves and bogs have also produced many of the same animal species exploited by these populations (Table 1; Woodman 1986; 1998; Woodman *et al.* 1997). Indeed ice sheets covered much of Wales with a similar frequency to Ireland yet the country contains Palaeolithic archaeology of considerable significance spanning a time-depth of a quarter of a million years. Perhaps an explanation for the absence of evidence for an Irish Palaeolithic lies instead in the lack of a tradition of field research in this area; the past fifty years have seen only one archaeological excavation of Pleistocene cave-deposits (at Killuragh, Co. Limerick) and there is little or no archaeological intervention, such as occurs in England, within the gravel and limestone extraction industries where such material would be expected to occur. It could be said therefore that evidence for a human presence in Palaeolithic Ireland awaits discovery.

A key geographical area in the search for an Irish Palaeolithic is the Dungarvan Valley (see below). In 2003 the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project was instituted by the authors and this paper provides a brief account of the first two years of its work, incorporating an overview of the valley's research potential and then focussing on the results of excavations that were conducted at two caves at Ballynamuck townland (Ó Drisceoil and Jennings 2004). The paper concludes with a strategy for future research.

The Dungarvan Valley

The Dungarvan Valley is a well-defined topographical unit formed by a low-lying band of Carboniferous limestone which runs east-west through south Waterford (Figures 1, 2; Plate 1). The sandstone Knockmealdown and Monavullagh mountains and the Drum Hills form the valley sides and draining it are three small rivers: the Colligan, Brickey and Finnisk, whose courses probably originated as meltwater channels at the end of the last glacial (Figure 3).

TABLE 1 **Table of Irish caves recorded as having produced faunal remains of Pleistocene age.**	
Edenvale, Co. Clare	Scharff *et al.* 1906
Castlepook, Co. Cork	Scharff *et al.* 1918
Foley Cave, Co. Cork	Gwynn *et al.* 1942
Killavullen, Co. Cork	Coleman 1947
Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny	Coleman 1965: 73-5
Killuragh Cave, Co. Limerick	O'Shaughnessy 1994
Red Cellar Cave, Co. Limerick	Leask 1938
Keshcorran, Co. Sligo	Scharff *et al.* 1903; Gwynn *et al.* 1940
Ballynameelagh 1, Co. Waterford	Adams *et al.* 1881: 180, Plate X
Ballynamintra 1, Co. Waterford	Ussher 1878-9; Ussher 1881a; Ussher 1881b; Ussher and Adams1879; Adams *et al.* 1881; Tratman et al. 1929
Kilgreany Cave, Co. Waterford	Adams *et al.* 1881, 180, Plate X; Tratman 1937, 1930; Tratman *et al* 1929; Mahr1937; Movius 1935; Movius1942; O Riordan 1931; Dowd 2002
Shandon 1, Co. Waterford	Adams et al. 1881; Brenan and Carte 1859; Adams 1876; Boulger 1876.

Caves can act as small, protected pockets for sediments within a landscape that was otherwise hugely destructive for materials of Pleistocence age. It is largely because of its caves and the materials found therein, that the Dungarvan Valley is of great significance for study of the Irish Ice Age. To date, twenty-eight caves have been identified by the authors here and of these faunal remains of late Pleistocene age have been recorded historically from four – Ballynameelagh, Ballynamintra, Kilgreany and Shandon (Adams *et al.* 1881; Woodman *et al.* 1997). The last three are major sites, which have produced the remains of Late Pleistocene animals in considerable quantities. Much of the reason for this concentration rests in the fact that the study area was situated south of the maximum advance of the last, Midlandian, ice sheet (the Last Glacial Maximum 25,000-14,000 years ago) and the caves of the valley were therefore not subjected to the scouring that occurred to the north. This has also resulted in the locale being one of only two areas in Ireland (the other is the Blackwater Valley) where caves have produced both pre-Last Glacial Maximum and Late Glacial fauna. Remarkably, given the great wealth of Pleistocene material from the valley, it is seventy years since its caves have been the subject of archaeological enquiry.

Summary Results, 2003-2005

Following a period of field survey, two caves located near Dungarvan were selected for test-excavation to determine if deposits of Pleistocene age survived within them (Ó Drisceoil and Jennings 2005). The sites were chosen chiefly due to their proximity to the famous Shandon cave and the fact they were both relatively well preserved, neither having been the subject of archaeological investigations in the past.

During April-May 2004 test cuttings were opened in Ballynamuck caves 1 and 2.[1] Funding was granted to the project by the Heritage Council and this allowed for innovative scientific techniques to be applied, many of which have been employed in an Irish context for the first time. These included (1) a full sedimentary appraisal of the excavated cave-deposits (Collcutt 2005), (2) a series of Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dates on the stratigraphic sequence (Schwenninger 2006), (3) an analysis of the sediments for pollen and phytoliths (Parker 2005), and (4) an examination of a microfaunal assemblage from the caves.[2]

Ballynamuck 1 – 'Badhbh's Hole'

At Ballynamuck 1, two cuttings were opened within a cavern that had been partially quarried in the nineteenth century (Figure 6). While today it is open to the air, the chamber was originally situated deep within a subterranean cave-system (Plate 2). A depth of 2.93m was achieved in Cutting 2 but it proved impossible to bottom it (Figure 7). The lower unit excavated was a series of laminated clays that formed underwater in what was probably a sheltered pond environment (Collcutt 2005).

1 Archaeological Excavation Licence Number 04E0573

2 A report on the microfauna had not been completed at the time of writing.

Increased plant activity outside the cave and a period of climatic amelioration and probably rapid sea-level rise led to a decrease in water-levels within it and the formation of the second unit, a clayey silt matrix with limestone roof-spalls that was subsequently subjected to bulk cementation. This produced an OSL estimate of 121,000 ± 9000 BP, i.e. probably OIS 5e, the last interglacial. A small quantity of microfauna was recovered from the unit. This in turn, was covered by a calcite floor which Cutting 1 demonstrated extended throughout most of the cavern.

Ballynamuck 2

The one cutting opened in Ballynamuck 2 was within a passage which had been truncated in the nineteenth century by quarrying (Figure 8; Plate 3). Two major sedimentary groups were noted in the 1.85m deep sondage (Figure 9; Plate 4; Collcutt 2005). The lower was a series of discrete and well-sorted clay, silt and sand laminations that rested on the limestone bedrock. These represent 'fluvio-glacial material, eventually emplaced in the cave at some point after glacial retreat' (Collcutt 2005). An abundance of grass phytoliths - durable pieces of silica that are produced in living plant cells - was found towards the base of the unit and a small quantity of microfauna was recovered (Parker 2005). The unit produced OSL estimates of 221,000 ± 16,000 BP (OIS 7 b/c) and 191,000 ± 17,000 BP (OIS 7a/ 6) (Figure 5). A diamict that had been emplaced by the mass movement of external sediments into the cave – a 'debris flow' - covered the lower unit. An OSL date of 155,000 ± 11,000 BP (OIS 6) was obtained from it, as was an assemblage of microfauna.

Discussion

Excavations and subsequent analyses at Ballynamuck 1 and 2 have demonstrated both caves would have made for wet and inhospitable places not suitable for human occupation during the time periods in question. This might explain why archaeological materials of Palaeolithic age were lacking. Nevertheless, the results to date are encouraging: the oldest dates from any caves in the Dungarvan Valley have been produced and the survival in both sites of sediments with associated palaeontological material encapsulating a sequence through the temperate climate of OIS 7, the penultimate glaciation (OIS 6 - the 'Munsterian') and the last inter-glacial (OIS 5e), is a fortuitous discovery in an Irish context with important implications.

The detection of stratigraphy that predates the Munsterian glaciation (OIS 6) from Ballynamuck 2 provides evidence that, contrary to what is commonly held, cave-sediments of this age can survive the effects of glacial scouring brought about by an ice-sheet covering the cave (Mitchell and Ryan 2001: 79). By implication this increases the prospects for the recovery of Palaeolithic archaeology for it has been the potential for an Upper Palaeolithic (40,000-10,000 BP) that has dominated discussions thus far on the topic.

It is also of note that the lower unit at Ballynamuck 2 corresponds closely in age (221,000 ± 16,000 BP) with the Early Neanderthal archaeology (250,000-225,000 BP) found at Pontnewydd cave, North Wales (Green 1984). This, the most north-westerly Lower Palaeolithic site in the world situated far beyond the previously recognised distribution of such sites in Britain has since its discovery buttressed to a certain extent, the contention that a Lower Palaeolithic could survive in Ireland (Woodman 1986; 1998). The difficulty was however, that unequivocal evidence for OIS 7 deposits had not been identified in Ireland (Coxon and Waldren 1995). The sediments of this age from Ballynamuck 2 can be said therefore to further sustain the argument that this remains a genuine possibility though it should be borne in mind that during the interglacial of OIS 7 human populations in Britain were quite sparse (Wymer 1999: i, 190).

The palaeontological material recovered from the caves is also important. The microfauna from sediments of OIS 5e (last interglacial) and OIS 7 age from Ballynamuck caves 1 and 2 respectively, represent the first such discoveries in Ireland though because they were within deposits 'emplaced by rapid transport systems, any palaeontological finds may be mixed and must be secondary to (older and perhaps very significantly older than) the actual emplacement episodes' (Stuart and Van Wijngaarden-Bakker 1985; Collcutt 2005). Whatever the actual date of the fauna, the caves are only the fifth and sixth sites in Ireland to have produced bones of pre Last Glacial Maximum date. Likewise, the recovery of phytoliths from the OIS 7 deposits in Ballynamuck 2 provide important palaeoenvironmental evidence.

Future Prospects

The primary aim of the first two years of the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project was to identify new caves in the valley with integral deposits of Pleistocene age. While this has been achieved at both Ballynamuck 1 and 2, there is a limit to what can be gained archaeologically, from expanding the existing cuttings given the waterlaid nature of their sedimentation. It is nevertheless intended that additional analyses of the Ballynamuck excavations will be carried out to refine the chronology and nature of the materials recorded thus far. The geochronological evidence provided by the cave deposits can be utilised to establish a link with the glacial stratigraphy of the surrounding area, whose history is not well understood at present (Quinn and Warren 1989).

More field studies of cave sediments in the Dungarvan Valley are needed to assist with predicting the likely locations and nature of Pleistocene deposits within the valley. In particular primary deposits closer to original cave entrances and speleothems which help keep older sequences in place, will be sought out for their higher archaeological potential. To this end, a number of previously unexamined caves will be assessed and investigations are proposed too at Ballynamintra cave where significant Pleistocene faunal remains were recovered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Adams *et al.* 1881; Ussher 1881a; Ussher 1881b; Tratman *et al.* 1929). Ballynamintra was thought to have been emptied of

sediments during the course of these excavations but the site does in fact still contain a substantial volume of sediment, the interpretation of which could benefit greatly from the application of modern scientific techniques of the kinds applied in Ballynamuck 1 and 2. Ballynamintra is also situated higher above sea-level (*c.*20m) than the Ballynamuck caves (*c.*7m) and within a relatively isolated ridge of limestone, 'probably long divorced from any wider subterranean drainage system; without sufficient catchment, flushing could not occur' (Collcutt 2005).

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to provide a synopsis of the first two years work of the Dungarvan Valley Caves Project. Results to date have been promising and indicate the potential that exists in the valley for future discoveries that can contribute much to questions around the absence of an Irish Palaeolithic. Further interim reports in this journal will report on new developments and full publication will follow in due course.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to express their gratitude to Donal and Karen Dempsey and Paul Tierney who allowed access onto their lands at Ballynamuck and provided every assistance to the project. We are also indebted to Emma Devine, Grace Fegan, Greame Laidlaw, Sinead Marshall, Ros Ó Maoldúin, Matthew Seaver and John Stirland who excavated in the Ballynamuck caves. Dr. Simon Collcutt, Oxford Archaeological Associates Limited produced the sedimentary appraisal, Dr. Jean-Luc Schwenninger, Research Laboratory for Archaeology and History of Art University of Oxford, the Optically Stimulated Luminescence dates and Dr. Adrian Parker, Department of Geography, Oxford Brookes University, the phytolith analysis. We are grateful to all three for their valuable contributions. Figures were produced by Insight Archaeology. We also wish to acknowledge the support provided by Professor Nick Barton of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford. Any errors or omissions are the responsibility of the authors. Funding for post-excavation analyses was provided by the Heritage Council of Ireland (grant reference 13750).

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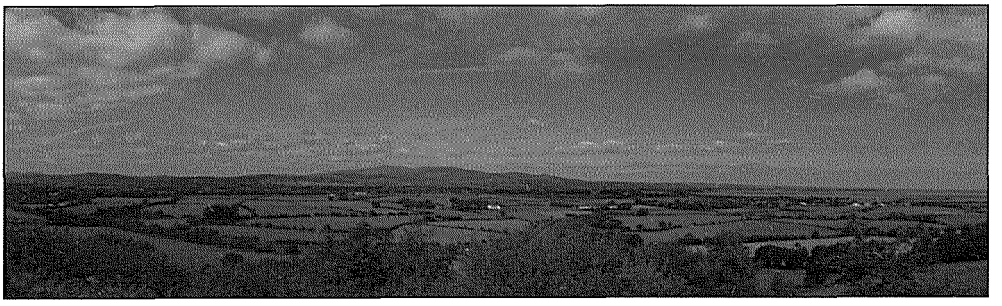

Plate1: Panorama of the Dungarvan Valley taken from the Drum Hills (south) showing the valley with the Monavullagh Mountains in the background.

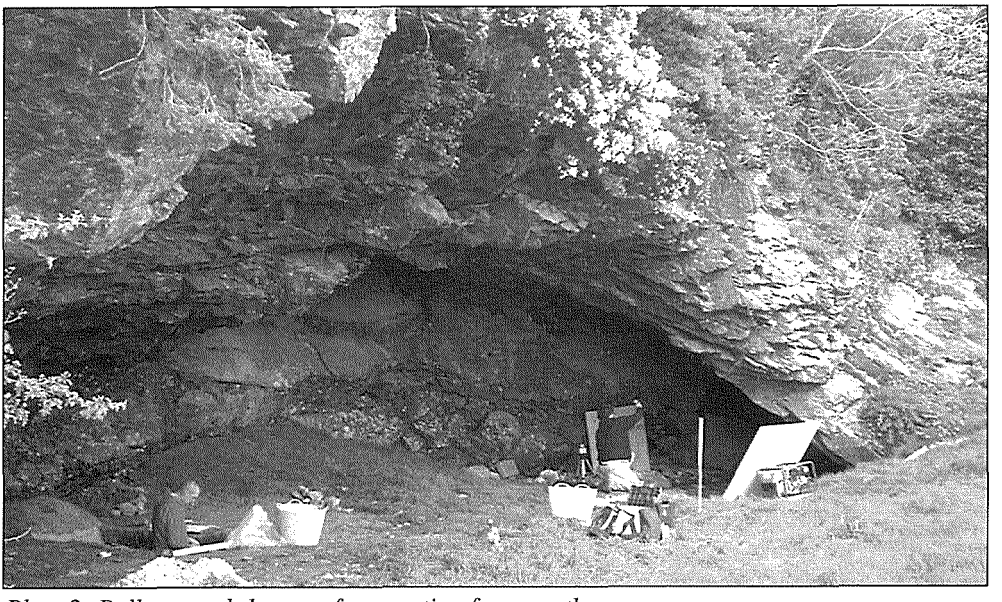

Plate 2: Ballynamuck 1 area of excavation from north.

Plate 3: Entrance to Ballynamuck 2, from north.

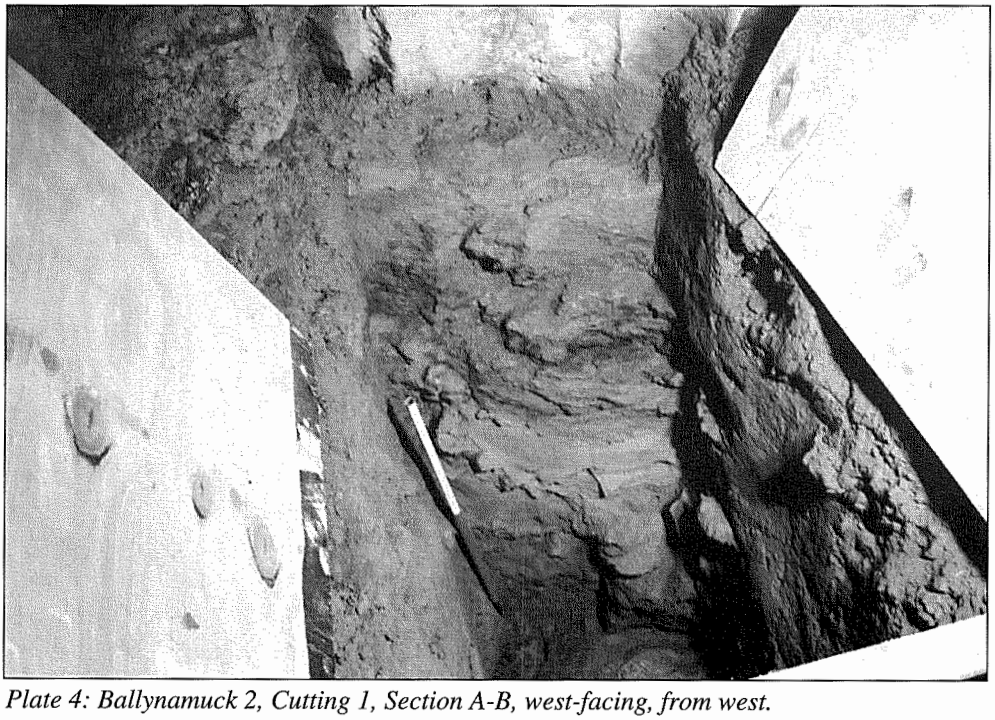

Plate 4: Ballynamuck 2, Cutting 1, Section A-B, west-facing, from west.

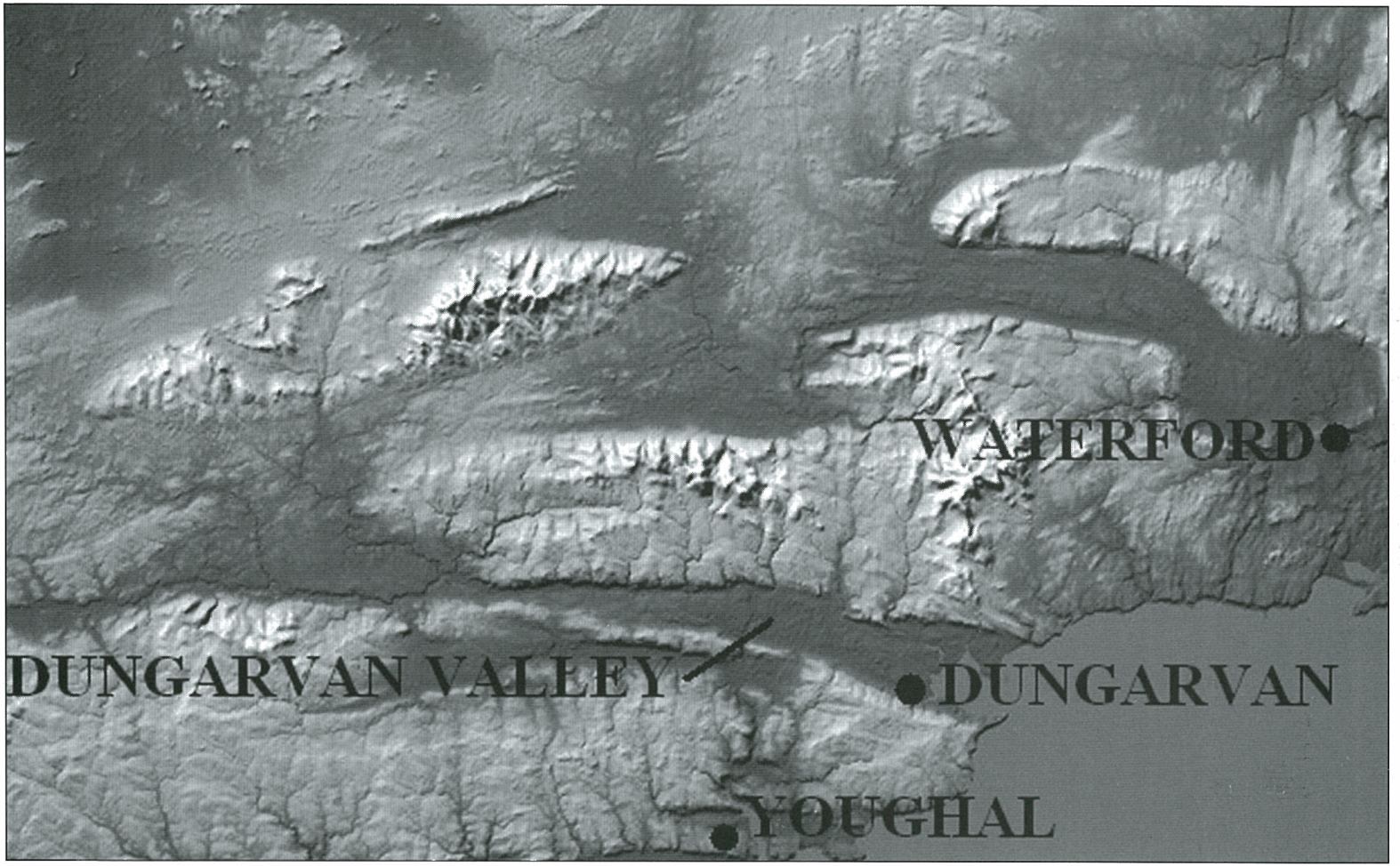

Figure1: Location of the Dungarvan Valley marked on Topographical Map of South-East Ireland.

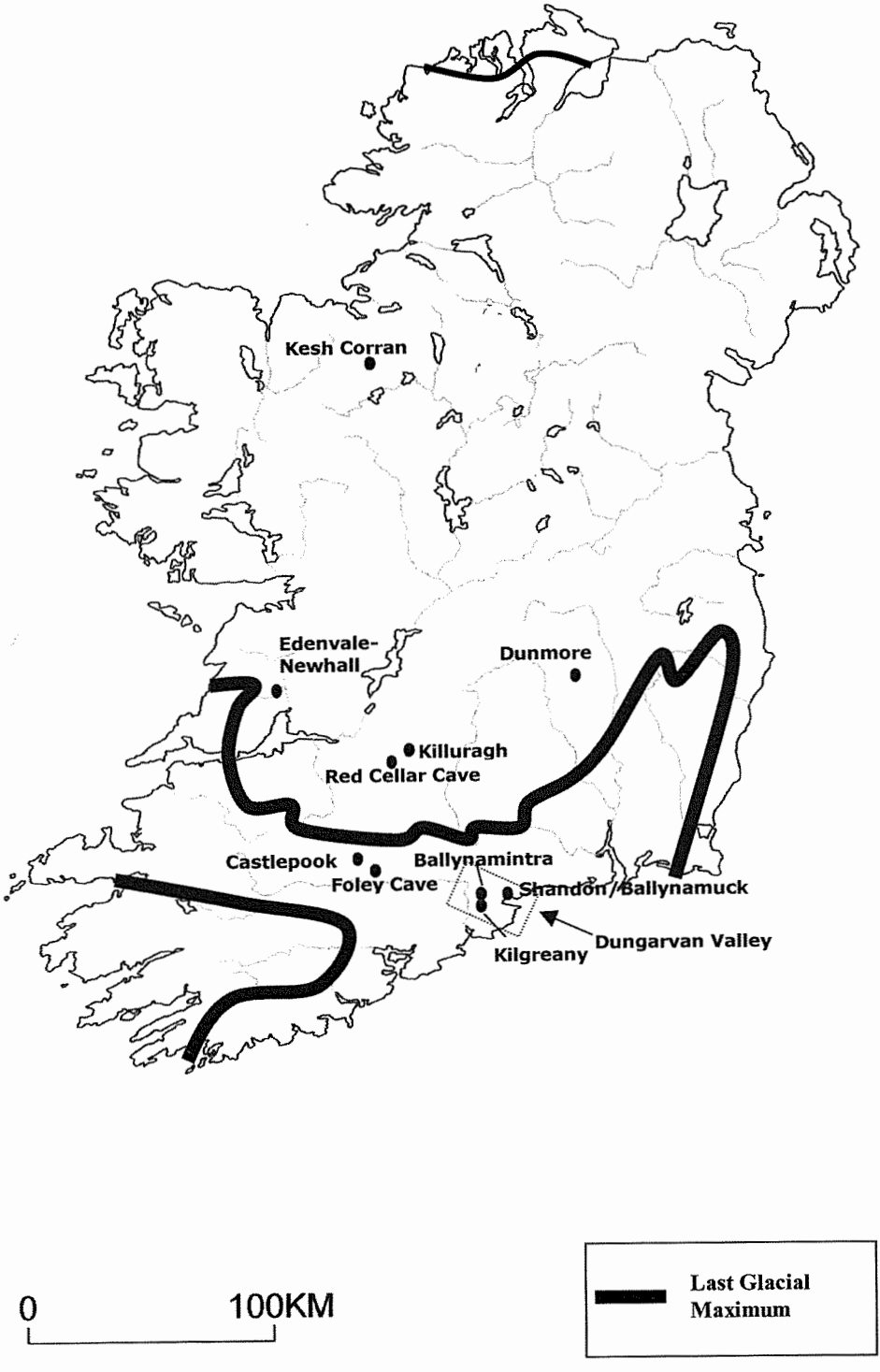

Figure 2: Map of Ireland showing late Pleistocene cave-sites and the suggested limits of ice-cover at the Last Glacial Maximum (25,000-14,000 BP) (after Bowen et al. 2002; Woodman et al. 1997).

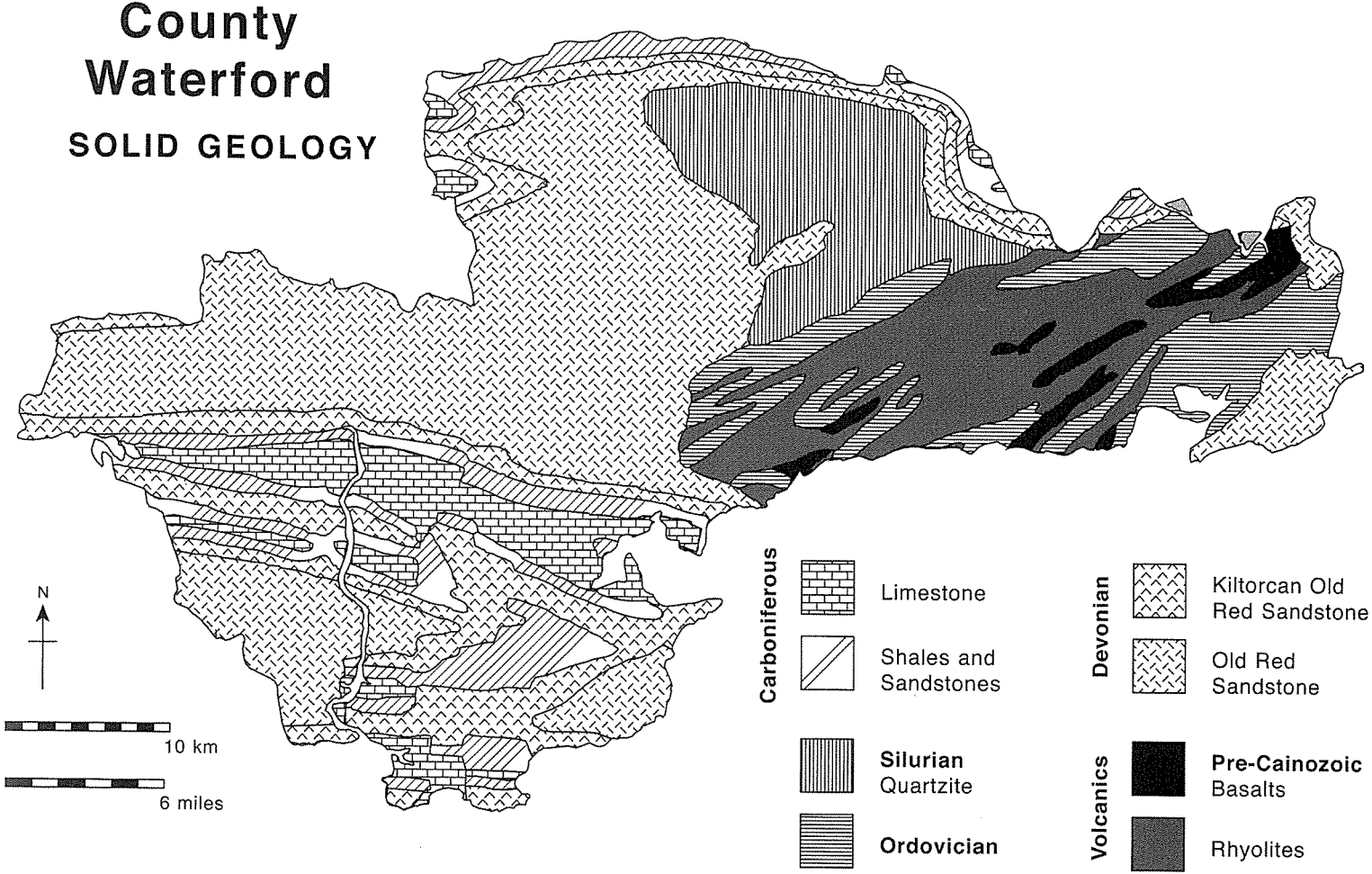

Figure 3: County Waterford Bedrock Geology (Moore 1999: 291).

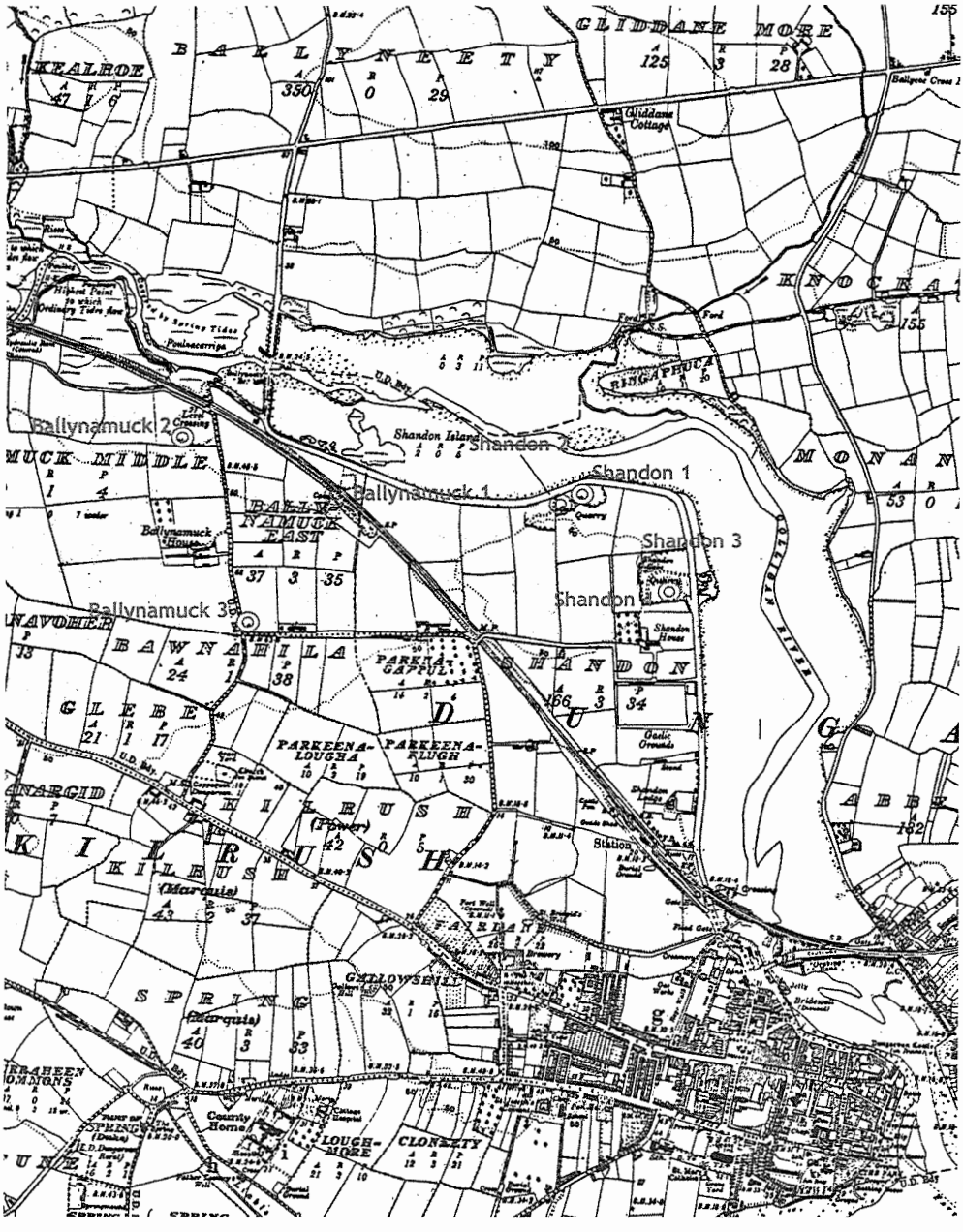

Figure 4: Ballynamuck and Shandon caves marked on second edition Ordnance Survey map.

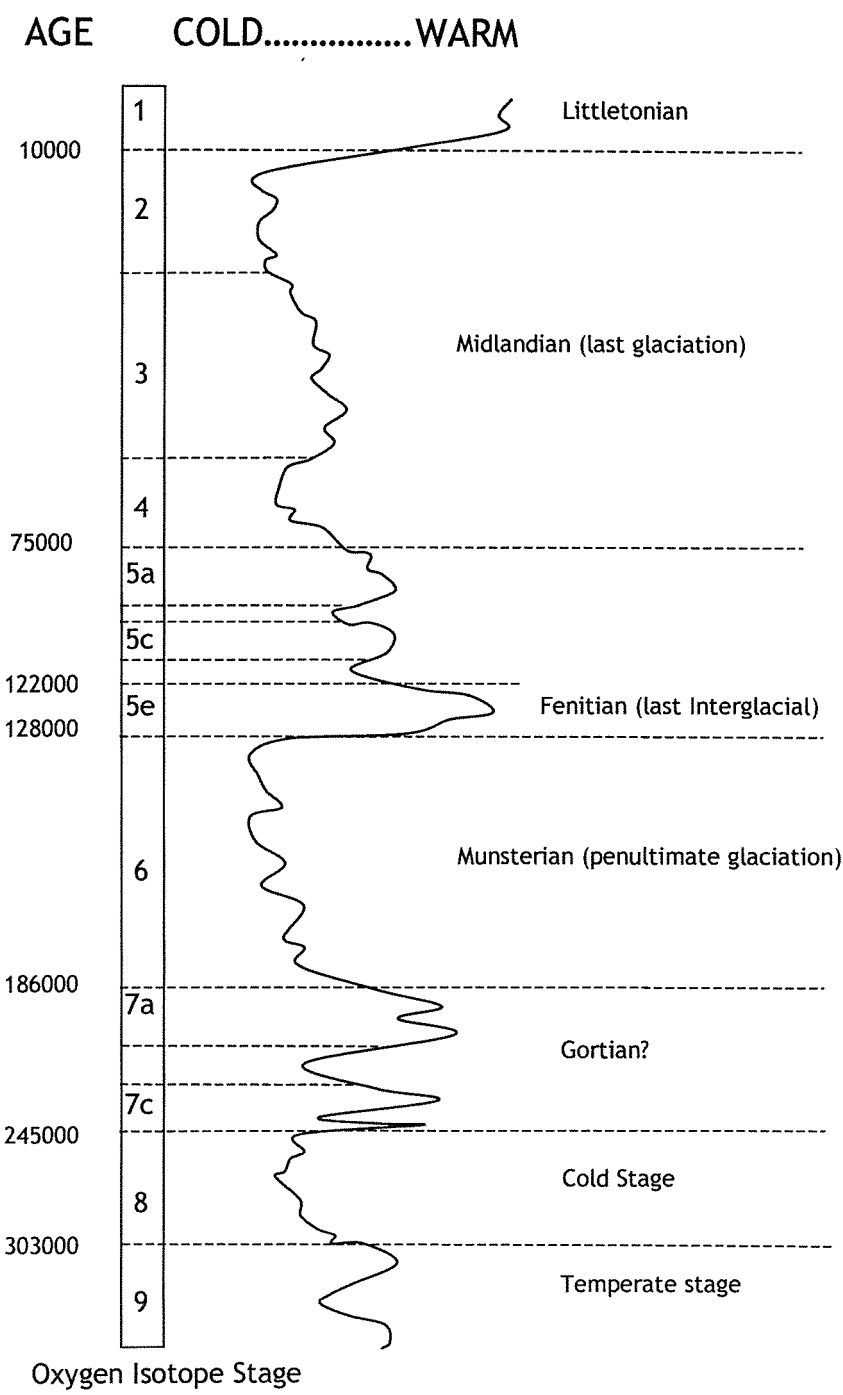

Figure 5: Chart showing the history of a changing climate (Ninkovich and Shackelton 1975). Deep deposits of planktonic fossils have accumulated on the seabed over hundreds of thousands of years. The ratio of two oxygen isotopes at the time of the formation of their shells can be measured. This ratio is an indicator of past volumes of world ice and therefore, of warm and cold events. These are called Oxygen Isotope Stages.

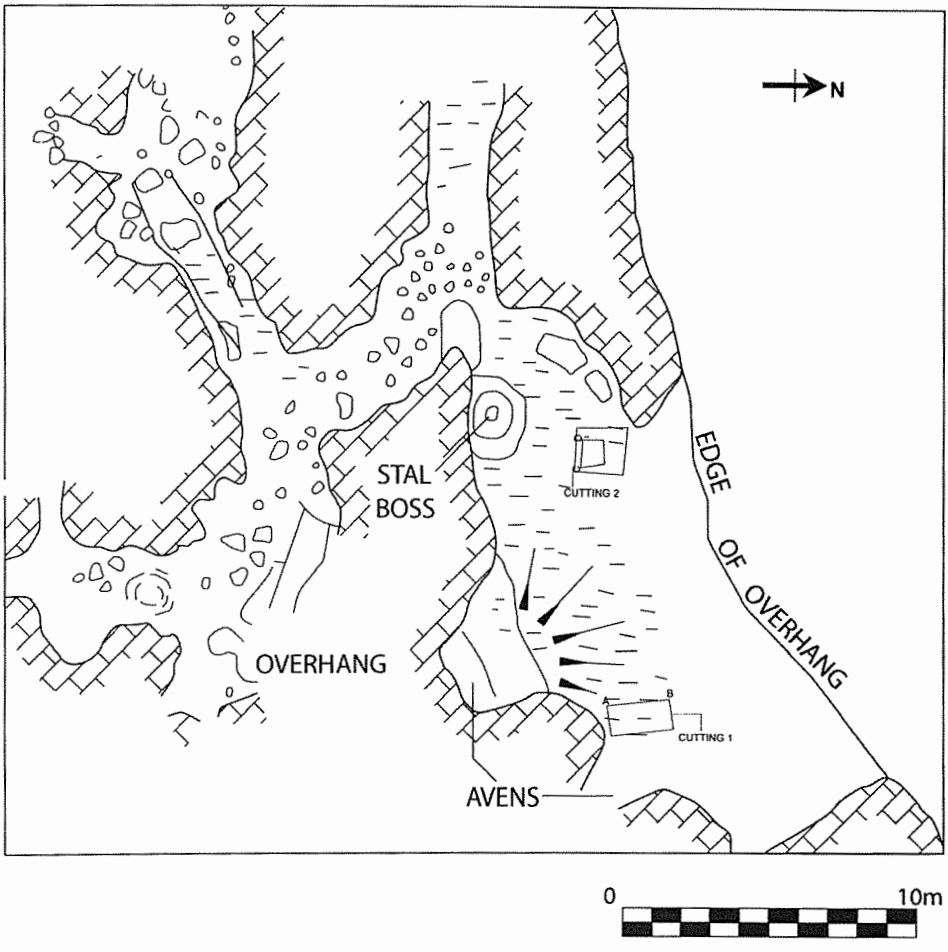

Figure 6: Ground plan of Ballynamuck 1 showing position of Cuttings 1 and 2 (after Ryder 1989).

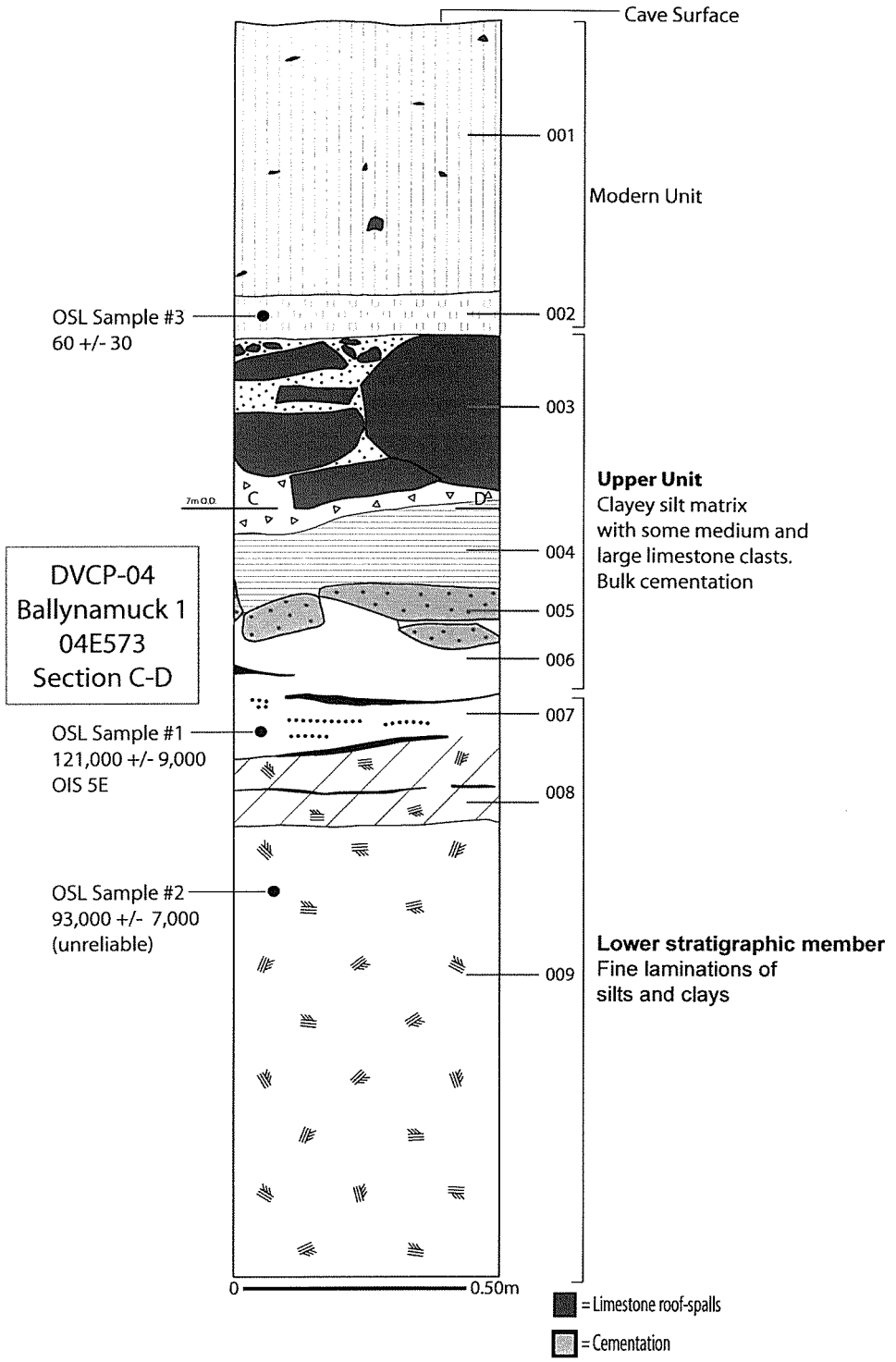

Figure 7: Ballynamuck 1, Section C-D, north-facing.

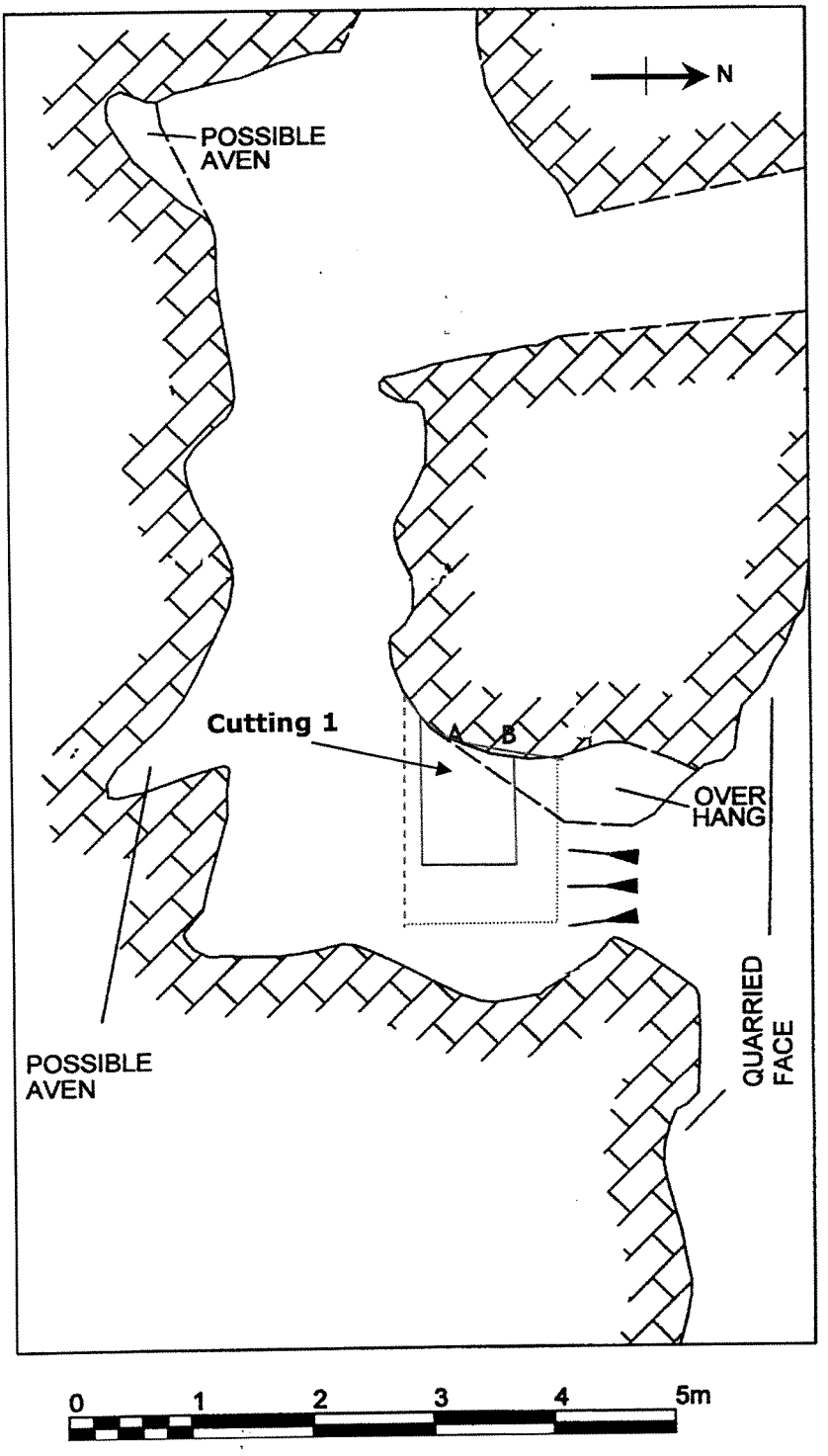

Figure 8: Ground plan of Ballynamuck 2 showing position of Cutting 1.

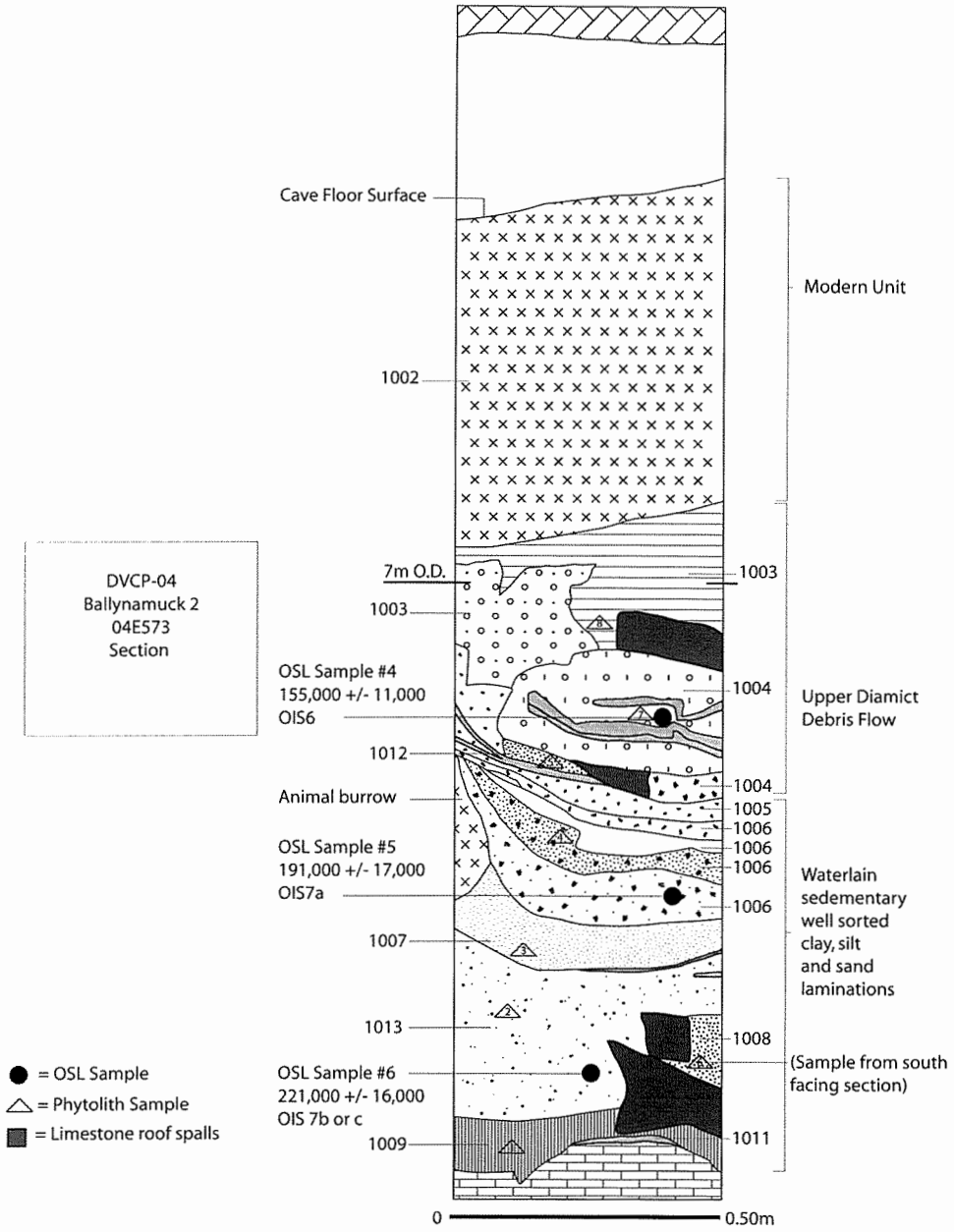

Figure 9: Ballynamuck 2, Section A-B, west-facing.

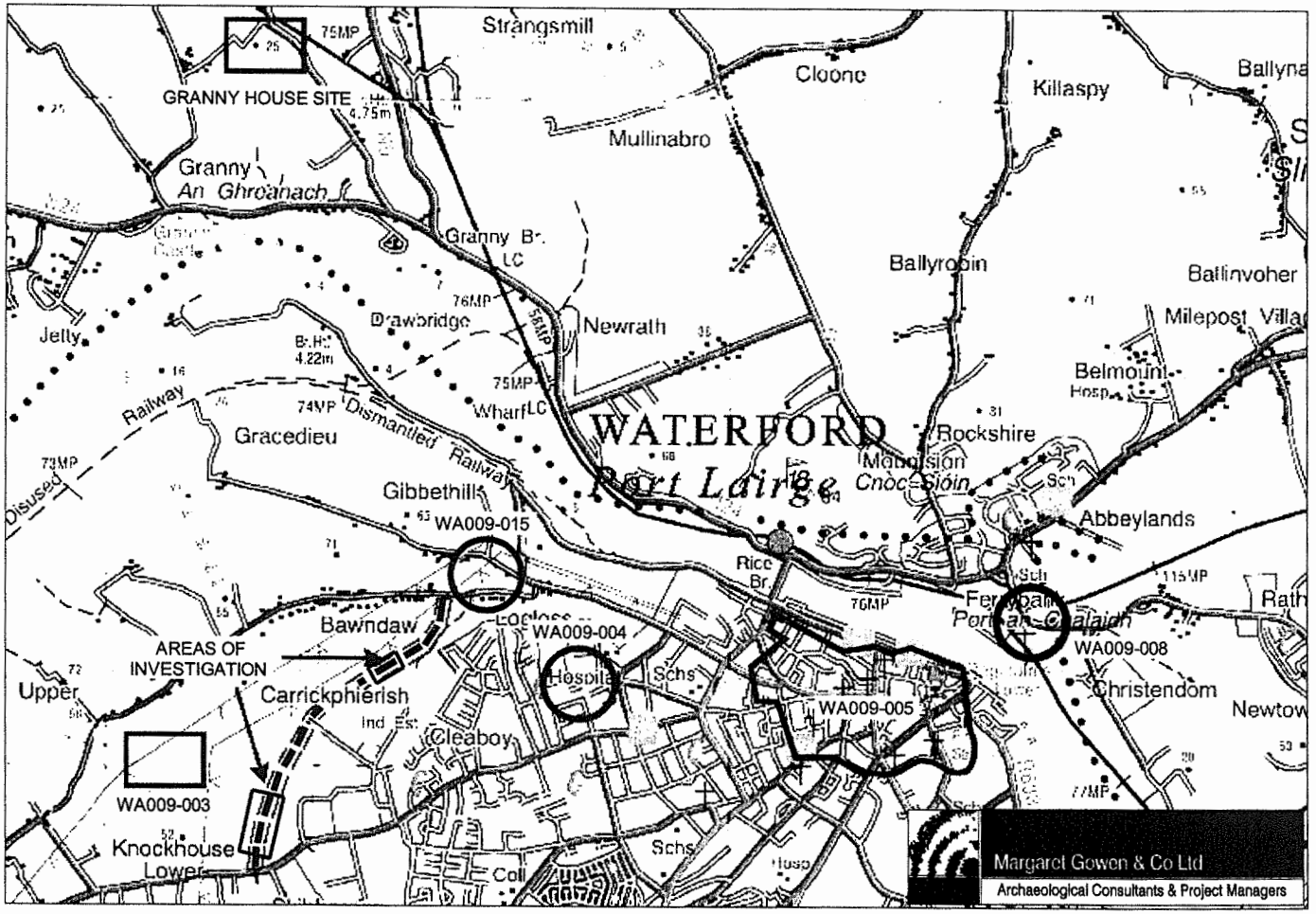

Figure 1: Location of proposed road showing areas of archaeological investigation.

Archaeological Excavations of Pre-historic Settlement Sites at Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish, Co. Waterford

Melanie McQuade

Abstract

This report details the excavation results from two prehistoric sites at Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish, west of Waterford city. The excavations were commissioned by Waterford City Council and carried out by Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd in advance of the construction of Carrickphierish Road. Three periods of settlement activity were recognised at the Knockhouse Lower site. The first period was represented by a complex of postholes, an occupation deposit and a pit which produced sherds of carinated bowl pottery dating from the Early Neolithic, (*c.* 4000 BC-2400 BC). The second period was characterised by a circular hut 3.2m in diameter and an external hearth both of which were radiocarbon dated to the Middle Bronze Age, (*c.* 1700 BC-1050 BC). A third period of settlement dated to the Late Bronze Age, (*c.* 1050 BC-800 BC) was represented by a cooking pit on the east of the site. The Carrickphierish site was located 900m to the north. Two pits and a posthole provided evidence for Middle Bronze Age occupation at this site.

Introduction

Carrickphierish Road was planned as a new 1.8 kilometre stretch of road to the west of Waterford city to provide access between the existing Knockhouse Road and Cleaboy Road (Figure 1). Geophysical survey and archaeological testing were carried out along the route of the new road at the request of Waterford City Council and two areas of archaeological potential were identified (Leigh and Nicholls 2003; McQuade 2003). In order to define the archaeological material that would be impacted by road construction the writer monitored topsoil stripping of the road corridor in the areas of archaeological potential. Two archaeological sites were uncovered 1.5 kilometres to the west of Waterford city and 900m and 1.9m to the south of the River Suir. The larger site was located in the townland of Knockhouse Lower at National Grid 2576/11285 and the smaller site was located in the townland of Carrickphierish at 112366/ 258065 (Figure 1). The two sites lie in the Parish of Kiloteran, in the Barony of Middle Third. Both sites were excavated in December 2003 in advance of road construction (licence numbers 03E1879 and 03E1880). Full reports on the geophysical survey, archaeological assessment, monitoring and excavation (Leigh and Nicholls 2003; McQuade 2003, 2004, 2005) have been lodged with Waterford City Council, The Department of Environment, Heritage & Local Government and the National Museum.

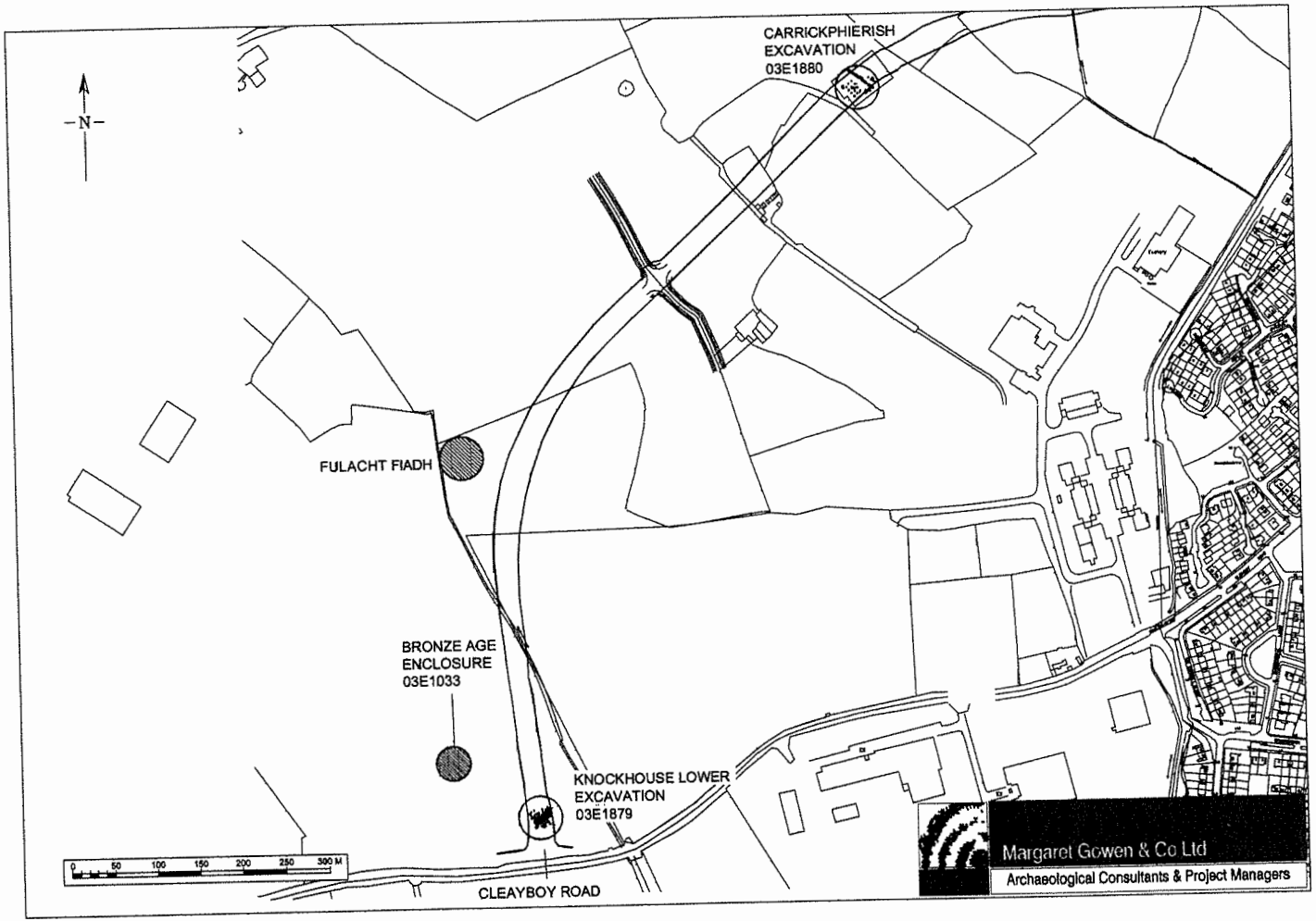

Figure 2: Location of archaeological sites.

Archaeological Background

County Waterford has a rich heritage, and the results of recent development-led investigations have contributed significant new evidence to the archaeological record. Neolithic (*c.* 4000 BC-2400 BC) settlement evidence was uncovered at Cooltubrid East and Ahanaglogh *c.*18km to the southwest of the sites at Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish (Tierney *et al.* 2002) and two house sites were excavated at Granny, Co. Kilkenny, 3.5km to the north (Hughes 2005) (Figure 1). Neolithic burial evidence in the area includes portal tombs at Gaulstown, Knockeen and Ballinadud to the south of the sites at Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish and a passage tomb to the southeast at Harristown (Moore 1999).

Evidence for Bronze Age (*c.* 2200 BC-600 BC) activity in Waterford is concentrated on the Comeragh Mountains but there are several sites scattered throughout the county, some of which are located in the vicinity of Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish. A recently excavated enclosure in Knockhouse Lower *c.* 100m northwest of the site detailed in this report (Figure 2) was dated to the Middle Bronze Age (*c.* 1700 BC - 1050 BC) from finds of cordoned urn pottery. A circular house (9m in diameter) and various pits within the enclosure indicate the domestic character of that site (A. Richardson, *pers. comm.*). Two *fulachta fiadh* were identified in the same townland (Russell 2003; J.Tierney, *pers. comm.*) and are probably also Bronze Age in date. One of these sites lies 260m north of the Knockhouse Lower site and 600m southwest of the Carrickphierish site detailed in this report (Figure 2). Further to the north at Gibbethill is a standing stone (RMP WA009:015) (Figure 1). Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1050 BC-800 BC) activity was uncovered at Ahanaglogh and Cooltubrid (Tierney *et al.* 2002) and an important Late Bronze Age hoard was recovered from near New Ross (Eogan 1983).

The Excavation: Knockhouse Lower (03E1879)

The site at Knockhouse Lower was located in an area of flat pastureland at approximately 42m OD and was overlooked by Gibbet Hill to the north (Figure 1). It measured 20m north-south and was confined to the width of the road corridor (29m east-west). The stratigraphy comprised an average depth of 0.28m of cultivation soil. The soil of the area is a brown podzol overlying sandstone and limestone. Post-medieval plough furrows cut into the subsoil and resulted in some truncation of the site. Three periods of activity were identified dating from the Early Neolithic, Middle and Late Bronze Age.

Period 1 (Neolithic - c.4000 BC-2400 BC)

The first period of activity was characterised by an occupation deposit, a shallow kidney-shaped pit and a series of postholes. These were found in an area measuring *c.*12m by 10m on the east of the site (Figure 3).

The occupation deposit F109 was dark brown clay on the northeast of the site and measured 1.2m by 1.3m and between 0.03m and 0.12m deep. The pit F170 was located 5.2m to the west of the deposit (Figure 3). It measured 0.9m in length, 0.52m in width and 0.12m in depth and was filled by F169, red brown sandy clay

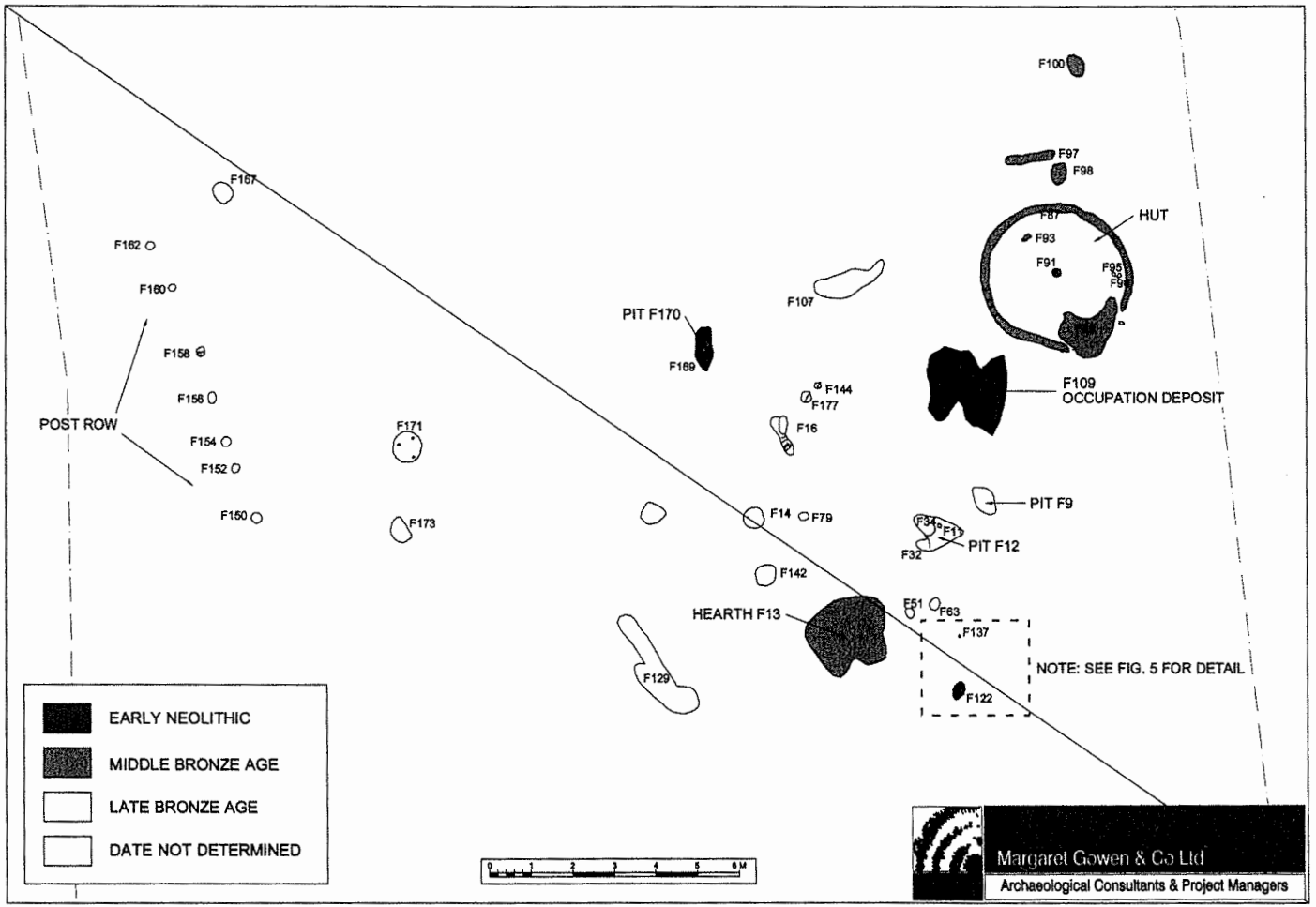

Figure 3: Pre-excavation plan of the site at Knockhouse Lower (03E1879).

with grey mottling. Both of these features produced sherds of carinated bowl pottery, which date to the Early Neolithic (Appendix 1). The postholes were between 2m and 8.5m to the south of the occupation deposit. They ranged from 0.12m to 0.5m in diameter and between 0.08m-0.2m in depth. The layout of these postholes did not appear to form a coherent structure (Figure 5) and only two of them (F122 and F137) produced Neolithic pottery sherds.

Period 2 (Middle Bronze Age - c.1700 BC-1050 BC)

Occupation of the site during Period 2 was represented by a circular hut, a series of associated pits and an external hearth on the east of the site (Figure 3).

Circular hut

The circular hut was located on the northeast of the site, 0.5m northeast of the Early Neolithic deposit (F109) and 6.4m to the east of the pit (F170) (Figures 3 and 4). The hut was defined by a slot trench (F88) with terminal postholes (F176 and F164) and two internal postholes (F92 and F93). It had an internal diameter of 3.2m and its entrance was in the southwest side (Plate 1).

The slot trench (F88) measured between 0.12m and 0.19m in width and was a maximum of 0.17m in depth. It had a u-shaped profile and was filled with loosely compacted mid-brown sandy clay with occasional charcoal flecks (Section A-B, Figure 6). There were no post- or stakeholes within the slot trench but hazel, oak, ash and elder were identified from charcoal within the fill and the hut may have been a light wattle structure (Appendix 4). A radiocarbon date of 1400 BC-1120 BC (2 sigma, see Appendix 5) was obtained from charcoal within the slot trench.

Two internal postholes, one in the centre of the hut (F92) and one to its north (F93) were probably roof supports. Nine stakeholes around the entranceway varied from 0.05m to 0.1m in width and from 0.04m to 0.16m in depth. Analysis of charcoal samples from two of the stakeholes (F114 and F116) identified a variety of wood (Appendix 4), possibly indicating that the stakeholes were part of a wattle structure which may have functioned as a closing element (Figure 4, Plate 1). There was no evidence for a floor surface or hearth within the structure, however the external hearth (F13, described below) to the southwest may have been used in association with the hut.

There were three postholes (F99, F103 and F147) and four sub-rectangular pits (F101, F105, F106, F180) to the rear of the hut. A large posthole (F99) measuring 0.4m in diameter and 0.11m in depth was located 0.5m north of the hut. There were two smaller postholes to the north (F147) and northeast (F103) of F99. These postholes averaged 0.12m in diameter and 0.12m in depth (Figure 4).

An east-west oriented pit F106 was located 1m north of the hut. The pit measured 1.6m in length and 0.28m in width, and had a maximum depth of 0.12m (Figure 4). Three northwest-southeast aligned sub-rectangular pits (F101, F180 and F105) were located 2.8m northeast of the hut (Figure 4). They had average dimensions of 0.89m in length, 0.33m in width and 0.28m in depth. All of these features were filled with brown sandy clay and they were probably part of a fence or other light structure to the rear of the hut (Figures 3 and 4).

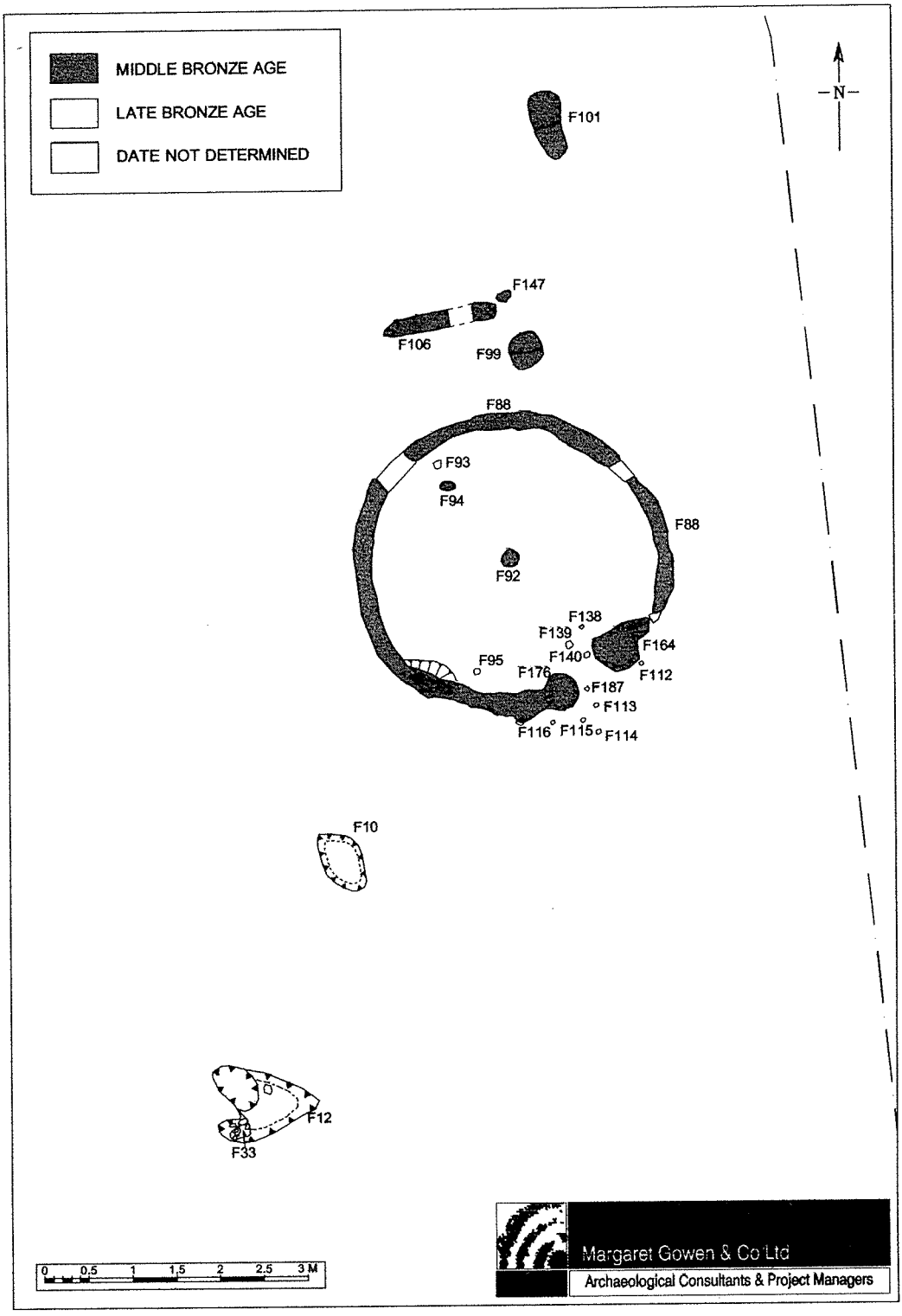

Figure 4: Post-excavation plan of features on the north of the site at Knockhouse Lower (03E1879).

The external hearth and associated stakeholes

A hearth (F13) measuring 1.2m by 1m and up to 0.14m in depth (Plates 2 and 3) was located 7.5m southwest of the hut (Figures 3 and 5). A series of postholes and stakeholes in the area of the hearth did not appear to enclose F13, which was probably an external hearth. Furthermore as mentioned earlier, at least two of the postholes date from Period 1. The stakeholes however, were clearly associated with the hearth. They varied from 0.03m to 0.1m in width and from 0.04m to 0.15m in depth and the majority held vertical stakes. Some of the stakes were identified as oak and hazel, and the layout of the stakeholes is suggestive of a fire screen or drying rack associated with the hearth (Appendix 4).

There was relatively little charcoal within the hearth and it was probably not used frequently (Appendix 4). Fragments of burnt animal bone within the hearth, one of which was identified as sheep/goat, suggest that the fire could have been used for cooking purposes. A radiocarbon date of 1320-1040 Cal BC (2 sigma, see Appendix 5) was obtained for oak charcoal from a small pit (F70) beneath the hearth (Section E - F, Figure 6).

Period 3 (Late Bronze Age c.1000 BC - 600 BC)

The continuity of occupation into the Late Bronze Age is demonstrated by a radiocarbon date for a pit on the southeast of the site (Figure 5).

Pits

A hearth or cooking pit (F12) was located to the northeast of the external hearth (F13) (Figure 5, Plate 4). There were two postholes (F33 and F35) at the northwest and southwest edges of the pit respectively. The northern posthole was filled with charcoal, indicating that the post had burnt in situ. There were three fills within the pit all of which comprised burnt material rich in charcoal and there were occasional inclusions of burnt stone in the upper fill (Section K-L, Figure 6). As is consistent with hearth material, a variety of tree species were identified from the charcoal within the pit (Appendix 4) and small fragments of burnt animal bone and carbonised seeds suggest that the fire was used for domestic purposes. The seeds were identified as cultivation weeds and oat. The oat seed was probably from a wild species, nonetheless the presence of cultivation weeds indicates that crops may have been grown nearby (Appendix 3). A date of 1020-830 Cal BC (2 sigma, see Appendix 5) was obtained for the upper fill of the pit.

There was another pit (F10) 0.6m northeast of the pit F12 (Figures 3, 4 and 5). F10 measured 0.85m in length and 0.5m in width. It had a maximum depth of 0.09m and was filled by red brown silty clay with charcoal inclusions. No finds were recovered from this pit but its proximity and similarity to the hearth pit (F12) suggest that it also dates to the Late Bronze Age.

Post Row of uncertain date

There was a row of irregularly spaced postholes, which may have been part of a larger structure that extended beyond the western limit of excavation (Figure 3). This north-south post row comprised seven postholes, which varied between

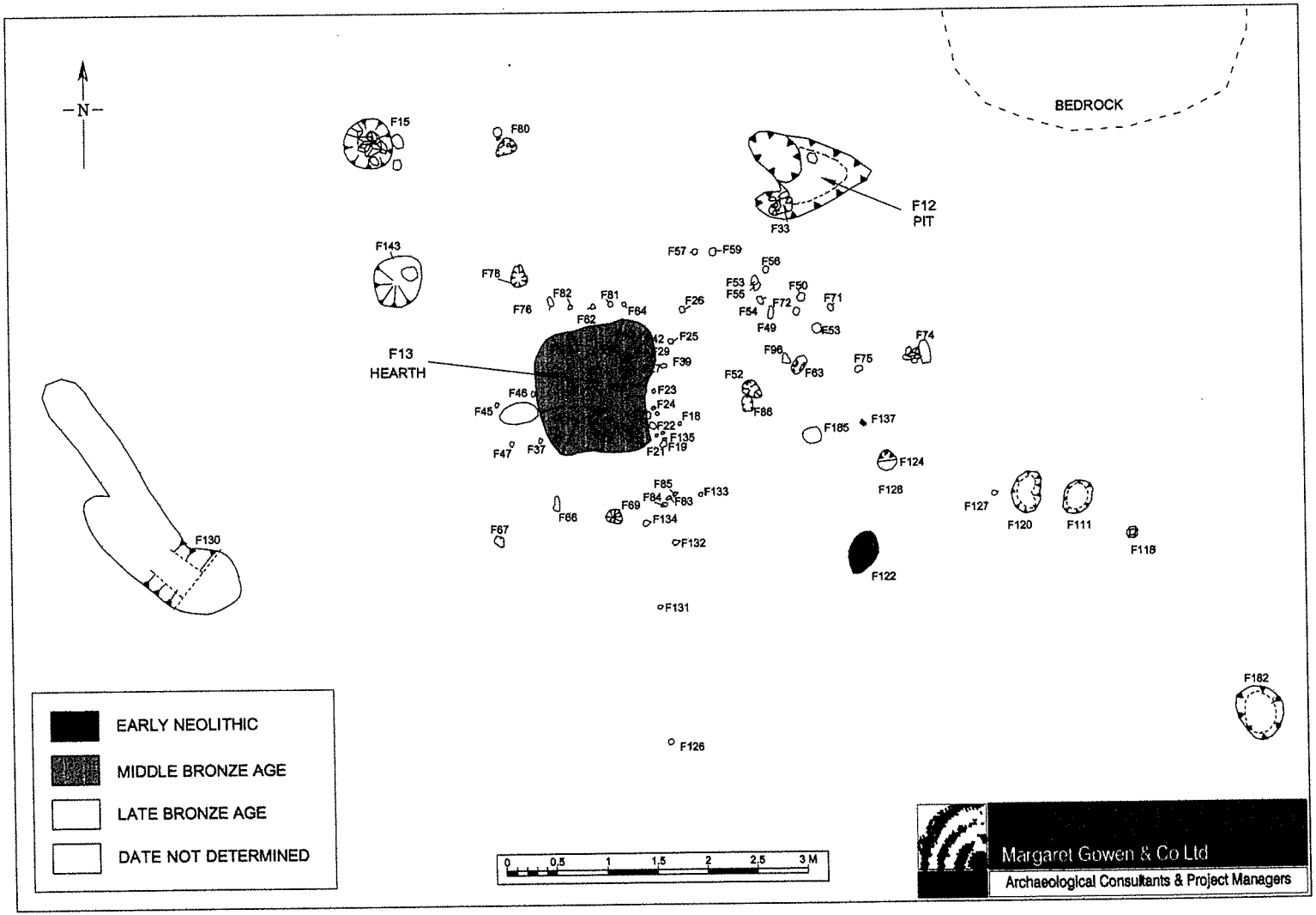

Figure 5: Post-excavation plan of features on the south of the site Knockhouse Lower (03E1879).

0.16m and 0.40m in diameter and had a maximum depth of 0.18m. They were all filled with loosely compacted sandy clay which indicates that the posts decayed *in-situ.* Charcoal from one of the postholes was identified as hazel (Appendix 4). No dating evidence was recovered from the postholes but, the proximity of the Middle Bronze Age hut (F88) and hearth (F13) and the Late Bronze Age cooking pit (F12) (Figure 3), suggests that the structure may have been Bronze Age.

Finds

The finds from Knockhouse Lower include eleven small sherds of prehistoric pottery which were recovered from Period 1 features. The pottery sherds were all from undecorated carinated round-based bowls, which date to the Early Neolithic (c. 4000 BC -3600 BC). The sherds were derived from at least five separate vessels and their worn condition and find contexts are suggestive of domestic debris (Appendix 1).

Discussion

Knockhouse Lower

There were three periods of occupation on the Knockhouse Lower site. The earliest of these was represented by an occupation deposit, a pit and several postholes which were dated to the Early Neolithic by finds of carinated bowl pottery. Although the Neolithic features did not appear to form a coherent structure, their presence suggests that a larger settlement may have been located in the vicinity. House sites excavated at Granny, Co. Kilkenny 3.5 kilometres to the northwest of the Knockhouse Lower site produced the same type of pottery and indicate the extent of settlement in the wider area during the Early Neolithic period (Figure 1).

The second period of occupation on the Knockhouse Lower site was represented by the circular hut and external hearth, which were radiocarbon dated to the Middle Bronze Age. The hut was probably too small to have served as a permanent dwelling, but could have functioned as a shelter or storage shed which may have been used by the occupants of the large enclosure and house site 100m to the northwest (Figure 2).

Several comparable Bronze Age hut sites have been excavated in other parts of the country. At Ballynamudagh, Co. Wicklow there were two penannular huts with slot trench foundations and posthole terminals (Deevy and Turrell 2000). These were slightly smaller than the hut at Knockhouse Lower, measuring just 2.5m and 2.8m in diameter. A hut of similar size and construction, with a central posthole and no internal hearth was excavated at Charlesland, Co. Wicklow (Molloy 2003). An enclosing post-built fence around that hut contrasted with the unenclosed hut at Knockhouse Lower. Another contrast was in the location of the huts. Those at Ballynamuddagh and Charlesland were sited on elevated ground in the vicinity of ring-ditches and could be interpreted as components of Bronze Age ritual landscapes. There was no evidence for ritual activity in the vicinity of the hut at Knockhouse Lower or from the Middle Bronze Age enclosure excavated to the

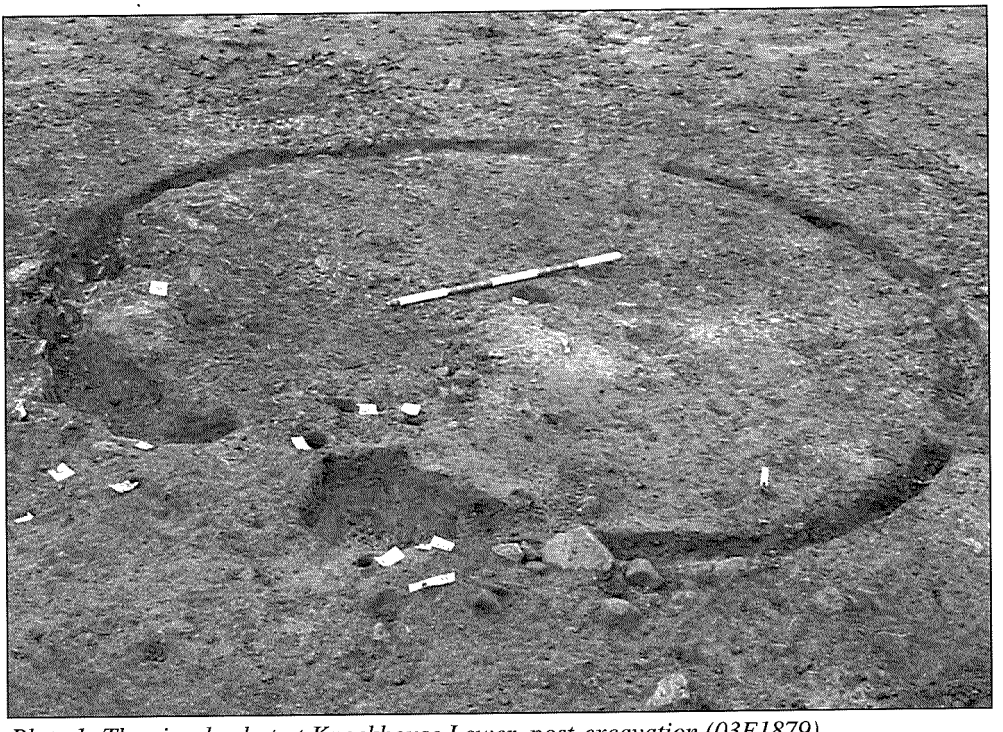

Plate 1: The circular hut at Knockhouse Lower, post-excavation (03E1879).

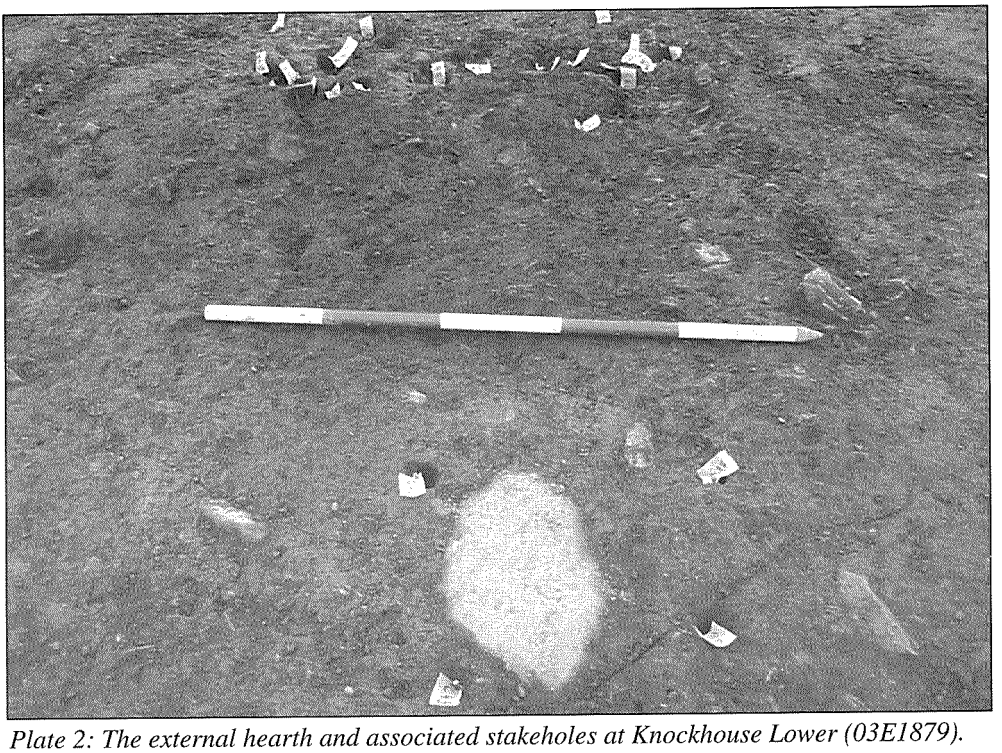

Plate 2: The external hearth and associated stakeholes at Knockhouse Lower (03E1879).

northwest (Figure 2). However, the excavations at Knockhouse Lower covered a comparatively smaller area than those at the Wicklow sites. The hut at Knockhouse Lower may be more readily comparable to huts excavated at Curraghtoor, Co. Tipperary and Carrickmines Great, Co. Dublin which were not associated with ring-ditches, but were within settlement complexes (Doody 2000; Ó Drisceoil 2002). Huts 2 and 3 at Curraghtoor were defined by shallow circular trenches, which measured 4m and 3m in diameter respectively. A number of postholes within the foundation trenches suggest that the huts had a light flexible timber frame, with timbers tied toward the centre (Doody 2000). The hut at Carrickmines Great was defined by a ring of postholes and a segmented slot trench which was 3.5m in diameter. Radiocarbon dates from the Middle to Late Bronze Age were obtained for the Curraghtoor settlement site and the hut at Carrickmines Great is thought to date from the same period (Doody 2000; Ó Drisceoil *pers. comm.*). Although the siting, size and date of the huts at Curraghtoor and Carrickmines Great are comparable to the hut at Knockhouse Lower, their foundation remains suggest that they probably supported slightly different types of superstructure.

As mentioned earlier, there was no hearth within the hut at Knockhouse Lower and it is likely that the occupants could have used the external hearth to its southwest. A small amount of burnt animal bone recovered from the hearth, suggests that the fire was used for domestic purposes. This interpretation is supported by settlement evidence from the large Bronze Age enclosure and house site (03E1033) 100m to the northwest and the presence of a *fulacht fiadh* to the north (Figure 2). The small amount of charcoal recovered from the hearth indicates that it was not repeatedly burned and may lend support to the interpretation of the hut as a temporary structure associated with the fire. Comparison could be made with the site at Carrickmines Great where there was a hearth and a series of associated stakeholes external to the hut site described earlier (Ó Drisceoil *pers. comm.*).

Period 3 saw continued settlement activity on site during the Late Bronze Age. The only feature definitively dated to this period was the hearth or cooking pit on the east of the site, which dated to the earlier part of the Late Bronze Age. It is likely that another pit in proximity may have been contemporaneous as may some of the undated features on site.

The post row on the west of the site was almost certainly part of a larger structure, which extended beyond the western limit of excavation (Figure 3). There was no indication for the date of this structure, but its proximity to the Middle Bronze Age hearth and Late Bronze Age pit suggests that it dates to the Bronze Age.

The Excavation: Carrickphierish (03E1880)

The site at Carrickphierish was located *c.*900m north of the Knockhouse Lower site, on a south facing slope at approximately 56m OD. The ground here had recently been tilled and the stratigraphy comprised an average of 0.34m of ploughsoil overlying natural sub soil. The site measured 40m north-south by 24m east - west and consisted of two pits and a posthole (Figure 7). Only one phase of activity was evident and this has been dated by radiocarbon analysis to the Middle Bronze Age.

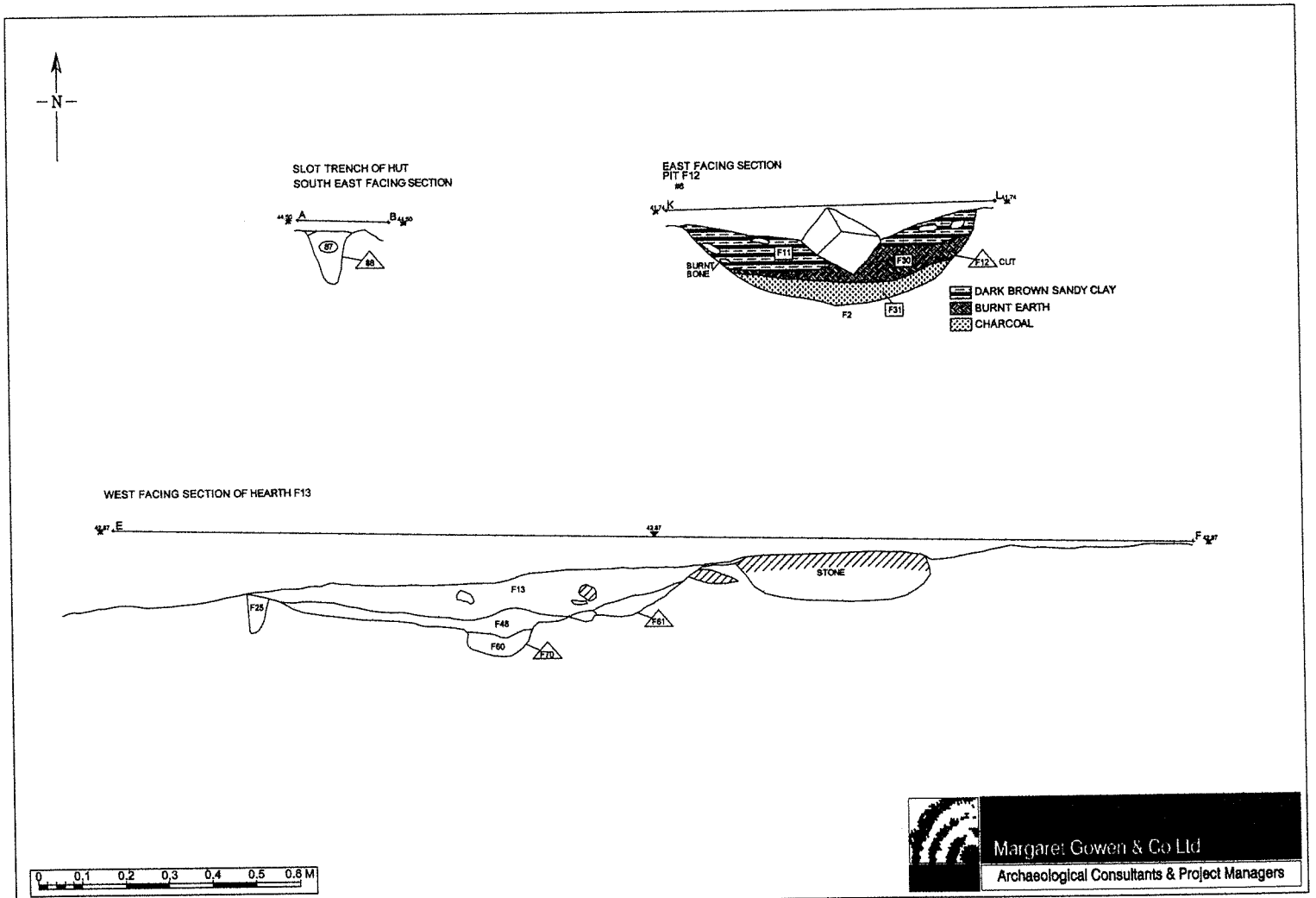

Figure 6: Section drawings of features on the site at Knockhouse Lower (03E1879)

Pits and Posthole

An oval pit F4 was located on the north of the site (Figure 7). The pit measured 2m in length, 1.2m in width and 0.22m in maximum depth. It was filled by F5, dark brown sandy clay with frequent inclusions charcoal and stones. Several wood species were identified from the charcoal, suggesting that it derived from multiple episodes of burning (Appendix 4) and since some of the stones were burnt it is likely that F4 may have been a pit boiler. A number of weed seeds were identified within the fill of the pit (Appendix 3). The evidence indicates that a dry land environment pertained at the site but sedge seeds and wood from alder and willow would have been gathered from a wetland environment somewhere in the vicinity (Appendices 3 and 4). A date of 1780-1520 Cal BC (2 sigma, see Appendix 5) was obtained for charcoal within the pit.

A shallow sub-rectangular pit F6 was located 8m south of the pit boiler (F4) (Figure 7). This pit measured 2.45m northwest-southeast and 0.7m in width. It was filled with dark brown stony clay, which was a maximum of 0.1m deep.

A single posthole F8 was located 7.7m west of F4 and 1.33m northwest of F6 (Figure 7). It was 0.22m in diameter and 0.13m in depth.

Disucssion

The Carrickphierish site comprised of two pits and an isolated posthole which probably all date to the Middle Bronze Age.

One of the pits (F4) may have served as a pit boiler and the other pit (F10) could have been used for storage or for disposal of organic matter. The posthole (F8) was probably part of a structure which may have extended beyond the limit of excavation and all of the features were the result of activity related to a larger settlement in the area. The Radiocarbon date for this site is somewhat earlier than those returned for the Period 2 features at Knockhouse Lower 900m to the south. Despite the proximity of the two sites, the evidence does not suggest any direct association between them, however it does indicate a continued presence in the general area during the Middle Bronze Age period and the two sites may be described as components of a wider prehistoric landscape only limited parts of which have been exposed as a result of development led investigations.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Waterford City Council, who financed on-site excavation and post-excavation analysis and James Eogan, Project Archaeologist, who advised on the project. Thanks are due to those from Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd who worked on the excavation, Brenda O'Mara, Adam Slater, Graeme Laidlaw, Brid Kirby, Miriam McDermott, Sean Rooney, Oscar Ryan and Mairead Kealy, to Joanna Leigh and Eammon Briscoe who digitised the drawings and to all who carried out post-excavation analysis.

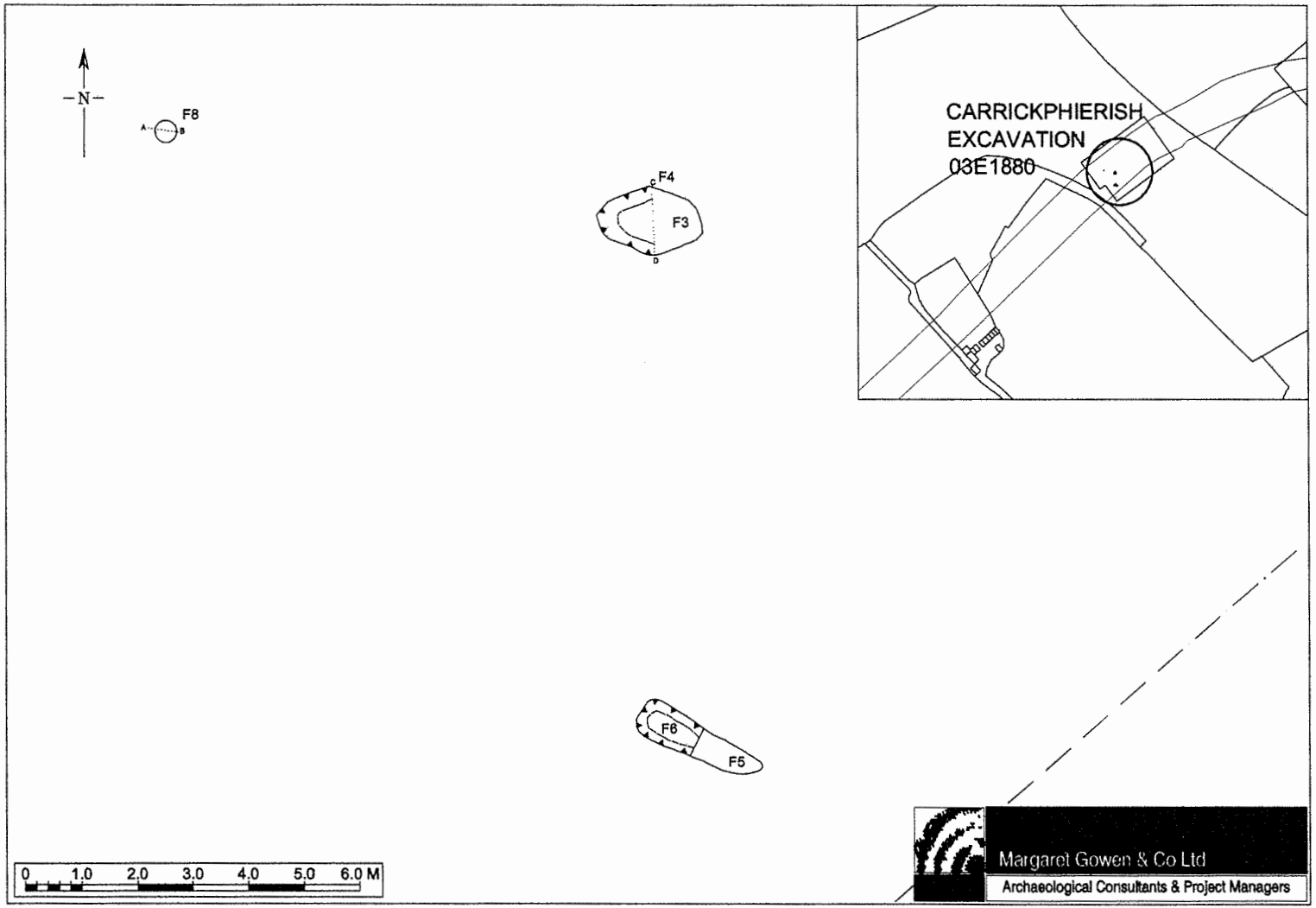

Figure 7: Plan of the site at Carrickphierish (03E1880).

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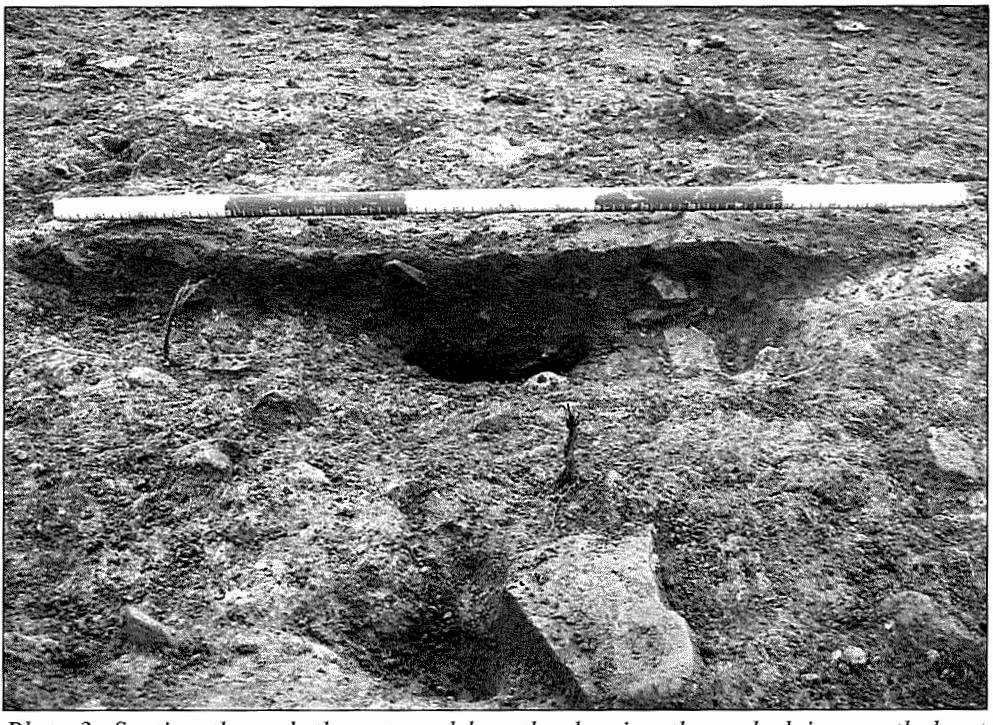

Plate 3: Section through the external hearth, showing the underlying posthole at Knockhouse Lower (03E1879).

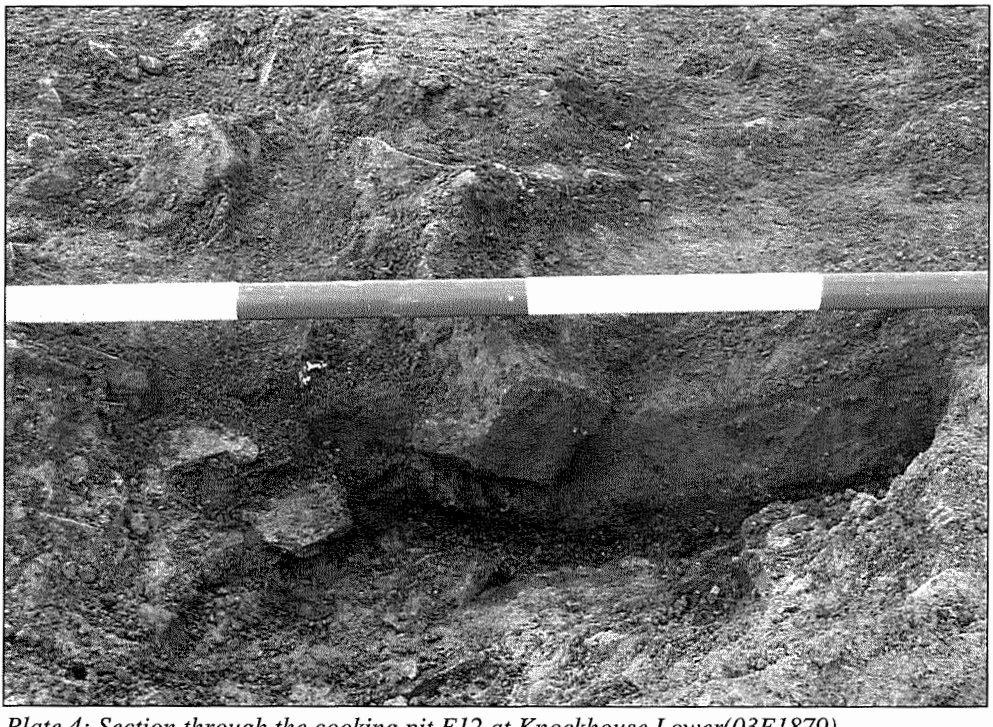

Plate 4: Section through the cooking pit F12 at Knockhouse Lower(03E1879).

Appendix 1

Report on the Prehistoric Pottery from Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford

Eoin Grogan

Summary
A small assemblage of Neolithic carinated bowl consisting of four sherds and seven crumbs came from features in the vicinity of a small circular structure and a hearth. Notwithstanding the small amount of pottery at least five separate vessels are represented. Knockhouse is a small but important addition to the distribution of Neolithic sites in the southeast.

General assessment

These sherds of Neolithic carinated bowl came from four separate features. There are two bodysherds (109.1, 2)[1], two necksherds (121.1 and 169.1) and seven crumbs (137.1). The pottery is of good compact quality although one or more surfaces are worn. Traces of burnishing, typical of the finish on Early Neolithic pottery, survive on 109.1 and on one of the crumbs (137.1a). The inclusions are of crushed and water-rolled quartzite with occasional fragments of sandstone and shale and are generally = 1mm in maximum dimensions. All of the sherds are worn and their condition is suggestive of domestic debris. Details of fabric show that these sherds all come from separate vessels. While the material is very fragmentary the necksherd 169.1 appears to be from just above a simple shoulder. All of the sherds are from undecorated Early Neolithic carinated, round-based bowls; these vessels have pointed, rounded or bulbous rims and simple shoulders. Such pottery was defined as Dunmurry-type by Case (1961: 175-7) and as Early Neolithic carinated bowls by Sheridan (1995: 6-8) and dates to between *c.* 4000 BC and 3600 BC.

Regional context

Sites producing Early Neolithic pottery have until recently have been rare in this area of the country: exceptions include Kilgreany Cave (Tratman 1928; Movius 1935), and the court tomb at Ballynamona (Powell 1938), both in Co. Waterford. There have been further discoveries of carinated bowls in settlement contexts from the Kilmacthomas area *c.*18km to the southwest at Cooltubrid East and Ahanaglogh (Tierney *et al.* 2002), as well as from Granny, Co. Kilkenny, only 3.5km to the north of Knockhouse across the River Suir (Joanne Hughes and Joanna Wren *pers. comm.*). Further to the east this material has also come from sites at Kerlogue (Elder 2004) and Courtlands East, in south Co. Wexford (Purcell 2002). The Knockhouse Lower site is therefore an important contribution to the regional archaeological record of this period.

1 The excavation number 03E1879 is omitted throughout, only the context number followed by the find number is included.

Catalogue

109.1 is a bodysherd of very compact fabric with a very dark grey exterior and core. The outer surface is smooth with surviving evidence of burnishing; the inner face is worn. There is a low content of quartzite inclusions generally = 0.5mm but up to 2 by 1mm; these are visible on the exterior but probably did not protrude through the burnished surface. Thickness: 5.5mm.

109.2 is a bodysherd of very compact fabric with a buff-brown exterior and a dark grey inner surface and core. The outer surface is smooth. There is a low to medium content of quartzite inclusions generally = 1mm but up to 4 by 3mm; these are visible on the exterior but probably did not protrude through the surface. Thickness: 7mm.
From occupation deposit F109 possibly associated with circular hut structure (F87, F88)

121.1 is a gently curved necksherd of very compact fabric with a grey-brown exterior and core; the inner surface is very worn. There is a medium content of both fine and coarse quartzite inclusions generally = 1mm but with occasional shale inclusions up to 8 by 5mm; these are visible on the exterior but probably did not protrude through the surface. Thickness: 6.5mm.
From posthole F122 southeast of hearth F13

169.1 is a gently curved necksherd from immediately above what appears to have been a simple shoulder; it is of very compact fabric with a buff-brown exterior and core; the outer surface is very smooth and inclusion-free, the inner surface is very worn. There is a low to medium content of quartzite inclusions with occasional flecks of sandstone; these are generally = 1mm but up to 3 by 2mm. Thickness: 7.5mm.
From fill of pit F170 6.4m west of circular hut structure (F87, F88)

137.1a-g are seven crumbs of compact buff pottery. There is a medium content of quartzite and shale inclusions generally = 1.5mm but up to 3 by 2mm. A preserved surface on 137.1 has traces of a burnished finish. These are probably, but not certainly, from a Neolithic carinated bowl.
From the fill of posthole F137

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Appendix 2

Summary Report on Osteological Analysis of Burnt Bones from Knockhouse Lower (03E1879)

Jonny Geber

A small sample comprising 175 fragments of burnt bone with a total weight of 24.34g was analysed. All fragments indicated severe burning and fragmentation and as a result only one fragment could with absolute certainty be identified to species. The identifiable bone fragment was from a caprovine (sheep or goat) metapodial. There were also ten long bone fragments in the sample and from the inner trabecular structure it was determined that they all derived from medium sized mammals. All fragments seem to be equally well burned, which would indicate that they were exposed to a burning temperature above 700-900°C (Wahl 1982:28).

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Appendix 3

Analysis of the Charred Seeds From Knckhouse Lower and Carrickphierish, Co. Waterford

Penny Johnston

Summary
The plant remains assemblages from both Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish came from contexts that were dated to the Middle and Late Bronze Age. All the samples contained small amounts of weed seeds. The retrieval of an oat grain from Knockhouse Lower probably represents a wild oat variety and it is likely that many of the charred remains from these samples were crop-processing by-products, and were burnt as waste or tinder.

Methodology

The samples were processed by flotation, whereby each sample was soaked in water in order to suspend the carbonised material; this was then poured off and trapped in a sieve (mesh size 300μm). This 'flot' (i.e. the floated material) was examined under a binocular microscope using low-level magnification (X4 - X56) and identifiable plant remains were extracted and identified using the same microscope and magnification.

Knockhouse Lower (Identified plant remains in Table 1)

One sample from Period 2 (Middle Bronze Age) produced plant remains in the form of one degraded indeterminate weed seed. It was found in the fill of the hut slot trench (F87) and the poor preservation of the grain may indicate that it was eroded and washed in.

One sample from a Period 3 (Late Bronze Age) context produced plant remains including the charred (ancient) remains and some un-charred (modern) weed seeds. These were found in F11, the upper fill of a pit. The modern contaminants may indicate some disturbance within the context due to the activity of earthworms or other burrowing fauna. The charred remains included a grain from the oat (*Avena*) genus and several weeds, in particular Black Bindweed (*Fallopia convolvulus*), a common agricultural weed. It was impossible to tell whether the oat was from cultivated or a wild species, as the floret bases that are required for specific identification were not present in this sample. While cultivated oat generally appears in Europe only in the early historic period, or possibly in very late prehistory, the recovery of oat grains from prehistoric contexts (especially Late Bronze Age) has several precedents (e.g. Tierney and Hannon 2003) and it appears that wild varieties were common contaminants of crop fields. The seeds from this sample should therefore be interpreted as discarded by-products of crop processing.

Carrickphierish (Identified plant remains in Table 2)
F3, the fill of a Middle Bronze Age pit excavated at Carrickphierish, produced small amounts of seeds from wild plants belonging to the Cabbage (*Brassicaeae*), Knotgrass (*Polygonaceae*) and Sedge (*Cyperaceae*) families. All of these families contain a wide variety of plants and their interpretative value is unfortunately limited, excepting perhaps the comment that the sedges are damp-loving plants and the burnt seeds in this sample may therefore have been gathered in a relatively wet environment.

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Table 1: Identified charred plant remains from Knockhouse Lower, Co. Waterford (03E1879)

	F11/S3 & S8	F87/S30
Oat grains (*Avena* species)	1	
Probable Common Chickweed (*Stellaria* cf *media*)	1	
Black Bindweed (*Fallopia convolvulus*)	3	
Possible Black Bindweed (cf *Fallopia convolvulus*)	1	
Sedges (*Carex* species)	1	
Indeterminate weed seeds	2	1

Table 2: Identified charred plant remains from Carrickphierish, Co. Waterford (03E1880)

	F3/S3
Cabbage family seeds (Brassicaceae)	2
Dock family seeds (Polygonaceae)	1
Sedge family seeds (Cyperaceae)	1
Indeterminate weed seeds	2

Appendix 4

Analysis of the Charcoal from Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish, Co. Waterford

Lorna O'Donnell, Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd.

Methodology

The samples were processed by means of flotation, whereby each sample was soaked in water in order to suspend the carbonised material; which was then poured off and trapped in a sieve (mesh size 300µm). Each charcoal piece was identified by a first selection under a Nikon Binocular Microscope at a magnification of 10x-40x. The pieces were broken to reveal their transverse, tangential and longitudinal surfaces. A binocular microscope was used with dark ground light and magnifications generally of 200x and 400x to identify the charcoal. The charcoal was identified by comparison with known comparative material and keys (Schweingruber 1978). The broadest identification used in this report is that of sub-family (eg. Pomoideae), which is capitalised. The next level of identification is genus, which is italicised, and spp. is added if there is possibly more than one species of that genus present (eg. *Quercus* spp.). The highest level of identification is species, which is capitalised and italicised (eg. *Corylus avellana*).

Results

Eight wood types were identified from the sites excavated on the route of Carrickphierish Road. These were alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), birch (*Betula* spp.), hazel (*Corylus avellana*), ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*), pomaceous fruitwood (*Pomoideae*), wild/bird cherry (*Prunus avium/padus*), oak (*Quercus* spp.) and willow (*Salix* spp.). The Pomoideae types are almost impossible to separate through wood anatomy, and include wild pear or apple type (*Pyrus communis/Malus sylvestris*), hawthorn/whitethorn (*Crataegus monogyna*) and rowan/mountain ash/whitebeam (*Sorbus*). The most frequently used wood; as regards weight was ash, followed by oak, alder and hazel (Fig. 1).

Knockhouse Lower

The charcoal content within the slot trench of the hut was quite low, but hazel, oak, ash and alder were identified. These species together with the size of the slot trench and the lack of postholes within it, suggest that the trench contained wattle. Young ash roundwoods would have been a suitable choice for a construction such as this, where flexible timbers may have been drawn into a centre post (Doody 2000). Alder is very durable when dried and was found in varying proportions in the postholes (Orme & Coles 1985: 7).

The charcoal content from the hearth was quite low, with only three wood types identified. Had the hearth been used repeatedly, a larger variety of wood probably would have been identified. The main wood used in the hearth was oak, which has

very good burning properties (Marguerie 2002: 190). Oak was also the main species used within the stakeholes associated with the hearth. This was in contrast to use of alder and ash in the stakeholes associated with the circular hut.

The wood identified from the different features on site show that open conditions did not prevail in the area. Larger trees such as ash and oak grew in the dry land area, along with hazel and light loving trees such as cherry and pomaceous fruitwood. There must have been wetlands nearby, where alder and willow could grow, probably along a stream or in an area of damp woodland.

Carrickphierish

Results

Seven wood types were identified from the fill of the pit (F3). The most frequently occurring species was hazel, followed by oak (Fig. 3). Alder, ash, holly (*Ilex aquifolium*), wild/bird cherry and willow were also identified. The dominance of oak and hazel wood suggests that a dry land environment surrounded the site, probably with oak and ash trees, and a hazel understory. There are also some indications for nearby wetlands. Alder and willow would have flourished beside rivers in lowland areas. None of the wood had insect holes, suggesting it was not stored for long periods of time before use. The rings range from one to fifteen years, with the greatest variety in age being within the oak. Most of the pieces were derived from branches. The growth was medium in all cases.

In conclusion most of the evidence points towards a dry land environment with oak, ash, hazel and birch trees in the area of the sites at Knockhouse Lower and Carrickphierish. Smaller shrubs such as wild/bird cherry and pomaceous fruitwood would have thrived on forest edges. There must have also been a river, lake or wetland nearby where alder and willow could have grown.

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Figure 1 Charcoal Identification, Knockhouse Lower

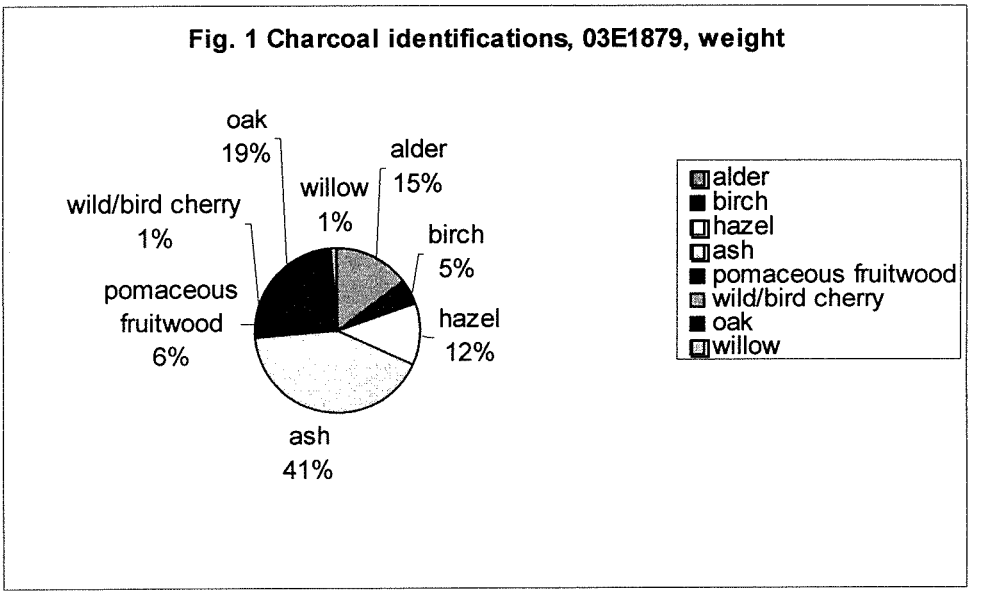
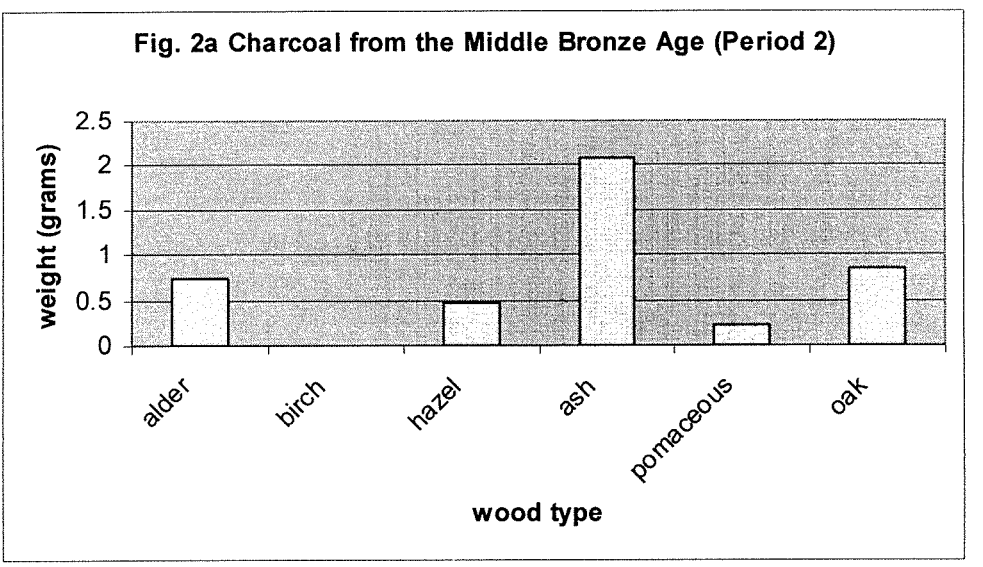


Figure 2 Charcoal identified from Knockhouse Lower



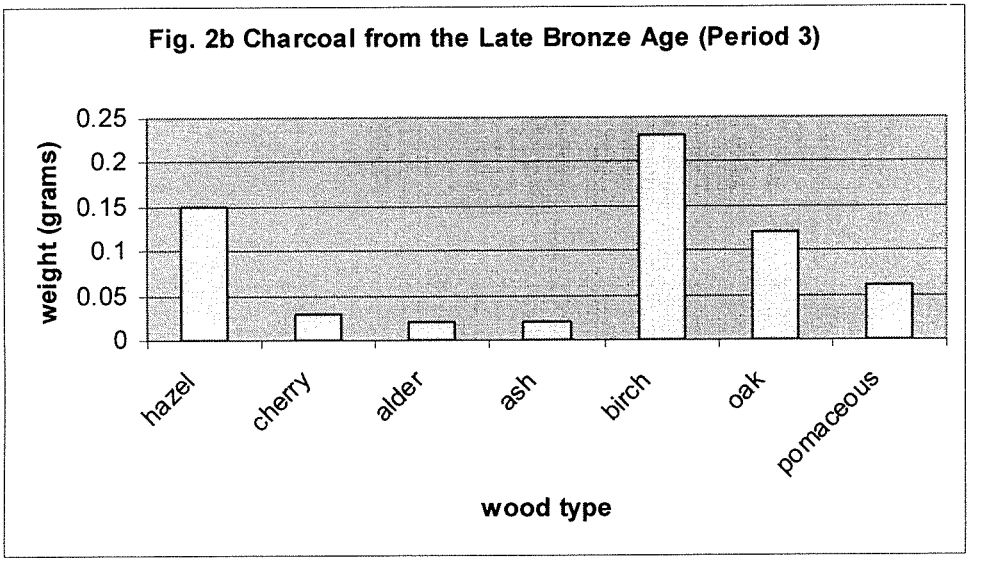
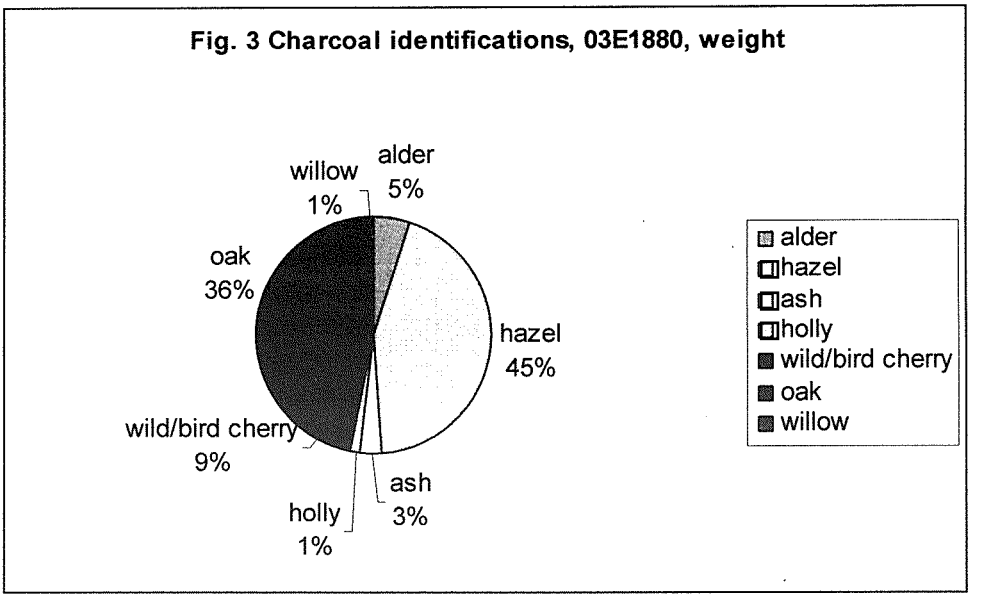


Figure 3 Carrickphierish, Charcoal identification

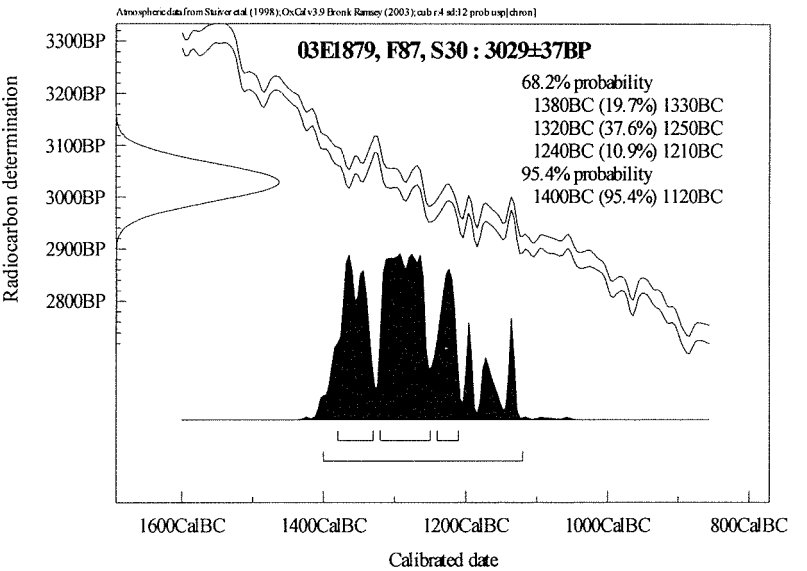


Appendix 5

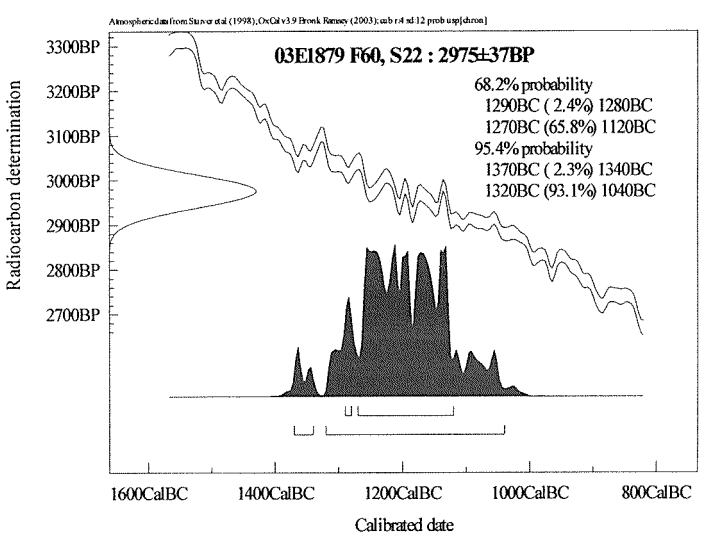
Radiocarbon Dates

Samples processed at Queens University Belfast

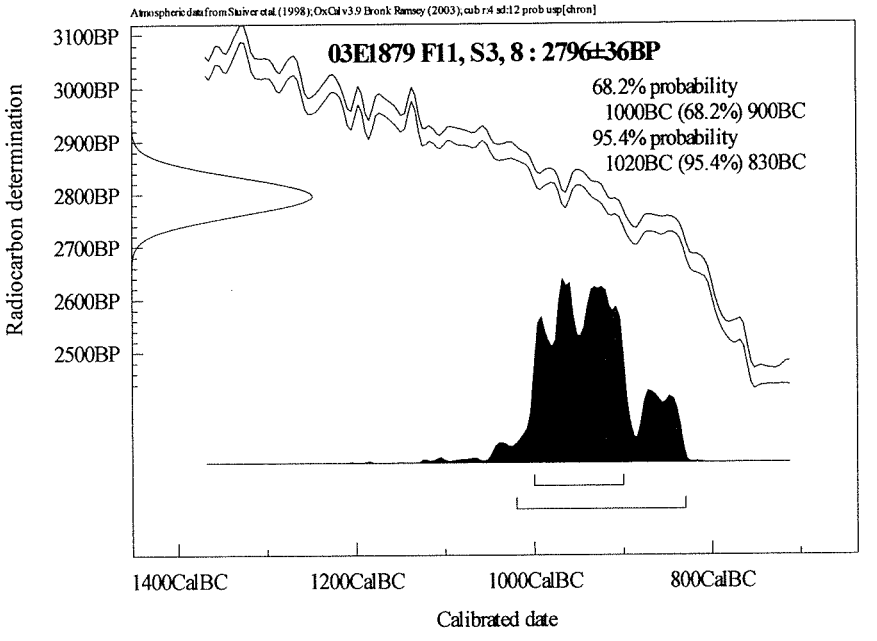
Knockhouse Lower: charcoal sample from slot trench of hut



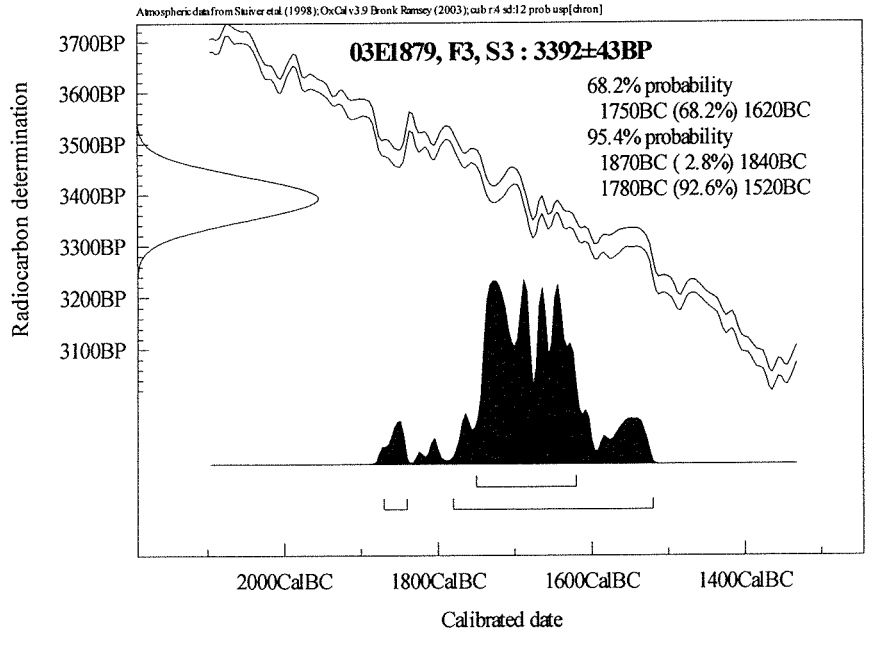
Knockhouse Lower: charcoal sample from pit below hearth



Knockhouse Lower: charcoal sample from pit fill



Carrickphierish: charcoal sample from pit fill



Bishop Malchus: His Arrival in Lismore, and the Winchester Saints in a Waterford Calendar*

Dónal O'Connor

*A sequel to 'Malchus (c.1047-1135), Monk of Winchester and First Bishop of Waterford', in *Decies* 61 (2005), pp.123-50.

Part I

Malchus' Arrival in Lismore

Bishop Malchus' arrival in Ireland in early 1097, after his consecration as bishop of Waterford by Anselm in Canterbury, coincided with the first stirrings of what was to be known as the Twelfth-Century Church Reform in Ireland.

Already, in 1096, Anselm had written two letters to the 'King of Ireland', Murchertach O'Briain, praising him for his good governance of his kingdom but also pointing out serious faults that needed the king's attention.[1] In this, Anselm was exercising his authority over the Irish king and over the Irish church, following the practice of his predecessor, Lanfranc, who as archbishop of Canterbury, tried to extend his primacy not only over the whole island of Britain but also over Ireland.

Anselm wrote admonitions not only to the Irish king but also to the Irish bishops. In his first letter to these latter, written in 1094 or 1095, he names two of them: Donatus, bishop of Dublin (who had been consecrated by Lanfranc in 1084), and Bishop Domnall Ua hEnna, who was chief advisor to King Murcherach and a signatory of the letter to Anselm requesting the consecration of Malchus.

Bishop Domnall was one of the most respected of the Irish bishops of his time, as his obituary in the annals for 1098 shows: he was 'chief master in wisdom, eminent bishop of Ireland, most hospitable and charitable man in Western Europe' and 'master in both orders, Irish and Roman'.[2] He was also honoured by the title *ard anmchara* (chief soul-friend) and 'the head of the piety of the Gaeidhil', thus embodying in himself a form of ecclesiastical culture distinctively Irish.[3] One may surmise that Ua hEnna's advice on the suitability of Malchus for episcopal office was sought by the king prior to the writing of the letter to Anselm; Ua hEnna is the 'bishop Dofnaldus', the only name accompanying that of the king in the greeting to Anselm at the head of the letter. And again, in the body of the letter Ua hEnna's

1 Ussher, Works IV, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, p. 567.
2 Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Innisfallen*, (Dublin, 1951).
3 John O'Donnovan (ed.), *Annals of the Four Masters*, (Dublin, 1848-51), at 1098.

name comes immediately after the king's in saying 'we have chosen Malchus... whom we know well'.[4] One wonders, however, if Anselm, coming from another culture, appreciated Ua hEnna's high status when he advises the Irish bishops that they should consult him (Anselm) 'if some matter arises which cannot be canonically resolved by you' (*quod per vos canonice nequeat definiri*).[5]

The superior attitude of the Norman prelates towards the Irish Church was also, at this time, showing itself *vis à vis* the Saxon Church in England. Malchus, still a monk in Winchester would have seen the demolition of the beautiful Saxon cathedral, Old Minster, in 1093, and would have known of the lament of the Saxon bishop Wulfstan at the destruction of St. Oswald's at Worcester.

St. Anselm's influence on the Irish Church was, however, beneficial, and he, together with King Murchertach, were important forces for reform in the early years of the twelfth century, which saw the convening of two synods: the Synod of Cashel (1101), and, more importantly, the Synod of Rathbreasail (1111) in which latter Malchus played an important role.

Anselm continued to influence the reform of the Irish Church by involving Bishop Malchus in correcting abuses that had crept into the diocese of Dublin. This was a particularly delicate, even dangerous, task for Malchus as he was required by Anselm to deliver a letter of rebuke to the Dublin Bishop Samuel and also to counsel and admonish him about certain abuses.

And Malchus, coming from a small city bishopric like Waterford, would seem of little importance to the citizens of Dublin, which had declared itself 'the capital city of the island of Ireland' (*Hiberniae insulae metropolis*)[6] in the letter written to Lanfranc in 1074, requesting the consecration of Patrick as bishop. And Bishop-elect Patrick repeated this claim in his oath of obedience to the see of Canterbury: 'Ego Patricius, ad regendam Dublinam Metropolem Hiberniae electus...'[7] (I Patrick, chosen to rule Dublin, the capital of Ireland).

Although Bishop Samuel, who had succeeded his uncle Donatus as bishop of Dublin in 1096, did not use the word 'metropolis' in his oath of obedience to Canterbury, his use of the processional cross - for which Anselm rebuked him, may be seen not merely as pointing to Samuel's ambition for archiepiscopal status, but also as a reflection of the ambition of the Dublin civic authorities to be the capital of Ireland. If such were the case then Malchus was a most unwelcome visitor not only to Samuel but to the Dublin establishment as well.

At this period Malchus was Anselm's most trusted agent for the Reform in Ireland; as Anselm wrote to him: 'I do not find a more suitable person for this mission'.[8]

4 Dónal O'Connor, 'Malchus (c.1047-1135), Monk of Winchester and First Bishop of Waterford', in *Decies* 61 (2005), p. 139.

5 Ussher, Works IV, p. 516.

6 Ussher, Works, IV, Ep. XXV, p. 488.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 564.

8 *Ibid.*, Works IV, Ep. XXXIX.

Long after the deaths of Anselm (1109) and of King Murchertach (1119) Malchus was still playing an important role in the Reform in the years 1122-4, 1127 and 1132 involving his tutoring of Malachy of Armagh, who became the most important of the twelfth-century reformers.

All these contacts between Bishop Malchus and Malachy took place in Lismore, not Waterford. When Malachy arrived in Lismore in 1122 to study under Bishop Malchus he did so because Malchus' fame as a teacher there had been well established. This leads to the question, when did Bishop Malchus of Waterford begin his ministry in Lismore?

St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in his *Life of St. Malachy*, gives an answer to this question, but his answer has given rise to conflicting interpretations. Bernard says that Malchus, after he had been a monk in the monastery of Winchester, was promoted from there into Lismore.

Bernard's sentence, however, covers two distinct aspects of Malchus' ministry, viz. his arrival in Lismore and his episcopal status on arrival there. If Bernard is correct then Bishop Malchus would have arrived in Lismore from Winchester in early 1097. But with regard to his episcopal status on arrival in Lismore: was he the bishop of Lismore or, perhaps, the bishop of Waterford with a mandate to lead the church reform from the monastery of Lismore? Leading by his sacramental holiness and wisdom - the qualities which Bernard attributed to him, and which were the sole reason why the young Malachy was sent from Armagh to be formed by Malchus in Lismore.

One of the puzzling things about St. Bernard's account of Malchus[9] is that while it gives much valuable information about Bishop Malchus' ministry in Lismore, it never mentions that Malchus was the bishop of Waterford who had been consecrated by St. Anselm at Canterbury, 28 December 1096. It is against this background that we may try to interpret a strange statement by Bernard implying that Malchus' first residence after he arrived in Ireland as bishop was in Lismore. Bernard says of Malchus: 'Hic erat quidem Hibernus, sed in Anglia conversatus fuerat in habitu et proposito monachali Wintoniensi monasterio, de quo assumptus est in episcopum in Lesmor civitatem Mumuniae', (He was an Irishman but had lived in England in the monastic habit and intention in the monastery of Winchester, *from where he was taken up as a bishop into Lismore, a city of Munster*). (Thus the critical edition):[10]

In the critical edition the Latin 'in' followed by the Accusative ('in Lesmor civitatem') means '*into Lismore*' and not '*in Lismore*'. And this 'into' does not necessarily mean that Malchus was bishop of Lismore. The statement is compatible with the notion that Malchus, while bishop of Waterford, did have residence in Lismore right from the beginning of his ministry in Ireland. I have argued in my previous article that since Lismore was the most important centre of religious culture and

9 See Dónal O'Connor, 'Malchus (c.1047-1135), Monk of Winchester and First Bishop of Waterford', in *Decies* 61 (2005), pp.130-34.

10 J. Leclercq & H.M. Rochais (eds.), *Sancti Bernardi Opera, Vol. III, Tractatus et Opuscula*, (Romae, Editiones Cistercienses, 1963), pp. 316-17. Henceforth abbreviated *Sancti Bernardi Opera.*

reform in Munster, it was the obvious location for a man of such outstanding ability to work in. And both St. Anselm (who lived with his monks while archbishop of Canterbury) and King Murchertach (whose Kingdom of Munster included the Monastery of Lismore) may well have decided on this arrangement prior to Malchus' departure from Winchester. St. Anselm, in particular, would have appreciated that Bishop Malchus, in the work of reform, would have needed the resources of the monastic library and scriptorium and the scholarly monks of Lismore, which he would not have enjoyed in Waterford. Malchus made it clear, for instance, that he wanted a copy of Anselm's book on the Holy Trinity not just for himself but for 'all the Irish clergy'- a task involving considerable scribal labour and care.[11] And Anselm would have wished that Malchus should continue to have the support of the monastic environment of prayer and discipline to which he had been accustomed in the Benedictine tradition of Winchester.

The Latin text quoted above is taken from the critical edition of 1963. This edition notes the existence of one variant reading which is acknowledged in the lower apparatus. The variant consists of one word, *civitate* and could possibly yield a translation such as that given by Michael Lapidge, making Malchus bishop of Lismore: 'He (Malchus) was Irish in origin, but had been trained in monastic custom and discipline at the monastery of Winchester, *from where he was appointed to the bishopric in Lesmór (Lismore) of the Déise Muman.*'[12] The Latin text used by Lapidge is that of J.P. Migne[13] which, in its turn, uses the variant in *Lesmore civitate* (where 'in' followed by the Ablative means in *Lismore*).

Similarly, H.J. Lawlor translates Bernard's text as saying that Malchus was promoted to be bishop in Lismore. But in a footnote to this text Lawlor simply says: 'An error for Waterford. It is explained by, and confirms, the suggestion that Malchus transferred the see (of Waterford) to Lismore.'[14] But J. Lanigan is still impressed by the authority of St. Bernard and even speculates that there may have been two monks by the name of Malchus in Winchester, both ordained bishop, one for Lismore and the other for Waterford. Lanigan concedes, however, that 'the matter is so obscure, that I cannot pretend to decide on it'.[15]

Malchus became bishop of Waterford on 28 December 1096, and if he arrived in Lismore as part of his reforming mission he would not have ceased to be bishop of Waterford, just as Malachy, in 1127 did not cease to be bishop of Connor while residing in Lismore and performing an important pastoral rôle there. Another point where Malchus and Malachy resemble each other is that neither bishop resided in his episcopal *civitas* but in a monastery some distance away: Malchus in Lismore, and Malachy in Bangor.

11 Dónal O'Connor, 'Malchus (c.1047-1135), Monk of Winchester and First Bishop of Waterford', in *Decies* 61(2005), p. 144.

12 Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St. Swithun, Winchester Studies* 4:11 (Oxford, 2003) p. 54.

13 J.P. Migne, PL, 182, *de Vita Malachiae*, IV.8. 1079.

14 H.J. Lawlor, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy*, (London, 1920), p. 19 and footnote 3.

15 John Lanigan, *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. IV, (Dublin, 1822), p. 75.

Bernard was interested in Bishop Malchus only to the extent of that bishop's influence on St. Malachy. This influence began in 1122 when the young Malachy was sent to Malchus in Lismore, and the only reason given for Malachy making the long journey from Armagh was that Bishop Malchus' fame was already well established there, and people from all parts, as far away as Scotland, were coming to him. What was important in Bernard's eyes was not any link Malchus might have with Waterford, but with the Benedictine monastery at Winchester, with its reputation for orthodoxy and scholarship and its long line of the great Saxon bishops. (See Part II)

The variant reading which could indicate that Malchus came from Winchester as the bishop of Lismore comes from a MS, designated M by the editors, which is one of the ten early MSS (twelfth or early thirteenth century) listed by the editors as follows:[16]

A Douai 372, 1;
Ct Dijon 658;
Pontarlier 3, f. 98v- 33v;
V Düsseldorf B. 26, f. 1-65v;
C*l* Troyes 426;
B Munich lat. 4625;
H Copenhagen Gl. Kgl. S. 182 fol;
S Vienna Schottenstift, f 147;
Z Zweittl 144;
C*l*^{i} Troyes 799;

M, from Pontarlier (France), formerly an abbey of the Cistercian Order at Mont Sainte Marie, is the only one of the ten MSS to have the variant reading 'in Lesmor civitate'... (*in* Lismore, a city...); the others read 'in Lesmor civitatem' (*into* Lismore, a city...).

The editors therefore, adopted the majority reading and have relegated the M reading to the critical apparatus, and have also expressed their low opinion of the many variants which occur in M, some of which are even faulty.[17]

Conclusion

If we accept the reading preferred by the critical edition, then Bernard may not have been in error at all when he says that Bishop Malchus was promoted from Winchester to Lismore.

After recording Malchus' arrival in Lismore Bernard describes the nature of Malchus' ministry there as that of a saintly scholar-bishop whose teaching on the proper veneration of the sacraments and of divine worship was such an important part of the Reform. It was in this context that Malchus' formation in Winchester, the great centre of reform since Bishop Ethelwold (died 984), was noted by Bernard.

The presence of Bishop Malchus in Lismore in later years (1122-32) would not require his becoming bishop of Lismore. When he died in 1135 his obituary notes the place of his death as Lismore, and his title: Bishop of Port-Láirge.[18]

16 *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Vol. III, p. 306.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 302, 'M présente un assez grand nombre de variantes banalisantes ou même fautives; mais ces dernières ont parfois été corrigées'.

18 John O'Donnovan (ed.), *Annals of the Four Masters*, (Dublin, 1848-51), at 1135.

Part II

Winchester Saints in a Waterford Calendar

An event that took place on 16 July 1093 which had enormous importance for the Church in Winchester: the demolition of the cathedral church, known as Old Minster. Malchus, who became bishop of Waterford three years later, was then a Benedictine monk of the Cathedral Priory.

The Old Minster had been the resting place of the kings of Wessex, and of the saintly bishops of Winchester and of other saints whose feast-days were remembered in the liturgical calendars of Winchester. The list of saints spanned from the first preacher of Christianity in Wessex, St. Birinus (died 650), to the last of the Saxon bishops, Alphege, bishop of Winchester 984-1005, and archbishop of Canterbury from 1005 to his martyrdom in 1012.

The church itself was 445 years old in 1093, having been built in 648 by king Cynwahl 'and hallowed in the name of St. Peter'.

A monk of Winchester, Wulfstan Cantor, a contemporary of St. Alphege, wrote of the saints who were buried in Old Minister. Recalling its dedication to SS Peter and Paul, he begins with St. Birinus who had been sent by Pope Honorius I in 634 and was the first to preach baptism to the West-Saxons. Birinus, says Wulfstan, is the apostolic man (*vir apostolicus*) (because of his mandate from Rome) 'who washed clean the western peoples with the baptismal bath'.[19] Then follows Swithun (bishop of Winchester 852-62) 'powerful in miracles (*signipotens*) who by his prayers lifted up this people'.[20]

Next follows Byrnstanus and Aelfheah the Elder 'who shine forth in the centre of the church'. But the highest praise goes to Aethelwold, the Benedictine monk who became bishop of Winchester (963-84); 'the supreme bishop, ornament of the fatherland, feeder of the needy, the hope of pilgrims, the splendour and honour of the Fathers, our Aethelwold, pastor, father and teacher... '[21]

In addition to these four saints, there are many others located here and there, concerning whom it is written what the Church sings:

> 'the bodies of the saints are buried here in peace,
> And their names live for ever'.[22]

But many of these saints who had been buried in Winchester cathedral were rudely disturbed on 16 July 1093, when demolition began on that venerable Saxon church on the orders of Walkelin, the first Norman bishop of Winchester (1070-98). The annals of the Cathedral record the demolition on 16 July but they also record, in some detail, the final liturgy, carried out in the same cathedral on the

19 J.P. Migne, PL 137, 112.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*, PL 137, 113; 'Summus et antistes, patriae decus, altor egentium, Spes peregrinorum, splendor honorque Patrum, Noster Adelwoldus, pastor, pater atque magister'.

22 *Ibid.*, 114: 'Sunt alii plures etiam hinc atque inde locati De quibus est scriptum quod canit Ecclesia: Corpora sanctorum sunt hic in pace sepulta, et vivunt eorum nomina in aeternum.'

previous day. I quote this in some detail because Malchus was still a monk of the Cathedral priory and would have taken part in the event, namely the transfer of the relics of St. Swithun from the Old Minster to the partly constructed new cathedral - the east arm and the transept had been dedicated only three months previously, according to the Monastic Annals of Winchester:

> *8 April 1093:* In the presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots of England, with great joy and glory, the monks came from Old Minster to the new monastery' for the dedication.
>
> *15 July 1093:* On the feast of St. Swithun, having made a procession from the new monastery to the old, they took the reliquary of St. Swithun and placed it with honour in the new.
>
> *16 July 1093:* On the orders of Bishop Walkelin, men began to demolish the Old Minster, and completed the demolition in the same year, except for one porticus and the high altar.[23]
>
> *1094:* Relics of St. Swithun and of many other saints were found beneath the altar of Old Minster.[24] (*Inventae sunt reliquiae Sti. Swithuni aliorumque plurimorum sanctorum sub altari veteris monasterii*).

This last entry shows the confusion that reigned in Winchester while the Old Minster was being broken up and the construction of the new cathedral was going on. Even though the shrine of St. Swithun had been ceremonially transferred to its new location on 15 July, more of his relics and of many other saints 'were found' in the following year under the high altar, which was still standing under the open sky. (See Appendix) And while Bishop Walkelin's work received the approval of 'nearly all the bishops and abbots of England' in April 1093,[25] these represented the new Norman prelates who had replaced the Saxon hierarchy. Only one Saxon bishop was still alive in his own diocese, Worchester, viz. Bishop Wulfstan (later canonised), and his re-action to the destruction of the Saxon cathedrals is recounted by William of Malmesbury in his Life of Wulfstan.

Wulfstan, a Benedictine monk and later bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095, was standing in the cemetery, watching the demolition of the Saxon church built by St. Oswald, Benedictine monk and bishop of Worcester (died 992), when tears came to his eyes and he said 'We, wretched people, are destroying the work of saints, while pompously thinking that we are making better ones. How much

23 H.R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici, Vol II, Annales de Wintonia*, (London, Rolls Series, 1865), p. 37.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 37: 'in presentia omnium fere episcoporum atque abbatum Angliae cum maxima exultatione et gloria'.

more important to us is St. Oswald who built this church, and how many holy religious men served God in it'.[26]

Bishop Wulfstan's objections to and distress at the destruction of St. Oswald's Church to make way for the larger cathedral required by the Normans was based on three considerations:

1) The church being demolished was the work of a saint, namely Oswald, who had died just a century previously and was still held in great esteem. It was therefore a recent building.

2) It had been a place of simplicity in its design and size, and was now being replaced by the pomp and display of the much larger Norman cathedral.

3) It had been sanctified by the worship of God over many years by countless devout men.

Turning now to Malchus and the other Benedictine monks of Old Minster who were witnesses to the destruction of their cathedral on 16 July 1093, we may consider their dismay that a fine church which had been repaired and enlarged by the most distinguished of all the Winchester bishops St. Aethelwold and his successor and martyr Alphege just one hundred years previously was now being pulled down to make way for Walkelin's gigantic cathedral which was to be over twice the size of Old Minster.

The archaeologists who excavated the area of the old cathedral speak of it as 'this exciting building... probably the finest building in England, which had achieved its final shape in around 993-4, exactly 100 years before it was demolished... It was embellished with coloured window-glass, painted walls, and elaborate stone reliefs. The floor of Old Minster was partly stone-flagged, and partly laid with multicoloured relief tiles'. [27]

The final dedication of this church took place after its completion *c.*993-4 under bishop Alphege, who remained bishop of Winchester until 1005, when he became archbishop of Canterbury.

Alphege was venerated as a saint and martyr at Winchester and elsewhere in England. He was also venerated, together with several other saints from the Winchester calendars listed below, in two Irish centres, one at Waterford and the other at Knock, Co. Louth. From Knock comes the Martyrology of Gorman, named after its author Máel Muire Ua Gorman, who was abbot of the monastery at

26 R.R. Darlington (ed.), *Vita Wulfstani by William Of Malmesbury*, (Camden Society 40, 1928), pp. 52, 106: 'Nos, inquit, miseri sanctorum destruimus opera; et pompatice putantes nos facere meliora. Quanto praestantior nobis Oswaldus, qui hanc fecit ecclesiam; Quot sancti viri religiosi in ea Deo servierunt'.

27 Birthe Kjolbye - Biddle, 'Old Minster, St. Swithun's Day 1093', in John Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years*, (Phillimore, Chichester, 1993), pp. 13, 20.

Knock, which had been consecrated in 1148 by St. Malachy of Armagh. The Martyrology was composed between 1166 and 1174. I have designated it G in what follows, and for the Waterford Calendar below I have used W.

From Waterford, most probably, comes a liturgical calendar (early thirteenth century) in a Cambridge manuscript: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 405. The Calendar is contained in a separate quire (now marked pp. 23-34), one page to each month, and is bound up with texts relating to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Waterford. I have used the microfilm of the calendar issued by Cambridge.

Winchester Saints From Birinus to Alphege in two Irish Manuscripts:

1) Birinus (d. 650) is commemorated four times in Winchester:
4 September: Translation; 11 September: Octave of Translation
3 December: Deposition; 10 December: Octave of Deposition
Only St. Swithun has more commemorations than Birinus.

Bede (*Ecclesiastical History*, 111.7): 'The West Saxons, anciently known as the Gewissae accepted the faith of Christ through the preaching of bishop Birinus. He had come to Britain at the direction of Pope Honorius. He built his church in the city of Dorchester (Oxon) and was buried there. Many years later when Haeddi was bishop Birinus' relics were translated to Winchester'. His mission began in 635 and ended 650. Bishop Haeddi (Hedda) translated the remains in 690; a further translation to a new shrine by Bishop Aethelwold took place on 4 September 980. This translation is celebrated also on 4 September in both Waterford and Knock, and the deposition of Birinus is celebrated in Knock (3 December) but not in Waterford.

St. Birinus was the 'apostolic man' (*vir apostolicus*), the link between the Apostolic See and the see of Winchester.

2) Judoc (d. 668). Translation of St. Judoc: 9 January in W. and G. St. Judoc was never connected with Winchester during his life-time; he was a son of king Juthael of Brittany, and he became a hermit in a place which was later named after him, St. Josse-sur-Mer (Picardy), and died there, and his body was later found to be incorrupt. When the New Minster in Winchester was being built about 902 just next to Old Minster, some refugees arrived from St. Josse bringing with them the relics of St. Judoc, and bishop Grimbald of Winchester enshrined them in New Minister. His feast is very rare outside of Winchester, and its presence in the W and G points to Winchester influence at work, probably through bishop Malchus.

3) Etheldreda (Aethelthryth) (d. 679). Translation 17 October W and G. Deposition 23 June W.

She was a daughter of King Ana of East Anglia, and was twice married to royalty but remained a virgin throughout. She founded an abbey at Ely in 673 and died in 679. Seventeen years after her death her body was found incorrupt. Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester refounded her monastery at Ely as a monastery for monks. The high esteem in which she was held by Athelwold shines forth in his *Benedictional*, the most lavishly decorated manuscript to have survived from Anglo-Saxon England; and among the various blessings to be imparted to the congregation by a bishop between the consecration and the communion of the Mass that for St. Etheldreda is given the most elaborate decorative scheme of all the blessings. One of the prayers may be translated: 'May the one, omnipotent and eternal Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who made the will of Ethelthryth steadfast... kindle (in you) the fire of his own love'.[28] Both her deposition and translation are in the Winchester calendars[29] and in W; her translation in G.

4) Hedda (Haeddi, Heddi) d. 705. Feast: 7 July G.

As already mentioned, he was bishop of Winchester and he is best remembered for translating the relics of St. Birinus from Dorchester-on-Thames to Winchester. Hedda's relics are in Winchester cathedral. His feast was celebrated in G but not in W. It is commemorated in a pre-Conquest Old Minister calendar (London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii)[30] and in three New Minster calendars. Its occurrence in an Irish list is therefore of extraordinary interest.

5) Edburga (Eadburh) (d. 960): W, G. She was a daughter of King Edward the Elder, and she became a nun in the Nunnaminster in Winchester which had been founded *c.*903 by King Alfred's widow Ealhswith, the remains of whose timber church can still be seen in

28 *The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold, A Facsimile*, (The British Library, 2002), p. 17.

29 N. J. Morgan, 'Notes on the Post-Conquest Calendar, Liturgy and Martyrology of the Cathedral Priory of Winchester with a Consideration of Winchester Diocese Calendars of the Pre-Sarum Period', in A. Borg and A. Martindale (eds.), *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christophek Hohler*, (Oxford, BAR International ser. iii, 1981), pp. 140 and 144. Henceforth abbreviated as N.J. Morgan.

30 R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, Vol. 1 (London, 1841), p. 421, quoting Dr. Hickes for its suggested date as 1031. N. J. Morgan supports the hypothesis that it represents the pre-Conquest text of Winchester Cathedral, while the date of the MS may in fact be shortly after the Conquest. (N.J. Morgan, p. 161, footnote 11).

Winchester. She died young, and her cult spread in the Benedictine monasteries of Winchester and Wessex and Worcester. Her relics were at the Nunnaminster and at Pershore. She is commemorated in both W and G, but differently: Gorman has both her feasts: deposition (15 June) and translation (18 July), whereas Waterford has only her translation (18 July). She is regarded as among 'the distinctively Winchester saints'[31], and the fact that her cult was promoted by the Benedictines, and that her translation which is found so rarely,[32] occurs in both W and G, may point to the influence of Malchus and his Benedictine formation in the Cathedral Priory in Winchester, and its proximity to the Nunnaminster for whose nuns St. Aethelwold translated the Rule of St. Benedict into Old English. In Malchus' time the Nunnaminster had been rededicated and became known as the Abbey of St. Mary and St. Edburga. Her shrine was eventually transferred to a position in front of the high altar and covered in precious metals. The shrine had become an important place of pilgrimage until it was destroyed in 1538 at the time of the Dissolution. Malchus would have known it well and this may have influenced him to introduce the feast into Ireland.

6) Swithun (Swithin) (d. 862): W, G.

He became bishop of Winchester in 852, having been educated at Old Minster. Little is known of his ten years' episcopate, except for his charitable works and his reputed building of a bridge over the river Itchen in Winchester. He was buried in a covered grave outside the west door of Old Minster. The feast of his deposition was 2 July, and the feast of his translation is recorded by Wulfstan Cantor who was a young choir-boy on that day, 15 July 971, and who remembered the down-pour of rain on the procession as it made its way into the church. Each of Swithun's feasts was later honoured with an Octave, on 9 July and 21 July respectively. A fifth celebration, unique in the Winchester calendar, was the Ordination of St. Swithun, 30 October.

St. Swithun's shrine in the Old Minster and subsequently in the Norman Cathedral was a most popular place of pilgrimage and a source of income until its destruction in 1538 on the orders of Henry VIII. Both the Waterford calendar and G commemorate St. Swithun on his two most important days: 2 and 15 July. It was St. Aethelwold bishop of Winchester (964-84) who began the enlargement of Old Minster in order to accommodate the magnificent shrine of St. Swithun.

31 Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St. Swithun*, Winchester Studies 4: ii (Oxford, 2003), p. 51.

32 N.J. Morgan, Notes, p. 151.

7) Grimbald (d. 901). Feast 8 July G.

This feast is not in W, which, instead, celebrates, on 8 July, St. Brogan (Brocanus; Naomh Brocán), a sixth-century saint venerated even today at Mothel, Co. Waterford at a site close by the present Holy Well of Mothel, where Brogan and his successor Cuan are now venerated on 6 July. The feast was once of great importance in the Déise.

Grimbald, born in France *c.*825, was a monk of St. Bertin, who became dean of the secular canons of New Minster, which was the town-church for the citizens of Winchester who had burial rights there. He was a priest-scholar who assisted King Alfred with translations from Latin into Old English. His relics were venerated in New Minster. Apart from the feasts of St. Swithun and of Birinus 'his cult is the most widespread of all the Winchester saints'.[33]

8) Alphage (Aelfheah) the Elder, Elfegus, G (d. 951), was a monk who became bishop of Winchester (934-51). 'He is chiefly remembered for the encouragement he gave to two of the leading reformers of the tenth century, Dunstan and Aethelwold, and ordaining both of them to the priesthood on the same day.'[34]

His feast: 12 March. The feast occurs in G, (but not in W) and also in the calendars of the Cathedral Priory of Winchester, and in a few Martyrologies.[35]

9) Birstan (Brynstan, Beorstan) (d. 934) W, G. Bishop of Winchester (931-4). Feast: 4 November and is very rare except in calendars written in Winchester in the eleventh century, and in twelfth century calendars in the West Country. William of Malmesbury relates how the citizens of Winchester 'consigned his memory to the silence of oblivion' because he died a young man. But Bishop Aethelwold, long afterwards, while working at night by lamplight saw Beorstan, flanked by Birinus and Swithun, and asserting that he enjoyed equal glory in heaven with these two saints.[36]

That someone of such little significance should be commemorated in Waterford and in Gorman must seem strange, and may point to the influence of someone like Malchus who was deeply involved in the liturgical life of Old Minster.

33 *Ibid.*

34 D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Saints*, 3rd edition, (Oxford, 1992), p. 18.

35 N.J. Morgan, Notes, p. 149, 165.

36 D. Preest (English Translation), *William Of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 107, 108.

10) Aethelwold (Ethelwold) (d. 984). Feasts: 2 August in G; 10 September (Translation) in W.

Aethelwold was bishop of Winchester 963-84. He and Dunstan and Oswald were the greatest of the monastic reformers of the tenth century. He introduced the Benedictine monks into Old Minister after expelling the secular canons and clerics. He began the repair and enlargement of that church and brought the relics of St. Swithun from outside the west door into a place of honour within the church. He took special interest in the relics of the saints of Winchester and placed their reliquaries in various parts of the church, so that the church eventually became a sort of a panhagion of the Winchester saints and of other saints whose relics were there, like Birinus, and others whose memory was especially cherished, like Etheldreda to whom Aethelwold devoted the richest illumination in the Benedictional he commissioned.

In the Winchester calendars Aethelwold is honoured by the addition of an octave (9 August) to his deposition (2 August); his translation was 10 September.

The importance of St. Aethelwold was expressed, by the Winchester monk Wulfstan Cantor, a contemporary: 'Our Aethelwold, pastor, father and teacher' (see above).

11) Alphege (Aelfheah; Aelfeagus) (d. 1012). Feast 19 April W, G.

He became bishop of Winchester (984-1005), following the death of Aethelwold. He continued the enlargement of the Old Minster, and completed it in 993-4, when its final dedication took place. This is the splendid building in which Malchus served as a member of the Cathedral Priory - it was a monastic cathedral - and whose liturgical calendars commemorated the many saints whose reliquaries were venerated in Old Minster, as well as those of New Minster (which held the relics of Judoc and Grimbold) and those of the Nunnaminster (especially St. Edburga, whose reliquary was in front of the high altar). These three ministers were all in the care of the Benedictines, and Malchus, himself a Benedictine monk, would, one presumes, be happy to continue to venerate them in his new home in Waterford and Lismore, inscribing their names and feast-days among the other saints in Irish calendars.

But to return to Alphege: he became archbishop of Canterbury in 1005 and was martyred there by the Danes in 1012 for refusing to pay a large ransom.

In the eleventh-century Cotton Ms. Vitellius E. xviii, f. 3b (London, British Library) Alphege was celebrated on 19 April as 'martyr': *Sancti Aelfeagi Martyris*, but 'martyris' was later scored through, and *archiepiscopi et martyris* added (xiii century)[37] The original calendar may represent the pre-Conquest text either of New Minster (thus Wormald) or the Cathedral Priory itself (N. J. Morgan).[38]

Archbishop Lanfranc accepted that Alphege was a good man but he was hesitant about recognizing Alphege as 'martyr', until Anselm persuaded him that while Alphege was not a martyr for the faith, he was a martyr for justice, and this view prevailed, and was strengthened by the discovery in 1105 that his body was incorrupt. He was, according to St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury's first martyr. In the context of Lanfranc's hesitation, however, it is curious to find that in the Waterford calendar, which gives his feast as 19 April, he is named simply as 'St. Alphege bishop' (*Sci Ealphegii epi*),[39] with no reference to his rank as martyr or as archbishop, even though the MS has plenty of unused space on the same line as Bishop Alphege's entry for any such addition. In G he is simply called *Elphegus mór massi* (Elphegus of great beauty); Feast 19 April. Of course Alphege had been bishop of Winchester for twenty years before going to Canterbury, and Winchester would always recall the testimony of Wulfstan Cantor to his saintly character and his most enduring monument in stone - the completion of Old Minster. There may, however, have been some at Winchester who, like Lanfranc, had some hesitation about his martyr status, but were still glad to commemorate him as *their* bishop.

Conclusion

The succession of the saints venerated at the Old Minister in Winchester spanned the four and a half centuries from Birinus to Alphege, the same span of centuries from the foundation of Old Minister to its completion by Bishop Alphege. These saints were commemorated in the liturgical calendars of Winchester and elsewhere, although some of them - obscure saints like Birstan - were almost unknown outside of Winchester. It must seem curious then to find in the Waterford calendar and in the martyrology of Gorman eleven Winchester saints, including the obscure ones noted above.

37 F. Wormald, *English Kalendars Before AD 1100*, HBS Vol. 72 (1934), p. 159. The author favours a date 1060 for the MS.

38 N. J. Morgan, Notes, p. 161 who adds that the date of the manuscript may in fact be shortly after the Conquest.

39 Corpus Christi College Cambridge, 405, 26.

Michael Lapidge's view that Malchus, who as a Benedictine monk at the Old Minister, participated in the liturgical celebrations of these saints, including the obscure ones, introduced their names into Irish calendars seems quite plausible.[40] In the case of St. Birstan, for example, it is hard to imagine anyone wanting to venerate him except someone who had already done so in the tradition of Old Minister. And Malchus' presence for many years in Lismore during which he was tutor to Malachy of Armagh may have influenced Malachy to introduce the Winchester saints to Knock Abbey, which he consecrated in 1148.[41]

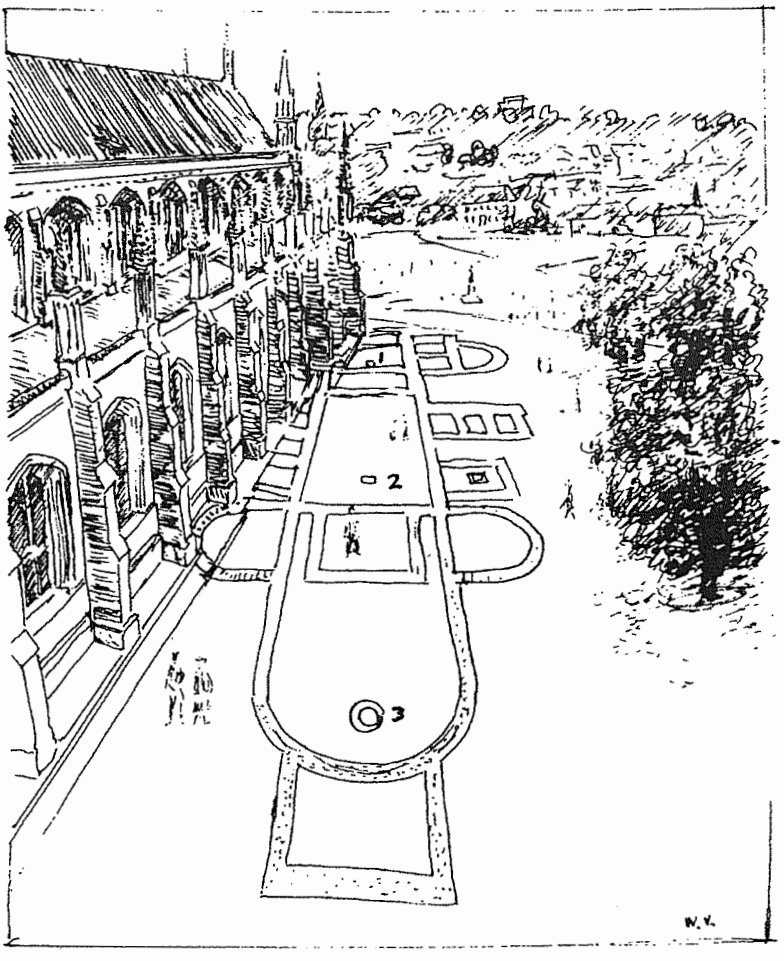
Of these eleven saints nine had their relics venerated in Winchester and would have been particularly cherished by Malchus, even after his arrival in Ireland. The cult of the other two, Etheldreda and Alphege, may have come to Ireland independently of Malchus. They both occur, for instance, in an Irish calendar now in the National Library of Ireland: NLI MS 19, 954; St. Alphege on 19 April, and St. Etheldreda on 23 June, without the other Winchester saints I have listed.

40 Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St. Swithun, Winchester Studies* 4: ii (Oxford, 2003) 52.

41 In regard to Knock, an alternative suggestion is noted by Lapidge: that Flann Ua Gorman, who was probably the brother of the abbot, and who was a learned man who had spent twenty-one years among the Franks and Saxons (i.e. the English) could conceivably have acquired a Winchester calendar and passed it on to his brother.

Appendix

Old Minster in Malchus' time



The drawing represents what a present day visitor to Winchester Cathedral sees. On the left is the nave of the cathedral; on the right is an outline, marked out in brick on the grass, of the foundations of Old Minster revealed during the excavations of the 1960s.

1) The slab over the former site of St. Swithun's tomb, which had been translated from outside the west entrance into Old Minster by Aethelwold on 15 July 971. In the year 1093, again on the 15 July, Walkelin had Swithun's shrine removed from Old Minster into the new cathedral. Notice how the west end of the new cathedral was built over the site of the west end of Old Minster.

2) The site of the high altar, which was left standing after the demolition, and under which some relics of St. Swithun and of many other saints were found in 1094. Malchus knew Old Minster both before and after its demolition and venerated its saints, even, it seems, after his coming to Ireland.

3) The well.

Medieval Town Walls: Understanding the People Within

Ian Johnston

Introduction

Existing in various lengths and sections, intermittently propping up old sheds and buildings, often hidden from the public's eye and sometimes brought to the forefront of town life, the town wall fortifications of Ireland form an interesting study for archaeologists. Of course, the monuments were not always in the condition which they are viewed today. The majority of Irish walled circuits were constructed during the medieval period, and their grandeur is attested not only in the various period maps which highlight the monumentality of the structures, but also in contemporary descriptions.

The aim of this paper is to concentrate on an area which is not often dealt with in the existing studies of town walls: namely how communities and towns functioned and lived their everyday life surrounded, as they were, by high town walls. Though books and articles have discussed the architectural and historical aspects of town walls, little research has examined the social or symbolic features of town walls, which communities 'both imbued *on* and derived *from*' (Johnston 2006: 32) these defensive structures. This paper also highlights the organic nature of the fortifications of Waterford; how individual pursuits can affect wall constructions just as much as communal endeavours. Indeed, such influences were equally as important in the walling of many of Ireland's towns during the medieval period in question.

Problems with Existing Studies

The archaeological agenda for the study of town walls in Ireland has largely been set by the Irish authority on the subject: Thomas (1992). An historical geographer, Thomas's two volumes of work comprise a macro-level study of the walled towns in Ireland. Thus, it comes as no surprise to find that her work is concerned primarily with distribution patterns and generalised theories which have been applied across the country. Thomas sees towns such as Waterford, Limerick and Derry as 'ridge type sites', which were chosen and constructed for their eminently defensible position (Thomas 1992: 89). Thus, the work gives no weight to 'agency', or the driving forces behind individual towns. Far from noting the individual context of town walls, Thomas argues that walls were constructed as defensible structures. Perhaps the most telling problem within the study of walled towns to date has been the total disregard of the social and symbolic meanings of town walls. This aspect rarely receives more than a few lines in any work on urban defences. For example, according to Bradley's *Walled Towns of Ireland*, 'a town wall was not just a

security feature, it was also a status symbol, an architectural assertion of the independence of the townspeople and a celebration of their wealth' (Bradley 1995: 5). Despite making this enlightened statement, the author pursues the idea no further.

The Drive for New Interpretations

The drive for more multi-dimensional interpretations of town walls in Ireland has been heightened by the publication of Creighton and Higham's *Medieval Town Walls: An Archaeology and Social History of Urban Defence* (2005). Although this volume only considers English walled towns, it nonetheless covers a clear range of themes previously unaddressed within both the English and Irish literature. In the application of such an approach (for example the symbolic meaning of town walls to both those living within and without) the present paper applies these new avenues of research to the Irish context. Clearly it is possible to extend interpretations of the case study town to Waterford's walled heritage. As Creighton and Higham argue, 'Far more than simply features of military architecture, town walls, gates and related structures are strikingly multi-functional, representing a complex blend of military pragmatism and commercial logic, allied with the aspiration for communities to express their political identities and social status through conspicuous building projects' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 32).

Central to this paper is the argument that there has been a distinct lack of interpretational depth regarding the survey, excavation and consequent explanations of Irish walled towns. The present work takes an in-depth look at one walled town in particular, Waterford in the south of Ireland. The aim has been to apply the new social, symbolic and other such themes to that city. In doing so, the number of new insights gained will show that many other walled towns in Ireland could benefit from the same application of this approach.

Rather than taking a pragmatic functional approach and suggesting defence as the principal reason for the existence of town walls, a more holistic approach is worthy of exploration. Such an approach allows for different individual perspectives and variations in these perspectives through time. By doing so, it may also be possible to add further layers of understanding to these monuments to include judicial, civil and boundary defining features. The intention of this section is to rigorously apply new theories, such as those espoused by Creighton and Higham to one particular town rather than all walled towns in Ireland as previous works have attempted. For 'what the numerous "fortification" books gain by breadth, they loose by an even greater obsession with defence' (Coulson 2003: 64). This will be achieved by looking at both (1) the social and (2) the symbolic features of Waterford's walls.

1. Social Features

Although town walls are mostly associated with defence in the literature, an important consideration is that few medieval towns spent anymore than a fraction of their history under attack. This is not to deny that they acted as a deterrent to any would be attackers. They were a highly visible and functional barrier; what

Mumford described as 'worth a whole army in defence' (Mumford 1966: 172). But it is essential to remember that the town within the wall still had to function on a day-to-day basis. Faced with a surrounding circuit wall and series of towers and gates, the members of the community within would have adapted to the presence of these structures over the course of time; real people lived within the walls. It is possible to study and examine the ways people interacted with each other and behaved within a defended town. Waterford is no exception to this, and upon closer study a number of themes emerge.

Economic:

Water Access

An important starting point is understanding how the inhabitants of walled towns like Waterford dealt with economic affairs within a defended environment. Thomas noted the conflict between trade and politics: the imperative of walling a town to defend part of the kingdom of England thereby also restricting a town's ability to function independently (Thomas 1992: 10). The consequence of this became more restrictive when a town was forced to wall its river or sea access. The vast majority of Irish walled towns were located by rivers or on the coast. This allowed access to water transport and helped them realise potential for fishing and milling developments (*Ibid*: 92). Next to the market, waterside areas were the most active in the town. Waterford's trading supremacy largely resulted from royal patronage. From the time of King John the city claimed to have a monopoly on all ships entering its harbour. For these reasons, there was a strong factor operating against having waterside walls. A significant document of 1377 referred to the king instructing the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford to see to the repair and fortification of the quay, noting that various Spanish and other enemies had attacked the city from the river because it was not fortified on that side (Sheehan 1994: 8). Clearly, it was not in the city's economic interests to wall this area; it only occurred in response to a royal directive from Edward III.

Trade and defence priorities were therefore often in conflict, affecting decisions about wall construction and maintenance. The movement of goods to and from the city would have been compromised by the construction of walls limiting the number of access points to the quay. Creighton and Higham see town defences as important 'pull' factors for potential settlers, and there is no doubt this was the case in Ireland (Creighton and Higham 2005: 44-5). The 'frontier' situation meant towns like Waterford, Cork and Dublin were constantly under threat from the native Irish, including their English allies. The presence of a defended and secure marketplace in this context was crucial for the upkeep of the Anglo-Norman colony. The working economy of a town had to co-exist alongside the defensive needs of a town.

National Security

Security issues are a good indication of how the two needs were balanced. The operation of curfews and the control of animals, people and goods through gateways were essential mechanisms used by the inhabitants to reduce possible

external threats. Even if the initial construction of a town wall had a purely military rationale, the 'motivation for its subsequent upkeep generally came from wider social and economic stimuli' (*Ibid*: 201). In addition to performing a local security role, town walls contributed in a wider collective sense by the defence of an existing kingdom and the conquest of territories. It is for this reason, perhaps more than out of ostensible concern for individual communities, that in certain contexts 'kings made provision for an urban militia from an early date, and supported and sometimes initiated schemes of urban defence' (*Ibid*: 200-1). In 1375, the Mayor and citizens of Waterford told King Edward III 'if all your said lands of Ireland should be gained by your enemies, which God forbid, it would be regained better and more quickly by your said city than by any other city throughout your said land of Ireland' (Lyndon 1980: 5). Walled towns were clearly identified as the strongholds of English power in Ireland.

Extramural Activity

In economic terms, the defensive topography might also pattern the growth of medieval industrial activity. Excavations in towns such as Hereford in England have shown that the strip of land immediately inside defences was sometimes utilised for small-scale industrial activities such as malting and corn drying. Other industries, such as potting - which posed serious fire risks - and the notoriously noxious tanning industry were typically extramural activities. The extramural zone also attracted urban activities that required plenty of cheap space, for example horse and cattle marts or reservoirs (Kostof 1992: 32).

Judicial and Civil:

Town Gates

Town walls served a number of judicial and civic functions for urban communities. In this context, the series of gates and towers located along a wall circuit become important. Just fewer than thirty town wall gates survive in Ireland, most as isolated structures, yet cartographic evidence suggests that many towns originally possessed quite a number of gates. The creation of gates involved making a break in the walled circuit resulting in a gateway or external passage, whose prime purpose was to allow access between the enclosed, defended area and its surroundings. Indeed, gates were not the only means used to control access to the defended area of a town. Manned features such as bars and chains are commonly noted in English examples, consisting of moveable barriers erected across roads, perhaps where various tolls could be collected (Creighton and Higham 2005: 91). Town gates were critical points on a wall, and most on primary routes into the town featured the finest architectural detail on the circuit, as Moore's excavation of St. Martin's Gate in Waterford highlights (Moore 1982).

Overall, it is clear that while town gates were defensive features, they were not necessarily designed to be primarily defensible. Gates were usually the most expensive and the best maintained parts of a wall. Their architecture was not simply functional, but often had symbolic undertones. Far from being purely

utilitarian features, 'these frequently incorporated complex iconographic elements, proclaiming the apparent wealth, status, identity and independence of urban communities to travellers and traders' (Creighton & Higham 2005: 36). Smith notes of Waterford's most elaborate gate, St. John's, 'on the outside, cut in stone, are the arms of King Henry VIII. In this gate it is said, the family of the Wises held a Court-Leet, when they enjoyed a Manor-privilege in this part of the town' (Smith 1746: 188). Kostof suggests that gates might also be the location of, or be named after, actual cult-centres, therefore acquiring 'honorific status' (Kostof 1992: 36).

Town gates held social significance in many other ways. In a visual sense, gates marked the point of arrival and departure from the urban zone and possibly were the *de facto* interface between the town and outside world. Gates had important commercial functions as places where tolls were collected, and it was not uncommon for them to incorporate domestic facilities for those administrative officials involved. They were, for instance, the points where night curfew was imposed and enforced, and where undesirables such as beggars, criminals or plague victims were refused right of entry. Thus, the limited access points facilitated by gates could also be used to enforce other urban regulations, including those to do with transport, health and social policy. Social controls and maintenance can be seen therefore in Waterford's gates. In 1477-8, it was stated by the corporation that 'all the gates by all the keyes of the citie att 6 of the clock be made faste every night from the Mighelmasse unto Ester, and that every night from Ester unto Mighelmasse att 9 of the clock. And that none of the saide gates be opened by night after the said hours unto daye, without licence of the Maire for tyme being' (Gilbert 1885: 312). Similarly, there are examples of Arundell Gatehouse's upper chambers being taken into use by the town officials. On the dissolution of the corporation by royal officials in 1617, the officials had the city's charters and insignia 'brought unto a chest of theirs in Arundell Tower, where all their writings are' (Halpin, Bradley and King 1989: 203). Cases are known where gates were used for accommodation. The 1599 Rent Roll of Waterford Corporation states that the wall towers in the southern end of the city were held by John Wyse fitz James, referring to 'a tower by East the close gate' which had a rent of 2 shillings.

Gates also had wider significance as judicial symbols. As designated 'public' places, the spaces immediately inside and outside the gates provided not only the focus for processions and pageants, but also for 'conspicuous warnings about the consequences of wrongdoing' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 171). Occasionally, stocks and other types of punishment facilities and execution paraphernalia were located immediately outside the gates. There was also the infamous custom of displaying the heads of traitors on gates, which usually occurred after a person had been hung, drawn and quartered. This vivisection was carried out in public and was designated to act as a deterrent to other public potential malefactors. Ó Donnabháin describes the act in detail: 'The torso was then cut into four portions. Both head and quarters were mounted on the city walls and gates (heads were sometimes initially pre-boiled in heavily salted water to impede decay and to discourage birds from feeding on the remains)' (Ó Donnabháin 1995: 13). The

quartering and display of the body parts brought the risk of eternal damnation for the executed individual in an era when the idea of a corporal resurrection would have been taken very seriously (*Ibid*: 13). The array of heads and quarters around the city was a grim reminder to all of the consequences of offending the monarch, who was, after all, God's anointed ruler on earth. It is not surprising, then, that the entrances to towns and cities were festooned with these grisly trophies, and there are various examples from Ireland. A print published in London in 1608 shows the head of Sir Cahir O'Doherty mounted on a spike over Newgate in Dublin. The plan of the city of Cork published in 1633 by Stafford in his *Pacta Hibernia* shows three heads mounted on the tower at North Gate Bridge. The fourteenth-century seal of the town of Athenry shows two severed heads over a town gate and commemorates the victory of the Anglo-Irish over a federation of Connaught chieftains at the Battle of Athenry in 1316.

Gates became common venues for gaols in later periods also. Waterford housed two such goals. Smith recounts that 'John's Gate, being the remains of one of the old city gates, now used as the county gaol, is a strong building rented from the city for this purpose' (Smith 1746: 189). Town gates therefore represent strikingly multifunctional features of medieval architecture, fulfilling a number of requirements, most notably those of defence and the control of traffic, and often others such as civic display, accommodation, and judicial and financial activity. The plans and elevations of town gates are immensely varied, and cannot be organised neatly from one town to another into a typology representing a clear sequence. Perhaps this point most clearly represents the individuality of town gates.

Towers

Mural towers similarly have a great variety of forms, and like gates show no clear or explicable sequence of development. Waterford is a good example of this, possessing a mixture of semi-circular, polygonal and rectangular structures. The six surviving towers comprise four 'corner' and two 'flanking' towers. The corner towers (Beach, French, Reginald's and Watch) are all located on a line of the wall where its circuit had acute or obtuse angles. The two flanking towers are spaced at points between corner towers, providing a flanking fire and sometimes also masked smaller changes in the alignment of the curtain wall (Thomas 1992: 63). The greater height of these towers provided a better overview of the surrounding area, as well as stronger points of projection for weapons and facilitating signalling from tower to tower along the circuit. The greater depth provided stability for the curtain wall and space internally for use as a muster point or guardhouse.

Like gates, towers also became subject to other wider and more communal uses. The tower located to the west of Reginald's Tower along the triangular section is referred to in 1657 simply as 'ye tower in which Mr. Housgoe lately dwelth' (Pender 1947: 173). Regarding towers in Waterford however, none stand out more prominently than Reginald's Tower which 'was far more than a mural tower, fulfilling a role closer to that of a royal castle' (Bradley, Halpin and King 1989: 194). As early as 1171 the tower was used as a gaol; Smith records that 'among other

prisoners, *Reginald*, Prince of the Danes of Waterford, *Malachy O-Feolain*, Prince of the *Decies*, were taken whom they imprisoned in Reginald's Tower' (Smith 1746: 117). The tower was used as a mint as early as 1463. The order read:

> Now as the Mayor, Bailiffs and Commons of Waterford, are daily incumbered for want of small Coins for change of greater, it is enacted, at their petition, that the above-mentioned small Coins be struck at Waterford, in a place called Dundory, alias Reynolds's Tower, and that they be made of the same weight, print and size, as is mentioned in the said Act to be done in the castles of Dublin and Trim, and that they shall have this Scripture, *Civitas Waterford.* (*Ibid*: 130)

From 1663 onwards, the tower was used to store military equipment in connection with the battery at its foot, but was reverted to use as a storehouse for other purposes in 1711. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was handed over to the police establishment for use as a bridewell, or gaol. The embrasures on the ground floor became cells, each heavily barred, and cast iron doors were hung throughout the building (Carroll 1984: 2) It is very possible that other towers on Waterford's circuit were used as storehouses for ammunition.

Wards

Closely related to judicial and civil themes, Creighton and Higham see a link between town walls and the creation of urban 'wards'. The authors argue that wards were very much connected to the defence of towns; the word *ward* has an Old English origin, but was also related in meaning to Old French *garde*, in both languages meaning 'protection' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 184). Urban wards were the subdivisions of towns in which developed a mixture of judicial, financial and military functions. Each ward, in this overall pattern, was supervised by an alderman, who was a member of the town's council or corporation, and beneath whom served one or more constables. The ward had a court and was the basic unit through which the ordering of a well-regulated urban society was achieved. Importantly, wards were also the units in which 'manpower was organised for manning the walls where necessary, and for providing watchmen for the daily and nightly rounds of their security' (*Ibid*: 186).

Interestingly, Waterford's modern ward lines seem to follow a regular pattern as determined by the original circuit layout (Figure 1). For instance, the Viking triangle forms one complete ward, and the later Anglo-Norman suburbs comprise four wards which also extend beyond the walls. It is therefore possible that the manning of Waterford's walls may have been laid out in such a manner. Some authors argue that the western section of wall was built in three phases, an idea which may be backed up by the clear division of three wards in that area. By the late fourteenth century Dublin had developed a 'watch and ward system' which forced citizens to provide fighting men to defend the city. This system was substantially upgraded in the late fifteenth century by the establishment of the Guild of St. George which was essentially a standing army of 500 men (Gowen 2004: 8-9).

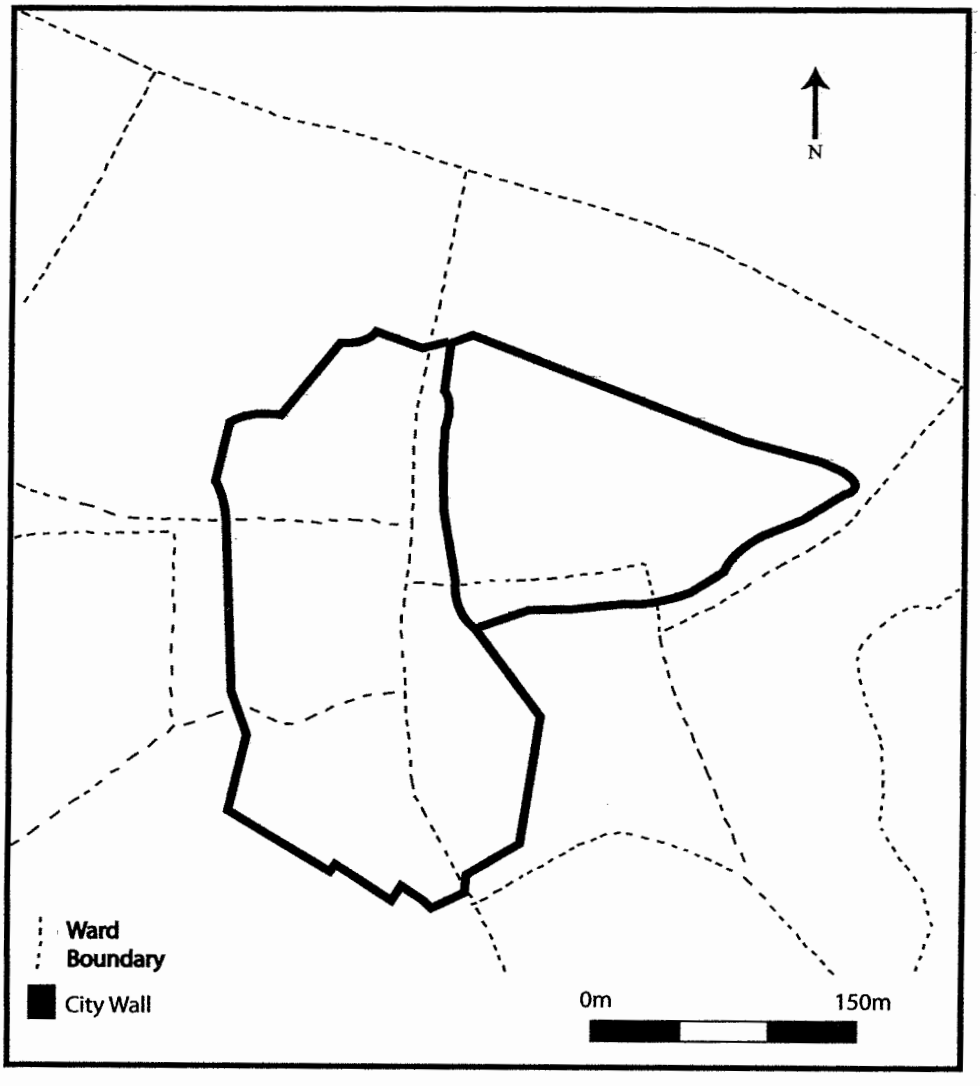


Figure 1: A map of the walls around Waterford, showing their relationship with the cities ward boundaries.

Other Boundaries

Today the line of Waterford's circuit coincides throughout with parish boundaries, and may have always done so. It is possible to envisage a close relationship between a single parish, or a group of parishes, and a walled town because 'of the convenience of using such a visible boundary as the town wall' (Thomas 1992: 99). Although the line of the wall was not itself a legal boundary - in the sense that it defined a town's land - its use as a marker turned it into a boundary for land close by. For this reason walls acquired a legal status by becoming enshrined in property deeds. This boundary influence had the capacity to be very persistent because to remove it required the revision of legal documents. A town wall can be said to 'live on as an invisible but a real influence' (*Ibid*: 140). At many towns, a careful study of property boundaries may be used to rediscover the line of the town wall if it is now unknown or disputed. Although in the modern world, the word 'wall' has come to be associated with multi-purpose free-standing structures of masonry or brick, it originated as a Saxon or Anglo-Frisian adaptation of the Latin *vallum*, meaning a rampart or wall of earth, turf or stone built for the purpose of defence and/or demarcation (Creighton and Higham 2005: 39).

Social Competition and Individual Pursuits:

Fragmented Society

Just as it is possible to identify elements of communality in the supposedly 'private' castle fortifications, so it is also possible to note elements of private interest in the supposedly 'communal' defended town. While town defences were more obviously communal than private in nature, they still represented 'a response to the needs of social elites as much as other forms of medieval fortification, with rulers, lords, wealthy merchants and urban authorities becoming a major driving force behind the construction of town walls' (Johnston 2006). Town walls can represent the sometimes complementary and sometimes competing interests of a range of social groups and elites. Thus, walled areas within towns, as well as stretches of the walls themselves, might actually be quite fragmented, both physically and socially. Waterford's circuit provides a good example of this social phenomenon.

Butlin took this idea even further by suggesting that such divisions could be seen on a national scale (Butlin 1977: 64). He argued that isolation from London and Dublin gave the major towns of Ireland in the late Middle Ages a high degree of autonomy. The creation of a system of 'city-states' was the natural development of a mercantile economy which saw the establishment of very rich people in urban centres like Galway, Cork and Waterford. Creighton and Higham would disagree with this idea however. They state that Irish urbanism had no real political independence, but had a social independence limited to the creation and display of wealth, of communal identity, of limited self-government, and of a sense of separation from the countryside. Town walls thus were an important indication of such urban aspirations, as they 'constituted a visible symbol of these features' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 209). Towns were essentially integrated with the apparatus of royal power: it was in the towns that royal control for the colony was exercised.

Residents Outside the Walls

It would be a mistake to envisage a simplified process where the walled interiors of medieval towns gradually filled up with people until building beyond their walls occurred. Suburban development was not always a secondary process. The distinction between intramural and extramural growth was 'not so much based on available space, but more on variations in wealth and economic activity, as well as on the high-status precincts within the walls' (*Ibid*: 96). A good example of this was the creation of the first western suburb in Waterford. Having attempted to prevent Henry II from entering Waterford, the Ostmen (Vikings) were expelled from the city after its re-capture by Anglo-Norman forces, but were permitted to exist on the outside of the walls. An inquisition of 1224 confirms that there was both 'a King's town and a town of the Ostmen at Waterford' (Bradley and Halpin 1992: 112).

While traditional narratives will argue that town walls symbolise rigid division between sophisticated townscapes and their rural hinterlands, it should be remembered that the relationship between town and country was more dynamic and complex than this caricature suggests. 'The walled enceinte provided a superficial display of unity for communities that could be remarkably fragmented, and even with large sections living beyond the defences' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 211). In Ireland, there was certainly a tense situation between native and conqueror which did not exist in England. This meant that in times of economic crisis, large importers like Waterford could not simply rely on other loyal communities for economic survival. In the later Middle Ages, trade with the hinterland was the lifeblood of Irish port towns including Waterford. The Dublin Government had long since forbidden trade with the native Irish enemies however. But occasionally it had to face realities and licence trade. In 1345 for instance, Waterford was allowed to 'treat and make peace' with the Powers, the old enemies of the city (Lyndon 1980: 8).

Residents Within the Walls

Social divisions were not only present between those within and outside the walls, but urban competition also evolved within an encased town. The social geography of medieval walled towns was the reverse of modern urban settlements: housing of the highest status groups tended to focus around the urban core, and suburban and extramural settlement usually reflected a poorer quality of life (Creighton and Higham 2005: 44). Even during a brief survey of some private and public buildings within Waterford in 1746, Smith noted that many of the rich merchants and other dignitaries were often located on the main routes within the city, 'Many of the private buildings of this city are sufficiently handsome and spacious; but the several streets and lanes are for the most part exceeding narrow, and the houses crowded very close together' (Smith 1746: 194). This indicates that the notable houses are likely to be located within the urban core of the medieval city and the examples he gives prove this point. Smith's writings include the 'ancient and spacious' house of Sir Peter Aylward's family on John's Street, which joins the old churchyard of St. Michael (*Ibid*: 196). The quay frontage and the streets which run

parallel to it also are worthy of note; 'The Exchange, Custom-House, and other public Buildings, and the houses of the merchants and citizens, ranged along the kay, are no small addition to its (the quay's) beauty' (*Ibid*: 197). A number of zones appear to emerge with their own characteristics. The street frontages with the highest rental values face directly onto one or more arterial routes connecting the town's gates. In contrast, 'dead end' side streets that terminated at the wall would tend to be less favoured and were not usually as fully developed. According to Kostof, as land further from the centre was less desirable, it was an ideal area occupied by squatters who built makeshift shanties against the wall (Kostof 1992: 30).

Private Pursuits

An important but often underestimated dimension to the social history of medieval town walls is the manner in which aspects of the ownership and maintenance of defences were contested between different interest groups. Town walls could 'act as arenas where power plays between different sectors of the urban community were acted out' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 171). One way in which the privileged status of certain parts of urban society might be reflected in the physical topography of town walls was through petitioning to create small gates. These provided access to the extramural zone in a manner not available to the population at large. A good example includes those minor gates or posterns built to provide for relevant sectors of urban communities, especially merchants who had access to harbours, waterways and fisheries. Arguably, in Waterford's case there may have been as many as five such privately controlled gates along the quay wall. This circuit was completed after the 1370s attack on the city, many years after the rest of the circuit. With no established gates along this section, merchants were quick to re-open parts of the wall to allow easier movement of goods, and avoid having to enter the quay from the Barronstrand Street area. Perhaps the urban authorities had tolerated this development since no enemy had taken the city by water since the twelfth century.

More evidence can be seen in the physical structure of the gates. By comparison with the symbolic entrances located at St. John's or St. Patrick's Gate, these new gates were simple arched openings in the wall. For example, the Great Key Gate at the north end of modern Exchange Street was the through way between the quay and the corn market, market house and Custom House (Bradley, Halpin and King 1989, 202). A 'Goose **his** gate' is referred to in 1657, a good indication of private ownership (Pender 1947: 173). In 1477 the corporation ordered 'all the gates by the Keyes of the citie' to be shut at night, and ordered all the owners of each gate to make a grate of iron to protect them (Byrne 2004: 312-3). Colbeck's Gate was really little more than a 'semi-private Gate in as much as it served only St. Catherine's Abbey which stood on an island in the great marsh' (Power 1943: 124). Permission to 'break the city wall' at a certain point in 1694 is recorded near Reginald's Tower, but 'breaches in the wall to press herrings' were disallowed in 1698-9, a rather unusual use and probably not a very pleasant one (Thomas 1992:

128). While masonry enceintes could display the status and privilege of communities who lived and traded within their bounds, they could also serve to marginalise the activities of certain social groups beyond them. 'As well as structuring the physical development of townscapes, town walls were clearly a powerful influence on their social geographies' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 175).

Entertainment and Amenity Value:

Entertainment

A further value in the past which is not often considered today could be described as the 'social amenity' of the walls (*Ibid*: 233). There can be no doubting the various towers, gates and wall-walks provided a prominent forum or stage via which town authorities could stage processions for dignitaries. Such events are known of in Waterford's case. In 1579 the town was expecting the arrival of the new Lord Justice William Pelham from Dublin:

> Previous to his arrival in Waterford, the officers and troops of the garrison exhibited a mock fight, and then retired within the walls to receive him with military honours. The towers, walls and curtains of the city were ornamented with flags and ensigns, and the cannon of the fortifications and of the shipping gave him a salute.(Ryland 1824: 55-6)

Other examples exist of occasions where the city walls were decked out in celebration. On Christmas Eve 1413, the mayor of the city (Simon Wicken) set sail for Baltimore in Cork aboard one of the city's ships. The mayor took many of the O'Driscoll family prisoner on that day. The O'Driscolls had for many years been the scourge of Waterford. The prisoners were escorted on board the Waterford ships which set sail home. The citizens, who had been given advance warning of their arrival, received them with great joy and torches were lit on the city's walls and towers to welcome home their heroic mayor (McEneaney 1995: 77).

Amenity

Even in more recent times, walls have retained a certain amenity value to the communities within towns. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, perambulations around the circuits became popular. During busy market times, or very bad whether, people could use the wall-walks of town walls where they were still intact. Accounts of this are very well recorded in York and Southampton in England for example (Creighton and Higham 2005: 236-43), but this may be more difficult to prove in Ireland as wall-walks did generally not survive to the same extent past the seventeenth century.

2. Symbolic Features

'There can be no doubting that walls served many purposes but perhaps as much as anything they were a status symbol, a visually overwhelming symbol of a city's power and prosperity' (Girourd 1985: 61). How people interacted with town walls is closely related to the symbolic meanings they held for the defences. In a movement away from previous studies, it is possible to question what Waterford's walls represented not just from a general symbolic view, but to distinguish between views of the people living within the walls and those who lived outside them.

Inhabitants' Views:

Protection in Various Ways

As Thomas correctly pointed out, for those communities living within a walled town, the urban defences represented an 'insurance policy' against would-be attackers (Thomas 1992: 191). Essentially a bluff, walls could prevent attacks simply by appearing to make it a hopeless or costly exploit on the part of the assailant. To fulfil this purpose the visibility and the structural quality of the wall were very important. This issue is closely related to the economic value of town walls discussed above. A walled town represented a degree of safety to both insiders and outsiders, and thus was seen as the most suitable place for markets and fairs to be held. Indeed, even with the growth of extramural markets in towns like Waterford and Cork from the late Middle Ages on, there was no doubt where the officially sanctioned 'royal' markets were held. Waterford was granted no fewer than three such fairs and markets under King Edward I, with extensions given to some of the already existing ones (Lyndon 1980: 11). Town centres were also some of the few places in Ireland where a citizen was protected and treated under English law. Even today, with the growth of out of town retail centres, people still consider the 'city centre' to be the main retail area within walled towns like Waterford (Creighton and Higham 2005: 244). Yet in the Irish context, many medieval towns - indeed the majority - were established and prospered without the need for defences. Walls did not guarantee the long-term success of a town. Where they were built, walls were clearly a symbol of corporate identity as well as defensive features.

Enclosed communities are, of course, not absent in the modern world. The phenomenon of neighbourhoods surrounded by barriers, to which access is restricted to residents and their guests through manned or computer controlled gates, can be noted in townscapes like Cork and Waterford, and as far apart as Saudi Arabia and South Africa. Indeed, Creighton and Higham note that at the turn of the twenty first century, some eight million Americans are estimated to live in physically enclosed neighbourhoods, representing a means of defining and excluding different interest groups for reasons of perceived security, status and identity in a not wholly dissimilar vein to medieval town walls and their intra-mural precincts (Creighton and Higham 2005: 248).

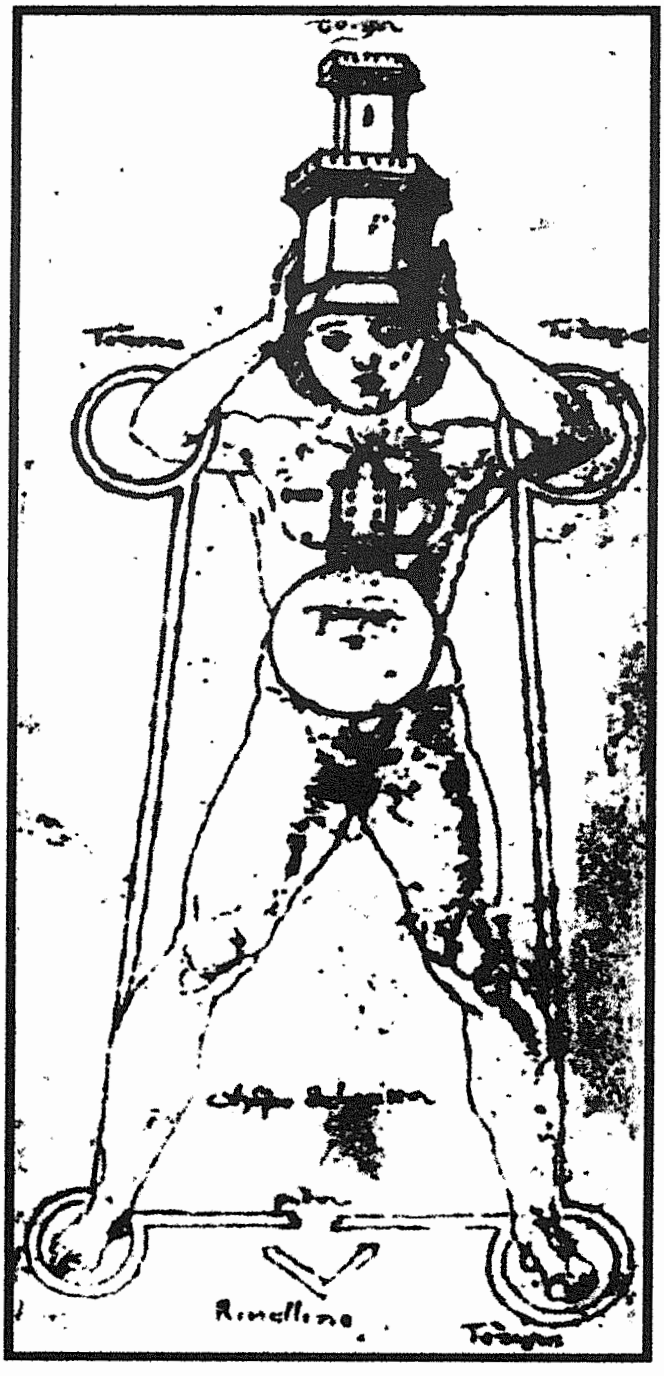


Figure 2: This image by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, is of unknown date. Entitled 'The Town as Man's Body', the image seems to mirror Francesco Mari della Rovere, who in reference to the ideal city declares 'the town must be sited on flat land and partially with a hill as a stronghold, avoiding other surrounding hills, which site represents the head of the complex and should be compared with the sallet of the soldier' (Perbellini 2000: 16).

Power and Status

The individuals and authorities who built, owned and maintained these sites did so for a variety of reasons. These went some way beyond the simple need for security and defence 'but included, to different extents, the desire to display prestige, wealth and social status' (*Ibid*: 165). This is demonstrated by the creation of private gates and private dwelling places within gates and towers, and through the creation of urban precincts such as church or hospital grounds. For many of the urban oligarchies or power holders, walls represented their stake or claim to power within the town. On a variety of levels town walls, gates and towers represented the 'architecture of power' (*Ibid*: 35). Many prestigious groups chose to locate within the walled area of a town; the existence of guildhalls being a primary example. The power of the lords, kings, urban oligarchies, and the collective power of the entire community was dependant on the walls. Indeed, the range of stakeholders involved in the construction of town walls reminds us that traditions of public and private defence in the Middle Ages were not entirely separate, but interrelated at a number of levels. Even for the least powerful individual living within the walled enceinte, there must have been a certain prestige to exist in an urban rather than a rural place, the defended centre rather than the unsafe countryside. The symbolic power of walls existed on a number of levels for different groups of people who lived within them.

According to Perbellini, during the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, medieval walls became articulated, evolving both towards the exterior with new defences such as ravellins and proto-bastions, but also towards the interior with the building of new internal walls exclusively for military use - the citadel designated to control the citizens (Perbellini 2000: 16). Each enlargement of a town entails a new series of walls, with the latter remaining in use however, to oversee the inhabitants, or where the military no longer deem them to be useful. In this way the new usage is rendered sacrosanct and becomes part of the 'symbologism' (humanistic rather than transcendal). Perbellini likens these new trends to Leonardo's studies of the human body, and this can be seen in some illustrations of town walls where the citadel becomes the head (Figure 2) which must 'judge and see the body - that is to say the same town - a stronghold with a hill site for spying citizens and travellers' (*Ibid*: 17).

Outsiders Views:

Conquest

To the native Irish, a walled town symbolised in a very real and physical sense the success of the English colonial conquest. This clear contrast between how insiders and outsiders viewed their position manifests itself in the series of urban laws passed in the Middle Ages. The native Irish outside were considered enemies of the English. The Dublin Government was forced to allow trade with the native Irish as the gradual isolation and the approaching frontier of the diminishing colony became facts of life in the fourteenth century. Indeed, in 1463 it was agreed in Parliament that 'the profit of every market, city and town in this land depends principally on the resort of Irish people bringing their merchandise to the said

Figure 3: Printed in 1599 in Italy, this map is important for a number of reasons. Not only does it highlight the importance of Waterford as a trading port by depicting it as the only town in Ireland, located on the most important trading river, but it also represents all the major towns in Europe as defended. It is interesting that the monumentality of town walls was used to depict these towns.

Map courtesy of Waterford Museum of Treasures.

cities and towns' (Lyndon 1980: 8). There were continued attempts to demonstrate evidence of Irish acceptance of the English centralised government by having the Irish dressed in an English manner.

To achieve this, statutes were passed in major towns such as Galway and Waterford in an attempt to preserve 'Englishness' within urban areas which were becoming increasingly swamped by 'Gaelicness'. Dublin, for example, in contemporary literature from authors like Geraldus Cambrensis (1175) and Edmund Spenser (1633) attempted to portray the native Irish in a barbaric light by the way they described their dress, physical appearance, economy, social structure, and their religion especially after the Reformation. The distinctiveness of Irish dress displeased the English administrators in Ireland. In 1462 a tax was passed on all mantles brought into Galway, and from 29 September 1466, 'any man found wearing a mantle for his daily garment is to be fined sixpence' (Dunlevy 1989: 35). Town officials were clearly only prepared to deal with the Irish on their own terms. To the native Irish, towns may have symbolised places of oppression in both physical and cultural terms: to pass inside the towns gates meant submission to many English laws.

Monumentality

Whatever ones allegiance whilst viewing a walled town from the outside, one feature that must surely have had an impact on communities was the sheer monumentality of the structure facing them. While late medieval and early modern town maps may not contain details of town walls that can be relied on as evidence of their exact topographies and architectural qualities, they do provide 'unique opportunities to illuminate how walled circuits were perceived in contemporary minds' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 167). The 1591 York map of Waterford and the 1399 Italian map of Europe (Figure 3) show just how prominently the town walls of the particular town were symbolised as its main feature. Today we can only imagine how a medieval ship sailing up the River Suir would have viewed the imposing spectacle a walled town growing in statue as it approached.

The image of the walled city is one of the default representations of urbanism throughout time; even the ancient Egyptian hieroglyph meaning 'city' took the form of a cross (representing the streets) within a circle (representing the wall around it). Representations of Jerusalem and Rome consistently depict walls and lent cohesion to the urban image (Roseneau 1983: 26-32). Such representations frequently imbued the physical attributes of the city with religious and moral significance. Indeed, Duffy has described the images conjured up by a walled defence as being 'categorised variously as the dramatic, the spooky, the sexual and the quasi-religious' (Duffy 1979: 255). Medieval town seals which incorporate elements of towns' defences are similarly important forms of evidence, providing some indication of how medieval communities conceptualised a walled town. Even today, towns such as Cork, Dublin, Armagh and Cashel have county crests which display their walled heritage (Collins 1997: 130). When attached to documents in medieval times, seals or symbols 'advertised the wealth and protection available to citizens and traders' (Thomas 1992: 11).

In a more religious light, Perbellini has compared the characterisation of medieval walled towns with references to 'celestial Jerusalem' in the Bible (Perbellini 2000: 8). In celestial Jerusalem eternal salvation lies within the walls:

> And had a great wall and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates, twelve angels. On the east three gates; on the north three gates; on the south three gates; and on the west three gates. And the walls of the city had twelve foundations and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the lamb. And he that talked with me had a golden rod to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof. And the city lieth four-square, and the length is The length and breadth and the height of it are equal. And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is of the angel. And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass. (Revelation: 21: 12-21)

The sanctity of the laws governing life within the walls and constituting the city was in contrast to the unruly freedom of the open territory (no man's land), an unconsecrated land where murders and suicides were buried. To Perbellini, the gates of the city thus became 'an allegory of free will, the path between Heaven and Hell' (Perbellini 2000: 10). As Romeo says in Shakespeare's famous play: 'There is no world without Verona walls, but purgatory, torture, hell itself. Hence-banished is banished from the world and world's exile is death, then banished is death mid-term'd: calling death banishment...' (Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, III, iii). In this sense, the walls of the city serve as a border between knowledge and ignorance, and between ordered collectedness and the land of pillage and ambush.

Conclusion

Rather than attempting to provide the final word on an argument centred around what is essentially a false dichotomy - i.e. whether town walls were defensive or symbolic - this work has stressed the need to explore a range of features, functions and meanings that town defences may have held for different individuals and social groups. The corpus of literature in Ireland still bears the hallmarks of a bias towards interpreting them as purely defensive features and monuments to military architecture. In short, this has limited the varied frameworks of interpretation that the subject deserves and stands to hinder the pursuit of multi-faceted explanations appropriate to the 'spatial, chronological and social diversity of the phenomenon of urban defence' (Creighton and Higham 2005: 250). Future studies must achieve a greater synthesis between understanding the defensive qualities of walls, but at the same time not denying the social and symbolic importance they held for people.

In Ireland, archaeologists and historians have yet to fully embrace new theories of how past communities lived and interacted with walled towns. The existing literature in the form of excavation reports, periodical journals and general surveys underline this point. When archaeologists do begin to fully incorporate all avenues of interpretation, it is fundamental that they integrate both past and new interpretations, avoiding the creation of false dichotomies. Town walls were to some 'indeed symbols of power, pride and prosperity; to others who lived both within and beyond them, they were monuments of oppression (perhaps representing the dominance of a colonial authority) and repression (for example, symbolising seigniorial control over tenants) or just rather inconvenient; and to others still they might on occasion provide real and much-needed protection' (*Ibid*: 249).

Rather than looking at singular explanations, such as defence, for the upkeep of a walled circuit, the multi-dimensional approach in this paper has highlighted many other *social* themes. In particular, the work has identified the social fragmentation caused by encasing a town. Social competition it seems is to the fore when individual pursuits express themselves on the development of Waterford's circuit, for example the creation of urban districts for churches and hospitals. The creation of private gates, urban residences within towers and the allocation of specific living areas to groups all suggest that urban enceintes represent much more than defensive perimeters. Of equal importance is the *symbolic* meaning of walls to the towns' inhabitants and those outside. Ireland poses a unique case study, the walled towns existing as essentially English colonial enterprises and strongholds on the Irish landscape. Hence this paper has not only examined native Irish and townspeople's views; more theoretical issues such as the religious connotations and urban representations of town walls are also assessed. This adds understanding to interpretations of walls as other types of boundaries, such as the 'ward' and 'parish'.

Although the present work is a study of one Irish walled town in particular, the insights gained could be considered valuable for the future study of other Irish walled towns. No single volume exists in Ireland that attempts to apply new social and symbolic theories of urban defence, as exists for Britain. It seems appropriate to end this paper with a sentiment familiar to many archaeological studies: it now appears there is room for further scope and work on this topic. The archaeology of Ireland's medieval walls would improve as a database of knowledge, whereas the towns themselves could benefit from the attempt to question what value their walled heritage has for them. Many possibilities lie in the further study of Ireland's fifty-four (plus) walled towns. With the beginning of such a work, Irish archaeologists would truly be in a position to start comparing and contrasting their medieval walled experience with Britain, and further.

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'An Excuse for not Timely Writing the Antichristian Creed': A Poem by Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Conmara

Liam Mac Peaircín

SUCCESSIVE editors of the poetry of Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Conmara have neglected to include a certain controversial composition, the 'Antichristian Creed'. While remaining under the roof of the Kilmacthomas Protestant church as church clerk, the poet never fully adopted the teaching of the 'creideamh gallda', and in the words of Ellen (Nellie) Crotty: 'b'é sin a mhill Donnchadh mar nuair a fuarthas amach nach raibh sé dílis don gcredeamh gallda, do chaitheadh amach as an dteampuill é agus bhí sé ar seachrán arís.'[1] Describing such verses as 'rann gan áird den t-samhail so,' or 'a worthless verse,' Seaghan Pléimion provides the following interesting information:

> Tamall na dhiaidh sin d'fhiafruigh an ministir de creud fá nach raibh sé ag teacht gach Domhnach ag breith buidheachais ar son an t-soluis do bronnadh air. D'fhreagair an Paorach é agus adubhairt nach rachadh sé chum an teampuill go m-béidheadh an chré go maith aige; acht san am cheudna go raibh se ag tabhairt a bheatha mar ba chóir do Shagsanach - go raibh sé ag meisceoireacht, ag tabhairt na mionn, agus ag cleachtadh gach dubháilce uaisle eile ar nós na g-comharsan nGallda. Sí cré ar ar thrácht sé dreucht gan bhail, gan áird, do scríobh Donnchadh Ruadh dhó i ndroch-Bheurla, ar a d-tugthar 'Cré ainchríostamhail Uilliam Paor Bhaile-ui-Bhaoighill.' Ní fiú an duan suarach so do bheith ar marthain.
>
> A while after this, the minister asked him why he was not coming every Sunday [to church] to give thanks for the light which had been given to him. Power answered him and said that he would not go to church till he knew the creed well; that he was at the same time spending his life as a Protestant should, drinking, swearing, and practising every other noble vice, like his Protestant neighbours. The 'creed' he spoke of was a worthless, valueless composition Red Donough wrote for him in bad English called 'The Anti-Christian Creed of William Power of Bally-voyle.' The wretched verses are not worth preserving.[2]

1 Eibhlín Ní Chrotaigh, 'Beatha Donnchadha Ruadh Mac Conmara', in *Decies* 59 (2003), pp. 141-49, p.144: Máire Ní Mhurchú, Diarmuid Breathnach, *1782-1881 Beathaisnéis* (Baile Átha Cliath, An Clóchomhar 1999), pp. 61-63.

2 Seaghan Pléimion, 'Beatha Dhonnchadha Ruaidh Mhic Con-Mara', in Tomás Ó Flannghaile (ed.), *Eachtra Ghiolla an Amarain And Other Poems By Red Donough MacNamara,* (Dublin, Sealy, Bryers & Walker, no date), pp. 1-34, 24-5.

The following text, attributed to Denis Roe Mac Namara,[3] is to be found amongst the de hÍde Manuscripts, NUI Galway, and the Ó Murchú Manuscripts in University College Cork:

I believe in Calvin John, and Martin,
whom is our very soul and heart in,

and in our Lady Catherine Boren,
from whom we learn'd first our whoring.

I believe in Gwinglius and Oecolompadius,
in Harry, Bess and Carolstadius,

our holy fathers all, and mothers,
whom we here name, as well as others.

I believe in D ... l, D ... k, and W ... e,
and B ... l, an equivocal wight.

I believe in V ... e, and O ... n,
and H ... s who is not sure the worse son.

To cure a languid church or state,
the chief employment of his pate,

to extract all corrosive humours,
from Church's exuberant tumours,

to purge our darling reformation,
and keep it sound throughout the Nation.

And yet exert his whole endeavours,
to guard it against all Popish favours.

Those are the only mettl'd lads,
the true begotten of their Dads,

born of envy, fraud and strife,
and pride, the bone of human life,

of hypocritical sedition,
of blood, and death and fell periution,

3 Eibhlín Ní Chrotaigh, 'Beatha Donnchadha Ruadh Mac Conmara', in *Decies* 59 (2003), pp. 141-49.

incendiaries to rebel,
and fill the vacancies in Hell,

Who, as they got into its' claw,
suffer'd by some querks in law,

were buried deep in doleful debt,
from whence they are not clear as yet,

descended into a loathsome jail,
from whence they rose again by bail,

and sit aloft as high, and higher,
as dexterous as their awful Sire,

from whence they'll come to judge the Nation,
to shake its solid old foundation,

to breed intestine feuds and jars,
and introduce some sanguine wars,

to banish peace, and create divisions,
and extirpate the Papal Missions.

By them shall nature's frame be hurl'd,
the firm fabrick of the world.

I believe the Holy Spirit rather
got between the sons and fathers.

Hail active ghost, deriv'd of those,
so known by your paternal nose,

I believe the establish'd reformation,
and grieve to see its long duration,

Communion of our new Sanctorium,
with punch and glasses plac'd before 'em.

May faithful Protestants, O Lord,
hang all together with one accord!

An excuse for not timely writing the Antichristian Creed:

Sir,

To excuse my want of speed,
in writing the Antichristian Creed,

I took up my rusty whistle,
to sing this short and rude epistle.

My cares by night and pains by day,
to thatch this homely house of clay.

My younglings, Sir, a squalling brood,
for whom I must get constant food.

A wife too ay! and big with bard,
expecting I should labour hard

is actually what hinder'd me,
to sing and drink and prayer with ye.

I have no lands nor free estate,
'tis a pity troth, but that's my fate,

Ah! cruel times I cannot spare,
nor steal an hour for creed or prayer.

But, clio fertilize my brain,
and grant me a wit refin'd one grain,

an unthought of thoughts infuse,
or deign one generous hearty booze,

of limpid Heliconian purls,
that glide in soft meandering curls,

and then lend me a lusty lift,
Parnassus up; I will make a shift,

By standing firm at my crupper,
after a thin radical supper,

to clamber up still high and higher,
till to the top I may aspire,

and then, oh then! the moon I'll snuff,
and quench and light it with a puff,

on fames' expanded wings I'll fly,
and skim thro' the azure-vaulted sky,

which is as odd as one to ten is
from, Sir, your humble servant,

Denis.

Manuscripts

NUI Galway
de hÍde 14, 81 (Daniel Considine, Co. an Chláir 1850c)[4]; (*C*)
de hÍde 18, 187; (Labhrás Ó Fuarthain, Co. Phort Láirge 1786)[5] (*F*)

University College, Cork
Cnuasach Ó Murchú 7, 11[6] (S[eán] O'D[ála], J. Daly 1853; from Labhrás Ó Fuartháin's manuscript = de hÍde 18, 107) *M*

Heading:

Cré ainchríosdamhail Uilliam Paor Bhaile Uí Mhaoil. Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Chon Mara cct. Denis Roe Mac Namara at one time conformed to the Protestant faith, and was employed in the Church of Kilmacthomas as a clerk. One of his old patrons Mr. William Power of Ballyveele insisted on an account of the tenets of his new church whereupon Denis wrote the following lines, which cost him his clerkship, when he reverted to the Roman Catholic Religion. *C*

Cré anachríostamhuil Uillíam Paor bhaile uí bhaoil, an fear céadhna cct *F*

4 Eilís Ní Dheá, 'Na Consaidínigh, Grafnóirí na hInse sa 19ú hAois', in *The Other Clare* 26 (2002), pp. 72-6, 72.

5 Eoghan Ó Súilleabháin, 'Scríobhaithe Phort Láirge 1700-1900', in William Nolan, Thomas P. Power (eds.), *Waterford History & Society,* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), pp. 265-308, 281. Luaitear gur ó Dhonncha Rua Mac Conmara, file a fuair Ó Fuartháin a chuid scolaíochta.

6 Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí: Cnuasach Uí Mhurchú,* (Baile Átha Cliath, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath, 1991), p. 26.

Cre annchríostamhuil Uilliam Paor Bhaile Ui Mhaoil. Donnchadh Ruadh cct. The author conformed to the protestant faith and was employed as Clerk of the Church of Kilmacthomas, when one of his old patrons, Mr. Wm. Power of Ballyveele, insisted on an account of the faith of the Protestant church, upon which the author wrote the following satire by which he lost the clerkship, when he returned to the old faith again. *M*

3 in our *C* 4 we learned first *M* w-ring *C* 5 Oecolampadius *C* Oelocompadius *M* 7 & *C* 9 D-l *CM* D-k *CM* W-e *CM* 10 P-L *CM* a slippery spoken wight *C* 11 V-e *CM* O-n *C* 12 H-s *C* who sure's not the worst son *C* And H-s who is not sure the worst son *M* 14 rate *C* 16 overflowing tumours *C* 20 'gainst *C* 21 mettled *C* 23 brand and strife *C* 25 beiue *C* 26 periucian *C* peruition *M* 30 suffered *C* quacks *C* 32 which *C* 33 gaol *C* 34 rose *C* vail *C* 35 alift *M* 38 And *C* 40 some languine wars *M* some bloody wars *C* 41 to banish peace, create divisions *C* rebel and create *M* 44 steady fabrick *C* 46 each son and father *C* 47 derived *C* 48 thy *C* 49 established *C* 52 set *C* 55 An excuse *M*

A The excuse *C* 5 & *C* 9 too -ay! *C* 10 hard - *C* 11 are *C* hindered *C* 12 from song & drink & prayer *C* to sing and drink *M* 13 estate - *C* 14 - but *C* 15 Ah, cruel times! *C* 17 clio! *C* 18 refined, grain - *C* 19 thought *C* 20 one *C* 23 a hearty lift *C* 24 make shift *C* 25 sticking constant to thy *C* 26 after their radical supper *M* a meagre *C* 29 oh then *C* 31 fame's *CM* 32 th' *CM*

Richard Lalor Sheil

James Walsh

Introduction

In the year 1791 the lives of two distinguished Kilkenny born orators and parliamentarians overlapped for a few months. Richard Lalor Sheil was born at Slieverue on 17 August in that year while Henry Flood died at his home at Farmley in Callan on 2 December.

The Floods were significant players in Irish politics throughout the eighteenth century. Henry's grandfather, Francis became MP for Callan in 1703. He was succeeded by his son and heir, Warden, and in the latter half of the century Henry Flood was acknowledged as one of the foremost politicians of the period. His powers of oratory were lauded throughout the Kingdom and he was also credited as having considerable political skills.

Sheil's day was yet to come. But come it did and a few decades later he became one of the most admired, or feared, barristers on the Circuit and one of the most able advocates in Parliament for whatever cause he was supporting at that time. However he did not enjoy fame and recognition in his early life, there were many troubled and painful experiences before he became established.

Richard's father, Edward Sheil, acquired the townland of Gorteens in the then civil parish of Rathpatrick and in the present Catholic parish of Slieverue, in 1783. Gorteens had for centuries been the base of a branch of the Fitzgerald family. They were dispossessed of their extensive properties during the Cromwellian Confiscations and Gorteens came into the possession of Samuel Skrimshire, one of the soldiers of the Commonwealth who came to Ireland in Cromwell's army. This property was confirmed to him, by the Court of Claims under the Act of Settlement, in 1667.[1] 'Won without thrift the estates of the military colonists were seldom preserved with care',[2] this was indeed the case at Gorteens and over time much of the estate fell into a state of neglect. In the eighteenth century the property was in the possession of the Honourable Henry Ponsonby. He was summoned to join his regiment abroad and was killed at the battle of Fontoney in 1745.[3] The ownership of the estate remained with the Ponsonby family until the 1780s.

Edward Sheil was a very successful businessman who had spent much of his earlier life in Spain and had acquired considerable wealth from mercantile trading. Aware of the changes taking place in Ireland in regard to the relaxation of the Penal Laws whereby Catholics were now permitted to purchase and own property, Sheil returned to Ireland in 1783 with a view to acquiring an estate. Gorteens was for sale and he purchased it.

1 Report of Record Commissioners, 1825, p. 120, as quoted in W. Torrens McCullagh, *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1855), Vol. 1, p. 2.

2 *Ibid.*

3 James Walsh (ed.), *Sliabh Rua: A History of it's People and Places*, (2001), p. 413.

Figure 1: Richard Lalor Sheil.

The property did not include a residence and the new owner immediately set about arranging for the design and planning of an appropriate estate house. While this process was taking place he took a lease on a residence in nearby Drumdowney in a property now in the ownership of Mr. Paddy Kearney.[4]

Family Background

Towards the end of the decade Edward Sheil married Catherine McCarthy from Springhouse, a townland in the parish of Tipperary between Tipperary Town and Bansha.

The McCarthys were a long established family in Springhouse. Sir Denis McCarthy had settled there and built the house in the late seventeenth century. Catherine was daughter of John, grandson of Sir Denis and his wife Anne Wyse from Waterford. Anne was daughter of Thomas Wyse of the Manor of St. John in Waterford city.[5]

Their first child was born on 17 August 1791 at Drumdowney. This was Richard, our subject. There were six other children all of whom were baptised in Slieverue.[6] The baptism of Richard is not recorded in the Slieverue Register. A search of the baptismal registers of the home parish of his mother did not show a record, nor did any of the registers of the Waterford city parishes.

One must conclude that there was an omission, probably in the Slieverue records.

Apart from Richard the only other member of the family to achieve national or international recognition was Justin. He was a diplomatist and army general. He was secretary to the British Legation at Teheran, 1836-44; British ambassador in Persia, 1844-54; awarded the KCB in 1855 and achieved the rank of Major General in 1859. He died in 1871.[7]

All references I have found for Sir Justin gave his year of birth as 1803; the baptismal record shows that this is clearly incorrect.

Edward built a career in business and like his father was involved in the mercantile trade. He established business connections in South America and eventually settled there and became a wealthy businessman.

The youngest son, John, obtained employment with the East India Company's service.

The Baptismal register records the address for Catherine and Edward as Drumdowney while the others had the Bellevue address. We can therefore safely conclude that the family moved to their new house between September 1793 and September 1796.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Denis Marnane, *Land and Violence: A History of West Tipperary from 1660*, (Tipperary, 1985).

6 Slieverue Catholic Parish Baptismal Registers. All six other siblings are recorded in the Slieverue Register. I include their names and their dates of baptism: Catherine, 20 August 1792; Edward, 4 September 1793; Denis, 21 September 1796; Mary, 23 September 1797; Justin, 2 December 1801; John, 30 December 1802.

7 *Burke's Peerage.*

The house was a three storey Georgian mansion with extensive walled-in gardens. It was situated on an elevated site overlooking the Suir and was surrounded by landscaped woodlands.

Gorteens Castle, the gatehouse of which still remains, was on the estate and local oral history informs us that much of the stone for the garden walls was drawn from the castle ruins. Sheil was so impressed by the beauty of the landscape that he named the house 'Bellevue' meaning beautiful view but this is frequently corrupted and written Bellview or Belleview. The local indigenous population seems to have taken a dim view of the name, whether the French or English form was used. The fact that Sheil ignored the Geraldine name and the long association of the Fitzgeralds with Gorteens when naming the house was adversely commented on and regretted by the old native families of the time.[8]

The scenic beauty of his childhood home was not lost on the young Richard. Many years later, in 1829, on the theme 'Schoolboy Recollections' in the *New Monthly Magazine*, August 1826, he wrote thus about the Suir and Gorteens:

> How often have I stood on its banks, when the bells in the city, the smoke of which was turned into a cloud of gold by a Claude Lorraine sunset, tolled the death of the departing day. How often have I fixed my gaze on the glittering expanse of the full and overflowing water, crowded with ships whose white sails were filled with just enough wind to carry them on to the sea... I had many a time looked with admiration upon the noble landscape in the midst of which I was born, but I never felt and appreciated its beauty so well as when the consciousness that I was leaving it, not to return for years to it again, endeared to me the spot of my birth, and set off the beauty of the romantic place in which my infancy was passed, and in which I once hoped (I have since abandoned the expectation) that my old age should decline. It is not in the midst of its woods that I shall fall into the sear and yellow leaf.[9]

While Sheil was still a small boy a French refugee priest came to live as part of the family at Bellevue. He was the Abbé de Grimeau from Languedoc, who had felt obliged to leave his country as a result of the Revolution there. For a number of years he acted as tutor to the young family and from him the children received the basics of the French and Latin languages.[10]

Formal Schooling

In 1802 the Abbé decided to return to France as circumstances there had changed. The family now enrolled Richard in a recently opened school in London run by French Jesuits. The school was in Kensington House and catered for French refugees in the city. He was accompanied by the Abbé who looked after him on the

8 James Walsh (ed.), *Sliabh Rua: A History of it's People and Places*, p. 414.

9 W. Torrens McCullagh, *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, Vol. 1, pp. 8, 9.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

journey and finally handed him over to the management at the school in the person of Monsieur le Prince de Broglie.[11] This must have been a situation of considerable stress for the eleven year old, away from family and friends and communicating only in the French language. Due to the lack of schools of elementary learning in Ireland there were a number of other Irish boys at the school and he built life-long friendships with some of them.

In the main Sheil did not have happy memories of Kensington. The environment was strict and gloomy and he certainly was not impressed with the system of education on offer there. In his *Recollections* he wrote:

> The system of instruction at Kensington was miserably defective. Some attention was paid to composition... There was also some relish manifested for the beauties of the Latin writers, and pains were taken to make the scholars feel the strength of the expression. But arithmetic, geography, history, were all neglected. A worse course of education cannot be well imagined.

Richard was to remain at Kensington until October 1804.

He was then transferred to the Jesuit College at Stoneyhurst in Lancashire. While the majority of students were English there was a significant number from Ireland and Sheil recounted in later years that considerable rivalry existed between them. This, he wrote, was manifested in the classroom and on the football field.

He acquitted himself well at Stoneyhurst, in particular in the Classics, and in 1805 he won second place in the class of poetry.

He left the College in November 1807 and immediately was enrolled as a student at Trinity College, Dublin.[12]

He quickly got involved in the extracurricular pursuits at Trinity, in particular debating and drama. During this period of his life he spent his vacations at Bellevue and enjoyed the freedom and variety of life there. He loved to expound original and controversial ideas so as to shock his family and friends. On one occasion he attended a fancy dress ball at Waterford in the guise of a French quack-doctor and carried the part with *éclat*, such was his confidence and polish.

Around this time a serious misfortune befell the family. Since his return from Spain Edward Sheil had continued to speculate in commercial ventures. In one such he invested heavily, a figure of £10,000- £15,000 was one estimate, in a mercantile house in Dublin. This he did under what was termed the Anonymous Partnership Act, which was passed in 1782 by the Parliament of Ireland. The intention was that the investor would be afforded the protection of limited liability. Conditions were attached by the Act and any violation of those would render the above-mentioned protection invalid. Unfortunately for Sheil it was alleged, and proven, that he had acted in contravention of the Act and he lost his investment.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
12 *Ibid.*

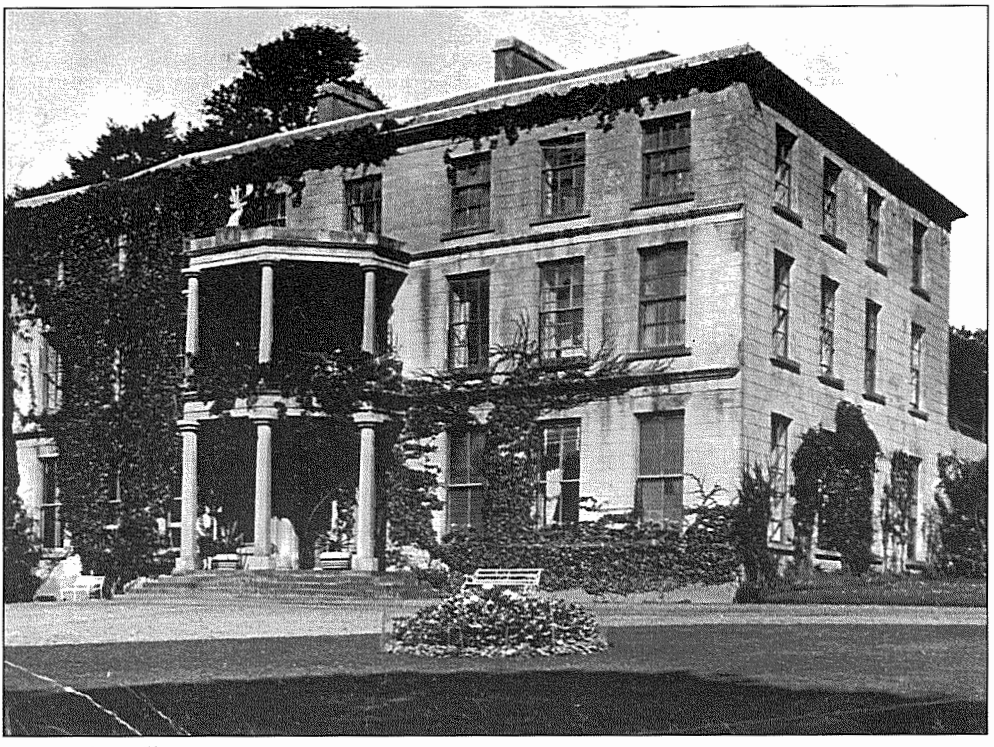

Figure 2: Bellevue House.

Figure 3: Bellevue House, 2003.

This loss ruined him financially and he was obliged to sell 'Bellevue' and the estate, in the year 1809. He received £28,000 for the property, which was bought by Patrick Power, brother of Nicholas who was later to purchase Faithlegge House and estate.[13] The family now moved to Dublin and Edward Sheil lived out his life there. In 1816 Richard is recorded as living at No. 23 Holles Street.[14] I have not established if that was the family home at that time.

The family's financial straits threatened to have serious consequences for Richard's schooling as his father could not now afford to have him continue at college. However a family friend and relative of his mother, Dr. William Foley, willingly agreed to pay £100 per year to permit Richard to complete his studies at the University and the Inns of Court. This he did for the next four years.[15]

Dr. Foley was a very successful physician in Waterford, his business was based in Broad Street.

In the latter years of his University career Sheil became a regular attendee and contributor at the debates of the Historical Society and there got his first experience of national and international politics.

In relation to his debating skills and presentation at this time in his life a contemporary wrote as follows:

> I have a full recollection of Mr. Sheil. His powers as an orator were, at that time, very imperfect. His fancy was very vivid, and his speeches more remarkable for their display of imagination than of argument. His voice was weak and squeaking and his manner very theatrical.[16]

Dipping the Toe into Politics

He took a keen interest in the political debates of the time and in particular the 'Catholic Question'. He attended meetings of the Catholic Committee, a broadly representative gathering of persons united by the common tie of disenfranchisement on account of their faith. At those meetings he tended to become very animated at the wrongs inflicted upon the masses of his fellow countrymen. He made his first public speech on 9 February 1811 at one such meeting when seven persons were to be selected to travel to London to confer with members of both Houses of Parliament, and to act as representatives on all questions of detail that might arise during the session. At first his audience were somewhat amused by his presentation and argument but as he warmed to the topic his mood changed as did his articulation and soon he had their undivided attention. At the end of a long speech he received a long ovation when he sat down and was chosen as one of the seven to travel to Westminster.[17]

13 James Walsh (ed.), *Sliabh Rua: A History of it's People and Places*, p. 414.

14 http://www.irish-architecture.com/, Memorable Dublin Houses, Route III.

15 W. Torrens McCullagh, *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, Vol. 1, p. 34.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Richard finished his studies in Trinity in July 1811 and in November of that year he enrolled as a student of Lincoln's Inn in London. He attended there for the requisite two years, again with the financial backing of Dr. Foley. While living in London he joined The Eccentrics, an old established debating club, and here he learned much about the practice of debating and honed his public speaking skills.

In 1813, having completed his studies at Lincoln's Inn he returned to Dublin and much to his satisfaction, and that of his father who had high expectations for him, he was called to the Irish Bar at the beginning of Hilary Term, 1814. He was naturally full of ambition and looked forward to a successful legal career.

Financial constraints weighed heavily on him at this time. In order to raise the funds necessary to prepare him for his anticipated new career he decided to turn his hand to writing. This he had done during his London student days when he contributed to the London magazines so as to supplement his other income.

The Composing Phase

Richard had, from his youth, a likeness for drama and the theatre and he decided to write for the stage. The first of a number of tragedies he produced was titled *Adelaide, or The Emigrants*. It was performed in Waterford at the Theatre Royal in February 1814 and later that month at London's Crow Street Theatre. In May 1816 it was played at Covent Garden. Miss O'Neill, the foremost actress of the time, played the leading role and due to her excellence the play was deemed a success even though Sheil himself felt it had little merit.

In 1817 he wrote *The Apostate*, this was followed by *Bellamir* in 1818, *Evadine* also titled *The Statue* in 1819 and later that year he completed a fifth tragedy called *The Huguenot*. The most successful of the above plays was *Evadine*. It had a very long run at Covent Garden when first staged there and was performed right up to 1881. It was calculated that Sheil earned £2,000 for his dramatic writings over this period, surely a considerable sum at the time.

Eliza O'Neill, the celebrated tragic actress, was born in Drogheda in 1791. She was daughter of John O'Neill, an Irish actor and stage manager, and first played at the Drogheda Theatre. She later acted in Belfast and in Dublin and in 1814 got an engagement at Covent Garden Theatre, London, where she played Juliet. After a brief but very successful acting career she retired from the stage in 1819 and later that year she married W.W.Becher, the Irish MP for Mallow. By the death of his uncle, her husband soon after their marriage became a baronet, Sir William Wrixon Becher. Lady Becher never returned to the stage. She died at her home near Mallow in 1872.[18]

18 Thos. W.H. Fitzgerald, *Ireland and Her People: A Library of Irish Biography*, (Chicago, Fitzgerald Book Company, 1909). Vol. 1, p. 213.

Family Man

Richard Sheil married a Dublin lady, a Miss O'Halloran in 1816. His wife was the daughter of a city merchant who had died some short time previously. She was described as a young lady of great personal beauty but 'without fortune'.[19] Her uncle was Sir William McMahon, Master of the Rolls, and perhaps Sheil felt this connection could be useful to his career. McMahon however looked upon his political activity with distrust and any hopes Richard may have had of preferment were not realised.

Their first child, a boy, was born in January 1822. He was baptised in St. Andrew's Church, Westland Row, Dublin, on 9 January.[20] He was christened Richard, but unusually the Christian name of the mother, the family address or the names of the sponsors are not recorded. After six years of marriage this must have been an occasion of great joy for the parents.

However a great calamity was soon to befall Richard. A short period after the birth of her son his wife contracted a fever and this resulted in her death.

'Sketches of the Irish Bar'

He now became engrossed more than ever in his books and literary interests. It was suggested to him by his friend William Henry Curran, son of John Philpot Curran, the patriot and orator, that he should write a series of articles reflecting on the Irish Bar, its judges, barristers and procedures. This Sheil agreed to do. They were published in the *New Monthly Magazine*, a London periodical, under the title 'Sketches of the Irish Bar'. The first appeared in August 1822 and the last was published in February 1829, most were written by Sheil but Curran contributed a number of them.

In July 1823 came the most widely read and for that reason the best known of the Sketches, the essay on O'Connell. This paper attracted much attention and established the *New Monthly Magazine* as a 'must get' periodical. The article was translated into several languages and was reprinted a number of times in both Europe and America. Curran in fact, wrote it. In 1823 O'Connell was forty-eight years of age and was an established barrister, orator and leader of the Catholic cause. The essay about him was as much a tribute as an analysis of his career or his place in the Ireland of the day. In relation to his work at the Bar the writer offers the opinion ' if he is not the ablest he is certainly the most singular man at the Irish Bar'. He gives us a taste of O'Connell's invective with the following quote, 'the admirers of King William have no mercy for a man, who, in his seditious moods, is so provoking as to tell the world that their idol was a Dutch adventurer'. The sketches were later published in book form, and are still available from antiquarian book dealers.

19 Thomas McNevin, *The Speeches of the Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, (Dublin, J. Duffy, 1867). p. xxi of the Memoir.

20 St. Andrew's Catholic Church, Westland Row, Dublin, Baptismal Records.

Figure 4: Daniel O'Connell.

The 'Veto' and Catholic Emancipation

On the political stage the matter of Catholic rights and Emancipation were everywhere hotly debated but there was much disharmony between the leading players as to how best to achieve their aims. The major issue of the day was the 'Veto question'. The government was prepared to grant Emancipation on condition that some 'securities' were in place. One such condition was that Parliament in London would henceforth have a role in confirming the appointment of Catholic bishops. This matter first arose in 1795 when the Government granted aid for the establishment of Maynooth College and had been a burning issue for twenty years.

Many of the conservative figures in Irish public life and English Catholics were however prepared to accept the imposition of securities.

At one period the bishops, or at least some of them, were prepared to concede some ground but later the Irish Hierarchy as a body retreated from any such concession. Sheil was on the side of the 'Vetoists'. This is not surprising in light of his educational experience at Stoneyhurst and his desire to make progress on the issue. This stand however brought him into serious conflict with O'Connell who was an uncompromising anti-Vetoist.

O'Connell, as was his practice each new year, published an address to the people on 1 January 1821, in which he advocated repeal of the Union rather than Emancipation which he counselled them to postpone. Sheil immediately issued a long public letter to the people of Ireland. This document contained a stinging attack on O'Connell and amongst other accusations he claimed O'Connell was delaying the achievement of Emancipation.

In response O'Connell published, on 12 January, a reply full of sarcasm and caustic humour.

The relations between those very able protagonists were now at such low ebb that Sheil had to be dissuaded from challenging O'Connell to a duel! Such was to be the situation for some considerable time.

When 1823 arrived there was little discussion about Catholic Emancipation. In 1829, after Catholic Emancipation was granted, Sheil, reflecting on the lethargy that had existed only six years before wrote as follows:

> In 1823 an entire cessation of Catholic meetings had taken place. There was a total stagnation of public feeling, and I do not exaggerate when I say that the Catholic question was nearly forgotten. No angry resolutions issued from public bodies; the monster abuses of the Church Establishment, the frightful evils of political monopoly, the hideous anomaly in the whole structure of our civil institutions, the unnatural ascendancy of a handful of men over the immense and powerful population - all these, and the other just and legitimate causes of public exasperation were gradually dropping out of the national memory. The country was then in a state of comparative repose, but it was a degrading and unwholesome tranquillity. We sat down like galley slaves in a calm. A general stagnation diffused itself over the national

> feelings. The public pulse had stopped, the circulation of all generous sentiment had been arrested, and the country was palsied to the heart.[21]

On 8 February 1823 a dinner party took place at the home of a Mr. T. O'Mara who lived at Glencullen House, Kilternan, just south of Dublin city. Sheil and O'Connell were amongst the invited guests and a reconciliation took place. Resulting from this meeting the Catholic Association of Ireland was formed.

Various options were discussed with the aim to organise the general population and achieve mass membership. Sheil was credited with being the author of the plan to involve the Catholic clergy and through them to attain the mass membership and the resulting support desired by the Association. This was achieved by holding simultaneous meetings in chapels throughout the country on a given Sunday. It was estimated that two million people gathered in 15,000 chapels and thus the Association obtained instant mass membership.

There were two levels of membership of the Association. The peasantry would contribute a penny per month as associate members, while others would pay one guinea a year and have controlling power.

The Association was slowly and unevenly put in place and by December £700 a week was being collected. This soon rose to £1,000 per week. The money, now known as Catholic Rent, was used for publicity, promotions and to assist the poor. The Government, fully aware of this development was very concerned and introduced a Bill in 1825 to suppress all unlawful associations, including the Catholic Association. Immediately however a New Catholic Association was formed to support public and private charities thus circumventing the law and rent collection continued as before.

Sheil and the Association were fully aware of the power of mass membership and the opportunity it provided to use their now considerable funding in the political arena. A general election was due in 1826 and the Association decided to test its strength in one constituency, namely County Waterford.

There were three constituencies in Waterford county, Waterford city, returning one member, Dungarvan, returning one member and County Waterford returning two members. The County Waterford seats had been held by the Beresford family of Curraghmore for generations and Lord George Beresford had sat for twenty uninterrupted years and had every reason to feel safe.

The reader may need to be reminded that the franchise was limited to the 'forty shilling freeholders', i.e. property holders whose annual rent was £2 or more and that the vote was far from secret. Each tenant was expected to vote in accordance with the wishes of the landlord and failure to do so often meant eviction of the man and his family from the family home.

The Association therefore had a big challenge in organising the voters and convincing them of the long-term benefits of expressing their power in the ballot box. It was also necessary to get a candidate to oppose Lord George Beresford and

21 Denis Gwynn, *The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation (1750-1829)*, (London, Longmans & Green, 1928).

Henry Villiers Stuart agreed to do so. Henry was a young man from Dromana in west Waterford and was an extensive Protestant landowner, who had been educated at Eton. He had expressed his support for Catholic Emancipation and declared he was prepared to do so in Parliament.

The third candidate was Richard Power of Clashmore. As a Whig he was assured of the support of the Duke of Devonshire - a significant parcel of votes.

The campaign was fought energetically and forcefully on both sides. On the Catholic Association side Sheil and O'Connell toured the county using the most vitriolic language against the sitting members and repeatedly reminded the people of the need to hold firm and vote en bloc. On the other side all types of inducements were dangled before the people, this is not a modern phenomenon! Lord Waterford's agent promised to build fifty freehold houses for the fishermen of Dungarvan and that he would also build a lighthouse anywhere in Dungarvan, if the fishermen voted for Lord George.[22]

The voting took place over a number of days in Waterford city. The people had to find a means of getting transport to the city from distant parts of the county and the funds and organisation of the Association were put to good use in making this possible. Early in the week it became evident that the Beresford vote had collapsed and on Thursday Lord Beresford conceded. When the checking was complete the Sheriff declared the following result, Mr. Power 1,424 votes, Mr. Stuart 1,357 votes and Lord Beresford 528 votes.

The outcome in Waterford, which had been closely followed all over the country, sent shock waves through the establishment and was the first decisive step towards the achievement of Catholic Emancipation.

When O'Connell stood for Clare in 1828 and won a seat, there could be no turning back.

The Catholic Emancipation Bill moved slowly through the Commons in the spring of 1829 and on 31 March was passed by a majority of 178. The measure then went to the Lords and was passed on 4 April, the majority being 104. On 13 April King George VI finally and reluctantly signed it.

When the news arrived in Dublin a public meeting was convened to consider the best means of preventing any undue display of popular exultation. Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Arthur Guiness and Mr. Sheil were the chief speakers and at their request a resolution was passed that they regarded the outcome 'not as a triumph over any class of their fellow subjects but as a measure of strict justice and of sound policy, the removal of the badge of inferiority from the Catholics without encroaching on the rights and privileges of the Protestants.'[23]

22 Eugene Broderick, 'Protestants in the 1826 Waterford County Election', in *Decies* 53 (1997), p. 56; Robert Arthure, *A Priest of His Time: Patrick Fogarty 1791 - 1866*, p. 15.

23 W. Torrens McCullagh, *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, Vol. 2, p. 62

Figure 5: Cartoon of Lawless, Sheil and O'Connell, from Maurice R. O'Connell (ed), Daniel O'Connell: Political Pioneer *(Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1991). The cartoonist was John Doyle, 1797-1868. He was a Dublin artist, known to his contemporaries as HB. Lawless was a journalist.*

Figure 6: Portrait of Anastasia Phelan Lalor, wife of Edmond Power, and later of Richard Lalor Sheil.

Now that the issue of Catholic Emancipation was finished Sheil could give his full attention to his career at the Bar. During 1829 he had considerable success and was busy throughout each session. By the year-end however his success was sowing seeds of ambition in his mind. He very much desired the 'silk gown' but felt that his past history of agitation would not help his cause with the Government of the time. He then proceeded to harbour thoughts of a seat in Parliament.

Senior Counsel and Landlord

1830 turned out to be a momentous year for Richard Sheil.

He and three other barrister members of the Catholic Association were called to the Inner Bar during Trinity Term, although O'Connell was still ignored. His colleagues, and indeed the whole country, keenly felt this slight.

On 20 July Richard contracted a second marriage. His new wife was Anastatia Lalor Power of Longorchard House, County Tipperary. She was the widow of Edmund Power, 16th Baron of Coroghmore and Gurteen and had recently lived at Longorchard, which she had inherited from her father, John Lalor, when he died in 1828.

Through his marriage he became the legal owner of Longorchard estate and several other estates in County Tipperary including two townlands in Killoscully parish, the townland of Lisduff in the parish of Borrisokane, also Nodstown North and Nodstown South. Across the county border in Kilkenny he also owned the town land of Bruckana in Galmoy parish.

Because of his commitments in Parliament he was for the most part an absentee landlord. Edmond James Power, of Gurteen, the son of his wife, Anastatia Lalor Power, administered his estates. As far as one can ascertain he was considered to be caring and generous to his tenants. In 1843 he acknowledged the plight of his tenants in Nodstown by granting them a reduction of 30% in their rents.[24]

He at last had financial security, something he craved for all his life - no doubt influenced by his family financial straits when a young man which had left an indelible imprint on his mind. This is emphasised by the following colourful statement he is known to have made:

> The highborn and opulent are incapable of realising the misery and humiliation to which a man of education and feeling is exposed, when he has to gamble with his wits for the price of a dinner. But who that has passed through the ordeal can forget it? For myself I have never been able to get the chill of early poverty out of my bones.

Around this time he decided to incorporate into his surname the family name of his wife, namely Lalor. This he did by deed poll and henceforth used the name Richard Lalor Sheil.[25]

24 *Boherlahan-Dualla Historical Journal*, p. 86

25 William Joseph Hayes, (ed.), *Moyne - Templetouhy, A Life of its Own*, (Tipperary, Moyne-Templetuohy History Group, 2001), p. 485.

Parliamentary Career

Now independent of income sources from the Circuit he became even more interested in a seat in Parliament. When he was invited to contest a seat in Louth in the 1830 election he readily agreed to do so but was not successful.

He had previously made friendly acquaintances with some influential members of the new Whig government and was more than pleased when Lord Anglesea offered him a seat for Milbourne Port, a borough of Dorsetshire. He duly took his seat in the House of Commons on 8 March 1831. Within two months Parliament was dissolved and he again stood for Louth and was elected to the new Parliament, which was opened on 21 June.

Aware of the image he had created for himself with his demagoguery in the past he now decided to take great care with his speeches and his use of language. He indeed went to extremes on occasion when preparing for an important debate in the House, e.g. by renting rooms the days before the debate so that he could rehearse his speech without interruption and fine tune it to his satisfaction. During the session he contributed at some length on the question of providing a suitable system of Poor Laws for Ireland. Other debates to which he gave much of his time were the Irish Reform Bill and the question of the abolition of tithes in Ireland.

The lack of reform, which would ease the burden on the Irish, particularly the poorer classes, and the apparent unwillingness of the government to reward him or the other Irish members with office resulted in disillusionment with the Whigs. Having worked well with O'Connell in Parliament he now decided to join the Repeal Association and stood for County Tipperary as a Repeal candidate in 1832 and was elected. He had, over a period, been reducing the number of briefs he accepted and around this time withdrew entirely from the Circuit.

In 1835 a coalition of Whigs, Radicals and Repealers was agreed at Lichfield House, the home of Lord Lichfield at St. James's Square. This became known as 'the Lichfield Compact' in which the three parties agreed to work together for common objectives without conceding their own principles. This was significant as it meant that an Irish block of votes in the Commons could hold the balance of power. Lalor Sheil and O'Connell were usually to the fore during most debates in the House and from this period until 1841 when, when the Conservatives returned, some limited but much needed reforms in the areas of municipal structures and Poor Laws were achieved.

During the period of this government Richard did not hide his ambition for a position in the administration, and in 1836 he requested the post of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, which had become vacant, but he was turned down.

He and his outgoing colleague, Mr. Cave, were easily re-elected for Tipperary in 1837. Soon afterwards he was offered the commissionership of Greenwich Hospital and accepted after some hesitation since he had hoped for a more prestigious post. Before going out of office in 1841 in a review of various departments of the administration Lalor Sheil was appointed to the post of Judge Advocate. This recognition gave him much satisfaction.

In advance of the 1841 election he had decided not to contest Tipperary again and instead to offer himself for the borough of Dungarvan. He encountered much opposition from his Tipperary friends but was resolute in his decision. When pressed he stated, 'I leave Tipperary because there is a great clamour against me for not having gorged my friends with patronage'. He further stated that it was more fitting that he should represent a borough like Dungarvan than a county seventy miles long.[26] To a friend he had explained he had failed to obtain any patronage from Government for numerous expectants who had indeed a right to some return for their exertions on his behalf. Some things never change!

He persisted with his intention to stand for Dungarvan and was duly elected. As anticipated the Tories were returned to government with a sizable majority and again Lalor Sheil and O'Connell were on the opposition benches.

The most high profile political events in Ireland in 1843 were the 'monster' meetings held to further the cause of Repeal of the Union. After many very large meetings in various centres a planned meeting at Clontarf was cancelled when the Lord Lieutenant proclaimed it. Some days later eight persons were arrested on a charge of conspiracy, including O'Connell and his son John. Because of the personalities in the dock there was particular interest in the case throughout the country and this was heightened considerably more by the fact that Richard Lalor Sheil returned to the court and acted as defence council for John O'Connell. The trial judge was Chief Justice Pennefather and the jury, consisting of eleven Irish Protestants and one English Protestant, was well packed.

Lalor Sheil, as usual, put up a most eloquent defence case based on the lack of uniformity in which the law was applied in Ireland and England. He also highlighted the failure of successive governments to implement evenly the conditions of the Act of Union, nearly half a century earlier, and which were greatly responsible for the frustrations, which now drove the people to distrust every government. Not surprisingly a verdict of 'guilty' was delivered. Sentencing did not happen until 30 May but the verdict was overturned in the House of Lords on 4 September.

During the summer of 1845 Mr. and Mrs. Lalor Sheil were primarily occupied by the failing state of health of their son, Richard. As the year wore on it became increasingly evident that the young man was very unwell and his doctors suggested a change of climate might be beneficial. It was agreed they would go to Madeira for the winter months. This they did in October but within a couple of weeks it was clear that the patient would not recover. He died on 10 November, and was buried on the island. The family remained in Madeira for a prolonged period but Richard fell into a state of deep depression and lived in almost complete seclusion.

Back in England Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative Prime Minister was experiencing political difficulties as the year ended. He managed however to keep the administration intact for a while. In the spring of 1846 word got to Richard that the government was unlikely to last. This awoke in him renewed political interest and responding to the supportive urgings of his wife he decided to return to Ireland.

26 W. Torrens McCullagh, *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, Vol. 2, p. 301.

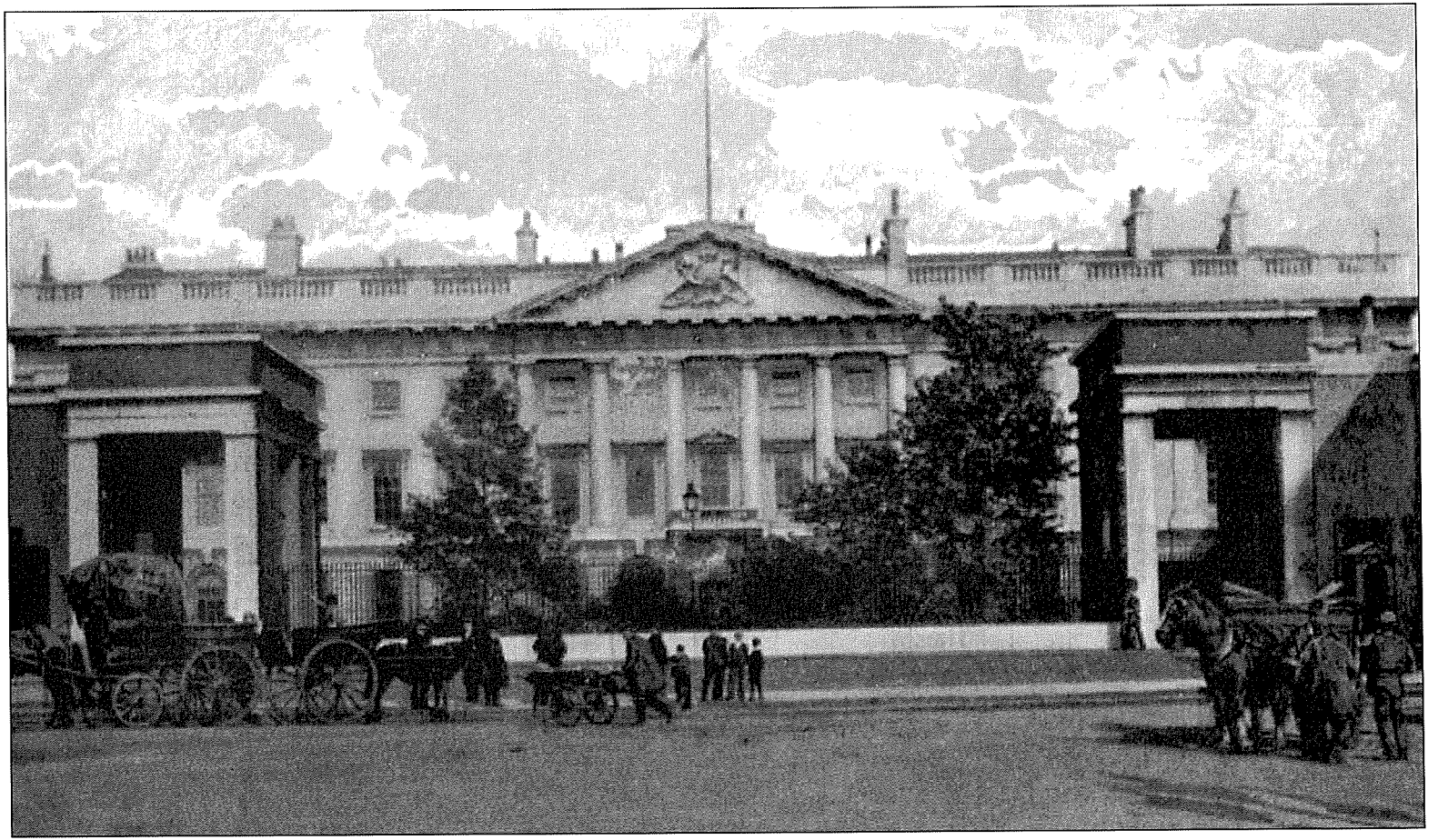

Figure 7: The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, London at the time the Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil was Master.

The Peel government duly fell and was replaced by a Whig administration with Lord John Russell as Premier; they took up office on 30 June. In a letter to a friend Richard stated that he expected to be again appointed as Judge Advocate. He was however quite pleased to learn two days later that the Mastership of the Mint had been reserved for him

The Master, as the highest officer of the Royal Mint, was responsible for all aspects of the activities of the mint and it's staff. The position confers on the holder membership of the Privy Council and the new Master was the first Catholic to hold the post since the imposition of the Penal Laws in the eighteenth century.

Richard seldom contributed in the house in 1847 or 1848. He did however become the focus of considerable national attention in 1848 in his position in the Royal Mint. The government decided that a coin valued at one tenth of a pound or 2 shillings should be introduced. It was an early step towards decimalisation and the Mint was directed to put the value of the coin on its reverse as well as its name. The coin was to be called a florin. The Master suggested that in the interests of aesthetics the obverse should be as simple as possible. The chief engraver designed the coin accordingly and had only 'Victoria Regina' inscribed on it. This was a digression from the traditional inscription which usually had *Defensatrix Fidei, Dei Gratia* (Defender of the faith, with the grace of God) written surrounding the effigy of the sovereign. As soon as the design of the new coin became known the government came under attack for what was seen by some as a serious indiscretion. The leading newspapers and journals became very exercised over this matter and the motives of the master were questioned, some suggesting that there was a sectarian motive on his part. This charge he emphatically denied and explained that such a coin had issued previously in Calcutta on which the ecclesiastical title of Her Majesty was omitted.[27]

Despite the tumult the Godless or Graceless florin, as it became known, went into circulation. It was withdrawn however after a period when the controversy failed to die down and a second issue was minted in 1851.[28]

Last Posting and Death

1850 turned out to be another huge milestone in the career of Richard Lalor Sheil. He was now fifty-nine years old and was experiencing indifferent health. He had played a prominent role in political life for twenty years and contributed to most of the emotive and controversial debates over that period. He had now grown tired of parliamentary life.

He was therefore greatly pleased to learn in October that he had been nominated for a diplomatic posting in Italy. The position of Master of the Court of Tuscany had become vacant and when offered to him he gladly accepted.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 396.

28 I understand that the Godless Florin can still be bought on the Internet for 150 to 200.

Before he left he paid a visit to Ireland and was delighted by the generous good wishes of his friends and the regrets expressed that his parliamentary career was over. He did, at this time, sit for the sculptor, Mr. Christopher Moore.[29] The marble bust which resulted from those sittings is the only likeness of him from his later years and is therefore a significant image. It is on permanent exhibition in the Shaw Room of the National Gallery of Ireland, Merrion Square, Dublin.[30]

He left for Italy in December and having stayed over in Paris for a brief period he arrived in Florence in mid January. In Florence he quickly read himself into his new role and was soon renewing his interest in Italian Art, which he much admired.

When preparing to go out on Sunday, 25 May 1851, he got a particularly severe attack of gout. He had been susceptible to this condition for years and had learned to live with it. Medical assistance was called but could not help him and he died within the hour, probably from a heart attack.

The funeral service took place on Wednesday 28 May, after which he was removed to Leghorn and from there borne on a British Ship of War to Ireland. The body arrived in Dublin and was brought to the Jesuit Church in Gardener Street from where it was removed to its final resting place in Longorchard. Interment took place in the Lalor burial plot in the grounds of Templetouhy Parish Church.

His wife, Anastatia Phelan Lalor Sheil, died within one year of her husband, on 3 August 1852. She had been in failing health for some year. She too was buried in the Lalor plot beside her husband.

John Lalor, father of Anastatia, had resided in Cranagh Castle. The Lalors were extensive landowners and John took a prominent part at the meetings relating to Catholic rights in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The monument was erected by Edmund Power Lalor and bears the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of
The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil
Born at Bellevue, County Kilkenny in the year 1791. Died at Florence on 25th May 1851
A patriot, statesman and orator,
Also of Anastatia Phelan Lalor Sheil
Relect of Edmond Power Esq. of Gurteen, Co. Waterford
And secondly relect of the Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil
Born August 1796. Died 3rd August 1852

29 Christopher Moore, 1790 - 1863. He was born in Dublin, spent much of his working life in London and later returned to Dublin where he died on 17 March 1863 at Dorset Street, and was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery. Amongst his many other works were two of Daniel O'Connell, 1825 and 1837, and one of Cardinal Wiseman, 1851.

30 The work was commissioned by Henry Labouchere, afterwards Lord Taunton, in 1847. It was presented to the National Gallery by Lord Taunton in 1864.

Assessment by Peers

During his public career Richard Lalor Sheil was a figure who sought and attracted much attention. His style of oratory and his use of language ensured that he always had an attentive audience. In the cut and trust of debate he had few equals who could deliver the put-down repost with such deadly effect.

He was highly regarded as a debater. Lord Plunkett, considered a severe judge in matters of fluency of language and the power of reasoning, declared on one occasion, 'he had thought Curran had a greater choice of words than any man he had ever listened to until he had heard Lalor Sheil'.[31] This skill with words did not happen without much preparation. He was known to spend hours changing and altering the position of words in particular sentences before he had settled them to his satisfaction.

He had that rare ability to excite an audience by his mere presence. This was experienced by some French journalists who attended a political meeting in Ballinasloe in 1826 and was afterwards written-up by one M. Duvergier. He wrote:

> while one of the speakers was inveighing against the bad faith of the Government in times past towards the Catholics, and the infatuation of driving them to look to the revolt of America as an example, a loud and prolonged cheer burst forth suddenly from every quarter, which shook the edifice to it's roof. It was the unlooked-for appearance of Mr. Sheil on the platform that produced this startling effect.[32]

Thomas Francis Meagher, in his later life admitted that he had been greatly moved by Sheil. He stated that he had read Sheil's speeches again and again while a student in Clongoes Wood College:

> there were not more than a dozen of Sheil's speeches in the volume. All of them brilliant and exciting to excess, drove the blood burning through my veins and filled my mind with the visions which were the inspiration of whatever strong words fell from me in later years.[33]

The poet, essayist and political editor, James Leigh Hunt, wrote in 1853:

> I never had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Sheil but once, when he did me the honour of answering in person a question relating to the Mint. I then saw before me one of the little great men of whom one reads so often in history, and I thought how well, in spite of time and the gout, his conversation answered to the idea given of him by his speeches - I mean as to life and freshness - for he did not affect anything rhetorical. I little thought so much vitality was about to be extinguished, and this too in the genial South.[34]

31 W. Torrens McCullagh, *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, Vol. 2, p. 411.

32 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 309.

33 Gary R. Forney, *Thomas Francis Meagher: Irish Rebel, American Yankee, Montana Pioneer*, (Xlibris Corporation, 2003), p. 19.

34 W. Torrens McCullagh, *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Richard Lalor Sheil*, Vol. 2, p. 380.

Figure 8: Bust of Sheil by Moore.

Summary

At the beginning of this essay I referred to some parallels between Sheil and Flood. In a long political career Henry Flood devoted his life to the advancement of the cause of Irish Protestants. He believed that they should have equal constitutional, economic and political rights as English Protestants.

Sheil was motivated by similar ambitions on behalf of Irish Catholics. He desired that they should have the same rights as their Protestant fellow-countrymen enjoyed. To this end he worked tirelessly, in particular in relation to Catholic Emancipation. Each accepted sinecure positions from the government, though for different reasons, that disappointed their respective supporters and friends.

Flood became Vice-treasurer of Ireland in 1775, while in 1837 Sheil accepted a position as commissioner of Greenwich Hospital.

Some commentators have been harsh on Sheil, stating that he had not left any lasting legacy by which he can be remembered. In my opinion this is unfair. When we read critiques of the lives of most public figures we find that more often than not the reviewer concludes that the subject failed in some aspect or other of his/her work or policy aspirations.

Sheil reached eminence in, and had considerable success, as a lawyer, as a writer for the theatre and as a parliamentarian. The comments quoted above by his contemporaries, all men of letters or status, indicates that he was held in high regard in his own time. It is difficult, and probably unreasonable, for a critic of a much later generation to make an assessment of the merits of a subject from such a remove using the philosophies and values of a different time.

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Plate 1: Aerial photograph of house and farmyard. Note hip roof and sash windows. (c. early-mid 1960s).

An Architectural Account of a Late Nineteenth Century 'Middle' Farmer's House in County Waterford

Julie Brazil

Introduction

This essay traces a rural dwelling as it developed from a smallholding in the mid-nineteenth century into a 'strong' farmer's house by the beginning of the twentieth century. The house is situated in the townland of Ballythomas, County Waterford.[1] This account will give a description of the external and internal structure of the house along with the furniture in the kitchen and parlour. (The structure of the house, both internally and externally, is in good condition).

Finding primary sources for Ballythomas house was difficult owing to the nature of the vernacular house type. Therefore much of the information was based on fieldwork in the study of the house itself and talking to the owners.[2] Due to the scant written sources of rural dwellings prior to *Griffith's Valuation* and the Ordnance Survey, it is difficult to place an accurate date on Ballythomas.[3] What this farmhouse offers is a very close insight into the architectural details of a building that was constructed with ready available materials from the surrounding area. The interior space provides an unhindered look at the workings and traditions of late-nineteenth century rural accommodation.

Although the exact age of the house is unknown, it bears all the characteristics of an early to mid-nineteenth century rural abode of a middling tenant, (with the measurements of the house, and the division of the interior of the house into three main sections).[4] The earliest record of the house is on the 1841 edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map and it appears as a long rectangular building with one small outbuilding directly in front of the main door. The house is concealed from the main road and is accessed by a lane. Ballythomas house has been in the family for at least four generations covering around 150 years according to family history. By the late nineteenth century Ballythomas had become highly productive where the land was used for dairy and mixed farming with crops of wheat and oats. The family were prosperous farmers by the beginning of the twentieth century, evidence of which lies in a photograph taken *c.*1919. The photograph is of a well-dressed family with their young servant girl posing outside the gable end of the house.

1 Ballythomas is in the parish of Mothel.

2 Fieldwork and interviews with the owners in December 2003.

3 *Griffith's Valuation*, called after its director Richard Griffith, was a survey of all property ownership throughout Ireland. It was carried out during the years 1848 to 1865.

4 D. McCourt and E.E. Evans, 'A Late Seventeenth-Century Farmhouse at Shantallow, near Londonderry', in *Ulster Folklife* xiv (1968), pp 14-22.

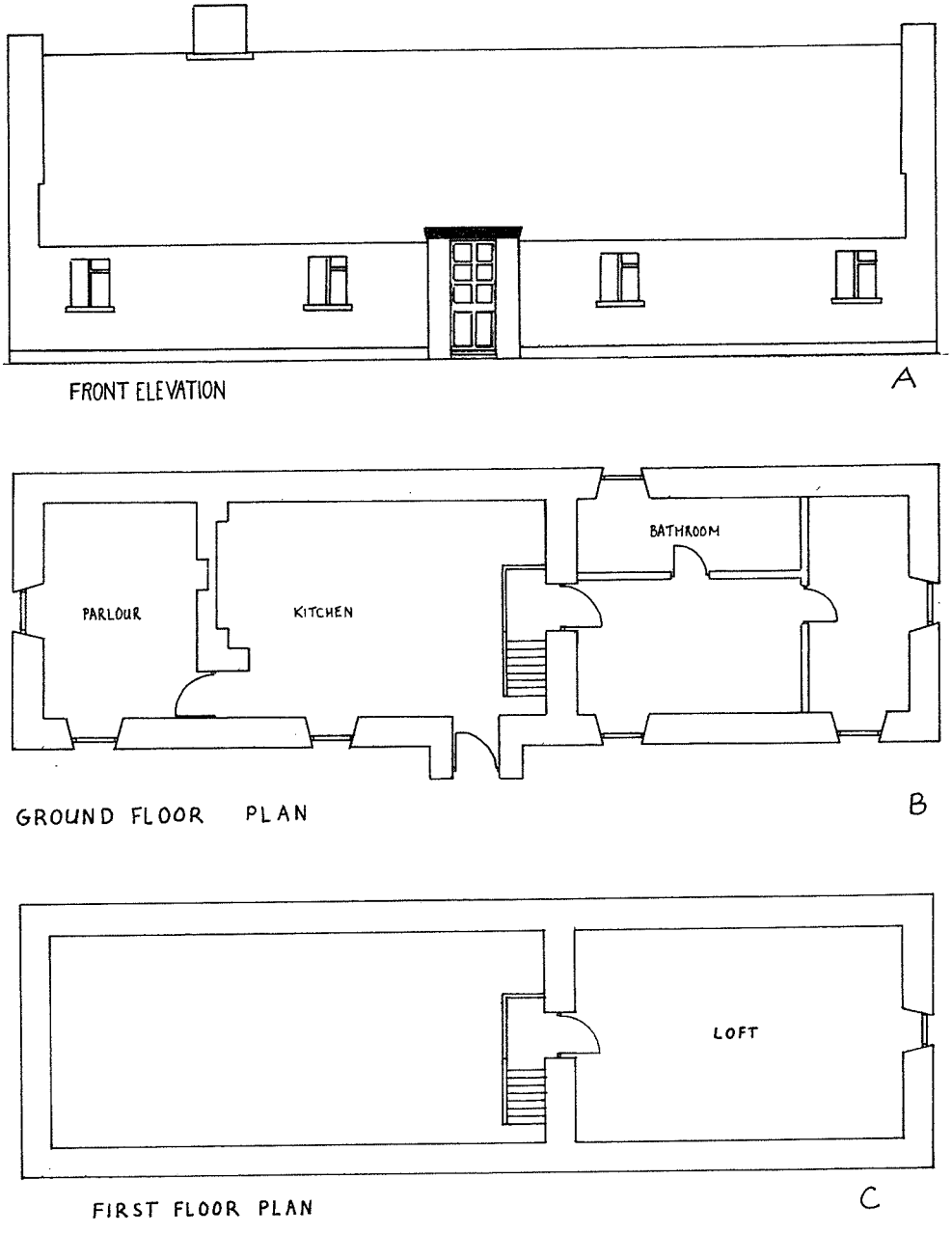


Figure 1: A: Front elevation; B: Floor plan; C: Loft plan.

It is argued by Ciara Breathnach that during the period 1850 to 1891 four distinct classes emerged nationally in rural Ireland. In the first class were the landlords and occupiers of more than 100 acres and in the second class were occupiers with 30 to 100 acres. In the third class, tenants with less than 30 acres of land usually had a second income and the fourth class was the landless labourers.[5] In stark contrast with the extreme poverty of the small holder of the west, farmers from east Munster and Leinster were in a stronger position because the land was of a higher calibre.[6] The landless labourer or 'cottier-labourer' was in the lowest class in rural Irish society and research suggests there was distinct class awareness between the farmer and landless labourer.[7] The landless labourer travelled in search of farm work but wages were low and payment was usually in kind ranging from housing, potatoes or grass for livestock.[8] Generally farmers engaged labourers by leasing them small plots of land, roughly quarter of an acre, for a period of up to a year.[9] On these plots the cottier constructed a one-roomed 'cabin' with mud walls, a rough thatch roof, earth floor and a hole for the smoke from the hearth.

In sharp contrast Ballythomas falls into the category of the third class house by the Irish Census Commissioners of 1841 which describes it as being 'built of mud but varying from two to four rooms and windows'.[10] Even though this farmhouse is

5 Ciara Breathnach, *The Congested Districts Board, 1891-1923*, (Dublin, 2005), p. 111. According to Breathnach this tiered system was applied to the west of Ireland and the third class occupier was the most common in the congested districts.

6 David Seth Jones, *Graziers, Land Reform and Political Conflict in Ireland*, (Washington DC, 1995), p. 240. However the author adds that even though the labourer and small farmer of Leinster 'did not experience the extreme poverty of the western smallholders they were curtailed by the huge farms of the cattle graziers'. Ranchers or cattle graziers were seen as the only 'class of large farmer' in Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century and generally they had holdings of 150-200 acres or more and were valued at £50 and above, *Ibid.*, p. 1.

7 Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'The Bothán Scóir', in Etienne Rynne (ed.), *North Munster Studies: Essays in Commemoration of Monsignor Michael Moloney*, (Limerick, 1967), p. 496. According to the author the 'mass of landless labourers was exploited; their cabins, their potato garden and their bits of conacre were let to them at a high rate of rent' by the farmer. Class distinction is also referred to by Breathnach, *The Congested Districts Board 1891-1923*, p. 44.

8 Frederick H.A Aalen, 'The Rehousing of Rural Labourers in Ireland under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883 -1919', in *Journal of Historical Geography* 12, 3 (1986), p. 288.

9 *Ibid.*

10 The Census Commissioners (1841-1911) classified dwelling houses under four headings 'in the lowest, or fourth class, were comprised all mud cabins having only one room; in the third, a better description, still built of mud, but varying from two to four rooms and windows; in the second, a good farmhouse ... having from five to nine rooms and windows; and in the first, all houses of a better description than the preceeding classes', *Census of Ireland*, (1851) quoted in Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'The Bothán Scóir', in Etienne Rynne (ed.), *North Munster Studies: Essays in Commemoration of Monsignor Michael Moloney*, p. 489.

classified as a 'mud cabin' in the census, it was comfortable and afforded substantial living space to its tenants.[11] The earliest written record of Ballythomas house is in *Griffith's Valuation* of 1851; John Driscoll is entered as the occupier of the house and John Hearne, Esq. as the landlord.[12] The occupier's plot amounted to 38 acres with an annual net value of £30 10s. Given the evidence from *Griffith's Valuation*, the occupiers of Ballythomas were leasing land above 30 acres, which meant they belonged to the 'middling tenants' class, otherwise known as 'thirty-acre men'. The middle or strong farmer generally lived in quite a comfortable thatched house with three or more rooms and usually valued at £4.[13] When John Driscoll leased this house in the early-nineteenth century, it was a small farmer's house, which is evident in *Griffith's Valuation* as the house was valued at £2.[14]

Ballythomas Farm

Out offices

However, there is evidence within the yard itself which suggests a desire on the part of the tenants to improve the function and status of the farm. Ballythomas farm had a haggard, an orchard, and stone piers and even incorporated a wrought iron gate. But the most crucial evidence of the improvements made were the erection of two large sized outhouses in 1881[15] (Plate 1). These outhouses were an unusual addition to the holding due to the general fear held by occupiers that landlords would raise rents due to improvements made.[16] In some counties, landlords contributed to improvements but in others the onus was on the tenant. Landlords sometimes provided materials such as timber and slate or gave an allowance toward buying lime or they applied for public works grants on behalf of tenants conducting arterial drainage.[17]

11 Frederick H.A Aalen, 'The Rehousing of Rural Labourers in Ireland under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1883-1919', in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 12, 3 (1986). Aalen notes that 'census enumerators used the term "mud cabin" for the poorest category of houses but it was not wholly appropriate since the houses were made of a variety of materials and some large, tasteful farmhouses were built with tempered clay'.

12 Waterford City Council Library, *Griffith's Valuation*, Microfiche 9, p. 45; Lindsay Proudfoot, 'The Estate System in Mid-Nineteenth Century County Waterford', in W. Nolan and T. P. Power (eds.), *Waterford, History and Society*, (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), p. 524. Hearne was a landlord of a small estate with per annum value in rents that came to £929.

13 Jack Burtchaell, 'A Typology of Settlement and Society in County Waterford', in W. Nolan and T.P. Power (eds.), *Waterford, History and Society*, p. 563.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 564.

15 The date of 1881 is clearly marked on both buildings.

16 Barbara Lewis Solow, *The Land Question and Irish Economy, 1870-1903*, (Cambridge, 1971), p. 85. Solow suggests that cases were recorded of rent-raising by landlords on tenant's improvements.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 77-8. Solow quotes a Poor Law Inspector, who in 1870 reported that on large estates in Sligo, Roscommon and Tipperary improvements were jointly made between landlord and tenant.

The first of these outhouses is a long rectangular outbuilding at the rear of the house and the second is a barn that was built on the west side of the house. Both buildings are solid constructions and in immaculate condition with slate roofs and stone walls. While no records exist of who carried out the building work, the neat stonework and intricate timber rafters inside both buildings indicate they were built by skilled craftsmen. Inside the barn there is a small timber loft constructed at the end wall opposite the door. This loft served as extra living space for the expanding family and for the casual farm labourers who worked during the annual threshings.[18]

The farmhouse

The location of a house in rural Ireland in the nineteenth century inevitably determined the class of house, as cottiers and small holders built their homes out of readily available materials such as timber, sods and thatch for the roof and mud for the walls.[19] The area known as the 'Golden Vale', on the County Tipperary/Waterford border, was according to Christopher Lynch the most fertile region of the country, and there the strong farmer built accommodation, which was the finest in Ireland. In the tradition of the long single-story thatched house they were 'spacious and well built'.[20] Compared with the west of Ireland these houses were of a much higher standard and quality which reflected a more prosperous rural economy. The Ballythomas dwelling is a long thatched building which is one room deep. The full length of the house is 59.8 feet long and is approximately 17.3 feet wide. In contrast, the most common style of house in the poor region of the congested districts in the west had two rooms and was 30 feet long.[21]

Internally the house is divided into three main sections; parlour, kitchen and the end section is sub divided into two bedrooms and a bathroom (previously the dairy) (Figure 1).

In the late 1960s the sash windows and front door were replaced and during this work it became evident that the house had been built in two different periods; the most recent section of the house being the parlour.[22] The walls, which are 2.2 feet thick, are made of stone and mud and are white-washed with lime both inside and out. Over the years this white-wash has built up on some of the walls to a thickness of 2 to 3 inches.[23] There are four windows of similar size in the front of the house, and one window in the back. The present thatch on the house consists of reed but

18 The owner, 2 December 2003; entries of the threshing of oats were written into a Common Place Book. The Common Place Book was a record of all produce and livestock that was sold or bought at markets and shops.

19 Ciara Breathnach, *The Congested Districts Board, 1891-1923*, p. 44.

20 Christopher Lynch, 'The Bunratty Folk Park', in Etienne Rynne (ed.), *North Munster Studies: Essays in Commemoration of Monsignor Michael Moloney*, p. 501.

21 Ciara Breathnach, *The Congested Districts Board, 1891-1923*, pp. 43- 44. The Congested Districts under the 1891 Land Purchase (Ireland) Act included the counties Donegal, Sligo, Galway, Leitrim, Roscommon, Kerry and the west riding of Cork.

22 The owner, 2 December 2003.

23 *Ibid.*

Plate 2: East facing gable. (Photographed by author, 2003).

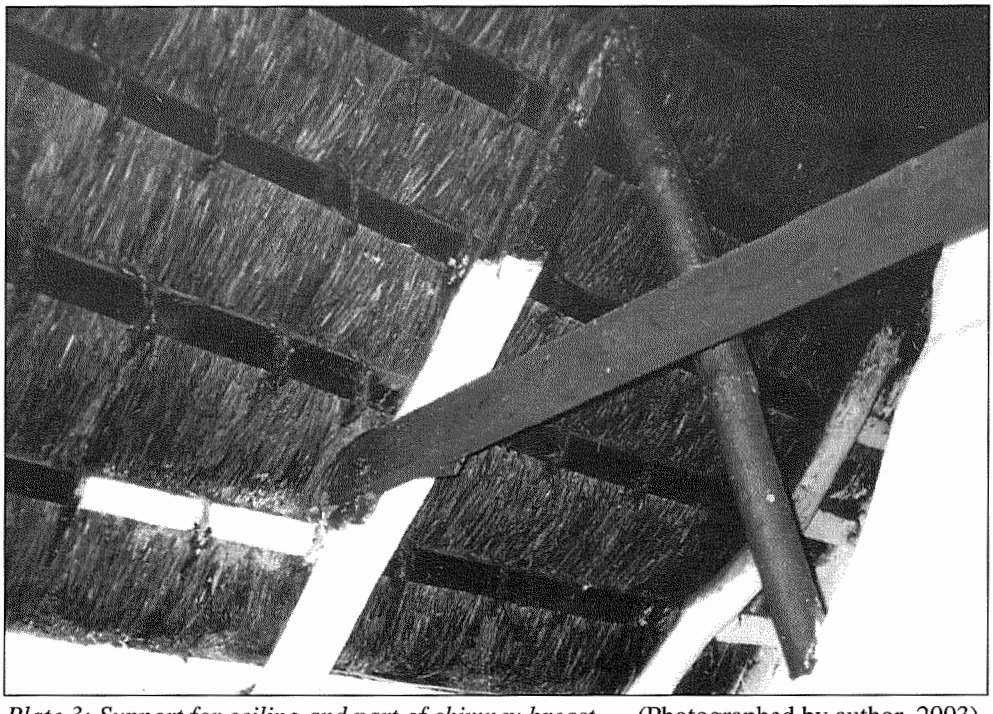


Plate 3: Support for ceiling and part of chimney breast. (Photographed by author, 2003).

in the late nineteenth century it was constructed from wheat straw, which was grown on the land.[24] Less enduring but readily available materials like rushes, bent grass, bracken, heather and potato stalks were used on the smaller cabins of the cottier.[25] The thatching on the roof in Ballythomas was secured with scallops, light sticks which were split down the middle lengthways, and this technique was common in east Munster. The gable end of the house facing the lane, or east-facing gable has a window on the ground floor and a smaller window above, due to the loft inside which begins at the end of the kitchen. Further structural modifications on the exterior of the house include the renovation of the hip roof to gable when it was re-thatched about ten years ago (Plate 2).

The ceiling in the kitchen is open and reveals the underside of the thatch. Double twisted straw ropes are used to secure the thatch to the wooden beams. This 'sewing' of the first layer of straw to the timber was another characteristic particular to houses in east Munster and south Leinster.[26] Two cross beams run at either end of the kitchen, which secures the rafters. Extra support for the ceiling is given by a large bough, which is secured onto the chimney breast (Plate 3). The kitchen floor is cement, and a combination of redbrick and flagstones were placed in the recess of the fireplace.

The hearth, which is at floor level, is 7 feet long with a brace of about 5 feet and the chimney vent is made of red brick.[27] There is a baking oven on the left side of the hearth and it has its own small cast iron chimney[28] (Plate 4). According to Alan Gailey, a built-in oven originates from imposed aristocracy from the fifteenth century onwards, especially in the north and the southeast of Ireland. The built-in oven was mainly found in farmhouses but not in cottiers' dwellings.[29] Gailey and other scholars have continuously emphasised the importance of the hearth in the rural Irish dwelling for the 'focus of life' within the house.[30] In Ballythomas the hearth is still the focus of the house and supplies the only source of heating.

A loft runs from the end of the kitchen to the east end gable wall and is accessed by a small, steep stairs built against the cross wall, near the front door. There is simple ornamentation in the wooden trim underneath the small platform at the door entering the loft (Plate 5). The striking feature of this loft stairs is that it bears a resemblance to a similar dwelling in Dunabrattin, County Waterford

24 *Ibid.*

25 Alan Gailey, *Rural Housing in Ulster in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, (Belfast, 1974), p. 4.

26 David Shaw Smith, *Ireland's Traditional Crafts*, (London, 1984), p. 131.

27 Alan Gailey, ' Kitchen Furniture', in *Ulster Folklife* xii (1966), p. 18. According to Gailey the 'traditional Irish hearth on, or sometimes now near to, floor level originated almost certainly from a hearth free-standing in the centre of the floor area and not against one of the walls of the dwelling'.

28 The owner, 2 December 2003.

29 Alan Gailey, 'Kitchen Furniture', in *Ulster Folklife* xii (1966), p. 19. Gailey also includes the settlements in Ulster and in his research came across five houses, which had ovens built into the hearth area.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

reviewed by A.T Lucas in his article in the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* in 1982.[31] The stairs in Dunabrattin leads to a loft and is located in the same position (the kitchen) as Ballythomas. Both have retained their original features and it appears it was a trademark of the strong farmer's house in the Golden Vale. The addition of a loft in a house, which created a separate sleeping area and more space, was greatly approved of by the nineteenth-century tourists Mr. and Mrs. S.C. Hall. In their book about their travels around Ireland from 1841 to 1843, they made some observations about the living conditions and accommodation of the Irish rural peasant. In their opinion it was the responsibility of the landlord to provide decent dwellings for their tenants and had to include 'clean and separate sleeping accommodation ... essential to the comfort, the health, the safety and the morals of the poor'.[32] The loft in Ballythomas is an undivided space, which is currently used for storage, with a small window on the gable wall. The original hip roof would have sloped upwards from each side to clear the top of the window.[33] The underneath of the thatch in the loft is lined with timber boards.

The fireplace extends the greater width of the kitchen and a doorway between it and the front wall of the house leads into the parlour. There is a smaller fireplace in the parlour, which is at the back of the kitchen fireplace. The ceiling in the parlour is made from tongue and groove timber boards and the walls in this room are covered by wall paper. By the early twentieth century the parlour signalled a change in the attitude to the use of space. Rather than every inch of the house being used in the most pragmatic way, the construction of a parlour space represented a shift in tastes and styles. This room was only used for special occasions; it housed the most ornamented furniture.[34] Even though Gailey claims that there is no definite pattern in regard to rural housing development he does suggest that local gentry or professionals influenced new styles in the houses of the tenantry.[35] The construction of a parlour was a symbol of the upwardly mobile strong farmer.[36] The centrality of the kitchen to provide space for sleeping, cooking and warmth was superseded, which highlighted the changes in attitude that occurred after the famine.[37] In

31 A.T. Lucas, 'Houses with Decorative Roof Linings at Dunabrattin and Ballynakill, Co. Waterford', in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* xxiv (1982), p. 84.

32 Mr. and Mrs. S.C. Hall, quoted in Alan Gailey, *Rural Housing in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, p. 3.

33 A.T. Lucas, 'Houses with Decorative Roof Linings at Dunabrattin and Ballynakill, Co. Waterford', in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* xxiv (1982), p. 84. The house in Dunabrattin kept the original hip gable which shows a slope above the loft window. If it was not sloped 'the thatch ... carried across horizontally at the level of the front and back eaves of the house ... would cut off approximately half the window'.

34 Alan Gailey, 'Some Developments and Adaptations of Traditional House Types', in Caoimhín Ó Danachair (ed.), *Folk and Farm: Essays in Honour of A.T. Lucas*, (Dublin, 1976), p. 69.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

36 Jack Burtchaell, 'A Typology of Settlement and Society in County Waterford', in W. Nolan and T.P. Power (eds.), *Waterford, History and Society*, p. 564.

37 Alan Gailey, 'Some Developments and Adaptations of Traditional House Types', in Caoimhín Ó Danachair (ed.), *Folk and Farm: Essays in Honour of A.T. Lucas*, p. 67.

Ballythomas the addition of a parlour was permitted as there was extra sleeping space with both lofts in the house and in the barn.

By the end of the nineteenth century commercial household paints became more readily available which turned the fashion away from the traditional wood graining used on furniture to brightly coloured 'two toned' combinations. Traditionally these colour schemes usually changed from room to room.[38] In Ballythomas the kitchen furniture, doors and stairs are painted in red and cream, while in the parlour the colour scheme is a combination of dark and light blue. According to Claudia Kinmonth 'two-toned' colours accentuated the function of the dresser as an important aesthetic focal point for the display of its wares.[39] The dresser, along with the 'clevy' dresser[40] and other cupboards, in Ballythomas were painted in cream and a very striking red and placed at the back wall of the kitchen facing the front door (Plate 6). The half dresser is pinned to the wall with the use of metal spikes. The display of the wares on this dresser adheres to custom with the largest of the plates placed on the very top shelf and smaller plates on the lower shelves. Plates and cups used for everyday meals were kept in a separate press, a tradition which was carried out in many other farmhouses around Ireland.[41] The importance of furniture in this house suggests a tradition that included the workmanship of family members. There was a small stool by the fireplace that was made specifically for the children.[42] The small four-legged stool sat snugly beside the fan belt of the bellows and the person turning the wheel was at the right level for the handle.

In the parlour there is a chest that was used as storage for clothes, blankets and other paraphernalia including family photographs (Plate 7). This type of 'dowry' chest was most commonly used in the southern counties of Waterford, Wexford and Kilkenny. A dowry chest was associated with the nineteenth-century social marriage custom and was filled with items such as linen, frieze, thread, wool and blankets that a new bride brought with her as part of a dowry.[43] The dowry chest in Ballythomas has a sloping lid similar to a 'meal' chest and the unusual feature of raised bracket feet. Meal chests held flour, meal and other grains and it was usually kept in the kitchen. These chests were of a plainer design with no drawers but had

38 Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture, 1700-1950*, (London, 1993), p. 27.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 190. According to Kinmonth, 'clevy', (as a word and an object) was transferred by early planter settlers from England and Wales, which means a beam or shelf over a fireplace. In Ireland, clevy originally meant a spit rack and combined shelf or shelves for storage. It is a piece of furniture, which has adapted differently from region to region within Ireland and in Munster a clevy resembles a hanging dresser, a square shape with shallow shelves surmounted by a cornice.

41 Alan Gailey, 'Kitchen Furniture', in *Ulster Folklife* xii (1966), p. 22.

42 The owner, 2 December 2003.

43 Historian Timothy O' Neill quoted in Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture, 1700-1950*, p. 146. According to Kinmonth the dowry chest was 'a transitory stage in evolution towards the chest of drawers. However, the chest of drawers never became a typical part of traditional vernacular furnishings in Ireland'.

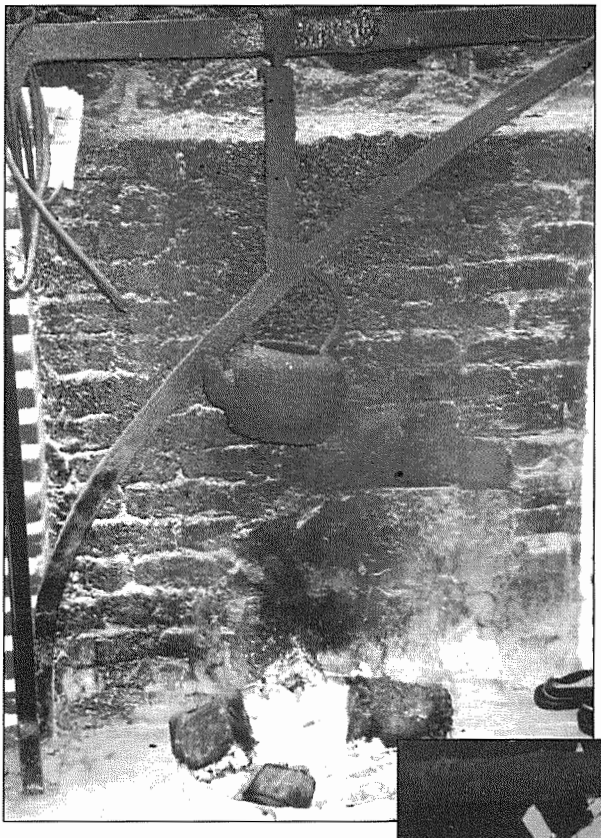


Plate 4: Hearth.
(Photographed by author, 2003).

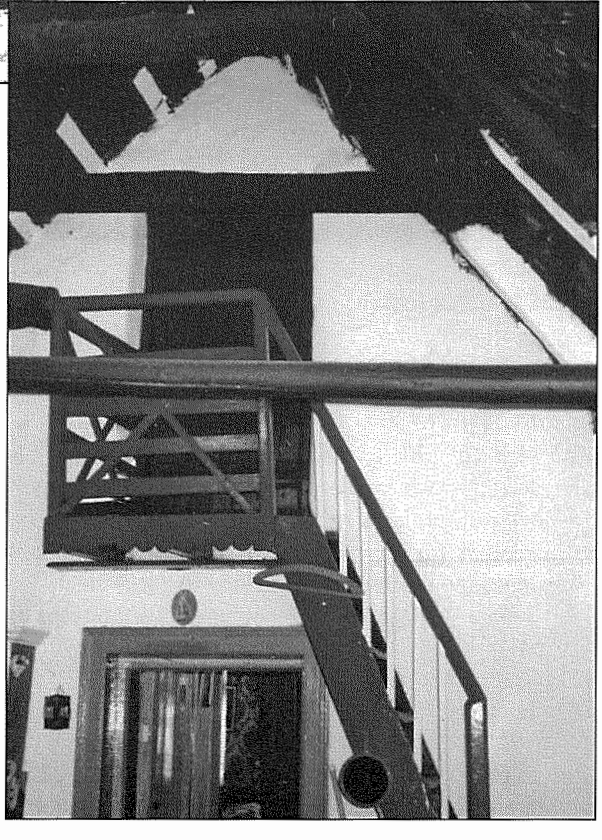


Plate 5: Loft stairs in the kitchen.
(Photographed by author, 2003).

a distinctive sloping top, which prevented objects being placed on it. Much time and effort went into the making of these artisan dowry chests and Kinmonth states that this was a reflection of their prized position in the household. The careful attention that went into the decorative details like the carving of false fronts and classical pilasters was a deliberate act to make them appear more expensive.[44] Due to the fact that these chests at times held money and other valuables they were sturdily built in dovetail construction (subsequently hidden by paintwork), which increased their security.[45] They were also built in two separate parts for easy transportation. However; the chest in Ballythomas is in one whole piece. The bottom drawer, which extends the full length of the chest in Ballythomas can open, but the top four drawers are false. The drawers were fitted with white porcelain handles and it was fitted with two locks, one on the bottom drawer and the other for the lid.

In the same room there is a 'ware press', or alternatively known as the 'three corner press' and due to its unique shape and decorative quality, this cupboard was known to be found in more substantial farmhouses. The special china was displayed in the ware press in the parlour. This type of display cabinet probably filtered down to the rural class from the houses of the gentry and many of these cabinets have the fashionable astragal glazed display with thirteen glass panels.[46] In the Ballythomas cabinet, the doors open out to reveal the inner shelves which are emphasised by a decorative 'shell' framework. These types of cabinets were sometimes built permanently into the corners of the parlour, and this enabled a minimum amount of materials needed for the shelves and doors.[47]

Conclusion

This unique rural farmhouse still possesses a lot of the original features from the nineteenth century and has also maintained strong cultural traditions in terms of function, especially, in the layout of the kitchen furniture and the refined use of the parlour. The emphasis is still on the hearth and the centre of the kitchen is 'clutter' free from furniture. The kitchen table is pushed back against the wall under the half dresser and the chairs are arranged around the hearth. The placement of the dresser, which is directly opposite the front door, is an unusual position. A more popular place for the dresser was either facing the fireplace or placed against a gable or partition wall.[48] Many of the architectural features of the house are in good condition and have been left in their original state. The stairs, hearth, furniture and the underneath of the thatch have been relatively untouched since the nineteenth century. Any modern changes that have been carried out are of a purely functional nature, which include electricity, running water, a bathroom and the instalment of a phone.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 146. The dovetail joint is noted for its resistance to being pulled apart and is commonly used to join the sides of a drawer to the front.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 136.

47 *Ibid.*

48 Frederick H.A. Aalen, 'Furnishings of Traditional Houses in the Wicklow Hills', in *Ulster Folklife* xiii (1967), p. 63. This could simply be a personal preference by the owner to place the dresser against the back wall or dictated by local custom.

Acknowledgements
The author wishes to thank the owners for their kind help in recording the house, to Richard Brazil for the preparation of the drawings, and to Dr. Ciara Breathnach who gave comments on the final drafts of this article,

Plate 6: Kitchen dresser.
(Photographed by author, 2003).

Plate 7: Dowry chest in parlour.
(Photographed by author, 2003).

Letters from Francis Drew to John O'Donovan, 1861

Michael Herity

Francis Drewe and his wife Marianne took up teaching posts at Ringville National School on July 1st 1852, Francis as Principal Teacher. Both were trained teachers who had been teaching at Durrow, Co. Laois. We print below, with comment, the surviving part of a correspondence he conducted with John O'Donovan, the Celtic scholar, who was a native of Slieverue Parish.

In Letter 11 of the correspondence, dated 28th May 1861, Francis Drewe stated that he was then 37 years old and that he had been teaching in National Schools for fourteen years, apparently since 1847, when he was aged 23. He retired on 27th May 1879, died the following day and was buried at Slieverue.

1. Drew to O'Donovan 5 01 61

Ringville, Waterford
5th January 1861

My very dear Sir,

I received your very kind note of 29th December in due time; as also the accompanied drawing of the armorial bearings of my family as a new-years gift, from my unknown friend your second son Edmond. How at all can I thank for the kindness of you and family. I wish I were a Lord this minute, that I might in some substantial manner express the extent of my gratitude; how low, how feeble; how inadiquate anything I can say is to convey the extent of my feelings. Surely, "come weal", "come woe" *we* cannot forget this great kindness. And since you have done so much, perhaps, you could make off the satisfactory or real translation of the Motto.

It is probable those of the name who now rank among the Aristocracy can fully explain it: such as Francis Drewe, Drewsborough Limerick, or Francis Drewe, Lismore [2] Waterford or perhaps Doctor Drewe Belfast. These, I believe, all belong to the favoured creed. The ancestry of my family a century or more ago were proprietors in fee or at a nominal rent of the hill of Crohane Co Tipperary, between Kilenaule and Baltingany. In 1777 my grandfather Denis Drewe of Crohane ~~was~~ was married to a Miss Carey sister to the parish priest of Drangan in which parish Crohane is situated, not exactly 1777 but I now recollect it was some twenty or thirty years prior. All my family have come down since considerably in worldly circumstances; and I am now at my own humble occupation.

I well recollect being at the funeral of the late Edmond O'Donovan, Peter Street Waterford. It was the largest funeral I had seen since the famine; and I also recollect he was sincerely regretted. I was in and talking to his wife and family at Peter Street Waterford on yesterday, from which visit I find they are great friends and admirers of you. I also found Mrs. O'Donovan has been somewhat angry with you for not coming down to Edmond's funeral. I suggested you may not be at home, she made no reply. Edmond and you were such friends she said. I again said you must not be at home. She said, perhaps so.

[3] She is doing remarkably well at her business and has educated her family so far well. I should say ornamentally. The eldest is married to a Mr. Grant, Captain and owner of a vessel, he carries on the most lucrative business in Waterford in the sail-making way; she has two more nice young women, and a young one, five years of age, whom you have never seen. The eldest son, John, is in his last year at the foundry serving to be an engineer, a very good boy. Patrick is now at Saint John's College, Waterford, at Classics and Mathematics; he was some time at Mount Mellary the rest at some of the junior private schools in town. I think this Patrick is intended for the Church, though, his sisters tell me they think he has not a vocation that way he is the most careful about business in the house.

I think Mrs. Donovan has an independent competency for all her children; they are a most dutiful family; they are a credit to her. Perhaps, I ought suggest, I know she would be very glad to have a correspondence with you respecting the future of her children. Patrick is 15 years of age. I think she would be very anxious to make a Priest of him. She has seven in family.

[4] I am very glad to find that you have high hopes of getting rid of your disease without a medical operation. I believe you were justified in not submitting to it; nature can do things better, and shame on her if she does not come quickly to the aid of you, we would all be very grateful to her. Some how or other I feel satisfied she will stand by you. Good luck to her then.

Thank you for the suggestions on the boy O'Neil; fifty nine times in fifty nine days I hear from the good folks here, thrilling anecdotes of Wexford in '98, and the battle of Ross. The precise spot, nay the exact stone on which the helm struck "of such a large gun-boat! ["] They continually refer me to Poll Gaul, for a verification, if I have any misgivings. They tell me Poll is now 113 years old. She is jolly and healthy and rosy and hearty.

I have the honor to remain

Your ob^{t} serv^{t},

Francis Drewe

2. Drew to O'Donovan 8 01 61

[1] Ringville, 8th. Jany. 1861.

1. How many generations of her ancestors does she remember? Could she tell when she was married?

1. Two. Father and grandfather. She was married twice, 1st. to Thomas Quane, 2nd. to John Lyons, both from the neighbourhood of the Ferry here. What is very strange she cannot tell the exact times. She thinks to Quane about ~~1786~~.

2. What was the name of her father and mother? Where did they reside? And what branch of the Gauls are they of? Am I to understand that she is a Gall herself or only the wife of a Gall?

2. Jack Gall and Margaret Kelly. Margt. Kelly was from Kilmurray near Mile-post. They lived at Ballinvoher to the right of Mile-post going to Waterford. She always heard they were the oldest stock in the parish. She is a Gall herself ~~son to~~ daughter to the said Jack.

3. Where did her grandfather live and when did he die? Who was he married to? Can she go farther back in her genealogy?

3. He lived at Belmont or Ballyrobin at the rear of Sir Henry W. Barrons, can't say when he died. Mary Something was grandmother's name, can't recollect it. Can go no further back than grandfather. *

4. Does Poll remember Revd. Ed. Donovan. P.P. Kilmacow? If so, when did he die? And how many brothers and sisters had he?

4. Remembers him well, and remembers his death; but cannot now recall the date, don't know how many brothers and sisters he had?

5. Does she remember Anna Mór Donovan of Ferrybank? Who was she married to?

5. Recollects having heard of her but can't tell anything about her.

6. Does Poll remember any families of the Galls to whom she was related?

6. She is related to Richard Gaul of Drumdowney, and his brother at the horse-barracks, Waterford, they are his brother's children. She is also related to the Galls of Mullinaharagle, beyond Glenmore.

II Tom Quan 1st husband was from Butlerstown, where Bakus lives now. Poll was married to him about 1778. Butlerstown is three or four miles from Waterford in the Co. Waterford.

[CLOSE UP. MH]

* Walter Gall was her grand-father's name.

[2] [*Written in great haste*:]
Dear Sir,

I received your's of yesterday's date on this morning, and am just now after returning from Poll's and taking down from her the foregoing replies. She tells (me) that if she had thought she would be asked the foregoing queries, there is no doubt but she could get correct replies to every one of them; the old people she says are all gone now who could answer them. I believe so.

She was not without enquiring when is the war to be which is to be ended here at the Ferry, and the Barrow to overflow its banks with dead *sogers*, she wonders will that flood throw down her house? She pointed out to me gawrdeen a Galla[1] just opposite the old Castle door at Ballinlaw do you recollect? the field to the north of the Castle is the one where the battle is to be ended, everyone here call it gawrdeen a campa, the Camp Garden. The people also say they had heard a Cottage would be built over the ferry at the Co. Kilkenny side, and that a foxy man, lame of one hand, would live at the ferry. the cottage is in it and so is the lame man, James Walsh; these incidents have a singular effect on the minds of the people here. What can be said of all the prophecys or how did they take their rise?

Is it not a pity that there is not some annalist or historian of biography in every parish or barony at least.

[3] If it were suggested to the clergy to keep such, it might to posterity, be of advantage, at all events it would, to the antiquarian afford infinite source of gratification, as well as, in many instances throw light on different subjects, by interspersing, indirect or collateral occurrences, with their dates. The backward localities of Ireland are sadly deficient in having notable characters or deeds duly registered, for I take it for granted, every county or part of a county, has its own wonders of ~~Art~~ Nature and ~~Nature~~ Art.

There could be many educated persons, through Ireland, found, who are now old and who have, I am quite certain, information well worth transmitting to posterity. By the way I have seen "The lovely Kate of Garnavilla" the other day driving in her little phaeton. She is mother to Captain Fitzgerald who now lives at Sir Henry's place Belmont Ferrybank; she also lives there. She is the most worn person I have ever looked at, she is a score years older than Poll. I stared her, I could not help it, and I involuntarily said ["]She is lovely [4] Kate, she is charming Kate, She is lovely Kate of Garnavilla." I think she had no right to discard that Officer, but she was so Irish she would marry none else than an Irishman. I believe Garnavilla is near Dublin some where.

I am told there is a very old man at Ballykeoghan near Kilmacow by name John O'Reilly. Probably he could give some acc^{t}. of Rev^{d}. E. O'Donovan. This man is near a hundred. Old Walter Reilly from Ballyroughra near this place ought have some information of old times. I don't know is he intelligent? he seems old. Revd. Doctor Lour christened Poll Gall, he is interred near Glenmore in that little church where we interred the last of the Foristals from Rochestown, they are Extinct now except a nun in Dublin. She was first married to an attorney. I forget his name. he died.

1 Gawrdeen a Galla is Gall's Garden.

Hoping you, Master Edmond
and entire family are well,
I have the honor to be your best servt.
Francis Drewe

J. O'Donovan Esqr.

[*Note at L. side of page 2, landscape*:] gawrdeen a Galla is Gall's garden. he was a merchant from Waterford who kept Ballinlaw.

3. F Drew to JOD 25 0l 61

Ringville, Ferry Bank,
Waterford,
Friday 25th Jany. 61

My dear Sir,

Long before I had the honor of a friendly correspondence with you, I thought you, above any other person in Ireland, were eminently entitled to, from your services to Modern as well as to Antiquarian Literature, to a Sinecure from our Government. It would do credit to our Statesmen as well as honor to Literature. Thomas Moore, had he not got it? Revd Theobald Mathew, had he not got it? And our Irish novelist, Carleton, does he not now enjoy it? And these each and every one, have they not obtained it for services to humanity and country.

I have been latterly putting these these [*sic*] [thoughts] through my mind, and I said I would transmit you a scroll on the subject; and since great things often take their rise from small beginnings, I said who knows but it would set you thinking and then [2] perhaps, ultimately, something would be done. For the sake of your family, as also your own declining life, you ought get this suggested, by some friend to be sure, in high quarters. I just think now of the O'Donohoe; from his contact with Tipperary, there must be something sterling in him, but no, from his politics Government will not, I opine, do much for him. Well then, what do you say to Waldron, he stands pretty high in that quarter. For some reason nor another I have a presentiment that if things were handled properly you would in a very short time be in the enjoyment of what, I am certain, would give great gratification to our countrymen, and to none more than myself. Nay, to enhance it, I would, some fine evening, take a stride into old Poll Gaul, and if possible wheedle her out of the Elixir by which she has so perfectly managed to prolong her existence, and indeed Sir, you would be the very first who would, from me, have the benefit of this superb panacea.

Talking of Old Poll, do you think would Government do any thing to make the end [3] of her days more comfortable. The Missioners at the Wexford side of the Barrow have almost totally stopped drinking and therefore very considerably interfered with Poll's domestic arrangements, indeed I was very sorry to hear her ejaculations respecting these Revd. Gentlemen uttered, I can assure you, in a tone not very remarkable for its odour of sanctity. She frequently talks about Columbkille's prophecy, and wants to find out from me do I think the war will tear down her caravansary.

Now, again, I would be very interested in hearing of your present state of health. I hope the great clear up of the weather today has its due effect and pleasing news for you.

I have heard from an old woman here that the Revd. Edmond O'Donovan P.P. of Kilmacow was a great Hygeist to whom patients came from the whole province of Munster and Leinster too, and also that his Hygean book was got by a proctor in

the discharge of his holy duty in some place about Mullinavat and that he too became celebrated

[4] This clergy man too had a sister whose virtue and charms were celebrated by some poet of the time and at the end of every verse was "Bhrid gal O'Donovan". It was the mug and pot song some half century ago in the golden vale of Iverk. I could get no word of the song but the above. I need scarcely say it was in Irish.

Your friends[2] here are all well, though some woman of the name was interred yesterday at Dunkit. I think her name was Mrs. Dunphy.

I have two little boys in the school at present in the mere rudiments, but very promising. They are sons of Patrick O'Donovan Slieverue. They have a genius [for] Music, both though small played "[Pop] goes the Weasel" on my old violin today. I have very good hopes of them. I have just written this at 12 o'clock play hour and now conclude by remaining as ever,

Your sincere well-wisher
Francis Drewe

J. O'Donovan Esq

2 Here and occasionally used to mean 'relatives'.

4. F Drew to JOD 29 01 61

Waterford
Ringville. Ferry Bank
29th January 1861

Dear Sir,

I received yours of 27th inst. on yesterday and I feel sorry and much disappointed in finding you so deliberately state that "you are doomed to hard labor as long as you are able." I felt such a thing would be almost impossible and still hope you will be as much disappointed as I was on reading your statement.

That would be very bad treatment to literature and talent as well as being totally unjust. I recollect the late F.H. Devereux, Ringville, who succeeded Lady Esmond here, stating in the school some four years ago, that it was his opinion, there would be very little difficulty in your obtaining an Annuity of £300 per annum as a sinecure to which you were eminently entitled. He was [2] a student of T.C.D. himself and I thought well-qualified to give an opinion on the subject, and I also recollect him stating you would have the interest of the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Carlisle.

I was of opinion, this time past, the matter remained too long unbroached and therefore took the liberty of offering the suggestions contained in my last note to you. Now, I would wish for the sake of your family, that yourself and some friends to be depended on – of whom I dare say you must have many – would leave no stone unturned as the saying is, and make an effort or as O'Connell used to say, give a strong pull, a long pull and a pull together. The Earl of Carlisle, is he not an Educationist and one I venture to assert who knows your merits. Could you not calculate on his merits in behalf of justice being done.

I was thinking it would [3] be prudent to keep quiet in politics and that perhaps it would be well to delay the paper on the execution of Sir Brian O'Rourke at Tyburn, and also for your life to keep the state secrets to yourself, dangerous ground Sir, think of your interesting family.

But if you were forgotten in one quarter I hope the country will not be so unkind. I have been turning over in my mind latterly, that there would be sufficient materials in your possession for a Biography of yourself. Your sons, or one of them, could string the incidents together with narrative ~~or some ether style and~~ I feel quite certain such a work would be extensively read: of course not to be executed till the usual time.

But mind, I cannot give up the sinecure yet, for I believe there is no other literary person in Ireland has more friends both Catholic and Protestant and that all is required is to handle the subject properly.

I have the first No. of the Hibernian and have read another since. I am not a regular subscriber, though I called [4] the 2nd and 4th and sent 5th and 7th to Dawson's Quay Waterford for the January No. and could not get it. They had not them up they said, though they wrote, and I did not enquire since. I was astonished at

Duffy's enterprise particularly as the Corn-hill and different other periodicals were for sale at Waterford on the very first day in Jany. I will, however, make sure and get the next Nors. I sent word to old Walter O'Reilly last night and if he does not get one I shall send him mine. So thank you, you need not send one.

You are right Mrs. Dunphy was the millers sister, and by the bye she has a son who is the cleverest young man I have ever met with as a Singer and Actor. I have seen nothing at the Theatres in Dublin to compete with his pantomimic deportment and his thousand and one comic songs and his dance: he is a very smart and a handsome young man. Peter is his name.

And so that is the origin of "the Girl I left behind me" the favourite of all Musicians. I must try and get the details from the Miller. Dear if Carleton strung a Novel on that, he would make a fortune by the sale. Have you ever hinted at the thing? Perhaps the P.P. of Mullinavat could find the book of Father Francis which the Proctor got.

I remain yours very sincerely
F Drewe

J. O'Donovan Esqr &c.

5. F Drew to JOD 1 02 61

Ring Ville, Ferry Bank
Waterford, 1st Feby 1861

My Dear Doctor O'Donovan,

I acknowledge the receipt of yours of yesterday's date, enclosing your own note, the note of Ulster K. at Arms, and Count McDonnells letters, as also your pamphlet on the family of Gaul Burke of Gaulstown for which I am, and ever shall remain, exceedingly grateful. In fact I assure you, I am quite unnerved by your great kindness. My feelings and regard for you, and your interesting family are quite as ardent as those of any other of your friends; but I feel all this much below zero, and only as a *lever* of cotton thread which makes me entirely dissatisfied in my unfortunate abilities to serve my friends.

By your last I also see [2] my great hopes of the Sinecure has been blasted. Bad I---k to them; what excuses they give, they had plenty of it for other purposes. They, may, however, make up matters in another way. If they do not, they have the audacity of the *old boy*, himself.

I would again, my dear Sir, impress on you the propriety of acting with great prudence in the publishing of your Articles, not only for the cause of your own indipendent spirit; but lest any undue influence, may accrue from their production, that would blast the hopes, energies and future prospects of your fine boys. I perceive you can well bear any difficulties without much repining, but should you unintentionally be the cause of any malice kept against your boys, it would, I feel quite certain, grieve your after days, no less than theirs.

[3] I have not had time to more than glance at the pamphlet and notes. I will, I am certain, be much interested, particularly in the pamphlet. I never look at one of these old castles but I get sad by a remembrance of former times. I give myself a little credit for judgement respecting this old Castle of Ballinlaw, for when first I saw it, I said it should belong to a family of Warriors and I was not mistaken, it now appears. I am sure it was from that family we have "gaurdeen a galla" and ["]gaurdeen a Campa" which the peasants here connect with Columbkill's Prophecy.

When I read you pamphlet I shall walk every field here about this fine old istated Castle, with remembrances and thoughts of you. I am sorry it is going to ruins, for Paddy Heneberry manifestly takes no [4] interest in its preservation. The timber of its roof is now visible and the elements are doing their utmost in its annihilation.

Paddy Heneberry is one of the greatest men here now, he has bought out for ever, Ballinlaw from Chancery, not the Castle part, though he farms that as a tenant from the Ormond family, but from the lane down by the Rookery across to Polls and down to the stream at Ballynthumush; that stream which drives the mill you know; people say the old man Nick, who ~~was~~ was married to Kate Reilly got old Devereauxe's money the night he was shot [at Ring]vile about 98. Nick died last

January 12 months, but K. Reilly is alive still. Paddy has a daughter in the Convent at Gorey and he is sending a son to Kilkenny College. He Patt is married to one Shee, old Geoffrey's daughter, who headed the men at all the fights you recollect, the time of the white feet at Mullinavat & Carrick.

I will make all inquiries in my power about any writing of Father Francis, though since they failed you I have little hopes. I wish you get his genealogy. I will tell the Curate at Kimacow Rev[d] R Walsh a great friend of mine, to be on the look out.

Yours ever

F Drewe

J O'Donovan Esq.

6. F Drew to JOD 16 02 61

Ring Ville Ferry Bank,
Waterford Monday 16th Feby.
1861

Dear Doctor,

I acknowledge the receipt of your favour of 30th ultimo, containing the enclosed notes from Count Mc..... and the Ulster K., and also your pamphlet on the Gaul Bourke family; for all which I beg again to return you my sincere thanks.

The Count, it would appear, is your real and earnest friend, and well worthy of you. He is one of the ransacked families of poor Erin and the Celts, and is proud of the connexion, great and warlike spirit, I dare say. He thinks we shall have a troubled Europe and Austria is prepared to make another stand. France and Sardinia being now so powerful the contest must be awful in the extreme. This war is looked upon by Catholic Europe as the greatest scourge that possibly could be inflicted.

The note of the Ulster King at Arms is very creditable to my friend young Edmond, and [2] exactly coincides with my opinion; that he may gain battles and win laurels in his new vocation. If he take as standard the Gaul Burke of the Austrian and Polish Service, he will be well worthy of his country and of you.

And so Brien O'Rourke *is written and faith you'l* present it. Well! Well! In this age of deception it is gratifying to find even one noble mind, to stand by truth and candour, against all odds and every risk. It should be a d-nm-ble country and people that would not be proud of you. I am more than gratified. I am highly delighted, to have you declare there is great work in you.

Exactly that Paddy Henebry has now Ballinlaw castle, the original seat of Richard Gaul Burke O'Donovan. Paddy's father, Nicholas, but always known here by the name of Old Nick was a cowboy with the late Lady Esmond, and did not as you say know the letters of the Alphabet. The iron [3] box, a unique one and well worthy of the attention of the Artist; it is now in the possession of Matthew Devereaux Merchant Waterford, was thrown out of the window full of gold the night old Devereaux was killed; the murderers could neither break nor open it, yet, it was empty in the morning and every one here can tell the Heneberrys are rich since. Paddy the son paid some three thousands for Bardens Ballinlaw the other day.

I have written to the Revd. Richard Walsh, C. C. Kilmacow urging him in the strongest terms to use his endeavours in making off any writings or fragments of writings belonging to the late Revd. Mr. O'Donovan, and I have no doubt but he will comply. I drew his attention particularly to the genealogy. A very old man, now living here, but originally from Kilmacow, who knew this clergyman well, tells me that Matthew Leeche Proctor, from Killeen near Inistioge got one of his books when seizing for tithes and that he became celebrated in all the surrounding districts as a universal *curer* of almost all diseases. This Leeche's son lived later at Tullogher near New Ross and I will make further enquiries in that direction.

I have got and read Duffy's Hibemian. I read your article on the O'Reillys and believe the country could do without the Ulster King at Arms whilst we have you. Old Walter got it too and one of the farmers here tells me he (Old Walter) has a faint recollection of hearing that Myles the Slasher was near akin to his great grandfather, he is eternally grateful to you for drawing his attention to the noble stock of the O'Reillys, and wonders where in the world you found out all about them. By the way, you have always been reckoned here the greatest man in Ireland and therefore the richest.

Carleton is continually improving in his writings. I defy any man to read the old Minister's father's harum skarum and open-minded conversation with his sons particularly the minister (without being in roars of laughter) he was mightily in dread of too much *larnin* poor man!

I enclose you with thanks the two letters you sent in your last and Remain,

Yours sincerely,

F. Drewe

J. O'Donovan Esq.

7. F Drew to JOD 29 04 61

Ring Ville Ferry Bank
Waterford Monday 29th Apr 61

My very dear Doctor O'Donovan,

I received your's of 23rd inst. on the morning of the 25th by which I find you have put Edmond to search for the Armorial Bearings of the name Devereux and when found that he will paint them. Thank you. On the same day I received your's I communicated its contents to Mr Devereux and requested he would send me one pound to transmit to my friend Edmond, and it is only this minute I received a reply enclosing the pound which I now transmit to you for him. And I would add that it would be very gratifying [2] to me if Edmond would use his utmost skill and art in the painting of these Arms for Mr D----x; as I am quite certain he will be very glad to have this memento of his family to show to his many friends at Waterford; and it may perhaps be the means of getting a few more on similar terms that my friend Edmond may keep his hand from getting rusty in that line.

Perhaps Edmond could put on paper some sort of an epitome on the Devereux family, and transmit it to me in forwarding the Armorial Bearings, which he may as well transmit to me and I could forward ~~it~~ (them) to Mr D.

Wishing you on your tour a safe journey and conjenial companions.

I remain your sincere friend
F Drewe

J O'Donovan Esq.

[3] P.S. In your next ple[ase acknow*]ledge the receipt [---] which I enclose in th[...] (*torn)

8. F Drew to JOD 14 05 61

Ringville, Ferry Bank
Waterford. Tuesday 14th May 61

Dear Edmond,

[rest of letter below written backhand]

Our post-boy from Waterford passing here, has resigned, or has been made to resign. I am told there are letters missing and lost, hence my reason for writing this to you that I may find out am I on the list of those who have been deceived by the post-office authorities. If you will therefore by return of post let me know have you sent the Armorial Bearings and notice of the Devereux family to my address, as promised by your father. I feel quite uneasy lest they might have gone astray.

Yours very Sincerely
F Drewe

turn over

[3] I received a note and two papers from your father on 2nd May. The papers were on the lost and missing M.S.S. & pre-Christian notices of the Irish. I find since I began this that a new and trustworthy post-boy has been appointed so you may address your next thus.

F Drewe
Ringville, FerryBank
Waterford

[4] [in pencil, ? hand of a younger O'D son?]
How sweetly shines Diana's glittering beam
O'er Venice towers, so tranquil and serene.
The moon beams shimmer o'er its glassy deep.
The night winds fan the rippling wave to sleep.
How still it seems to what it was of yore.
To what it was, but will be now no more
+ 10 more lines]

9. F Drew to JOD at Belfast 18 05 61

Ring Ville, Ferry Bank
Waterford. 18th May 1861

My dear Doctor O'Donovan,

I received your note of 16th inst. on yesterday morning, dated Ulster Railway Hotel, Belfast; it contained a letter from the Under Secretary, a member of the police force, and one from your affectionate son Willy who, by the bye, can write a hand a great deal better than good. Sir, you owe a great deal to God, in my opinion, for having so super-excellent boys; they are indeed a blessing. May you be all long and happy with one another. And I am sure they are so affectionate that you make a model family.

The Under Secretary can afford to be quite indifferent about whether the Post-office authorities open his letters or not; for I think very few, if any, of these Officials can decipher them, [2] decidedly I can make out but a very odd word there and there. I wonder is he like a gentleman I knew in the Qns Co. He wrote me a letter which I could not read, and when I brought it to him, he very candidly and frankly declared he could not read it himself; he said his ideas were so quick that he put down what he thought they were on paper, and if I had seen him the day he wrote it he could certainly read it. I said that appeared to me very queer, and he said "so it was".

Mr O'Keefe seems much engaged concerning reminiscences of his ancestors. All our fine old families like the "O'Donnells in Exile," are much the worse for the wear. Notwithstanding, is it not strange how the mind likes to dwell on everything connected with the antecedents of one's family; no matter, how sad, sorrowful, and forlorn they have been; the information is always welcome.

[3] I am much obliged for a read of these letters you have sent me, and shall return them with the one from O'Donovan which I received some time before; they were to me a very great treat. I thank you again for them. I believe I forgot to acknowledge the papers by you on the Lost and Missing M.S.S. And also the Ante-Christian Notices. In reading these I was thinking you must have had a wonderful retention. I think I heard at one time you were remarkable for that; you must have a wonderfully clear perception: that is certain. Talking on this, – I am just now engaged reading Archbishop Whately's Logic. I only read the easy lessons on Reasoning before, so my information was necessarily very limited. I don't think a better work could be put into any ones hands than this from the Bishop of Dublin. Along with the science itself we find so much other useful information conveyed, and that not in an irrelevant manner, that one is more than delighted with the study. His *tree* of fallacy [4] is beautifully enchanting, where could so much knowledge, be got in one page? He gives an odd fling, bitter enough certainly, at us, the *Papists*, but most works, now a days, have such a salvo of that, that one does not mind an odd *squelch*.

How do you like the Northerns? Truly they cannot be cold now. I met some of my own class in Dublin, and they were very fine fellows. Take care and leave before the 12th of July. They actually run quite crazy, frantic and mad that time. One would think that his Infernal Majesty himself takes possession of their sense and reason; and faith I believe he does, if not, he most undoubtedly sends a confidant, very high in favour. For the life of you, Sir, leave before that time.

I remain your ever
Sincere and obliged friend
F Drewe

J O'Donovan Esqr. &c

10. F Drew to JOD 24 05 61

Ringville Ferry Bank
Waterford 24th May '61

Dear Doctor O'Donovan,

Fully believing that you would be glad to do me any service in your power, I transmit this note thinking that perhaps, from your connection with the Literati and great Ones of the day it may lie in your power to do so. I would be sorry to put you to any considerable trouble regarding me; I am sure, from your kindness and good nature, you would consider it no more than a labor of love.

I am led into this mode of thinking from seeing how successful and fortunate some of [2] my brethren have been; by reason of their having friends and well-wishers at the Fountain head.

There are many ways in which we, under the N--- Board, can be benefited. One is – an increase of salary; mine is now only £32: per annum, it could be raised to £52, which is the highest given to ordinary N. Schools. It is somewhat higher in the Model. Another is – good service pay, this would add £6 per annum to mine. Then there are premiums every year from £1 to £4 and besides we could be raised to Organizerships and Inspectorships with salaries varying from £150 to £400 per year.

As an instance T.W. Kavanagh, now of the C.M. was raised from being teacher to Head Inspector through the influence of the Earl of Carlisle when he was N. S---y and at that time Lord Morpeth. There are other similar instances, for example Mr Sheridan, formerly teacher of Tramore N. School, is now Head Inspector. The PP of Tramore made it a condition of his supporting the Model School at Waterford to get an Inspectorship for him. Mr Lalor from the neighbourhood of Glenmore or Rosbercon taught at Little George's Street, Waterford, he is now Inspector at Clonmel. Mr. Sheehy from Grague Co Kilkenny was teacher, he is now Inspector &c &c.

My District Inspector Mr M^{c}Loughlin is from the neighbourhood of Belfast, and my Head Inspector Mr Fleming is from Dublin. These two could give me any raise they please at all ease. What a pity I have not sufficient influence with him, or with one of the heads in Dublin whose request would be considered tantamount to a command.

I have the honor
To remain yours very sincerely
F Drewe

J O'Donovan Esq. &c &c

P.S. I transmit this by Dublin knowing it will be sent with your other correspondence. I posted one on Saturday last. The Coat of Arms has come to hand, it is wonderfully well done. Excuse the trouble. F.D.

11. F Drew to JOD 28 05 61

Ringville Fertybank
Waterford 28th May 1861

Dear Doctor O'Donovan,

I have just received your's of yesterday's date, and in reply I beg to state that I am exceedingly grateful for the kindness you evince towards me; and that you would bring, with pleasure, all your influence to bear in my favor is what I sincerely believe.

I am thirty-seven years of age and fourteen years teaching under the National Board Ireland, during which I have never got the slightest reprimand; by those who knew me it would be the last thing in the world given. I would not deserve it. Average attendance above requirement {outside}

My district I----r, James MacLachlin Esqr. Cove Cottage, Newtown, Waterford, has been to me a rather kind gentleman. I have got premiums from him on two occasions, the last on this very year, though I have made under him three attempts to get a lift on the scale of salaries and each time without success; others got on whom I had thought would have no chance, but then, on inquiry, I found there was considerable influence brought to bear. One of those who succeeded was from Summerville Tramore the seat of Chichester Fortescue M.P. This I-----r is at the moment in a great *hullabaloo* with the Board of Guardians of the Waterford Poor Law Union. He has been condemning the Female teacher, and the Guardians go right against him and utter all manner of things, undoubtedly, to his great chagrin. I am sorry for it.

T. G. Fleming Esqr. Mass Cottage Tramore is Head I-----r a good man I have heard, but extremely exacting and severe.

Since your intimacy with, and knowledge of these two Gentlemen are *nil*, it would not, I am convinced, be an easy matter – in other words it would be a difficult, if not impossible matter – to act with any considerable advantage in my favour, hence, I believe you ought not take any trouble regarding me. It would grieve me to have your trouble go for nought and your efforts defeated as they have been on a recent occasion. I would be entirely unwilling to put you to any such trouble, without some prospect of success.

The reason I wrote at all, was the great good I had seen effected by friendly influence with the Authorities, and I said who knows but you may have some down there, which would be of some advantage to me – most of these have friends and cronies on whom they bestow their favors and kindnesses, so that others are left to vegetate on barrenness. You know there is nothing easier than to give an excuse, even a plausible one, like that to your intimate friend, O'H---.

12. F Drew to JOD 15 08 61

Ringville Waterford
15th August 1861

Dear Doctor O'Donovan,

Having met with Mr. Devereux the other day at a funeral in Glenmore, he urged me very strongly, nay, he lay me under a perfect siege, that I might comply with his earnest request, and endeavour to obtain from Edmond some account of the Devereux family; of whose merits and virtues he has the highest opinions.

There is living, at present, it would appear, in the town of New Ross, Co. Wexford a rustic Antiquarian by name John Byrne, Rag and Bone Merchant; [2] he has in his possession a goodly number of Ancient Irish M.S.S. as well as, many other rare and valuable translations. When passing on the public car from Ross to Fethard with Mr. Devereux some time past, as they came in view of the old Abbey of Dunbrody, this Mr. Byrne said "the name Devereux was gloriously and honorably associated with that (pointing to Dunbrody) venerable ruin"; knowing you are much interested in antiquarian lore, I merely mention this episode, thinking that, perhaps, you may find some of the lost or missing M.S.S. I am not acquainted with Mr. Byrne. I never go to Ross, though I have heard the country people here speak of him.

There is an Auction today at the residence of Mr. Conn, Mount Ida, Roachestown. You mentioned [3] at one time, I think having some acquaintance with him, he has buried his only child, a son who was an idiot, so there being no direct heir to his property, which is considerable, it goes to his friends; he has in his possession Carriginurra and Roachestown, besides some thousands in Bank. I know him but I have no acquaintance with him.

A few Saturdays past when standing on the *rock* at Carriganurra, my attention was much arrested in beholding five *raths*, all within twenty *perches* of one another or thereabouts of the rock, to the nor' west. I have never before seen two together and came to the conclusion this must have been a great place [4] of yore, particularly as one of them appeared to be on a grander scale than the others. I wonder has Doctor Graves taken notice of them. I also saw a *tub* which was raised some short time past out of the larger of these, it was embedded in the turf mould and is in excellent preservation; it is about a foot and a half in diameter, not an even one, though does not much vary, and from two to three feet in height, the original hoops I opine were timber, but the Walshes in whose possession it is, have put iron hoops around it and use it as a wash-tub; it appears to be Irish bog-oak as hard as iron. I broke my pen-knife trying to put a single notch in it.

Excuse the gossip and believe me to be your obliged servt.

F. Drewe

J. O'Donovan Esqr.

[THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN FRANCIS DREWE, NT, AND JOHN O'DONOVAN, 1860-61]

TABLE 1: DREWE CORRESPONDENCE	
RIA Graves Letters	***St. Kieran's, Kilkenny, Carrigan MSS***
Drewe to O'Donovan	**O'Donovan to Drewe**
Letter missing	
	1. 15/12/60, *I have received your kind letter...*
Letter missing	
	2. 29/12/60, *In consequence of being in the hands of the doctors...*
1. 05/01/61, *I received your very kind note of 29th December in due time...*	
	3. 07/01/61, *I received your graphic description of old Poll Gaul...*
2. 08/01/61, [Questionnaire] *I received yours of yesterday's date on this morning...*	
3. 25/01/61, *Long before I had the honor of a friendly correspondence...*	4. 27/01/61, *I am very much obliged to you for the anxiety you evince for my future otium cum dignitate...*
4. 29/01/61. *I received yours of 27th inst on yesterday...*	
	5. 30/01/61, *I have received your kind letter and hasten to thank you for your suggestions...*
5. 01/02/61, *I acknowledge the receipt of yours of yesterday's date...*	
6. 16/02/61, *I acknowledge the receipt of your favour of 30th ultimo...*	
	Letter 23 April missing in typescript
7. 29/04/61, *I received your's of 23rd inst. on the morning of the 25th...*	
	6. 30/04/61, *I have received your kind letter of the 29th inst...*
8. 14/05/61, I received a note and two papers from your father on 2nd May...[to Edmond O'Donovan]...[Post Boy problem]	7. [No date; apparently May 1861], *I have this day received a letter from Waterford...*
	8. 15/05/61, [Belfast] *I have just received a note from my third son William...*
9. 18/05/61, *I received your note of 16th inst on yesterday morning dated Ulster Railway Hotel Belfast...*	
10. 24/05/61, *Fully believing...*	
	Letter of May 27 missing in typescript
11. 28/05/61, *I have just received yours of yesterday's date...*	
12. 15/08/61, *Having met with Mr. Devereux...*	

APPENDIX

RIA 24 0 39a, bundle 2

[JOD to Patrick Donovan, hand of JOD]

[Annotations in margin in pencil (shown in *italics*) and added to in pen (shown in ***bolded italic***) appear to be in hand of PD]

[1]

Dublin, 36 Upper
Buckingham Street
Nov^r. 19^th^, 1860

Mr. Patrick Donovan
Miller, &c

Dear Patrick,

You cannot but feel surprised at my perseverance in troubling you, but you must forgive me, as I do not suppose that I can live more than another year, my cough is now so frightfully severe.

Taking for granted therefore that you will forgive me, I beg to propose to you a number of questions to which I request direct answers.

He heard of one only William

How many sons had (Edmond) the first of our family, who settled at Gallstown in the Co. Kilkenny? I am most curious about this, as I am led to believe that some of the descendants of this Edmond are still extant in Austrian Poland, and I am anxious to open a correspondence with them, as soon as I learn their wherabouts. You [2] must know that I am corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Berlin, and that I have to write a great number of letters to people whom I never saw, or never will see,. I am satisified that I shall be able to make out our distant relations in Austrian Poland, and that I shall get a copy of the pedigree which they took with them into foreign (service). This may be folly, but I do not think it is, and even if I were convinced that it is folly in the extreme I cannot resist the temptation now to ride my hobby to the end of my life.

No one Rose

Could you tell me the names of your grandfathers eight sisters?

When I visited the barony of Ida in 1840, I examined (on this subject [only]) all the old persons of our name then living and I wrote down what they told me, which I here submit to your criticism.

1. Rose (eldest sister called after her grandmother Rose Kavanagh of Ballyleigh, in the County of Carlow)
   She married Richard Burke of Knockbrack, and lived to the age of one hundred years. I could [3] not learn whether any of their male descendants were extant. I

suppose they are all gone. I saw her daughter (Eilís at our house close allied to beggary)

2. Catherine, who married Mr. Clooney of Gracedieu, and had by him several sons, who were navigators. I have not marked down whether any of them is extant. Do you know any?

No

3. Ellise, married to Philip Power of Balmontin. I knew their son or grandson most intimately, and so did you.

Yes one grand son Thoˢ Murphy

4. Margaret, married to Mr. O'Brien of Drumdowney. I knew their son or grandson – I forget which he was, but you know it well.

Their Descendents are there - the latter William

5. Bridget married to O'Shea of Drumdowney. I never saw any of their descendants.

Left no issue died young

6. Anne married to O'Malone of Coolnaleen. I never knew any of their descendants, but Mrs. Scurry of Knockhouse, whom I knew in Dublin, told me that she was my second-cousin. Are these people extant? She was a daur of Malone of (Coolnaleen).

X see my letter some of the females are living

7. Mary married to Mr. Barron of Waterford, a Dyer!! Where did I get this? Was she his second wife, and not the mother of his children?

Mr B is not aware of any connection

8. Name unknown. She was never married and seems to have died young.

Died young

[4] The daughter of John Barron of Ballincurra, now a Mrs. Lawson of Kilkenny, wrote to me on the tradition in the family. She always heard she was descended from the Donovans, and when a child her father was in the habit of remarking to her that she was like the Donovans. Her grandfather Walter and her father John were buried at Gallskille near the tomb of the De Burgos. She had a brother Walter, an attorney in Waterford, whose son Joseph is now an attorney in Waterford. She never heard that her ancestor was a dyer, but she is very sure that she descends from the Donovans. Could it be that she descends from a daughter of John Donovan of Ballinearl ({He had a daughter Anne})? She was married to Mr. Lawson, the solicitor of Patrick Street Kilkenny, at the age of 17, and has a large family.

Yes Will you consider these queries, and speak to all the old people about them?

Dr. Denn of Mullinavat

Are there any of the race of Edmond Denn of the Tory of Tory Hill now extant. I often heard your father say that he was as closely related to Edmond Denn of the Tory as John Powers grand children were to him.

yours ever truly, J O'Donovan

[*written landscape on page 4*:]
There was a family of the name Connally who claimed descent from Rose daughter of Cornelius of Balmontin, and sister of John on Ballinearl.

William Henry Grattan Flood of Lismore: Historian and Musicologist

Donald Brady

Who was Grattan Flood?

Diarmaid Ferriter in the *Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000*, one of the most significant works of thematic history produced in recent years, makes the following observation which sets out a central thesis of the work:

> In 1905, in his *History of Irish Music,* Henry Grattan Flood suggested that in the previous thirty years 'the investigation of erudite writers have cleared away the almost impenetrable haze which has so long obscured the state of civilisation as regards literature, art and music in pre-Norman and medieval days'.[1]

This reference to Flood's most important publication lends particular significance to his central part in the nineteenth and early twentieth century renaissance of interest in Irish music and dance, and combined with a knowledge that he was born in County Waterford has led to a conviction that his life and contribution should be further explored and recognised by his own community.

The reputation and importance attributed to Flood during his lifetime and shortly thereafter can be gauged by a few illustrative contemporary examples.

In the *Waterford News* of the 4 April 1924 a short notice states, 'Rev. Furlong and Dr. Grattan Flood are both recovering from their recent illnesses.'

He was honoured by four Popes:

- Leo XIII made him a Knight of St Gregory.
- Pius X sent an autographed photograph and silver medal in recognition of his contribution to Church Music.
- Benedict XV sent a Cross, *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* and made him a Chevalier in 1917.
- Pius XI provided a bronze medal and autographed photograph.

William Bulfin in his *Rambles in Erin* first published in 1907 details an account of travels around Ireland by bicycle and gives the following account of a meeting with Flood in 1905:

1 Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000*, (Profile Books, 2004), pp. 103-104.

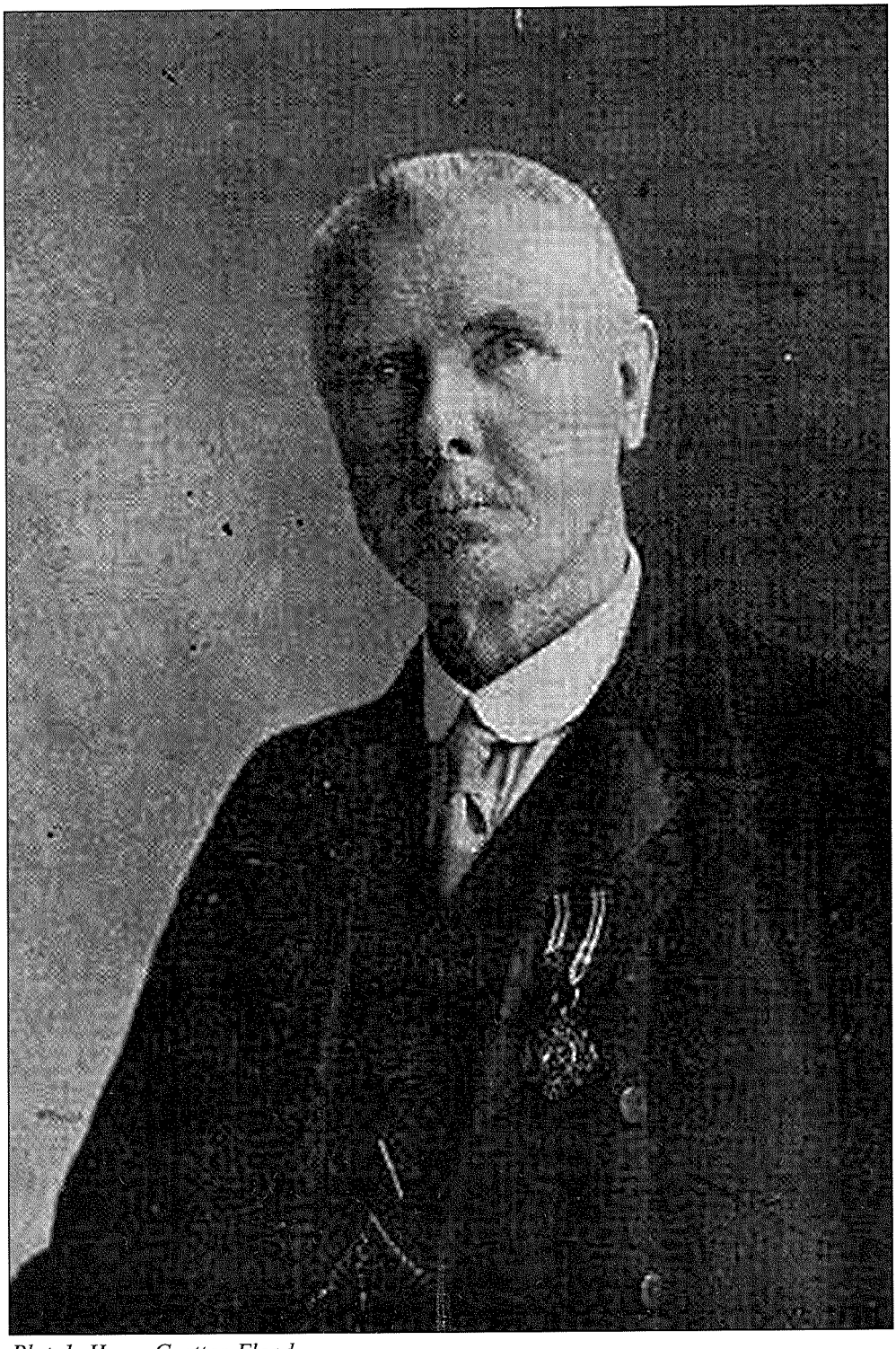


Plate1: Henry Grattan Flood.

> I had often wished to meet Grattan Flood, whose name I had seen so frequently mentioned in connection with Irish-Ireland musical and literary work, and was right glad to have the pleasure of a handshake from him in Enniscorthy, where he has his headquarters. He is a walking mine of erudition and is in his element in his library, which is one of the most extensive of its kind in Ireland. He is a man whom you cannot meet without learning something from, yet he carries his erudition easily.[2]

In Enniscorthy, his adopted town for thirty-three years a special headstone was erected in his honour shortly after his death. Such a man surely warrants some local research!

Background in Lismore

The Poor Law Act of 1838 and the workhouses which were central to its operation played a seminal role in the life of the Flood family and require some explanatory exploration. Most studies of workhouses have correctly focused on the life of the inmates but, consequently, little attention has been given to the lives of the staff. Under the Act allowance was made for the employment of staff and schedules were given for their payment:

Master and Matron:	£50-£80
Schoolmaster/Mistress:	£50-£80

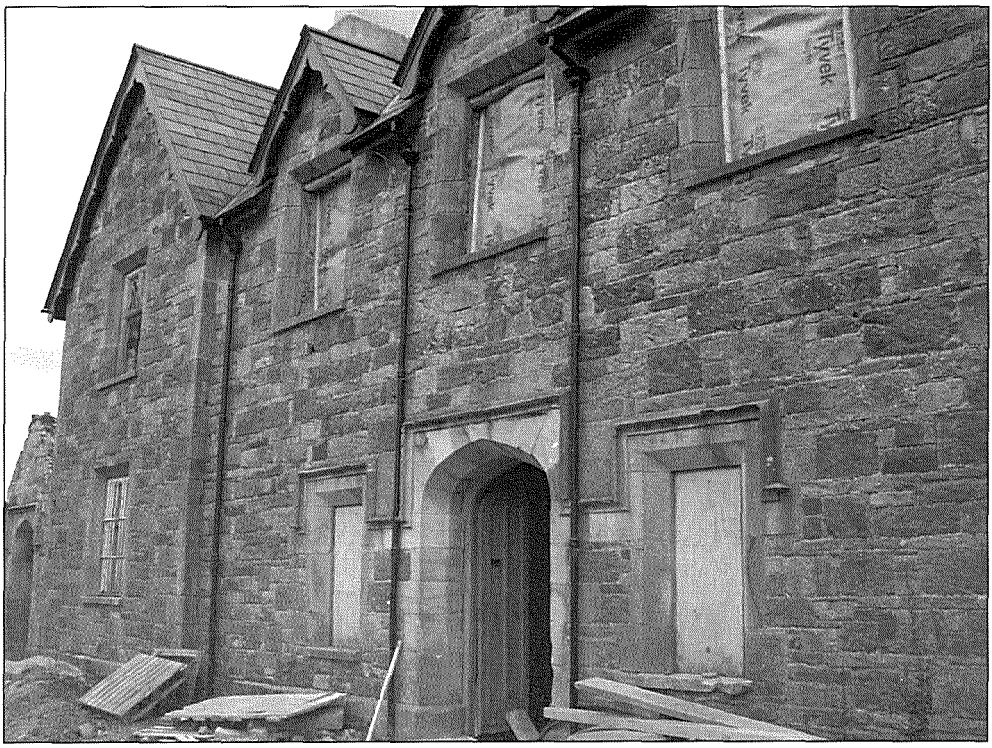


Plate 2: Lismore Workhouse.

2 William Bulfin, *Rambles in Eirinn*, (Dublin, M.H. Gill & Son, 1929), pp. 273-4.

The average number of employees in each Union ranged between twelve and fifteen. While there was no mention of the post of Agriculturist in the original establishment order, this post was shortly after the initiation of the scheme established in most workhouses.

Lismore Workhouse was designed and built to the standard pattern produced by George Wilkinson. It was commenced in 1839 and the first admissions were made on the 18 May 1842. The cost was £5,500 for the building and £1,000 for the fittings. The site comprised an area of just over 4 acres. Accommodation was provided for 500 persons but during the famine this swelled to over 600 and in consequence a temporary Auxiliary Workhouse was opened. A single interesting statistic that evokes sadness and attention is that in 1848 the Lismore Union provided assisted emigration to Australia for thirty-seven people.

During the early years of the operation of the Act over 50% of the inmates were children but by 1870 their number had declined to 25%, primarily as a consequence of the opening of alternative services. By this time the Workhouse had become, in the main, a facility for the aged, sick and vagrants. In terms of the Flood family's connections with the Workhouse it is worth noting that the famous poet and folklorist Padraic Colum, whose father was Master, was born in the Longford Workhouse. His early years spent there provide a significant literary stream in his work.

The Flood and Fitzsimon Families

Andrew Fitzsimon established an Academy at Main Street Lismore which is attested by an entry in *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Ireland 1846* and subsequently his move to South Mall is indicated in the same directory for the year 1856. His daughter Catherine became School Mistress and as far as can be ascertained her mother or sister Margaret became Assistant Mistress at the Workhouse. In the case of Catherine accommodation was provided within the complex.

In the Board of Guardian Minute Books for Lismore, William Flood, Agriculturist is first mentioned in the scheduled list of payments on 24 December 1853. The Report of the District Inspector, Education Office for 14 March 1855 indicates that due to the resignation of the boys' teacher, Mr. John O'Neill,[3] William Flood was temporarily assigned to the teaching post in addition to his other duties and this arrangement subsequently became permanent.

An interesting report from the Minute Books for 20 June 1855 states that:

> The master reports that the schoolmistress has been confined to bed with illness for the last week and she made an application on Monday to be allowed to go to her mother's house in Lismore so as to be under her care which having had the opinion of the Medical Officer - the master granted until this day.
>
> Ordered: That the schoolmistress gets a fortnight's leave absence. The assistant discharging her duties in the meantime.

3 See *Slater's Directory* 1856.

It is at this time that the future of the two families converges. On 2 February 1856 William Flood formally informed the Board that he intended to marry Catherine Fitzsimon and requested permission to reside within the complex in her apartments as his accommodation was on the outside. This request was considered favourably by the Board of the Union, but they sought the view of the Commissioners of the Poor Law who raised no objections and this is minuted on 16 February 1856:

> No. 3974: 12 February: With reference to the application of the Agriculturist to be allowed to reside in the Apartments of the Schoolmistress whom he is about to marry stating they do not at present see any objection to the proposed arrangement.

The marriage took place in Lismore in February 1856 and the witnesses were Cornelius and Eliza Fitzsimon. Their first child, Maria Agnes was born in Lismore Workhouse and baptised by the Rev. Fr. Slattery on 12 October 1856.

The following year William was listed in the payments schedule as Schoolmaster but continued to issue reports as Agriculturist. Twins, Frank and William Henry Grattan, were born on 1 November 1857. The latter's name combined with his father's those of Henry Grattan and Henry Flood:

> Two Irish orators of rival fame... combine to mould his memorable name. But music was his first love and his last... and links in him our present with our past.[4]

While Henry Grattan requires no introduction, Flood (1732-1791) is noted as a famous MP in both the Irish and British Parliaments and had strong local connections through his marriage to Lady Frances Maria Beresford, sixth daughter of Marcus, First Earl of Tyrone. Both Grattan and Flood have significant reputations as 'patriots' and it is interesting that the son of Catholic parents who were part of the management of a much despised and feared institution would choose such a name for their eldest son.

Another son, James was baptised in 1862 but died on 29 March 1864. Initially William was educated at his grandfather's Academy with Francis (Frank). He entered the roll at Mount Melleray in 1872. Francis completed his education there in 1875, and William a year later according to the roll books retained at the Monastery. Grattan Flood proved a precocious musician from an early age and was invited to give a recital at Lismore Castle, by the Duke of Devonshire, at the age of nine.

During this period William Flood had succeeded as Master by 1868 while Catherine continued as Schoolmistress. Later Catherine became Matron and a Frederick or F.W. Flood joined the staff by 1893. He succeeded as Master. Further investigation will, I expect, confirm whether Frederick was a son of William. As an interesting aside F.W.'s son, also Frederick appears on the roll books of Lismore CBS in 1901.

4 This quotation is from Alfred Perceval Graves, 1846-1931. Graves was a central figure in the move to provide the monument to Flood and also provided the epitaph.

Grattan Flood studied for the priesthood in Carlow but abandoned this course before taking final vows. He then proceeded to the Royal University Dublin where he eventually took a Doctorate in Music.[5]

Employment

Flood's employment was singularly varied but largely concentrated in the fields of teaching and music. He was appointed Professor of Music successively at the Jesuit colleges at Tullabeg and Clongowes Wood. He was also appointed Organist at St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral, Belfast at the age of nineteen. In 1882 he was appointed Organist at Thurles Catholic Cathedral, which possessed a famous instrument procured by Archbishop Laffan in 1827. He served there until 1884. This appointment paralleled the career of William Vincent Wallace who had been appointed to the same post in 1830 as well as serving as Professor of Music in the Ursuline Convent in the town where he met his future wife who was then a pupil in the school.

Appointed Organist in Enniscorthy in 1895 Flood settled down and remained in this post until his death in 1928. He married Margaret Delaney in 1898 and they had six children. Kathleen, one of the daughters succeeded him as Organist, a post she retained until her death in 1957. Another daughter Mollie gave many recitals and was a regular guest as vocalist with Radio Éireann. A son, William became a parish priest and has written one of the only accounts of his father's life. It was published in the *Capuchin Annual* in 1974.[6]

Flood served as Conductor with the D'Oyly Carte Orchestra at the turn of the century and was Bandmaster of 104th Irish Regiment, and was in consequence the last civilian army bandmaster in Ireland. His correspondence was wide and he is known to have corresponded with Thomas Hardy, Douglas Hyde and George Bernard Shaw. His evidence at the apostolic process of 1907, contributed to the beatification of Oliver Plunkett in 1908.

Following his death a decision was taken to erect a special headstone on his grave and this was unveiled in 1931. The oration was given by Thomas O'Byrne, Parish Priest at Piercetown and was published in the *Free Press* in Wexford and the *Echo* in Enniscorthy on 29 November. The plaque was inscribed:

> Erected to the memory of the Chevalier William Henry Grattan Flood Mus. Doc. Enniscorthy in recognition of his invaluable services to Irish music and literature. Died 6th August 1928.

In his oration Fr. O'Byrne quoted from Thomas Davis what is a most appropriate epitaph not only for Flood who had dedicated his life to the preservation of national and international heritage, but also could be applied to anyone today concerned with the rising tide of disregard for the past, veiled in the euphemism 'revisionism':

5 His work for this Doctorate became the core of *The History of Irish Music.*

6 William Grattan Flood PP, 'Renowned Irish Musicologist', in *The Capuchin Annual* (1974), pp. 56-62.

> Those who trample on the past do not build for the future. If Ireland were in national health, her history would be familiar by books, pictures, statuary and music in every cabin and shop in the land.

Works

Music

A recent publication on the progress of musical development through the nineteenth century and the Celtic Revival suggests that 'The sheer pressure of the moment was overwhelmingly linguistic, not musical'.[7] However, the publications and musical output of Flood was not unimportant in setting the scene for the re-establishment of interest in Irish music and dance. Flood's historical and musical reputation rests squarely on his two seminal works, *The History of Irish Music* and *The Story of the Harp* both published in 1905, a centenary which deserved, and received, due recognition by his local community and by those who express an interest in the heritage of Ireland and Lismore.

In his preface to *The History of Irish Music* Flood quickly establishes his theme:

> There has never yet appeared anything like a trustworthy History of music in Ireland - that is to say, of genuine Celtic-Irish and Anglo-Irish music.[8]

He subsequently indicates that the work it is the fruit of twenty-six years of labour and having thanked various people, amongst them Douglas Hyde, also stating, 'I must especially thank Father Maurus, Prior of Mount Melleray, for his kindness in reading through the proofs'.[9]

In a preface to the second edition he announces that the first 'was exhausted within three months.' This book was also used for many years as a standard text on the subject at various universities including that of Paris.

In *The story of the Harp* he again returns to the theme of breaking new ground stating that little had been written on the chronology of the instrument and its compositions. The importance he ascribes to the section on the Irish Harp is particularly interesting:

> Ireland has been for centuries associated with 'The harp that once thro' Tara's halls,' and the instrument figures in the arms of the kingdom. Dante, as quoted by Vincenzo Galilei, attests that the Italians received the harp from Ireland.[10]

7 Henry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970*, (Cork University Press in Association with Field Day, 1998), p. 116.

8 William Henry Grattan Flood, *The History of Irish Music*, (Browne & Nolan, 1927), p. v.

9 *Ibid.*, p. vii.

10 William Henry Grattan Flood, *The Story of the Harp*, (Charles Scribner & Sons, 1905), pp. viii-ix.

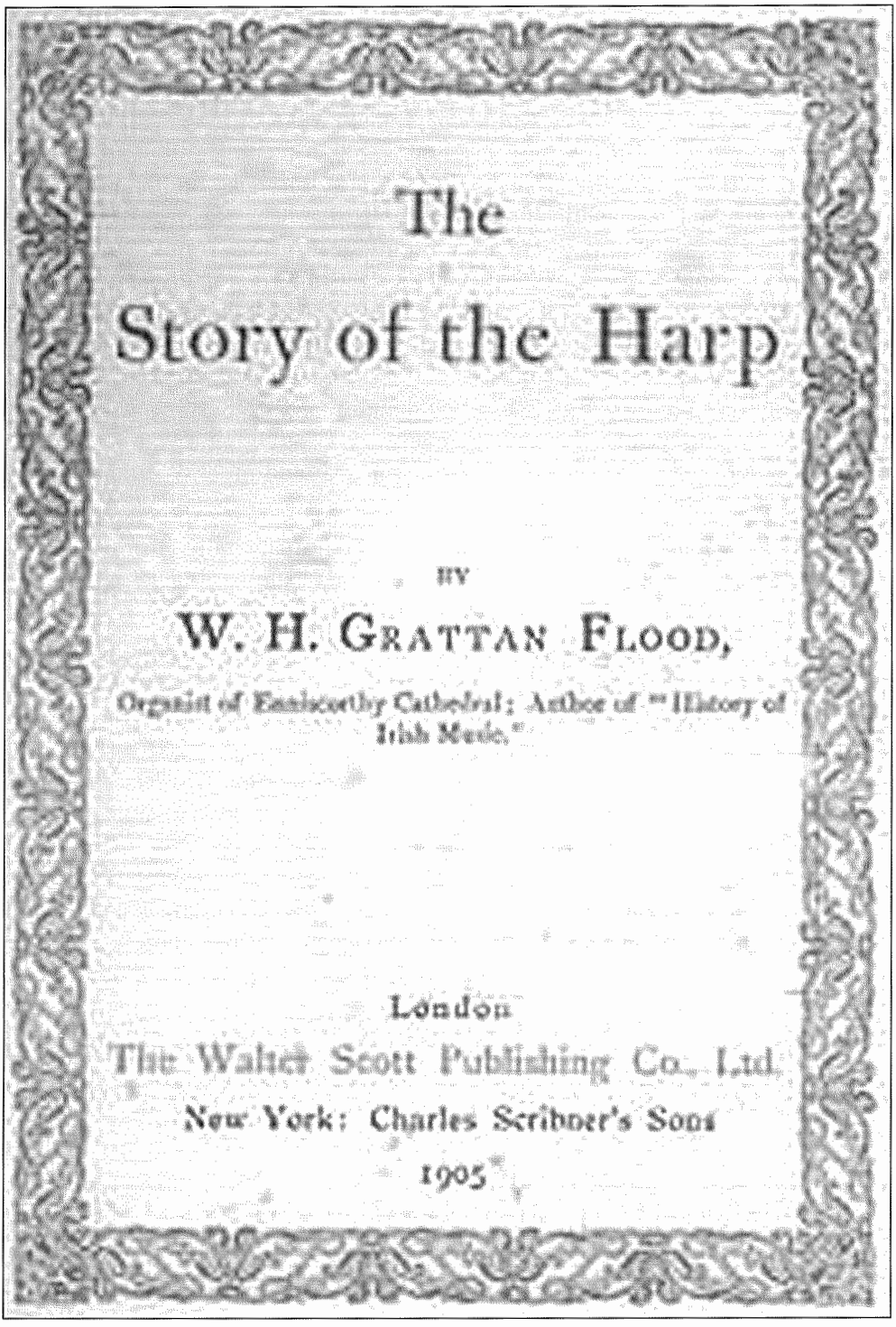


Plate 3: The Story of the Harp.

His *Early Tudor Composers: Biographical Sketches of Thirty-Two Musicians and Composers of the Period 1485-1555*, published by Oxford University Press in 1925 contains a ringing endorsement, in a preface, written by Sir W. Henry Hadow Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, 'No event in musical history is more important than the discovery of our lost Tudor compositions'.[11]

In setting out the contribution of Flood, particularly in the rediscovery of William Cornish, Hadow suggests that Flood had brought back to life 'men whose names were as fleeting and unsubstantial as the ghosts in the Odyssey'.[12] And further, his book will be 'indispensable to the musical historian of the future.'[13]

Flood's own comment defines his prime objectives in an observation on the biographies, 'at least twenty were hitherto a blank, proving quite elusive for our musical historians.'[14]

The information he provided on the lives of Robert Faryfax, Richard Pygot, Richard Davy and John Taverner has proved particularly important and their compositions are now readily available. However, in a recently released CD of the music of Nicholas Ludford (1485-1557) the composer is described as one 'of the most prolific composers of music in Tudor England.' A further explanation states that little of him was known, until Flood wrote his biographical note. In this interesting comment on the CD, Flood is credited with the 'compilation of the first biography' of this composer whose 'music is tuneful electrifying and memorable.'

His short biography of fellow Waterfordian and composer: *William Vincent Wallace: A Memoir*, published 1912 has proved particularly enduring and has been published on the Waterford County Library Website.[15] Flood himself described its publication then as being particularly timely as at that time the 'only existing biography of William Vincent Wallace is a French work, issued by Arthur Pougin in 1866.'

This book was produced on the centenary of the birth of Wallace and Flood expressed particular thanks to Edmund Downey and the Rev. Superioress of the Ursuline Convent, Thurles.

All of these seminal works of such major local significance are now available in their entirety on the Waterford County Library Website. In the completion of this work we were the first Irish Library Authority to provide such an online data-resource covering almost all of the significant work of a major local author.

Flood was also a key figure in the production of *The Musical Antiquary.* This was one of the first British musicology journals and was published by Oxford University Press from October 1909 to July 1913.[16] It deals mainly with ancient music particularly that dating through the Tudor to the Restoration period. Edited by Godfrey Edward Pellew, Grattan Flood was a major contributor.

11 William Henry Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Composers*, (Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 8.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
13 *Ibid.*
14 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
15 http://www.waterfordcountylibrary.ie
16 Recently republished copies are available in Waterford County Library.

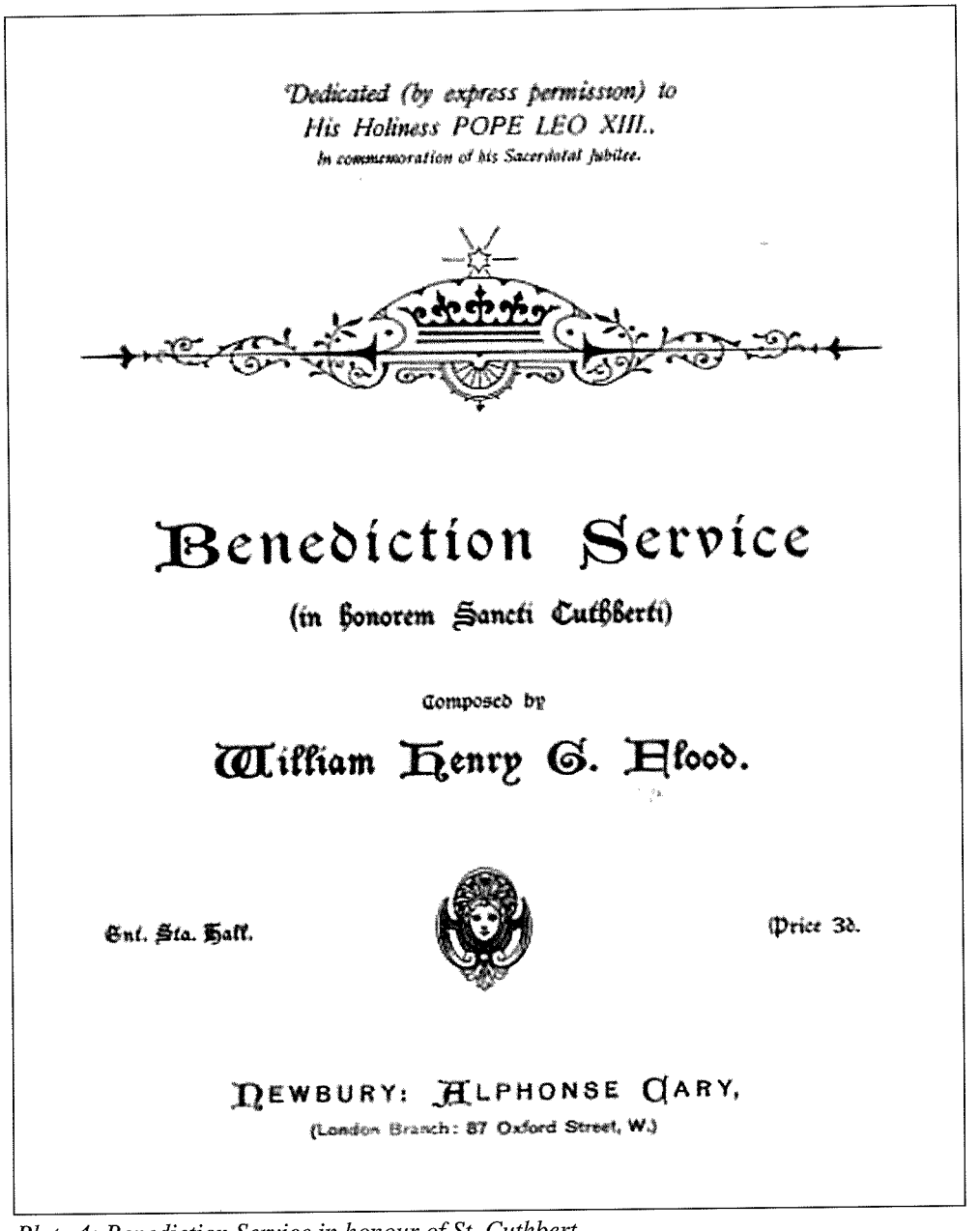


Plate 4: Benediction Service in honour of St. Cuthbert.

He also edited a new version of Moore's Melodies, *The Spirit of the Nation* which was produced in 1911.

History

Grattan Flood was a major figure in the development of local and general historical research. He produced histories of the Diocese of Ferns[17] and a history of his adopted town Enniscorthy.[18] A regular contributor to local and national and international historical journals including *The Journal of the Waterford & South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, one short note written by him caught my eye and deserves local attention. This is a short biographical sketch of St. Ita or Ide, who established a convent in Limerick. She is described as the patron Saint and Brigid or Mary of Munster - she was also a Princess of the Déise and has received scant attention from the historians of the county being ignored by Hansard, Ryland, Patrick Power and only receiving short references in the work of Canon Patrick Power. In his note Flood also tells us that she was the foster mother of many saints 'including St. Brendan the Voyager'.[19]

He was asked to lecture on the occasion of the centenaries of James Clarence Mangan, Fr. Prout (Fr. Francis Mahony 1804-1866), Michael William Balfe and of course William Vincent Wallace.

Following his death, an inventory of Flood's library was produced.[20] The catalogue contains some 710 items, which, as one would expect, primarily comprises musical, historical and literary works. However one item, I find particularly intriguing. It is *The Chinese Spy*, (Translated from Chinese in six volumes.) On checking the National Library of Ireland Catalogue I obtained the following additional information:

> *The Chinese Spy, or Emissary from the Court of Pekin*, commissioned to examine into the present state of Europe. Translated from the Chinese in six volumes, by Goudar, Ange, 1720-1791.
>
> Dublin: Printed for P. Wilson, J. Exshaw, S. Cotter, E. Watts, J. Potts and J. Williams, 1766. 6v; 120i. [in fact translated from the French.]

17 William Henry Grattan Flood, *History of the Diocese of Ferns*, (Downey & Co., 1916).

18 William Henry Grattan Flood, *History of Enniscorthy: The Cathedral; St. John's Priory; Franciscan Friary; St. Senan's Church; The Castle; Religious and Educational Establishments; Bormount Manor; Brownswood Castle; Fern's Castle; Edermine; Macmine; Wilton; Castleboro; with the Episcopal Succession in the Dioceses of Ferns, Antiquities, Holy Wells etc.*, (Enniscorthy, 1898).

19 A new biography of St. Ita has just been published, James Dunphy, *St. Ita: The Forgotten Princess*, (Kilmacthomas, 2006).

20 A copy of this catalogue was kindly supplied to Waterford County Library Service by The National Library of Ireland. The information contained in this Catalogue is also now available on the Waterford County Library Website.

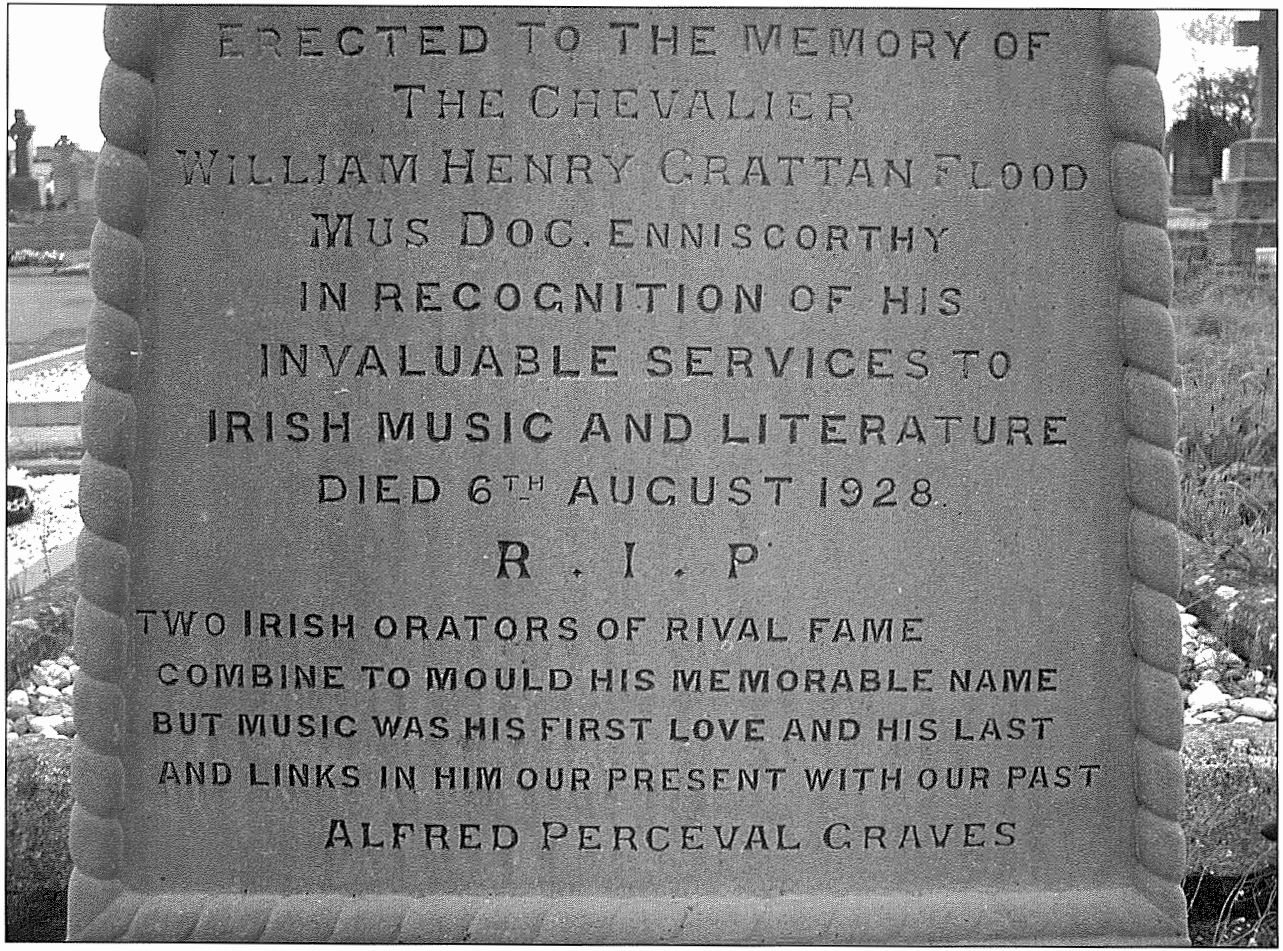


Plate5: Memorial erected to Grattan Flood.

Composer and Performer

Flood's output as a composer is small but significant in the field of modern Irish Church Music. This interpretation can be validly asserted by reference to the honours conveyed on Flood by Church Authorities including the Popes. From a local and regional point of view three compositions are particularly noteworthy:

Mass of St. Carthage in A
Mass of Saint Aedan in B Flat [first Bishop and Patron of Ferns]
Mass of Saint Wilfrid in G

Unfortunately, the first and most important of his compositions from a Waterford point of view has still eluded me thus far. The description and evaluation of his music I must leave to others but the two descriptions that have been used in general conversation with me is that his music is 'sentimental' and 'romantic'. Such a description could equally be applied to much of the popular music of that time. His work has been little performed since his death but Dean Beare of Lismore has informed me that at least one of his compositions is still highlighted in the current Church of Ireland Hymnal and is regularly sung at services. I trust that musicians and singers in the area may consider a proper recital of his music at a later date and more appropriately a full performance of the *Mass of St. Carthage* which surely must not be long delayed.

I am not aware that any of Flood's recitals have been recorded nor are any of his compositions listed in the standard recorded music catalogues which I have checked. However, with the assistance of the Dean of Lismore I hope that it may be possible to record and post some of his music to the Internet in the near future.

Reputation and Standing

In preparing this paper my focus has initially been to try and draw together the various strains of Flood's life and work. By highlighting his output and republishing his most important output on the Waterford County Library Website, I hope that we can contribute to re-establishing the reputation of this remarkable Lismore Man.

Figure 1: Group of IRA volunteers taken in the Infantry Barracks, Waterford, early 1922. Seated L. to R.: Patrick Ormonde, Comdt. Paddy Paul, Mossy Roche, Jack Edwards. Standing L. to R. John de Courcy, Daniel Ennis, John Joe Reville, John Browne, Paddy Griffin, Dick Deegan, Ritchie Grant, George Partridge, P. Power, Jack Cassidy, Jack O'Meara. (Photograph and identifications courtesy of Mr. Jack O'Neill, Waterford)

The Irish Volunteers and Waterford, Part III, 1920-1921: The East Waterford Brigade*

Pat McCarthy

BETWEEN January 1919 and July 1921 Ireland was engulfed in a growing tide of violence as guerrilla warfare developed between the Irish Volunteers (increasingly referred to as the IRA) and the government forces – the Royal Irish Constabulary, (RIC) and the British Army.[1] In an ever-escalating cycle of violence, killings were followed by reprisals and both the number and scale of these events grew inexorably month after month.[2] However the experience of this war varied dramatically throughout the country. Each county was different and within many counties there were often significant differences between one IRA brigade and its neighbours. This essay looks at the activities of the Waterford No.1 (East Waterford) Brigade during the War of Independence.

The Opposing Forces

The Waterford No. 1 Brigade (East Waterford) was much weaker than its west Waterford counterpart and indeed was one of the weakest IRA units outside the North East of the country.[3] It was organised in three battalions, Waterford City (First Battalion), Dunhill-Ballyduff (Second Battalion) and Gaultier (Third Battalion). Within each battalion area, companies were organised on a parish basis. By January 1920, many of those who joined the Volunteers to oppose conscription had dropped out, and in the face of strengthening British counter-insurgency moves, only the truly committed maintained their membership. According to Jimmy Power, OC Second Battalion, the strength of his unit was as follows:

A Company, Dunhill	20 men
B Company, Ballyduff	27 men
C Company, Fenor	16 men
D Company, Tramore	12 men

1 The evolution of the guerrilla campaign in Ireland is best treated in Augusteijn Joost, *From Public Defiance to Guerrilla Warfare,* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1996).

2 The British response to the escalating security crisis is detailed in a seminal study: Charles Townshend, *The British Campaign in Ireland 1919 – 1921: The Development of Political and Military Policies,* (Oxford University Press, 1975).

3 The strength of the East Waterford Brigade is discussed in the following Bureau of Military History Witness Statements: BMS WS 1,103, D. Madden (Brigade Intelligence Officer); BMS WS 1,024, J. Power (Comdt, 2nd Battalion); BMS WS 1,709, M. Ryan (Brigade Engineer) and BMS WS 1,022 (Comdt, 1st Battalion).

E Company, Kill	16 men
F Company, Newtown	12 men

The total battalion strength of 103 men had twelve rifles, thirty shotguns and a handful of revolvers between them. It was the same story with the other two battalions. The City Battalion, commanded first by P. Woods, then S. Matthews and, following the arrest of the latter, by Sean Hetherington, had approximately 160-180 men with A and D Companies, based in the Cathedral parish and St. John's parish respectively, the strongest with strengths of approximately thirty-five men each. The Third Battalion, commanded by Bobby Nugent and then Michael Power, had a strength of just over 120 men giving a total Brigade roll call of just under 400 men. Brigade officers changed as men were arrested but for the period October 1920 to May 1921, the brigade staff was as follows:

Brigade OC	Paddy Paul
Vice OC	William Keane
Intelligence Officer	Denis Madden
Brigade Adjutant	Thomas Wyley
Quartermaster	Matthew Knox

It was this small, poorly armed force that had to wage the war in east Waterford.

The primary force opposing them was the Royal Irish Constabulary.[4] The RIC was organised on a county basis and the Commanding Officer for Waterford City and County was County Inspector Robert Maunsell who was stationed at Lady Lane Barracks in the city. He resigned on 1 December 1920 and was replaced by Captain O'Beirne, who had a distinguished career in the constabulary prior to the war. On the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 he had joined the army and was commissioned as a captain in the Royal Irish Regiment. He rejoined the RIC in August 1918. Reporting to him were four District Inspectors and a total of thirty-four barracks in the four districts. The districts of Waterford City and Portlaw covered almost the same area as that of the East Waterford Brigade of the IRA except for the village of Stradbally, which was in the West Waterford Brigade area of operations. District Inspector (DI) George Maxwell, stationed at Manor Street, commanded the city district, which also encompassed neighbouring stations in the county. The Portlaw district was under the command of DI Arthur Andersley. In the spring of 1920 the force in these districts was organised as follows:

4 The strength and deployment of the RIC is taken from Brendan Byrne, 'Law, Order and the RIC in Waterford 1920-1921: A Chronology', in *Decies* 55 (1999), pp. 117-126, and *The Constabulary List and Directory No. 159,* (January 1921).

CITY DISTRICT

Barracks	*Officer in Charge*
Lady Lane	Head Constable James McKay
Callaghane	Sergeant John Greene
Dunmore East	Sergeant R. Gough
Ferrybank	Sergeant James O'Neill
Manor Street	Head Constable William McGurk
Mary Street	Sergeant John Waldron
Passage East	Sergeant Patrick Nunan
Peter's Lane	Sergeant Timothy McCarthy
Peter Street	Sergeant James Slattery
The Sweep	Sergeant John Dillon
Tramore	Sergeant Patrick Bollard

PORTLAW DISTRICT

Barracks	*Officer in Charge*
Portlaw	Head Constable James Cross
Annestown	Sergeant R.H. McDonagh
Bunmahon	Sergeant J.W. Strong
Clonea Power	Sergeant Michael Creagh
Kill	Sergeant Michael Joyce
Kilmacthomas	Sergeant John Chambers
Stradbally	Sergeant John O'Connor

The IRA estimated that the strength of the RIC in the city and east of the county as twenty-eight officers and ninety-nine constables. From April 1920 on there was a small trickle of resignations from the force, often as a result of pressure from families. The first of these were Constables Shanahan and Treacy from Peter's Lane Barracks. As in other parts of the country these were replaced by men recruited in England – the 'Black and Tans'. Overall the strength of the RIC did not vary much throughout this period. Despite many requests from the County Inspector, none of the 'Auxiliaries', the elite counter-insurgency units of the RIC, composed of ex-British officers, were stationed in Waterford City or County.

This extensive network of stations gave the RIC a deep insight and knowledge of Irish life. From these stations they were uniquely placed to monitor developments in their area and to watch known suspects. The careful and methodical notes of the sergeant in charge were sent weekly to the office of the District Inspector and from there to the County Inspector who collated all the information in his monthly summary to RIC Headquarters in Dublin. Although many of these barracks were garrisoned by only four or five men and a sergeant, they still patrolled the countryside intensively on foot or on bicycle. Armed with revolvers and rifles, they were a disciplined and formidable force.

On 6 June 1920 three destroyers docked in Waterford with the leading elements of the 1st Battalion, Devonshire Regiment.[5] Further transports arrived over the next few days until the full strength of forty-seven officers and 981 other ranks was disembarked. Commanded by Col. E. Young, the regiment was a welcome reinforcement for the local RIC. Battalion Headquarters and B Company, approximately 350 men, were stationed at the Infantry Barracks, Waterford while the remainder were dispersed to Carrick-on-Suir, Callan, Thomastown and Enniscorthy. The regimental historian noted that during its stay in Waterford, a number of local ex-servicemen enlisted into the regiment and were used mainly for general fatigue duties in the barracks but not for raiding purposes. These were called the 'Waterford Devons'. This is confirmed by the County Inspector who noted in his report for August 1920: 'There has been a small but fairly steady number of recruits trickling in at Waterford City. They are mostly men who already served in the army and failed to get any employment after demobilization'. A year later the army received a further reinforcement when a company of the Buffs, the East Kent Regiment, was detached from Fermoy to Kilmacthomas.

The Retreat of the RIC, January-August 1920[6]

The network of small barracks that was the greatest strength of the RIC was also its most vulnerable point. A sergeant and four or five constables could defend their post or patrol their district but could not do both. By November 1919, it was clear to the authorities that most of the rural police stations were vulnerable to attack. As a result they began a process of evacuating the smaller stations and concentrating their forces in the larger towns. In so doing they effectively abandoned vast tracts of countryside to the control of the IRA. This process was accelerated when January 1920 saw no less than ten major attacks on RIC barracks across the country including an intense assault on Ardmore RIC station. The IRA invariably followed up any such evacuation by destroying the building to prevent it being reoccupied. The first barracks to be evacuated in east Waterford was Kilmacthomas on 12 March 1920 followed by Clonea Power, Holycross (a temporary police barracks) and Callaghane in April. The following extracts from Bureau of Military History Witness Statements describe typical actions:

Thomas Brennan:[7]

> Early in the year 1920, to be precise, on Easter Saturday night 1920, I received instructions from the Brigade to destroy Callaghane RIC Barracks situated about four miles south east of the city on the Dunmore Road. The barracks was unoccupied, the garrison having been withdrawn into the city, possibly fearing an

5 Public Record Office (henceforth abbreviated as PRO), Kew, London, General Army Reports WO 73/115. Also correspondence with the curator, Devonshire Regimental Museum, Dorset Castle.

6 Charles Townshend, *The British Campaign in Ireland 1919 – 1921: The Development of Political and Military Policies,* pp. 40-46.

7 BMH WS 1,104, Thomas Brennan.

attack. Another member of D/Company named Frank O'Connor accompanied me. We brought out a few gallons of paraffin oil and got in to the building by a porch at the back. With the help of paper and some refuse we set fire to the building to prevent its reoccupation by enemy forces.

William Keane:[8]

On the same Sunday evening, accompanied by Michael Cooper, the captain of C/Company, 3rd Battalion, East Waterford (City) Brigade, we went by bicycle to Holycross as I had been informed that the attempt to destroy this barracks on the previous night was a failure. We brought along some paraffin and gelignite and completely destroyed the building.

These burnings on Easter Sunday 1920 were part of a widespread commemoration of the Easter Rising which saw over 300 vacated barracks, courthouses, government offices and police huts burned throughout the country.

Annestown and Bunmahon soon followed and, by August, Kill RIC Barracks was the only one left occupied between Portlaw and Dungarvan.

In July, County Inspector Maunsell wrote to RIC HQ reviewing the situation in the county and recommended further closures. The Divisional Commissioner for Munster, Colonel Smyth, supported this view:[9]

From the foregoing it will be seen that none of the barracks has an adequate force for effective patrolling and defence, should disturbances arise. On the other hand, the demand for men in more important centres is urgent and cannot be met without some such scheme as this. This demand for men is the more urgent as the winter approaches, and as events are going now, the holding of such stations means the cooping up of a number of men for defence of isolated posts where they might be used far more effectively as an active force. This of course again means the handing over of tracts of country to the enemy. But the situation has to be faced, and taking all into consideration, I would recommend that the County Inspector's suggestion be at once sanctioned. I hesitate to carry out so large a scheme without reference to you. The County Inspector wishes to carry this scheme into effect at once, and I can see no object in delaying the inevitable till later days make it more difficult. May this matter be treated as urgent please, so that I can have it carried into effect.

Inspector General Smith was not wholly convinced of the wisdom of this proposal and he replied:[10]

8 BMH WS 1,023, William Keane.

9 PRO CO 904/112, RIC Monthly Report, July 1920.

10 *Ibid.*

> Ardmore, - I should have thought that 10 police and 25 marines would be able to look after themselves, even in a bad locality. Is the idea in reducing the strength merely to provide men for other stations? I am very reluctant to give up territory if it can be avoided. Have not special measures been taken for the defence of Ardmore?
> Ballinamult – This barracks will be burned down if vacated. Could the strength in any way be increased?
> Kill - might go.
> There would be a big tract of country between Waterford and Dunmore East without police if Passage East be given up. Can nothing be done?

While the RIC considered whether or not to evacuate Kill, IRA activity in the county moved up a gear with their first attack on a barracks in the east of the county - Kill.

The attack on Kill RIC Barracks – 18 September 1920[11]

By September 1920 the IRA had developed a tried and in many cases successful method of attacking the isolated rural police stations. Companies of volunteers would be mobilised to block all roads to the target station by felling trees or digging trenches generally at a radius of three to five miles. Within that cordon scouts would be stationed on all approach roads to give warning of any reinforcements. Meanwhile the attack force would move into position. At a given signal an intense fire would be opened up on the barracks. Under the covering fire some volunteers would approach the barracks and throw 'sticky' bombs onto the roof. These improvised devices, a stick of gelignite and a fuse wrapped in sticky clay to adhere to the roof, were designed to blow a hole in the roof. Once a hole was made petrol or paraffin would be pumped into the hole and set alight. The garrison would normally surrender once the flames took hold. This kind of attack necessitated the mobilization of a large number of men, typically sixty to eighty, and the coordination of various units by a small cadre of experienced officers. General M.J. Costelloe later recalled how large numbers of men were used when hardly necessary in order to give the maximum number some crucial experience under fire.

On the evening of 18 September, men from Kilmacthomas, Bunmahon and Stradbally (West Waterford Brigade) began the first phase – blocking all approach roads to the village of Kill. Meanwhile the attack force assembled on the outskirts of the village. Thirty to forty men from the Dunhill and Kill companies led by Comdt. Jimmy Power, OC 2nd Battalion were joined by six men from the city led by Paddy Paul and by approximately fifteen men from the West Waterford Brigade

11 The attack on Kill RIC Barracks is described in the following Witness Statements: BMS WS 877, P. Paul (Brigade OC); BMS WS 1,023, W. Keane (Vice Comdt., Brigade); BMS WS 1,024, J. Power (Comdt. 2nd Battalion) and BMS WS 1,180, M. Power (Dunhill Company). There are also reports in the local newspapers and the RIC Report for September 1920, PRO CO 904/113.

led by Pat Keating of Kilrossanty. Most were armed with revolvers and shotguns but Paul's small group had rifles. These were deployed behind a wall about forty yards from the barracks with support from shotgun men deployed to cover all sides of the building. At 9 p.m. just as the attack was about to begin, some volunteers noticed one RIC man in the village public house. Attempts to subdue him failed until Jimmy Power fired a warning shot at him. This had the immediate effect of alerting the others in the eight-man garrison who opened up an intense defensive fire through the loopholes in the steel shutters, to which the volunteers immediately replied. The garrison also fired verey lights to summon help.

At this stage the plan of attack began to disintegrate. It was found that the handle of the pump was missing and the pump therefore useless. A hurried consultation followed and it was decided to press on, with local volunteers Michael Power and Walter Walsh deputed to climb onto the roof of the barracks to throw in bottles of petrol once the sticky bombs had made a hole. Before anything happened word came from scouts that British troops were approaching the village. The volunteers immediately ceased firing and dispersed without loss. Subsequent enquiries by brigade officers suggested that some inexperienced scouts heard horses, disturbed by the firing, galloping in the darkness in a nearby field and thought that it was the military. In fact no enemy troops reached the village until four hours after the attack. Kill Barracks was evacuated shortly afterwards and the empty building burned by the local company.

The evacuation of the barracks by the RIC was a major boost in morale to the East Waterford Brigade since they believed that it was a direct result of their action. It also showed that the brigade had been able to mobilize up to eighty men between those involved in road blocking and the attack force. On the downside was a worrying lack of attention to detail. A preliminary reconnaissance of the village and careful observation in the afternoon would have established that one constable had left the barracks. It should have been possible to capture him without alerting the garrison. The absence of the pump handle was inexcusable while the retreat at an unsubstantiated report of British troops indicated a lack of discipline. It would have been impossible for troops to arrive from Waterford that quickly even if the roads had not been blocked. No casualties were sustained or inflicted by the volunteers and for many it was a useful baptism of fire. But in two key objectives, destruction of a defended post and capture of arms and ammunition, it failed.

There was a sequel to the attack on Kill Barracks. Although the constables had been evacuated to Portlaw, the family of one of them continued to live in the village. Michael Power of Kill, Adjutant of the local volunteer company takes up the story :[12]

> It was the month of October 1920 when we learned that an RIC constable named Cullen, whose home was in Kill but who had been transferred to Portlaw, had returned home by bicycle. We decided to raid his house and take his bicycle, revolver and uniform from him. It was about 7 o'clock in the evening when eight of us, under Capt.

12 BMH WS 1,180, Michael Power, also local newspapers and RIC Reports.

Andrew Kirwan, came together in Kill village where the RIC man lived. A few, including myself, were armed with revolvers. The majority were unarmed. One of the men engaged was a newly enrolled IRA man named James Power of Carrigeen, Kill.

We approached Cullen's house and knocked at the door. He asked who was there and we said: 'Open up in the name of the IRA'. Cullen refused to open the door. Andrew Kirwan then fired a revolver shot up towards the roof of the house and Walter Walsh and I began to break in the door with a hatchet we had with us. When Cullen heard us smashing the door he went upstairs and threw a grenade out through the window. It landed about three-quarter ways across the street before it exploded. Walsh and I fell down with the blast and then got up and ran around a corner out of range. James Power, who was some way out on the road, went across the street and into the chapel yard after the explosion. We then lost him in the darkness.

I set out for Commandant Jimmy Power's place at Ballycraddock, about four miles distant, with a view to getting hold of a few rifles. When I returned again to Kill later that night I found that our men had dispersed to their homes.

The following day I heard that James Power had been badly wounded the previous night by the grenade thrown by the RIC man, Cullen. He (Power) had apparently gone home a distance of over a quarter of a mile the previous night in spite of his bad wound. We brought Dr. Walsh of Bunmahon to attend him but it was no use, as the poor fellow died three days afterwards and was buried in Kill graveyard.

At the time of James Power's death it was said by his relatives that he died of pneumonia, and everybody, except those of us who really knew, believed this. The idea was, of course, to keep the British ignorant of the truth and so save his people from raids, or, maybe, arrest.

I am particularly anxious to put on record the fact that this IRA man died in the service of his country, as it is not known even yet by many in Co. Waterford (not even by Old IRA) that James Power met his death at the hands of the enemy.

Constable Cullen (or Cullinane – both names have been used in accounts of this incident) who had come to visit one of his children who was sick, made his way safely across country to the nearest occupied police station at Tramore. There is no reference to this incident in the Witness Statements of Paddy Paul, Michael Power (Comdt. of the local IRA battalion) or Andrew Kirwan who was present. Nor is it referred to in any list of the activities of the Waterford Brigades. James Power's name is not listed in Nicholas Whittle's commemorative booklet *Waterford Remembers.* However, his name is included in the list of republican dead in the National Graves Association book *The Last Post.*[13] The absence of any reference to

13 *The Last Post,* (Dublin, National Graves Association, 1986).

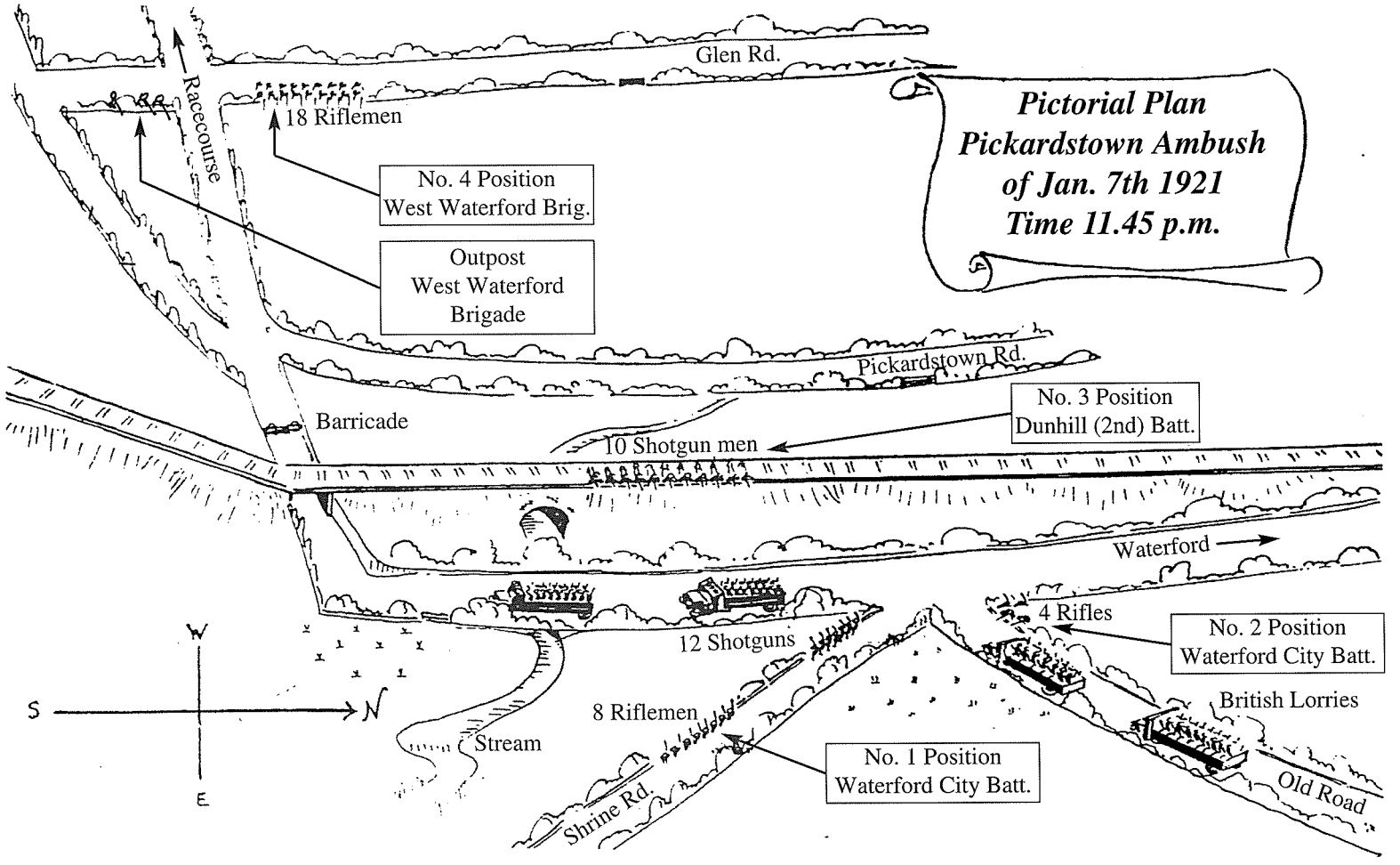
the death of James Power in the statements of the brigade officers suggests that this may have been an unofficial operation, an example of local initiative by a group of volunteers. If so it went tragically wrong and led to the death of James Power on 15 October 1920.

The Ballyduff Glen Ambush[14]

In October, W. Walsh, the Brigade OC was arrested. As previously arranged, Paddy Paul now took over command. In his own words he decided that the best thing for his men was 'to get them to do a little fighting'. Wisely he decided that his forces were not yet capable of a large-scale action while the evacuation of most of the small rural police stations had left him short of suitable targets. On 5 December, Paul himself with five others, Tom Brennan, Paddy McGrath, Tom Walsh, Michael Bishop and Jimmy Power, all armed with rifles took up ambush position at Ballyduff Glen with the aim of attacking any army transport travelling between Waterford City and Fermoy or Cork. Paddy Paul himself describes the action:

> It was a beautiful fine morning and, having selected a suitable position, we occupied it and waited. Our position was just around a bend in the road and after waiting some time, we observed two military lorries coming along. We could not do anything until they came around the bend. There were 6 of us in the party, including myself, and Jimmie Power, the 2nd Battalion Commander, was on my right. I knew from previous talks I had with Power that he was excessively concerned always about the safety of the civilian population. In any talk we had of projected action, Power was always worried about damage to civilian property or injury to civilians. I had observed the fact that there were cars going to the local creamery but I said nothing, knowing Power's feelings on such things, but as the military lorries approached he turned to me and said, 'There is a creamery car on the road, Paddy. What shall we do?' This donkey and car with some milk churns in it had appeared in the middle of the road between us and the military lorries. Knowing it would be fatal to have any discussion on the matter with Power, I made no reply to his remark but, raising my rifle and taking aim at the driver of the first lorry, I fired and my shot was taken as a signal by the others who also opened fire. In any case, with such a fleeting target, there was no time for a discussion as to what was to be done. We just did it. We had no barricade because there was so much traffic on that road that a barricade would have given away our position immediately. Some of our shots must have taken effect because the first lorry swayed about on the road a bit and then pulled up. To our amazement, we then discovered that

14 The Ballyduff ambush is described in the following Witness Statements: BMH WS 877, P. Paul; BMH WS 1,024, J. Power and BMH WS 1,005, W. Walsh – all participants, the latter reluctantly so as a prisoner in the convoy being attacked.


Pictorial Plan
Pickardstown Ambush
of Jan. 7th 1921
Time 11.45 p.m.
Glen Rd.
Racecourse
18 Riflemen
No. 4 Position
West Waterford Brig.
Outpost
West Waterford
Brigade
Pickardstown Rd.
Barricade
No. 3 Position
Dunhill (2nd) Batt.
10 Shotgun men
Waterford
4 Rifles
No. 2 Position
Waterford City Batt.
12 Shotguns
British Lorries
8 Riflemen
Stream
No. 1 Position
Waterford City Batt.
Old Road
Shrine Rd.
W
S
N
E

there were some of our own men in the lorry, being conveyed as prisoners to Kilworth Camp. We feared to injure them by continuing our fire so we pulled out and retired from the position. I learned afterwards that one of the prisoners was Liam Walsh, our late Brigade Commander, and there were consequently rumours afloat following this that we had attempted to rescue the prisoners, particularly Liam Walsh. Of course this was not so, as we were unaware of their presence until after we had opened fire on the convoy.

As I have stated, we had to pull out then as the escort had begun to engage us with light automatic fire and our ammunition supply was very limited – about 8 or 10 rounds a man – and we did not wish to endanger the lives of the prisoners. I learned that the officer in charge of the convoy, who apparently was sitting beside the driver, was wounded and there was also a soldier wounded. I do not think there were any other casualties in the engagement as I asked Liam Walsh about this after his release. I was also pleased to learn that the officer commanding the convoy was not killed. Liam Walsh told me about this and that the officer's name was McNamara. There was also another officer with the convoy who acted very roughly towards the prisoners following the ambush. He would have given them a bad time but for the intervention of McNamara who, notwithstanding his wound, would not allow the prisoners to be ill-treated. This action became known as the Ballyduff Ambush.

Although it was a small-scale action, it was successful and was a confidence booster for all involved. The British army had been engaged, some casualties inflicted and the volunteers involved had withdrawn without loss. It was also a demonstration that there was an active IRA unit in east Waterford.

The Tramore Ambush – January 1921[15]

On 1 November 1920, the West Waterford Brigade (Waterford No. 2) had a notable success. A feint attack on Ardmore RIC station drew out a detachment of the Hampshire Regiment from Youghal. At Piltown Cross the troops ran into a well-prepared ambush. A well-aimed volley killed the driver and the lorry crashed into a barricade across the road, spilling the occupants. After a brief exchange of fire in which one other soldier was killed and six wounded, the soldiers surrendered. After caring for the wounded the IRA withdrew having captured eighteen

15 As the most significant engagement in the East Waterford Brigade area, the Tramore ambush features largely in the Witness Statements from the participants and in local newspaper accounts. The principal statements that I have drawn on are BMH WS 877, P. Paul; BMH WS 1,104, T. Brennan; BMH WS 1,020, J. Cronin; BMH WS 1,024, J. Power; BMH WS 1,023 W. Keane and the very detailed and descriptive account by Nicholas Whittle who was badly wounded in the encounter – BMH WS 1,105. Statements made by participants from the West Waterford Brigade such as Andrew Kirwan, George Kiely, Michael Mansfield and Michael Shalloe were also used.

rifles, a few revolvers, hand-grenades and about two thousand rounds of ammunition. It gave the brigade experience, a massive boost to morale and eighteen badly-needed service rifles. It was a model for other units including the East Waterford Brigade.

At this stage there were only four rural police stations still occupied by the RIC in the brigade area – Portlaw, Tramore, Dunmore East and Passage. Portlaw could be ruled out since a military relief force could come from either the city or from Carrick-on-Suir. Waterford Harbour severely restricted possible withdrawal routes from the vicinity of Passage or Dunmore East – a key consideration in the event of an ambush plan going wrong. This left only Tramore as a possibility for a feint attack. The actual ambush position was to be just on the Tramore side of the railway bridge ('the Metal Bridge'). Comdt. Paul discusses in some detail the choice of position, the disposition of his men and the key decision – a daytime or night-time operation. In his words:

> In planning this ambush at Tramore there were a number of considerations involved. To begin with, I wanted to have this action in the heart of an area, which was regarded by the enemy as absolutely quiet and safe. The terrain thereabouts was, however, absolutely flat and unsuitable for our operations in daylight and this fact, therefore, compelled us to adopt a night attack, although I realised that night operations are always dangerous because of the inability to control forces and the likelihood of their becoming scattered and detached. There was also a very good road network in this area which made it an easy matter for the enemy, equipped with motor vehicles, to surround us, and difficult for us on our part to avoid this if we carried out the operation in daylight. It was these considerations which influenced the carrying out of the Tramore Ambush as a night attack owing to the location of the enemy posts. It would therefore have taken a very big and well-equipped force to attack the enemy barracks and to sustain an attack for any length of time without being cut off and surrounded by enemy forces. As the Brigade Commander, I had to assume the responsibility of deciding to carry out the ambush and arranging the details for it, but as I wanted the co-operation of the West Waterford men I consulted Keating and Lennon about it.
>
> The general plan was to get the enemy out of barracks in a position on the road where they could be boxed in and attacked from four sides at close range. Most of our men present were men who were at work all day and would not be available until evening and would have to be back to their work in the morning, so we had to arrange things accordingly as far as the timing was concerned. The ambush party were arranged in four separate parties, each occupying one position on one side. The first position, which we shall call the No. 1 position was on the Ballynattin road. Practically all the men from the Waterford City

Battalion, together with a couple of men from the Dunhill Battalion were in that position. The idea was that if we had to withdraw from the position, these men could fall back on their home territory in Waterford City and the same thing applied to the men in the other positions. The Ballynattin Road linked up with the road junction connecting the old and new Tramore roads. We had a few riflemen manning the position on the road junction between the old and new roads. These men would be in a position to bring enfilade fire to bear on the rear of the enemy troops, presuming that these came into the position as we had it arranged they should. The men at this road junction were also Waterford City men. We also had a position on the railway embankment between this road junction and the railway bridge. This bridge is often referred to as the Metal Bridge. This position on the embankment is overlooking the road, and it was manned by men from the Dunhill Battalion who were armed with shotguns. The shotgun cartridges were loaded with buckshot and the amount of ammunition available was limited. These men were instructed to pour whatever number of shots they could into the lorries as they came near enough to them and then withdraw. They also were so placed that when they withdrew towards their rear, they withdrew into their own part of the country where they were familiar with the lie of the land and would be able to find their way across country.

No. 4 position was occupied by a party from the West Waterford Brigade. Pat Keating and George Lennon were there but I am not sure whether Pax Whelan was there or not. At any rate, I do not remember seeing him there but I did see the other men. Keating was a Battalion Commander of one of the West Waterford Battalions; Pax Whelan was the Brigade Commander of the West Waterford Brigade. They occupied a position on the Tramore side of the Metal Bridge in the vicinity of a road called the Pickardstown Road. Their position was in rear of a barricade which was erected on the Tramore side of the Metal Bridge. The barricade consisted of a donkey cart, or something like that, turned upside down. It was erected for the purpose of halting the first lorry so as to hold up the convoy when the attack was launched. There were something between 16 and 20 of the West Waterford men present that night and they were fairly well armed. The West Waterford men would be able to bring a very effective enfilade fire to bear on the enemy at a range of 30 yards or less. The choice of this position for the West Waterford men also served to enable them to withdraw, if necessary: falling back on their own territory which lay in their rear.

Wisely, Paul had put a great emphasis on ensuring good retreat routes into familiar territory for his men but apparently left it up to each section to decide when to retreat in the event of the plan going wrong. (See attached map for layout of ambush position.)

At about 7.30 p.m. on the night of 7 January about twenty men from the Waterford City Battalion mobilized in the grounds of the Mental Hospital where the battalion arms dump was located. Armed with eight rifles, twelve shotguns and a few revolvers and commanded by W. Keane, the Brigade Vice OC, they set off for Tramore. Thomas Brennan of Tramore led the way through the rain and darkness, across country at first to avoid detection and then along the Old Tramore Road to the rendezvous point at Ballynattin Cross Roads. Earlier that afternoon, Andrew Kirwan, Brigade Transport Officer had commandeered three motorcars to carry eighteen men of the West Waterford Brigade to Tramore. Needing a fourth car to carry himself and five others, he himself set out about an hour later. Others from the Bunmahon and Dunhill companies made their way eastward by bicycle. In all, some sixty men assembled at the crossroads. By this time the rain had stopped and the night was fine but cold. Comdt. Paul conferred with Pax Whelan (Brigade OC of the West Waterford Brigade) and George Lennon, OC of the West Waterford Flying Column. After a briefing to all present in which it was emphasized that the key to success was to hold fire until the relieving force had been stopped by the barricade and were completely within the ambush position to allow fire from all angles, the men were deployed to their positions to wait. Whelan was careful to deploy other small groups of men to cover the approach roads from the west in addition to those at the crossroads lest the enemy try to outflank his position. Meanwhile Paul himself and five others entered Tramore to mount the feint attack. With two men he approached the front of the RIC barracks while the others took up position to the rear of the building. Just after 11 p.m. they opened fire. The garrison replied with rifle fire and grenades while sending up Verey lights to summon help from Waterford City. Paul had also been careful to leave the telephone wire uncut. After a brisk exchange of fire lasting about fifteen minutes, Paul led his men back towards the ambush position and spoke briefly to George Lennon. Then, as he began to walk down towards the crossroads to make his way to the Ballynattin Road, he heard a single shot followed by sustained firing from the far side, the Waterford side, of the Metal Bridge. Something had clearly gone wrong. Paul now had to make his way across the fields to the Ballynattin Road, while Lennon tried to bring his men into action.

In response to the call from Tramore for help, the military had dispatched a strong force of about seventy troops in four lorries. Travelling by the Old Tramore Road, they approached the crossroads at about 11.45 p.m. Just after the second lorry had passed the junction, one shotgun man stationed on the Ballynattin Road had fired a shot prematurely. He was one of three men from the Ferrybank Company about whom it was later alleged that they had been drinking before the ambush. As soon as that first shot was fired, the Dunhill men on the railway embankment opened up as ordered. The convoy immediately halted with the first

lorry stopping under the railway bridge and the last two stopping on the Old Tramore Road, outside the ambush position. Since no enemy troops had come as far as their planned firing zone, the men from west Waterford could take little part in the action. In an attempt to illuminate the scene, Pax Whelan fired a Verey light but that was insufficient. Conscious that they might hit their own men on the other side of the ambush position, they could not use rapid volley fire. Instead they could only fire single shots at the muzzle flashes of the enemy rifles. After about twenty minutes of such firing and fearful that more enemy troops might be moving to cut them off from the west, Whelan and Lennon decided to withdraw. They abandoned the commandeered cars and marched cross-country towards their base near Kilrossanty which they reached safely without encountering any enemy forces. It was a similar story for the men from Dunhill in position No. 3. Armed only with shotguns and with very little ammunition, they fired repeatedly at the outline of the enemy lorries before they too withdrew to the west. Neither of these groups had managed to kill or to wound any of the British troops, nor had they suffered any casualties themselves. It was a different story, however, on the Ballynattin Road.

Because two of the lorries had stopped outside the ambush position, the British Forces were now ideally placed to take the volunteers in positions 1 and 2 from behind. The ambushers were now trapped. Thomas Brennan was one of four riflemen in position No. 2. He describes the action from his vantage point:

> One, or perhaps two, of the military lorries passed my position, going towards the Metal Bridge, and I could hear other lorries following. To the best of my recollection, two British lorries entered the ambush position. Immediately the first lorry approached the bridge it was fired on and that opened the engagement. At once the lights on the lorries were switched off, the military got out and took positions on the sides of the road. Firing had been opened by our men on the Ballynatten road and by those on the railway line. I could hear the military advancing towards the junction, i.e. the 'V', on foot down the Old Tramore Road and what, probably, was the voice of a British officer saying: 'There is an ambush down here in the... wood'. We fired a volley at a lorry which came into view when a Verey light went up near it at the Metal Bridge. I believe that this Verey light was fired by the West Waterford men on the far side of the Metal Bridge. In view of the very precarious position in which we found ourselves at the 'V' post, orders were given to us to hold our fire and lie low. We ceased firing and lay quiet for about 10 minutes or so to allow the military who were just a few yards distant from us to pass down by our position and leave us a line of retreat. After some time, as the major part of the firing seemed to be directed away from our position and up towards Ballynatten (on our left), we decided to pull out and try to contact the main body of IRA on the Ballynatten Hill as I knew that was their only line of retreat.

> The four members of our party retreated under cover of a fence for about 300 yards in the field which formed a 'V' at its apex and adjoined the Old Tramore Road. We crossed this road and found that the British lorries had moved on down closer to the ambush position where the firing was still intense. We went up the hill on the north-east side of the Ballynatten road under heavy machinegun fire from the British who were now in a position much lower down near the junction of the roads and who were beginning to fan out and advance up a slope of ground on the south-west side of the Ballynatten Road in an effort to outflank our men on that road. On reaching the top of Ballynatten Hill and failing to locate any of our men, I pushed on over the top and came down on to the Ballynatten Road about a mile, or perhaps a little more, from the ambush position. Again we failed to contact any of our men who had, apparently, retreated in the darkness in a north-easterly direction towards the Dunmore East-Waterford area. There was nothing left for us to do then but to make the best of our way across country to Waterford. This we did, without meeting any of the enemy (nor did we meet any of our boys) and we arrived back in the grounds of the Waterford Mental Hospital about 6 a.m. on 8.1.1921. There we dumped our arms and made our separate ways home.

By withholding fire and lying low after the confusion of the first burst of gunfire, the men in No. 2 position had undoubtedly averted a worse disaster. Given the disposition of the British Army lorries they could not intervene in any effective way and they had no option but to withdraw in conformity with the general plan.

The attention of the British troops was firmly focussed on the men in position No. 1. In the absence of Comdt. Paul who was still making his way across the stream and marsh, Vice Comdt. W. Keane now took command. The troops who had dismounted from the first two lorries lined the ditch and poured fire at the volunteers in position No. 1 while men from the other two lorries began to work their way across the intervening fields, firing as they went. Within a few minutes three of the shotgun men were casualties – Michael McGrath dead and Michael Wyley and Nicholas Whittle wounded. Thomas O'Brien, Captain of the Dunhill Company and the first rifleman (on the right of that section) was shot and killed soon after. Keane had no option but to order a retreat. Wyley had been wounded in the legs and Keane helped him up the hill. There they met Paul who was trying to organise the withdrawal but it was a case of the men dispersing in the dark and making their way individually back to the city. In Keane's words:

> The time was now 12.30 a.m. or maybe about 1 a.m. I helped to make a stretcher out of a wooden gate to carry Mick Wyley who was in great pain. We carried him, still under fire, across the fields and ditches eastwards for about two miles to the house of a man named Cheasty who was a sympathiser of ours. We left Mick Wyley there

> after giving him what first-aid treatment we could and proceeded across country eastwards towards Waterford city. There were about six of us in my party. We put our guns in the dump in the grounds of the Waterford Mental Hospital and I got home to my place in the city about 6 a.m. on 8th January 1921.

The British troops made no real effort to pursue the retreating volunteers, afraid that in that darkness they might be drawn into a further ambush. Neither side was aware that Nicholas Whittle was lying in a ditch very seriously wounded. As the troops combed the Ballynattin Road they came across Whittle's bloodstained body but left him for dead. Whittle had been shot three times, once in the face, once in the neck and the third in the chest. Despite being kicked and prodded with bayonets, he lay silently in the ditch until the troops withdrew. Then he crawled across country for about three miles until he saw a light in a cottage. The people there transferred him by cart to the house of a cousin, Patrick Whittle. The next day, Dr. Purcell of Parnell Street visited the Whittle and Cheasty houses and tended to the wounded men. That evening, even though the area was crawling with troops and police searching for the wounded men, Paddy Paul, Tom Brennan and Martin Whittle collected Mick Wyley and Nicholas Whittle and brought them safely in a pony and trap to the Mental Hospital where they were treated by Dr. Fitzgerald.

The British forces had suffered only two minor casualties. One policeman, Constable Bryant had been slightly wounded during the feint attack on Tramore Police Barracks. One soldier was slightly wounded during the firing at the ambush site. The IRA discovered this when the wounded man went to a solicitor's office to register a claim for compensation. The clerk who took the details and who discussed the ambush at length with him was Dennis Madden – East Waterford Brigade Intelligence Officer!

In this, their first major operation, the East Waterford Brigade had suffered a major defeat. The City Battalion had suffered three casualties out of twenty men engaged and the Dunhill Battalion one while inflicting only two minor wounds on the enemy. The questions now were how would the British forces follow up and how would Paul rally his men for further action.

The Tramore Ambush – The Aftermath

The next day, Waterford City was rife with rumours. People were soon aware that the local volunteers had suffered a major setback. Soon the rumours crystallised on three volunteers killed and up to ten wounded with only minor casualties to the Crown forces. Many people availed of time off on Sunday 9 January to travel to Tramore to view the scene and the railway company had to put on extra carriages on the trains. Two bodies had been brought to the military barracks and it was stated that the third body had been removed from the ambush site by the IRA. On Monday 10 January, an enquiry was opened in the military barracks. The body of Michael McGrath was identified by a union card found in his pocket. McGrath was a member of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. The enquiry

Figure 2: Curfew pass used to the author's father after the introduction of Martial Law in Waterford, January 1921.

found that death was caused by a single shot to the head. His body was released to his brother and brought to St. John's Church in the City. The next day a huge crowd turned out for the funeral. As hundreds of people formed up behind the hearse, the military intervened and announced that only forty mourners would be allowed to accompany the body. Dr. Vincent White, the Sinn Féin Mayor of Waterford, addressed the crowd and they dispersed. Forty mourners, including Dr. White, then drove to Carbally Cemetery for the interment.[16]

There were no identifying papers on the body of Thomas O'Brien and nobody came forward to claim the body. This was not uncommon since relatives often feared that they would be the target of reprisals if they came forward. On Tuesday the body was released to Liam Raftis, the Town Clerk and brought to St. John's Church. The burial took place the next day with the military again intervening to limit the cortege to forty. They also checked to see if there was a nameplate on the coffin – there wasn't. The body of the unidentified man was buried in Ballygunner. Later that week the death of Nicholas Whittle was announced and masses were said for the repose of his soul. Since no burial took place, the authorities saw through the ruse. In the end, Whittle was smuggled out of the country to England where he could recuperate in peace.

The RIC and the British Army followed up with intensive raiding to try and find the wounded volunteers. In this they were hampered by the lack of real intelligence. A tip-off by a friendly RIC man ensured that Whittle and Wyley had been moved from the Mental Hospital when it was raided. Although a number of attendants were arrested on suspicion of helping the wounded men, they were later released. In an important though unrelated development, martial law was extended to Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford and Clare on 8 January 1921. This gave the military power to try any offence by court-martial and to intern those whom they suspected. It also introduced a curfew and extensive restrictions on all movements by car or by bicycle. Householders were obliged to pin to their doors a list of all occupants. Soon a steady stream of arrests and internment orders testified to the effectiveness of these measures. However, the authorities lacked the intelligence network to capture the key activists such as the brigade staff, even if the latter now spent their time on the run.

While the British forces sought to capitalise on their success, the East Waterford Brigade practically disintegrated in a welter of blame and recrimination. A number of the officers blamed Paul for the debacle. In particular they criticised him for the selection of the ambush position and for personally leading the feint attack on the RIC station. To their mind he should have stayed at the Command Post on the Ballynatten Road. They also alleged that he had not clearly briefed the men in No. 1 and 2 positions. Soon personal spleen entered the situation. Statements were made that Paul and his family were noted followers of Redmond and that he had voted for Redmond in the 1918 election. His British Army background was also cited as another reason for lack of confidence. When later that year Pax Whelan was instructed by Provisional HQ to investigate the affairs in the

16 *Waterford News,* 14 January 1921; *Munster Express,* 14 January 1921.

brigade, he concluded 'as a native of Waterford I am sure that these points are the root of all the trouble'.[17]

Such was the bitterness engendered by the failure of the Tramore ambush, 1st Southern Division felt obliged to carry out a formal enquiry into it. Virtually all the officers present were interviewed and among the conclusions were:

- The ambush position was far from being suitable but it is questionable if better could be found owing to the network of roads.
- Our forces do not seem to be extended enough for a convoy of four lorries and certainly Waterford No. 2 men (West Waterford) should have been more at rear of barricade.
- The fighting fell on the shotgun men.
- A prearranged retiring signal should always be given to men especially at night.
- The failure of ambush and loss of life rest either on Brigade OC or OC 'A' Coy. No. 2 Battalion – more than likely the latter.
- OC operation should have remained in his command position or left an officer in his absence.

Overall it concluded that:

> Waterford No. 1 Brigade should not have undertaken such a large operation for the following reasons:
> a) Operation too big as men had never before fired a shot.
> b) Men had neither discipline, morale or arms for such a fight, especially night fighting.[18]

The report also queried, 'As they all seemed altogether undisciplined at the time, is there any use in court-martialling those who were under the influence of drink?' In the event, no disciplinary action was taken against them.

It is difficult to disagree with the main conclusions of the report. The Ballyduff Glen ambush was more suited to the capacity of the brigade rather than the large, elaborate operation mounted for the Tramore ambush. In other brigade areas there had been a progression – starting with the killing of single policemen, followed by successful barrack attacks, ultimately leading to the type of large-scale ambush tried at Tramore. For the East Waterford Brigade it was several steps too far and they paid the price.

The simmering discontent among the officers in the brigade came to a head in March. As part of a larger operation, Paul instructed his men to attack the military patrol that traversed the city each night. Nothing happened and when he made enquiries he found that, according to his own account, his Vice Brigadier William Keane, had countermanded his instructions, asking the men 'Why should you get

17 UCD Archives, PA/7/19, Mulcahy Papers, p. 119-120, Report from Pax Whelan (OC No. 2 West Waterford Brigade) to Chief of Staff.

18 UCD Archives, PH/7/22, Mulcahy Papers, p. 243 et seq., Report from 1st Division to GHQ summarising enquiry into Tramore ambush; including list of ambush participants who were interviewed for the enquiry and their statements.

shot for Paddy Paul?' When Paul heard this he felt that he had no option but to relieve Keane of his rank and to appoint Michael Bishop in his place.[19] In response, all the officers of the brigade, with the exception of Paul, attended a special meeting on 22 May at which they voted no confidence in the Brigadier. In his place they elected Michael Power, Vice OC 2nd Battalion. On 25 May, they formally notified IRA GHQ in Dublin of a new brigade staff, declared their willingness for 'immediate full co-operation of this Brigade in great fight at present being waged by the gallant men of other Brigades throughout the country'.[20] They also made it quite clear that as long as Paul remained in command they would not participate in any fighting.

To GHQ in Dublin this letter came as an unwelcome surprise. At a time when they were intent on introducing a more professional organisation and discipline into the IRA, such an action was at best gross insubordination and at worst mutiny. They reacted swiftly. A despatch dated the next day confirmed Paul as Brigadier and instructed all officers to obey him.[21] In another despatch to HQ, 1st Southern Division, General Richard Mulcahy, Chief of Staff instructed General Liam Lynch to carry out an enquiry into the brigade while stating his own views:

> Personally, I could not get any good of any officer in Waterford or get any scrap of organisation in the Brigade as a whole, until the present Brigade Commandant took command some months ago. He has put the Brigade on something like a satisfactory footing. I think his own work has been done in a very orderly, disciplined and complete manner. His principal offence in the eyes of those who are now criticising him in the area, probably is: that he endeavours to make them do definite fighting work, and that he will not agree that talking about work, or even planning work is work.[22]

On receipt of the despatch, Lynch turned to Sean Hyde of the 4th Cork Brigade and to Pax Whelan of the Waterford No. 2 Brigade and tasked them with the enquiry. In the meantime, Paul tried to maintain some level of activity in his brigade area.

Operations, January-June 1921

In the aftermath of the Tramore ambush, Paul was determined to maintain pressure on the enemy. A number of times, with a few companions he sought to repeat the Ballyduff Glen ambush but no targets presented themselves. His thoughts now turned towards a larger operation involving all the units of his brigade. He planned a three-part operation as follows. One party would attack the Dunmore RIC Barracks while support groups blocked all roads to the village to hinder reinforcements; at the same time Redmond Bridge would be raised, just before the train

19 BMH WS 877, P. Paul.

20 UCD Archives, PA/7/19, Mulcahy Papers, Letter from Officers, East Waterford Brigade to GHQ, 25 May 1921; See also BMH WS 1,104, T. Brennan.

21 UCD Archives, PA/7/19, Mulcahy Papers.

22 *Ibid.*

from Cork arrived which would normally be carrying troops. As the troops from the train waited on the bridge they were to be fired on from the slopes of Mount Misery by F Company – the Ferrybank Company. The centrepiece of the night's actions was to be an ambush of the military party which patrolled the city nightly. The date set for this operation was Monday 7 March.[23]

From early evening, groups of volunteers began blocking roads throughout the brigade area by felling trees and digging trenches. At about 11 p.m. six men, led by Jeremiah Cronin, opened up sustained rifle fire on Dunmore RIC Barracks.[24] The garrison of twelve, commanded by Sergeants Gough and Lee, responded in kind with rifle and machine gun fire and with grenades. Although Verey lights were fired by the police to summon assistance, no relief party was despatched until the next morning. After about thirty minutes of firing, the attacking party withdrew as instructed. Neither side had suffered any casualties. At about the same time four volunteers entered the bridge control room and held the operator, Joe Grace at gun-point. Grace was forced to raise the bridge and then the volunteers threw key pieces of equipment into the river before withdrawing. The train arrived as scheduled and soon a large crowd, including many British troops, were waiting around for the bridge to be lowered. To Paul's great chagrin nothing else happened. The troops at the bridge were not fired on and the routine patrol was not ambushed. It was when he enquired why his orders were not carried out that the split in the brigade, as described above, came to the surface.

With such a split in the organisation, it is little wonder that no operations were mounted in the following months. Low-level harassing of the authorities such as raids on mails, destruction of army stores and road blocking continued. One such operation ended in tragedy. On 25 May, Sean O'Rourke, a member of D Company, City Battalion was on outpost duty at Holy Cross, covering an entrenching party, when he saw two men in civilian clothing approaching whom we took to be fellow volunteers. Whether or not his poor eyesight contributed to his failure to identify them is a moot point. When he challenged them, the two British officers in mufti responded by firing at him. Badly wounded, he made his way back to his comrades while the British officers summoned a large patrol which was nearby. O'Rourke's comrades took him to Butlerstown Castle where he was hidden during the day. That night he died while being carried on a stretcher to another hiding place. His body was brought to Dunhill sacristy and at midnight was secretly buried in Reisk graveyard.[25]

23 BMH WS 877, P. Paul.

24 BMH WS 1,020, J. Cronin.

25 BMH WS 1,132, D. Ennis; BMH WS 972, T. Cleary; BMH WS 877, P. Paul and also Nicholas Whittle, *Waterford Remembers,* (no date), pp. 24-25.

Comdt. Paul summarised the month's activities in his report to GHQ:[26]

To:
C/S 15th June, 1921

WATERFORD
3-5-21

Herewith I submit to you as near as possible the activities of the Brigade for the month of May.

Activities.

Batt. III.

(1) On the 30-4-21 a systematic raid was carried out on all the sub-Post Offices in the City. One man was captured owing to being accidentally knocked down while endeavouring to escape. The reason for the omission from last month's report was, the results were not definitely known.
(2) On the 8-5-21 twenty-six cwt. of bacon for military and six barrels of oil for RIC transport were destroyed at Goods station.
(3) On the 25-5-21 one ton of bacon consigned for enemy at Clonmel was captured and taken away.
(4) On the morning of the 27-5-21 rural postmen leaving the city were held up and immobilized.
(5) Working on a Divisional Order this Batt. seized on the 10-5-21 twenty-three new bicycles from enemy agents.

Batt. II

(1) Working on Brigade Orders this Batt. demolished 39 bridges and pitted the majority of roads in the area.
(2) Working on Div. Order this Batt. seized 93 bicycles on the 10-5-21.
(3) On the 19-5-21 while a party of our troops were engaged in demolishing a bridge, a sentry came in contact with enemy troops, wounding two, and putting one lorry out of action, all our party retired uninjured.

Batt. I

(1) Working on Brigade Orders this Batt. demolished ten bridges and pitted nearly all roads in its area.
(2) Working on Div. Orders this Batt. seized 15 bicycles on the 10-5-21.

I was not responsible for the operation on the 25-5-21 in which the City Battalion was brought from its base for the purpose of demolishing bridges. During the operation, which continued until the morning of the 26th May, an enemy cyclist patrol came in contact with one of our sentries whom they seriously wounded and died the following

26 UCD Archives, PA/7/22, Mulcahy Papers, p. 181.

> day from the affects. The enemy then retired to his base, leaving outposts near the City boundary. Three of our men were captured while returning to their homes.
>
> You will note that the enemy was between this particular Batt.'s base and the zone of operations and made things very uncomfortable for such a large body of men to get back to their base unobserved.
>
> Signed,
>
> O/C Waterford No.1 Brigade.

Paul's disclaimer that he was not responsible for the operation in which O'Rourke was killed reflected the deep split in the brigade.

Another factor contributing to the low level of activity in the brigade area at this time was a change in tactics by Paul. Mindful of the fact that the majority of his officers could not be relied upon to carry out his orders he decided to form a fulltime Active Service Unit (Flying Column). He selected fifteen men, his best and most reliable activists and appointed Jeremiah Cronin as Commanding Officer.[27] Armed with virtually all the rifles in the brigade, he sent them to join the West Waterford Column for two months intensive training at the latter's base in the Comeragh Mountains. A necessary step this, but it did remove key men from the brigade for a period.

Apart from armed activities there were a number of parallel aspects of the struggle for independence – the intelligence war, the role of organised labour and the operation of the Dáil Courts. Each of these happened on a nationwide and on a local basis – in east Waterford as follows.

The Intelligence War, 1920-1921

By the summer of 1921, the nationwide military struggle had reached a stalemate but the IRA had established a decisive advantage in the intelligence war, both in obtaining information and in denying it to the British forces. As with so many other aspects, the driving force was Michael Collins in his capacity as IRA Director of Intelligence. By partial penetration of the British intelligence system with well-placed informants, by the extensive penetration of the postal, telegraph and telephone system and by detailed, careful observation of personnel and movements of the enemy he built up a systematic picture of his opponents while all the time maintaining the security and efficiency of his own operations. In the words of Todd Andrews:

> For the first time in the history of separatism we Irish had a better intelligence service than the British – this was Michael Collins' great achievement.[28]

27 BMH WS 877, P. Paul; BMH WS 1,020, J. Cronin.

28 C.S. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me: An Autobiography,* (Dublin, Mercier Press, 1979), p. 151.

From October 1920, Collins sought to replicate his methods and success throughout the country. In November each brigade was instructed to appoint a specialist intelligence officer. In east Waterford the chosen person was Denis Madden, an experienced volunteer. Born in Cork in 1882, he had worked as a solicitor's clerk in Mallow, Waterford and Tralee before returning to Waterford in 1918. In each location he had been actively involved in the Irish Volunteers. In his own words:[29]

> At the end of 1920, Major Paul, our then Brigadier of Waterford No. 1 Brigade, asked me to organise an intelligence branch for the brigade area. I set about it, as Michael Collins urged. I had men appointed in the three battalions and men in each company. Weekly Report forms were sent out by me and I got agents to act in firms, shipping companies and the railway, etc. etc. It was not easy to get people to act here. The Redmondites were still in a majority, although losing ground. I sent in my reports to 'Mr. Preston' at Gladstone St. Post Office. This was arranged with Paul. I had several in the GPO helping. The late Joe Neiland, Tommy Mountjoy, Harris Slattery – all deceased – and Michael Foley, now of Tramore. Harris Slattery's son, Seamus (now an officer in Cavalry) used to get copy of British military code messages, slip them into his tie and bring them to me. Others brought some of them too. I tried to read those with keys supplied, and dispatched them anyway to GHQ. I got reports of police movements, also military, every week, and sent these in. I got bundles of police letters from GPO, which I opened and read. The RIC used send in reports of patrols which they never made; they were getting demoralised. I was held up and searched a few times. It was essential, and I told my men so, that there be no talking. They were to report anyone offending in this way. I remember using the bedroom of Rev. Father O'Connor, superior of the Friars, for typing my dispatches. I used see the Black and Tans and the Peelers going across at the back from Lady Lane station to Peter St. while I was working. There were several raids on the post offices here, but Bob Whelan, the Battalion IO, was looking after this. These raids were mostly irregular, and they got nothing but money. Some of those doing them were sent for trial by Volunteers after.
>
> I have a big number of letters from GHQ still, and a bundle of code messages. I had a covering address – it was a Miss Healy, Manor St. John Power, the Tramore railway station master, used keep all my papers on the wall under the roof at the station, were he used put them at night.

29 BMH WS 1,103, D. Madden.

To counter the work of Denis Madden and his network of volunteers, the Government forces relied mainly on the Crimes Special Branch of the RIC. Despite its name, this was not a dedicated unit but rather a part-time duty carried out by a sergeant at each county headquarters and by a constable in each barracks. Reports were reviewed by the County Inspector who sent a monthly summary to RIC Headquarters. The men involved received no special training and in an act of remarkable parsimony their special allowance was withdrawn in 1916! Through their network of small rural barracks, the RIC were ideally placed to monitor the rise of nationalist movements and those who were prominent in them. However, the closure of barracks in 1920 left whole swathes of countryside without any visible police presence and nobody to watch, observe and report. In Waterford there was no occupied police station between Portlaw and Dungarvan, leaving that vast stretch of countryside un-policed except for the occasional motor patrol. Thus the RIC network was a diminishing intelligence asset and one that was not replaced.

From the summer of 1920, the information from the RIC was supplemented by army intelligence. Each army unit was required to designate one officer to collate all information. In the Devonshire Regiment in Waterford the person was Lieutenant Yeo. Like many of his kind, and indeed his counterparts in the IRA, he was young and inexperienced but quickly established himself as a capable officer. One of his main duties was the interrogation of prisoners, which is how Thomas Brennan (D Company, Tramore) met him:

> I was taken to the military barracks, Waterford, and placed in solitary confinement. After about a week like that I was interrogated by a Lieut. Yeo of the Devonshire Regiment and was subjected to considerable abuse and assault by him for failing to give him the information he asked for. This man, Yeo, was a notorious blackguard and attempts had been made by our men to shoot him, but these attempts unfortunately failed.[30]

However, it should be noted that other IRA officers who were captured and held in the military barracks reported no such ill-treatment. Some such as Liam Walsh said that they were well treated and not subjected to any abuse. The constant arrest of volunteers was a tribute to Yeo's effectiveness as an intelligence officer.

Captured documents were a prime source of information for Lt. Yeo. When Brennan was captured he had papers on him giving details of a brigade officers' meeting. Luckily the IRA were able to notify the participants and so avoided what could have been a major blow to their organisation. However, both the RIC and the British Army failed to penetrate the ranks of the IRA to any extent. They never set up a successful counter-insurgency ambush and any sweeps that they mounted did not capture members of the Flying Column. Thus any encounter between the opposing forces was either by accident or by intent on the part of the IRA. The East Waterford Brigade managed to avoid the type of disaster that befell their

30 BMH WS 1,104, T. Brennan.

comrades in east Cork at Clonmult. The IRA, however, had a number of well-placed informants within the RIC who supplied them with a constant stream of good information.

The IRA put huge resources into the capture of mails. Telephone wires were frequently cut and wireless was so scarce that only British Army Brigade Headquarters had the equipment and the trained personnel to use it. Trains using the two railway lines in the county, the Tramore and the Dungarvan-Fermoy lines, were frequently stopped and mails removed for scrutiny. Postmen, especially on rural deliveries, were routinely stopped and all letters taken away for examination. Raids on post-offices, often for money as well as mail, were a weekly occurrence. Much information was gleaned and when the letters were subsequently delivered stamped 'censored by the IRA' it helped to create a belief of IRA ubiquity.

The penetration of the mail system had one side effect. From September 1920 the British Army started using RAF planes to drop important despatches to garrisons throughout the country. Mail would be taken from 6th Division HQ in Cork City by heavily armed convoy to Fermoy, the base of No. 2 Squadron.[31] A typical routine flight would involve dropping mails at Dungarvan, Waterford, Kilkenny and Clonmel before returning to Fermoy. The flight of 17 November, using Bristol Fighter H1490, was far from routine. According to the *Waterford News*:

> On Wednesday about 1 o'clock an exciting affair occurred in Waterford when an aeroplane crashed to earth. Number HI490, of the scout type, it was carrying the usual despatches from Fermoy to the military barracks at Waterford. It was noticed to be flying very low passing over the city and appeared to have developed engine trouble. Arriving over the barrack square, the machine struck the wireless gear and at once dived forward, then turned on its side and struck upside down on the roof of the licensed premises of Mr. Aspel in Barrack Street, just opposite the barracks.
>
> The crash was heard for a wide area around and at once created much commotion. A number of soldiers of the Devon Regiment rushed from the barracks and ran up ladders to the roof. One of the soldiers scrambling on to the roof, fell down through it, but was not injured beyond receiving a severe shaking. After great efforts, the two occupants of the machine were rescued and conveyed to the interior of the house. Both were unconscious and were taken on stretchers to the barracks hospital. In the meantime, a huge crowd had congregated around the scene of the accident and military with fixed bayonets kept them back. The machine, which is stuck fast on the roof of the house, is being dismantled.

31 PRO Air Ministry, S/214, No. 2 Squadron, Diary and Operation Reports.

Figure 3: Bristol Fighter of No. 2 Squadron, RAF which crashed dropping the mail at the Infantry Barracks, 17 November 1920.

(Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Poole Collection, WP 2891)

The crew were Flying Officer Briggs and his observer McKeechan. One broke a leg, the other an arm. The report in the paper also described the great difficulties experienced by the rescuers, many of whom were overcome with the fumes of the petrol from the machine which flowed all over the house.

The sight of the aircraft embedded in the roof of Aspel's public house created a lasting visual image of the War of Independence for many Waterford people.

There is a big difference between the gathering of information and the effective use of that information. There is no evidence that the information gathered by D. Madden was used to set up ambushes of selected targets. A Waterford Brigade summary of July 1921 noted:[32]

Waterford Golf Club - frequented by officers
Waterford Tennis Club - frequented by officers
Sir H.J. Forde - officers attend tennis parties with armed guard.

However, this information was not acted upon. Contrast this with other counties where such information was used to inflict casualties on the police and the military. For example Kerry where Major McKinnon, OC of H Company, Auxiliaries was shot dead on the third green of the Tralee golf course or Galway where DI Blake, his wife and two escorting soldiers were killed returning from a tennis party at Ballyturin House. Even the attempts to target Lt. Yeo appear to have been rather amateurish:

> One of the worst blackguards was a Lieutenant in the Devonshire Regiment by the name of Yeo. This fellow specialised in beating up innocent people with the butt of his revolver and it was decided to shoot him at the first possible opportunity. We waited for him night after night in the vicinity of the Imperial Hotel, Waterford, where he often went with other officers for drink and cards, but, strangely enough, he never turned up on the nights we waited. He used to play golf occasionally, so, as I got fed up waiting at nights for him, I decided to go up to the local golf links in the morning and lie in wait for him until darkness came on. For one whole month I did this, but believe it or not, Yeo never turned up for a game of golf.[33]

As HQ 1st Southern Division IRA noted: 'The enemy is going about in twos and threes without the slightest hindrance'. The ruthless efficiency that characterised the similar operations by the Kerry or Galway IRA units was absent. This is not to say, however, that the often brutal intelligence war did not impinge on Waterford and Waterford people.

32 National Library of Ireland MS 31, 215, F. O'Donoghue Papers, 1st Southern Division, Brigade Intelligence Reports, July 1921 – Waterford Brigade. Henceforth abbreviated as NLI.

33 BMH WS 1,023, W. Keane.

In February 1920, the Quinlisk family of Rose Lane, Waterford City were notified of the death of their son, Timothy.[34] The previous day his body had been found in a field on the outskirts of Cork City. He had been shot as a spy by a local IRA unit. It was a tragic end to a short but strange life. He had enlisted in the Royal Irish Regiment just before the war at the age of seventeen. After completing recruit training in Clonmel he had been posted to the Regiment's second battalion in the South of England. He was involved in all the major battles of the autumn campaign before being captured by the Germans. A prisoner of war at Limburg, he had been among the first to respond to Casement's call and had joined the Irish Brigade. Although suspicious of Quinlisk's motives, Casement had accepted him and gave him the rank of sergeant. Like his comrades, he never got the chance to fight for Ireland but spent the war at various German camps. In 1919, he was repatriated to London by the victorious British. After intensive interrogation, the British Army decided not to press any charges and he was discharged. Penniless, he arrived in Dublin in the summer of 1919 where he was financially assisted by Sinn Féin. He offered his services to the IRA as a training instructor but this offer was not taken up. He then wrote to the authorities in Dublin Castle in November 1919 offering to work for them, specifically offering to betray Michael Collins, Ireland's most wanted man, in return for the published reward of £10,000.

Unfortunately for Quinlisk, his letter was intercepted by one of Collins's agents in Dublin Castle. Now aware of Quinlisk's intentions, Collins set a trap. He made him aware of a purported meeting with the officers of the Cork Brigades at a hotel in Cork on 19 February. Quinlisk passed the information to his contacts and he travelled there to be on hand to identify Collins. On the appointed hour and day, British forces mounted a large but fruitless raid on the hotel. Now sure of Quinlisk's guilt, the IRA acted. Two days later he was abducted from his hotel room and taken to the field where he met his sad and lonely fate. His father, a retired RIC constable who had served many years in Waterford, had the sad task of travelling to Cork to bring home the body of his son. Shortly afterwards the family left Waterford and unknowingly saved themselves further pain and humiliation. As Tomás Ó Cléirigh describes:[35]

> After this his sister used to go around with the Tans a lot and our Captain tried to get her. One of our Company, a man named R. Deegan, got great with her and, as arranged, made a date with her for a certain Sunday night. He was to take her for a walk out the Cork Road (which, at the time, was a bleak country road). We were waiting at a place called Kings Meadow House, standing in the gateway. We had a gallon of tar and a bag of feathers. It was our intention to strip

34 For an account of the life and death of Timothy Quinlisk see P. Beaslaí, *Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland,* (Dublin, Talbot Press, 1926), Vol. I, pp. 392-402 and T. Ryle Dwyer, *The Squad and the Intelligence Operations of Michael Collins,* (Cork, Mercier Press, 2005), p. 86-87.

35 BMH WS 972, T. Cleary.

this lady, pour the tar over her and then throw the feathers over her. But we were disappointed as something went wrong and she did not turn up; in fact, she left the city.

The East Waterford Brigade had a number of sympathisers and informants within the local RIC. The most important of these was Sergeant John Greene.[36] Aged forty and a native of Offaly, he had been in charge of Callaghane Barracks. When that was closed and evacuated in April 1920, he was then attached to the local HQ in Lady Lane in the city. From there he supplied a steady stream of valuable information. It was his quick thinking and immediate notification to Madden and Paul that enabled the brigade officers to avoid capture following the arrest of Tom Brennan. On 12 September 1921, during the Truce, his body was found in a lane off Shortcourse, killed by a single shot to the head. His service revolver was beside his body. The inquest returned a verdict of suicide. In their written statements, IRA officers such as Keane, Walsh and Madden voiced their strong suspicions that Sergeant Green had been shot by Black and Tans who had discovered his clandestine work for the IRA. There is no evidence to support their theory but the stress and strain of his double role may have contributed to Greene's decision to take his own life.

The Labour Movement in Waterford and the War of Independence

The demands of a war economy followed by a post-war boom led to a growing demand for labour, circumstances in which trade unions flourished. Nationally the number of unionised workers more than doubled; from under 100,000 in 1916 to more than 225,000 in 1920. The national trend was mirrored in Waterford.[37] Liberty Hall had re-established a local office in Waterford in 1917 and four years later the ITGWU claimed 2,352 agricultural labourers in Waterford, leaving only sixty-eight men outside the union. In Waterford City the union grew from 102 members to 903 in three months in 1918, with a similar trend for other, often rival unions. Politically trade unionism in Waterford was moving to the left, a move reflected in the name change from 'Waterford City Trades Council' to 'Waterford and District Workers' Council'. In the words of Emmet O'Connor, 'By 1921, the workers had created a powerful Labour movement in Waterford, syndicalist in structure, socialist in ideology'.

Throughout this period the trade union movement focussed on its primary task – to win better wages and conditions for its members. In this struggle it was quite successful often as the result of strikes. In the city, official records show the trend in strike-days:

1919 : 4,653
1920 : 9,940
1921 : 12,462

36 BMH WS 1,132, D. Ennis; BMH WS 1,023, W. Keane; BMH WS 1,005, W. Walsh; BMH WS 1,103, D. Madden.

37 Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford,* (Waterford, 1989), p. 143-153.

While official labour concentrated on the industrial struggle, there was quite an amount of overlap at individual level between trade union activism and membership of the volunteers. Many of the more active trade unionists such as Jack Edwards, Frank O'Connor and Jimmy O'Connor were also active volunteers.

Frank Edwards recalled of his brother Jack, an activist in the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen:

> D Company was said to be one of the most active, and Jack was a section commander in that. It was made up mostly of manual workers, railwaymen and so on. He was then promoted OC of C Company, which was made up of shop-boys and clerical people. I used to hear him say he would shake them up.[38]

D Company was particularly prominent in many of the harassing actions of the IRA in the city – raids for mails, destruction of supplies intended for the RIC or British Army, raiding for arms, etc.

On two occasions, militant trade unionists contributed significantly to the national struggle for independence.[39] In April 1920, the Irish Trade Union Congress called a general strike in support of republican prisoners on hunger strike including three Waterford men, P. Dalton in Belfast jail, R. Whelan and P. Brazil in Wormwood Scrubs prison. In Waterford the Workers' Council co-ordinated strike action that shut down all business activity and effectively took over the running of the city. Their actions made newspaper headlines all over the British Isles and the *Manchester Guardian* reported that a delegation of southern Unionists had met Andrew Bonar Law, then leader of the Conservative Party which was part of Lloyd George's Coalition Government (although he was not at this time a member of the cabinet, Bonar Law was widely recognised as the power behind the throne). The newspaper report stated:

> A member of the deputation gave a full account of happenings in Waterford under Soviet Government. The city, he states, was taken over by a Soviet Commissioner and three associates. The Sinn Féin mayor abdicated, and the Soviet issued orders to the population which all had to obey. For two days, until a telegram arrived reporting the release of the hunger strikers, the city was in the hands of these men.

For three days the city was in a state of revolutionary fervour. Newspaper reports tell of 'large bodies of pickets, many armed with sticks marching through the city in military formation, enforcing the strike'.

Huge crowds gathered outside the City Hall to listen to speeches while the proceedings invariably ended with the singing of 'The Red Flag'!

38 U. Mac Eoin, *Survivors,* (Dublin, 1980), p. 3.

39 For a more detailed account of these activities, see Pat McCarthy 'Waterford hasn't done much either? Waterford in the War of Independence, 1919-1921: A Comparative Analysis', in *Decies* 58 (2002), pp. 103-106, and the sources cited in that article.

The government quickly capitulated and released the hunger strikers. The Workers' Council handed control of the city back to the Mayor, Dr. Vincent White who afterwards congratulated the 'Soviet Government of Waterford on a very effective, masterly and successful administration'. A few days later the Waterford prisoners returned home to a triumphant welcome. Although there were elements of stage-management about the 'Waterford Soviet' it did demonstrate the power of organised labour in the city and its hinterland.

In May 1920, dockers in Dublin port refused to unload military supplies from a cargo vessel, the *Anna Dorette Boog*. Although a detachment of Royal Engineers intervened and unloaded the vessel, the material then lay on railway wagons when the railwaymen refused to handle it. The action spread throughout the country and took a new form when on 14 June a driver at Waterford, John Condon of Ferrybank refused to take out a train with 120 men of the Devonshire Regiment on board. The driver was dismissed instantly. Within two weeks a further five drivers and three guards had been dismissed. By 9 July twenty drivers and thirty-four guards, porters and firemen had been sacked. The Waterford Workers' Council rallied to their support and organised weekly collections for the men and their families. By 26 November almost £6,000 had been collected in the city. The railwaymen's strike had a major impact on the army. Major General Jeudwine, commanding the 5th Division warned that a stoppage of the railway system would have a catastrophic effect on military communications. In a remarkably quick time the authorities climbed down and announced that the railways would no longer be used for transporting arms, munitions, explosives or fuel. They also declared that only small parties of troops on non-operational duties (e.g. leave parties) would use rail transport. As a major rail centre the commercial life of Waterford city was heavily impacted by the dispute. Services to and from the city were disrupted and by September there was only one daily passenger service to Dublin – via New Ross and Macmine Junction. By the winter of 1920 the transport situation had returned to normal but not all the dismissed men were reinstated.

The Dáil Courts[40]

One of the most remarkable achievements of Sinn Féin in the revolutionary years was the destruction of the system of administering justice and its replacement by a parallel mechanism – the Dáil Courts.

Throughout the country the Crown Courts were replaced by arbitration courts established in each parish. The Crown Courts were made unworkable often through intimidation of justices and jurors. To seek justice, people were left with no alternative but to recourse to the Dáil Courts. As political violence spread and the RIC withdrew to the safety of the larger barracks in the major towns, local volunteers were organised as an alternative, calling themselves the Republican Police. As with other aspects of the Irish revolution, the actual experience varied from county to county.

40 M. Kotsonouris, *Retreat from Revolution: The Dáil Courts, 1920-1924,* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1994).

Disruption of the existing court system was relatively easy. Prospective jurors were told that, 'To obey such summons will be considered an act of treason against the Irish Republic, and you are hereby warned that you will do it at your peril'. Very few of the jurors turned up and the Spring 1921 Quarterly Sessions in Waterford City had to be abandoned – the first time ever. The reluctant jurors were each fined heavily, £3.[41] When the Justice chided one such juror for allowing himself to be intimidated by a piece of paper, the juror retorted that the piece of paper had been delivered by three armed and masked men. On 11 March 1921 the 7.30 a.m. train from Dungarvan to the city was stopped at Durrow. Armed and masked volunteers boarded the train, identified jurors from a list they had, and ordered them to dismount. They were held prisoner for six hours before being forced to walk back to Dungarvan having been warned that they would be shot if they answered a jury summons in the future. A number of JPs (Justice for the Peace) were also intimidated and some resigned. An IRA intelligence report listed all the JPs in the brigade area but noted:

> Some of the above were reported to have resigned, but they may be only lying low. Only T.F.J. Higgins and Sir J.H. Forde attend sessions – so it is impossible to know exactly who has resigned. An announcement in the press may be only a blind.[42]

By March 1921 the only Crown Courts functioning were the compensation courts! In April 1921, Lt. McNamara claimed £2,000 compensation for the bullet wound to his buttock that he had suffered at the Ballyduff Glen ambush. The Magistrate awarded him £750.

In parallel, there are an increasing number of reports in the local newspapers of the proceedings of the Dáil Courts. In August 1920, Sinn Féin announced that Parish Courts would be set up for Butlerstown, Ballygunner, Ballymacaw, Bunmahon, Corbally, Faithlegg, Fenor, Portlaw, Tramore and in each of the city parishes with a District Court holding jurisdiction over these. These courts were quickly in action. The first report appeared in the *Waterford News* of 17 September 1920 relating to a dispute on the ownership of a piano. While there are frequent reports of the activities of the republican courts, there is no mention of the activities of Republican Police. Like other parts of the country, they were not prominent publicly until the Truce.

The introduction of martial law in January 1921 largely negated the collapse of the Crown Court system. A large range of offences could now be tried before a court of three officers and were invariably quickly and severely dealt with: being out after curfew – 2 weeks in prison; possession of a Dáil Loan application – 6 months imprisonment with hard labour; possession of a single cartridge (the defendant claimed it was a souvenir) – 3 years imprisonment with hard labour, etc. Persons suspected of membership of the IRA were interned and quickly sent to one

41 *Waterford News,* March 1921.

42 NLI MS 31, 215, F. O'Donoghue Papers, 1st Southern Division, Brigade Intelligence Reports, July 1921 – Waterford Brigade.

of the many internment camps being established throughout the country. Despite the extensive use of courts martial, they could not fully replace the Crown Courts. The establishment of the Dáil Courts and their acceptance by the people was a major victory for Sinn Féin in the struggle for independence.

June 1921 – Reorganisation and Amalgamation

In the light of the action by his officers, Comdt. Paul considered his position. On 29 May 1921, he wrote to GHQ offering his resignation as OC East Waterford Brigade while emphasizing his commitment and willingness to serve in any capacity in any other unit.[43] The response from headquarters to this offer was immediate – he was instructed to remain in command and to insist that all officers in the brigade obey his instructions.[44]

Meanwhile, Seán Hyde and Pax Whelan were pressing ahead with their enquiry into the running of the brigade. Among the conclusions in their report was that 'the enemy is going about in twos and threes without the slightest hindrance'. On receipt of the report Liam Lynch decided to review the situation in person. On 5 June he travelled to Waterford to review progress. He stayed at Dalton's of Currabaha and the next day he held a meeting with the officers of the West Waterford Brigade. That evening he travelled on to Ballylaneen where he stayed at Dunphy's. On 8 June he met the officers of the East Waterford Brigade and interviewed each one individually and at length before returning to his divisional headquarters near Fermoy. Two days later he summarised the situation in east Waterford and blamed the lack of initiative on the quality of the officers:[45]

> There are only two officers in the whole Brigade capable of holding Brigade or Battalion rank – that is the Brigade OC and Brigade Qr. Master. Brigade OC is a capable officer in every way.
>
> I did not order any suspensions or dismissals but later officers will have to be removed wholesale. Some of these officers are holding back even in minor activities and are simply a lot of grumblers. The supposed elected Brigade OC might after a little training be capable to take charge of a Battalion, but such a Battalion would never do fighting on its own initiative. The present Brigade Vice OC should not hold any rank as he seems there only for his own ends.

From Lynch's point of view the fact that 'a disgraceful free hand is left to the enemy in No. 1 (East Waterford Brigade)' was down to one reason and to one reason only – the calibre of the officers. In a separate memo also dated 10 June 1921, he presented his proposals for the future organisation of the IRA in Waterford:[46]

43 UCD Archives, PA/7/19, Mulcahy Papers, p. 108, P. Paul to Divisional Commandant, First Southern Division, May 1921.

44 UCD Archives, PA/7/19, Mulcahy Papers, p. 113, GHQ IRA to P. Paul, 28 May 1921.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

> Waterford No. 1 and No. 2 Brigades to be made into one brigade and to be known as Waterford Brigade, with present OC No. 2 to be Brigade Commandant, Brigade Staff to be appointed later.

When giving reasons for this proposal, he was again scathing about the quality of officers in the East Waterford Brigade:

> Present OC No. 1 has not the confidence of any Officer in Brigade, except Brigade Adjutant and Qr-Master. Should he have to give over command there is no other officer capable to take his place.
> Only few Officers in Area capable to hold Brigade or Batt. rank.

Lynch also recommended that the Lismore Battalion be attached to Cork since it was geographically isolated from the rest of Waterford by the Blackwater river. Later that month, GHQ accepted in full Lynch's recommendations and 6 July was set as the formal date of amalgamation. Lynch moved swiftly to appoint staff for the new brigade. In a Solomon-like judgement, the six-member staff was to be drawn equally from the two brigades as follows:

Comdt:	P. Whelan, (formerly Comdt West Waterford)
Vice Comdt:	G. Lennon, (formerly Vice Comdt. West Waterford)
Adjutant:	P. O'Donnell, (Formerly Adjutant West Waterford)
Quartermaster:	H. Knox, (formerly Quartermaster East Waterford)
Intelligence Officer:	T. Wyley, (formerly Adjutant East Waterford)
Training Officer:	P. Paul (formerly Comdt. East Waterford)

It is noteworthy that the command positions were to be held by men from the West Waterford Brigade while the officers from the East Waterford Brigade were given the support positions – training, intelligence and supplies. George Lennon was also in command of the combined Flying Column which had been training together near Kilrossanty. This unit now had a strength of forty-five well-armed men. On 4 July the column moved out to engage the enemy. Having got intelligence that a troop train was proceeding from Fermoy to Waterford, the column took up ambush positions near the level crossing at Cappagh. Despite coming under intense fire, the train smashed through a barricade and proceeded to Waterford.

At midday on 11 July 1921 the Truce between the British and Irish forces came into effect. There was no further opportunity for the combined brigade to go into action nor was there time to test Lynch's favourite plan: 'To push some active men into the area and to stir things up' in east Waterford.

Conclusion

As late as 1974, T. Bowden depicted the Irish rebellion as a guerrilla war that was waged by a nation in arms spearheaded by an army that was 'unified, cohesive and ready for action by the middle of 1919'.[47] This was the traditional view reflected in the published memoirs of the participants. More recent scholarship has challenged this view, most notably work by Charles Townshend, Michael Hopkinson and Peter Hart.[48] These have emphasised the regional nature of the struggle, the importance of local factors, especially local leadership. Pioneering local studies by David Fitzpatrick and Marie Coleman[49] have done much to illuminate the nature of the conflict at county and sub-county level. GHQ made constant and strenuous efforts to break down local independence but with mixed results. Thus any analysis of the activities and effectiveness of the East Waterford Brigade from 1920 to 1921 must put local factors to the fore.

In any armed conflict the most important measure of effectiveness is the ability to inflict casualties on the enemy while minimising one's own losses. By this measure the East Waterford Brigade was not an effective fighting force. In the course of the struggle, four volunteers were killed, two more seriously wounded while the British forces suffered at most two or three minor wounds. No RIC barracks was successfully attacked and the withdrawal of the RIC from their network of small barracks may have been due more to happenings elsewhere than to direct pressure from within the brigade area. In other more active parts of the country there was a progression in the cycle of violence from the killing of single policemen, to the capture of small RIC stations and finally to the creation of Active Service Units or 'Flying Columns' which were able to mount large-scale ambushes. Crucially that key first step, the killing of single policemen which invariably triggered an ever-escalating cycle of violence and retaliation never happened in east Waterford. No wonder the annoyance of activists like Liam Lynch at 'the enemy going about in twos and threes without the slightest hindrance' and 'A disgraceful free hand left to enemy in No.1 (East Waterford) Brigade especially at bases.'[50]

47 T. Bowden, 'The Irish Underground and the War of Independence 1919-1921', in *Journal of Contemporary History* VIII (1973).

48 Charles Townshend, *The British Campaign in Ireland 1919-1921*; Michael Hopkinson, *The Irish War of Independence,* (Gill and MacMillan, 2002); Peter Hart, *The IRA and its Enemies,* (Oxford, 1998).

49 David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life, 1913-1921,* (Dublin, 1977); Marie Coleman, *County Longford and the Irish Revolution 1910-1923,* (Irish Academic Press, 2003).

50 UCD Archives PA/7/19, Mulcahy Papers, p.101, 103, Reports from 1st Southern Division, IRA to Chief of Staff, GHQ, on the East Waterford Brigade, 10-06-1921.

The variation in guerrilla activity from county to county and within counties was a source of constant frustration to GHQ and to key leaders like Ernie O'Malley. Many reasons were advanced and these have been analysed on a national level by Peter Hart[51] and with reference to Waterford by this author.[52] Some of the factors cited in these analyses are relevant to the East Waterford Brigade, especially the calibre of the officers. Influenced perhaps by his experience in the British Army, Paddy Paul, Brigade OC tended to think of large-scale operations such as the Tramore ambush rather than individual assassinations. This tendency to 'try to run before one has learned to walk' was undoubtedly a major factor in the ineffectiveness of the brigade.

One single factor, however, marked out east Waterford as being different from the rest of nationalist Ireland. Outside the soon to be partitioned six counties, only in Waterford had Sinn Féin failed to win the electoral battle. The victories of Captain Redmond in the two elections of 1918 had huge significance for the local Sinn Féin. In virtually every other part of the country local IRA units could be assured of at least the tacit acquiescence of a majority of the local population to their activities. This was not so in east Waterford. There remained an alternative outlet for nationalist supporters which often manifested itself in street violence. On a practical level, this lack of support reflected itself in the question of finance. Right up to the Truce in July 1921, GHQ expected local units not only to be financially self-sufficient but also to pay for any supplies received from Dublin. The formation of a flying column of full-time volunteers invariably put a large financial strain on local resources. The figures for the Dáil Loan showed that the local financial support for the East Waterford Brigade was meagre.[53] Having failed to win the political struggle as a necessary preliminary to active warfare, the brigade was always going to struggle to make that transition. To do so they would have needed exceptional leadership composed of officers skilled enough to understand the dynamics of a guerrilla war and ruthless enough to initiate it. This perception of a lack of widespread support is rather pithily summed up in the Brigade Intelligence Report previously referred to. Part of this document required each Brigade Intelligence Officer to list 'Enemy Agents – all suspects to be included here'. In his report for July 1921, T. Wyley, now Intelligence Officer for the combined brigades in Waterford, carefully gave the names and addresses of ten to fifteen suspects in each battalion area in west Waterford. For east Waterford he simply wrote down 'about 5,000'. In his view, east Waterford was not hospitable terrain for a guerrilla army. To him it was populated by potential enemy agents! In that context then it should be acknowledged that the real achievement of Comdt. Paul and his follow officers was to maintain in being an IRA unit, no matter how

51 Peter Hart, 'The Geography of Revolution in Ireland, 1917-1923', in *Past and Present* (May 1997).

52 Pat McCarthy, 'Waterford hasn't done much either? Waterford in the War of Independence, 1919-1921: A Comparative Analysis', in *Decies* 58 (2002), pp. 103-106.

53 Pat McCarthy, 'The Irish Volunteers and Waterford Part II, 1916-1919: The Resistible Rise of Sinn Féin', in *Decies* 61 (2005), pp. 245-66.

ineffective, thus tying down a substantial number of British troops and RIC who could have been more usefully employed elsewhere. In so doing they contributed to the perception of a nation in arms and played their part in the War of Independence.

*In this essay, the third in the series, attention is focussed on the activities of the East Waterford Brigade. The exploits of their western counterpart – the Déise Brigade – have been ably chronicled by Seán and Síle Murphy, most recently in *The Comeraghs, 'Gunfire and Civil War', the Story of the Déise Brigade IRA, 1914-24,* (Kilmacthomas, Comeragh Publications, 2003). As in the previous essays in this series, the principal sources are the Witness Statements made to the Bureau of Military History (BMH WS) and the RIC Monthly Reports. These sources were discussed in Part I – see *Decies* 60 (2004).

Waterford Central Technical Institute and the Development of Technical Education in Waterford City 1906 - 1930

John M. Hearne

NINETEENTH-CENTURY Ireland was a period of frenetic educational reform. The National System of Education (1831), the Queen's Colleges (1845) and the Intermediate Board (1878) represented significant progress in the building forward of an educational infrastructure, the spine of which sustains provision in contemporary Ireland. But it was the passing of the Agricultural and Technical Education (Ireland) Act in 1899 that marked the climax of a century-long campaign to have practical education provided for in Ireland.[1]

Technical Education in Waterford City 1900-1906

By the time the Agricultural and Technical Education (Ireland) Act was enacted in 1899 and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (DATI) was established in April of the following year, some municipal boroughs had availed of the act's provisions and had begun to provide technical education in their administrative areas. Although an earlier Technical Education Act of 1889 did provide the broad parameters within which subsequent legislation pertaining to technical education was constructed, its major weakness - replicated in the 1899 Act - was that it did not allow for the adequate funding of an elaborate nation-wide scheme of technical education. In particular, it did not allocate funding for the building of schools. And as the scheme of technical education was rolled out in Ireland subsequent to the act of 1899, this became an increasingly contentious issue.

The potential for the advancement of technical education was obviously greatest in the major urban centres. There, the borough councils, empowered by the Act of 1899, were urged to delegate responsibility to statutory committees or technical instruction committees composed of public representatives and members drawn from 'existing educational institutions and other qualified persons'. It was not long before such committees were operating in the county boroughs of Belfast, Cork, Dublin, Limerick and Waterford and in many of the smaller urban districts also.[2] Each new committee was required to devise an appropriate scheme of technical

1 Kieran R. Byrne, 'Foreword', in John M. Hearne, *Waterford Central Technical Institute 1906 - 2006*, (Waterford, Intacta Print, 2006), p. iv.

2 Emmet O'Connor, 'Dawn Chorus: The Origins of Trade Unionism in Vocational Education 1899-1930', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its Forerunners 1899-1994*, (Dublin, A. & A. Farmar, 1999), p. 37.

instruction for its administrative area. These committees quickly targeted young people in employment, school leavers, artisans, foremen and managers as those most likely to benefit from instruction. Particular targets for the committees were primary and secondary school teachers capable of teaching scientific and technical subjects. Furthermore, each county council and urban district council was empowered by the 1899 legislation to borrow capital from the Local Government Board to build new schools or if unable to build, to rent suitable premises.[3]

In Waterford, the technical instruction committee met for its inaugural meeting on 13 July 1900. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Richard A. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, the committee immediately began its task of building the infrastructure necessary for the provision of technical education in the city. Sheehan, a conspicuous activist in the revival of the Irish language was also a vigorous proponent of technical education up until his death in 1915. Indeed, since the latter years of the nineteenth century Bishop Sheehan had immersed himself in a continuing temperance crusade claiming that Waterford had proportionately more public houses than any other part of the country, and had by far the greatest number of people arrested for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. In 1902, he spoke of drunkenness as an evil so great that an average family of five spent five shillings weekly on drink.[4] While condemning alcoholism Sheehan was nonetheless aware that alcoholism was itself the product of widespread unemployment and believed that the only way children of the working classes could escape the attendant economic and social deprivation was by accessing the improved educational opportunities that were now being put in place in Waterford City. He had already spoken publicly on the necessity of providing education for Waterford's children, and on the 'curse of drink'.[5] It was, however, his endeavours as first chairman of the newly constituted Waterford Technical Instruction Committee during the early years of the twentieth century that Sheehan would ultimately leave an indelible mark on the development of technical education in Ireland, and particularly in Waterford City.

When the committee was inaugurated in April 1900, it had no premises to conduct its scheme of technical instruction. As a result, it began its work by providing capitation fees and grants to equip local schools and local rented accommodation with the necessary materials to carry out the work of technical instruction. The needs of the male students were met by the Christian Brothers at Mount Sion where boys were taught science, commercial subjects, carpentry, drawing and art. Similar financial assistance for science equipment was given to Ferrybank Convent, Ursuline Convent, Waterpark College and the Bishop Foy School.[6] One

3 Kieran Byrne, 'Laying the Foundations: Voluntary and State Provision for Technical Education 1730-1930', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its Forerunners 1899-1994*, p. 29.

4 *Waterford Standard*, 05 March 1902. Waterford Technical Instruction Committee, Minutes, 18 March 1903, henceforth abbreviated as WTIC. Waterford City declared St Patrick's Day a holiday in 1903.

5 *Waterford News*, 29 September 1894. In 1894 he gave a strong sermon on the problems that the excessive consumption of alcohol was having in Dungarvan.

6 WTIC, Minutes, 23 October 1900 and 04 September 1901.

of the committee's first important decisions was to incorporate the School of Art within the remit of the Waterford Technical Instruction Committee. The School of Art had been in existence for almost fifty years but for most of that time had experienced financial difficulties. Its genesis can be attributed to the initiative of John A. Blake. In 1851, Blake, then Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute in the city, visited Cork to ascertain if an art school similar to the renowned Cork School of Art could be of benefit to the citizenry of Waterford. Suitably convinced, Blake on his return sought to establish an art school in Waterford and invoked the support of some of the most influential individuals in the city such as the Mayor of Waterford, T.T. Strange, the city's MP, Thomas Meagher and the Protestant clergyman, Dean Hoare. Following the forwarding of two memorials from Waterford Corporation to Lord Clarendon and to his successor as Lord Lieutenant, Lord Eglington, Henry Cole, Head of the Department of Practical Art, visited Waterford in July 1852. He, however, announced that the government, while it was supportive in principle of such schools, had, nonetheless, decided not to establish any further art schools. Instead, grants would be made available to support local initiatives endeavouring to constitute such schools in the future. Thus, the bulk of the expense would be the responsibility of local administrative bodies and on the ability of raising finance by public subscription. Disheartened, Blake and his supporters were nonetheless determined to pursue the initiative and £100 was raised by public subscription, to which the Corporation added £50. The government grant made to the promoters of the proposed art school in Waterford was a mere £5. The trustees of the Savings Bank, through the influence of one of its directors, the Quaker businessman Joshua Strangman, offered the promoters use of a large room over the bank, free of charge. On 4 October 1852, the Waterford School of Art was opened and its first Head was Mr J.D. Croome. By the end of its first year in operation the school had 140 students enrolled ranging from 10 years of age to 60.[7] However, financial difficulties-due mainly to the inability to attract adequate numbers to make the undertaking economically viable-characterized the early years of the School of Art. This became more acute towards the end of the nineteenth century and in December 1900, the technical instruction committee resolved,

> That we consider that as the School of Art is in want of funds a sub-committee be appointed to ascertain whether they would be willing to hand over the School to the Corporation and that in the event of their not agreeing to do so we recommend a sum of £100 be granted to them.

The subsequent negotiations led, in January 1901, to the transfer of the School of Art to the technical instruction committee.[8]

7 J. Coleman, 'Waterford School of Art', in *Journal Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* Vol. 6, pp. 55-7.

8 WTIC, Minutes, 13 December 1900 and 23 January 1901.

The next priority facing the committee was the provision of technical instruction for the female population of Waterford. For this purpose two adjoining houses in St John's Avenue were rented. Over the door of one of the houses was placed the name of the school, the City of Waterford Technical Institute and a 'lamp to make the school visible by day and night'. A superintendent of Domestic Economy, Miss Henrica O'Connor was appointed at £100 per annum and a special Ladies Committee was formed to supervise the school's activities. The school was an immediate success with an initial enrolment of forty girls - the maximum capacity of the school.[9]

But the lack of suitable premises to house all the committee's activities had been a growing concern. Indeed, as early as September 1901, Bishop Sheehan had proposed that premises be acquired so as to centralize the work of the Committee and proposed that the new building, when procured, should be known as the Central Technical Institute. A year later a special meeting of the technical instruction committee met to formally put this objective in motion.[10] By November 1902, four premises had been short-listed, but only two were deemed suitable for the committee's purposes. The most desirable, however, was a building and a large plot of ground on Parnell Street.[11] This site, a former tannery and coach-making premises, comprised of a plot of ground and a building owned by a widow, Mrs. Mullins. However, before any negotiating took place an attempt was made to purchase the Church of Ireland's Elementary Model School. But the Board of National Education not only refused the offer it also refused to enter into any negotiation on the matter and swiftly rebuffed this approach.[12] Negotiations now began on the purchase of the Mullin's property and were quickly completed with the committee agreeing on a purchase price of £450 for the building and £750 for the plot of ground. Department approval was received in June; however, the expenditure had absorbed all the committee's finances and it did not have the £450 necessary to purchase the building.[13] To exasperate matters further, the technical instruction committee's grant from the department was also reduced by 10 per cent. This forced the committee to withdraw some of its own grants and subventions to other schools in the city.[14] Even a deputation led by Bishop Sheehan to Horace Plunkett in Dublin and to the Chief Secretary in Belfast, failed to evince a favourable response for the required finance.[15] Unsure if it could raise the necessary finance, the committee nonetheless agreed to proceed with the building of the Central Technical Institute. A survey of the city's national schools was then undertaken to ascertain the potential first year enrolment at the new technical institute. This revealed that there were 370 pupils attending fifth and sixth classes in the city's

9 *Ibid.*, 09 December 1901 and 31 January 1902.
10 *Ibid.*, 04 September 1901 and 16 November 1902.
11 *Ibid.*, 18 December 1902.
12 *Ibid.*, 18 December 1902.
13 *Ibid.*, 04 June 1903.
14 *Ibid.*, 26 June 1903 and 25 September 1903.
15 *Ibid.*, 30 October 1903.

national schools. The committee then sought to raise the loan of £5,500, estimated as the total cost of building and equipping the new school, from the banking sector in Waterford City.[16]

Failure to obtain a loan from the Provincial Bank led the committee to transfer its account to the National Bank who, following the direct intervention of Bishop Sheehan, eventually agreed to provide the necessary finance.[17] But this loan of £5,500 was advanced by the directors of the bank on the clear understanding that the mortgage would be transferred to the Board of Works when approval from Waterford Corporation to act as guarantor was received. However, Waterford Corporation's application for the £5,500 loan from the Board of Works had previously been refused as it had already exceeded its borrowing powers as laid down in the 1878 Public Health Act. Although the Corporation seal was attached to the mortgage deeds in October 1905, it was not until 1907 that transference of the mortgage from the National Bank to the Board of Works could be undertaken. This was facilitated by the Corporation's borrowing powers being expanded by the Waterford Bridge Act of 1906 which in amending the Public Health (Ireland) Act 1878, increased considerably the Corporation's borrowing powers and the projects for which borrowing was allowed.[18] By this time, however, the Central Technical Institute was already in operation.

Waterford was very fortunate to have a man of Sheehan's vision and commitment to technical education driving its campaign for the provision of technical instruction within a dedicated building in the city. Called to give evidence before the Commission on Technical Instruction (Ireland) 1906-7, Bishop Sheehan outlined the difficulties that faced Waterford's Technical Instruction Committee in attempting to provide an education service as outlined in the 1899 Act. In thanking the Christian Brothers for providing a temporary building, at their own expense, and coming to the committee's aid, he then criticized the government for failing to provide funds for the erection of proper buildings in which to carry out technical education. Every other neighbouring country, he stated, had been liberally aided by public funds in the provision of technical education, illustrating that,

> In England between 1890 and 1900 £7,500,000 [was] received from the Local Taxation Account, and Ireland had no Technical Department at the time, and from that source it did not receive a

16 *Ibid.*, 18 March 1904; 31 April 1904; 27 June 1904 and 07 September 1904.

17 *Ibid.*, 27 October 1905.

18 B. O'Shaughnessy, 'Technical Instruction in Waterford City', in *Journal of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland* VIII (1907-1908), p.13. A more comprehensive explanation of the Corporation's power to borrow money can be found in *Waterford Corporation and Bridge. An Act to Empower the Corporation of the County Borough of Waterford to acquire the existing toll bridge and ferry rights over the River Suir at Waterford; to enable them to borrow money; and for other purposes*, (Westminster, Holmes, Greig & Greig, 1907) p. 6. In particular, Section 30 of the Act explains how it amended the Public Health Act (1878), allowing Waterford Corporation to increase its borrowing capacity. My thanks to Mr Donal Moore, Archivist, Waterford City Archives, for bringing this to my attention.

> penny. There was an Equivalent Grant made for Ireland that I believe in these years amounted to... £11,000. But here the fact stands that England received £7,500,000 from this Local Taxation Account, and not one penny is coming from that or any similar source to Ireland.[19]

Sheehan went on to state that in 1904-5 England received £918,000 from that source while Ireland received just £55,000 allocated under the provisions of the 1899 Act (another £7,000 was added in 1906).[20] Moreover, Bishop Sheehan accused the Treasury of inhibiting the work of the technical instruction committees in Ireland. Explaining that although Section 2, sub-section (1) (e) and (f) of the 1899 Act handed over to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction the administration of the Equivalent Grant, the Treasury had, however, refused to sanction payment. In other words, according to Sheehan, the passing of the 1899 Act and the subsequent refusal by the Treasury to release Ireland's portion of the Equivalent Grant had cost Irish counties £27,000.[21] The bishop then caustically added that he believed there was no system in operation in the civilized world where an education system set up for the first time, made no provision for the financing of school buildings. In a further damning indictment of government funding of Irish technical education Sheehan observed that between 1899 and 1906, 101 towns in England received building grants and, of that number, twenty-five, roughly the size of Waterford, all received building grants. He went on to say that the system of instruction prevailing in Waterford was unsustainable. This, he maintained, necessitated the erecting of the Central Technical Institute in the city. In taking on the burden of £7,500 debt he mentioned 'we have been crippled immensely for the carrying out of our work'.[22]

Unlike Belfast where £140,000 had been expended on the erection and equipping of its technical institute in 1894, Waterford was comparatively more fortunate than most other counties in Ireland where technical schools had been sanctioned. Moreover, the departmental inquiry and report on the funding of technical schools in 1906/07 unearthed a litany of under-funding that put the operation of many of the schemes in jeopardy. Mr George E. Armstrong painted a most depressing picture of the scheme in Londonderry. A new building, he said, would cost £12,000 and that would cost £780 per annum in interest alone. As his committee had just £533 to put towards the building 'we have therefore' he mentioned 'the prospect of not only being able to develop, but rather of being compelled to curtail the present incomplete scheme'.[23] In its Majority Report the Departmental Inquiry did however accept the veracity of the many criticisms pertaining to the lack of adequate funding for capital purposes and concluded;

19 John F. Boyle, *Technical Instruction (Ireland). Building Grant. Its necessity as set forth in the Departmental Inquiry, and Reports Thereon, 1906-7*, (Waterford, Waterford News, 1910), p.12. Query 10363, Evidence of Most Revd R. A. Sheehan, DD., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 14, Query 10241 (Minority Report).

22 *Ibid.*, p.13, Query 10383.

23 *Ibid.*, p.2, Query 8336.

> The Association of Technical Instruction has put before us an estimate, based upon a careful enquiry, as to the cost of providing suitable buildings for technical instruction. It places this at an annual sum of not less than £20,000... we believe it gives a fair indication of the magnitude of the call upon building and equipment in respect of schools required for the work of instruction.[24]

As the struggle to raise the necessary finance to erect a suitable building to accommodate Waterford's technical education operations ensued, the committee continued to put in place the rest of the physical and intellectual infrastructure. Tenders were sought for the construction of the building and in October 1905 the contract was awarded to a local builder, Patrick Costen, who had supplied the lowest tender of £3,283.[25] Indeed, difficulties in raising the finance for the project had led the committee to cap the construction cost at £4,000 and, as a result, had decided to keep the School of Art operating in its present location, over the Savings Bank. It was Costen's low tender that allowed the committee to bring the School of Art into the proposed new building.[26] Separate to the building, the committee agreed to adorn the front elevation with an ornate, chiselled limestone façade of classic design, with the cost being defrayed by public subscription. However, these subscriptions only raised a little over half the proposed cost of £500. In a magnanimous gesture Bishop Sheehan came to the rescue and personally made up the deficit.[27] Perhaps the most important function of the technical instruction committee was to recruit a competent staff, in particular an effective Principal to put its programme of technical instruction into operation. Prior to advertising the relevant posts, the committee drew up and put in place a curriculum; and that curriculum was predicated-as outlined in the 1899 Act-on the commercial and industrial characteristics of Waterford City.[28] In other words, the economic infrastructure of the city determined the subject composition of the proposed courses being taught; and the remit of each course was very broad, something that would later cause its own difficulties. Advertisements were then placed in Irish and English newspapers and tenders were sought for fitting out the new school.[29]

All the relevant posts were filled by August 1906 with most of the new teachers being recruited from similar technical colleges in England and Scotland. But it was the selection of Principal that would cause more than a little controversy. Following the short-listing of applicants two candidates were deemed eligible for the position, Mr Ferguson from Belfast and Bernard O'Shaughnessy from London. From the outset it was clear that Ferguson was the preferred candidate; especially by the influential vice-chairman, Sir William Goff. Both candidates were called for interview after which only Ferguson was asked to meet with the full committee.

24 *Ibid.*, p.16, Majority Report.
25 WTIC, Minutes, 15 September 1905; 29October 1905 and 24 November 1905.
26 O'Shaughnessy, 'Technical Education in Waterford', p.13.
27 *Ibid.*
28 WTIC, Minutes, 16 February 1906.
29 *Ibid.*, 30 April 1906 and 08 June 1906.

However, before a final decision could be made Bishop Sheehan made a personal intervention and asked that the committee re-consider O'Shaughnessy, whom he clearly favoured. He then sought clarification from the department regarding O'Shaughnessy's qualifications; in particular the difference between his qualifications and those of Ferguson, and if they rendered him eligible for the post.[30] Following a review of all the candidates' resumes, the department advised that both O'Shaughnessy and another candidate, Mr Smith, were most qualified for the position. A special meeting was then held to consider the department's advice and arising from that meeting Bernard O'Shaughnessy was chosen as the Principal and Organizing Secretary of the new school. Within a week of O'Shaughnessy's appointment, on 29 June 1906, the building was officially named the Waterford Central Technical Institute. (hereafter, CTI)[31]

Earlier that month, Costen had informed the committee that the building would be completed within two months. On 22 August 1906, the keys of the building were formally handed over by the builder, Patrick Costen, to Bishop Sheehan and the opening ceremony was performed on Monday, 17 September. When, two weeks later, on Monday, 1 October 1906, the Central Technical Institute officially opened its doors to the public, it was already one of the most modern and best-equipped schools in Ireland.[32] But the week preceding the opening of the school had a local human touch. In the week following the official opening ceremony two young boys from Ferrybank - Jim O'Meara and William Devereux - presented themselves to the principal, Bernard O'Shaughnessy for enrolment, only to be informed that the school would not be admitting students for another week. However, rather than send the boys home disappointed, O'Shaughnessy asked them to help with arranging desks and furniture in preparation for the opening. This they did for the remainder of the week, laying claim, in the process, to being the first two pupils in the new school. Jim O'Meara , following his education at the CTI became a carpenter with the local building firm of Costen. He was an accomplished sportsman and lived until he was 90 years of age. His boyhood friend was however less fortunate. William Devereux enlisted in the 14th Signals, Royal Engineers at the outbreak of World War I but was killed in August 1915. He was just 23 years of age.[33]

Many of the difficulties that characterized the establishment and the provision of a system of technical education in Ireland would remain to stymie its progress for most of the twentieth century. While education in Ireland, in general, would, by European standards, remain under-funded and under-resourced during the century, technical education in particular would suffer disproportionately-especially in the first half of the century-as its value in a predominately agricultural country would come under increasing scrutiny. Yet, in 1906, and having surmounted many

30 *Ibid.*, 11 June 1906.

31 *Ibid.*, 22 June 1906.

32 *Ibid.*, 29 June 1906.

33 My thanks to Mr Jim O'Meara for this information. This can also be found in *Waterford College of Further Education 1906-2006: Centenary Prospectus*, (Waterford, Intacta Print, 2006), p. 5.

difficulties, Waterford's Central Technical Institute had nonetheless managed to garner an enormous amount of goodwill and public support from a diverse range of individuals and organizations within the city. Its formative years would, however, coincide with the most turbulent decades in Irish history-the Home Rule crisis, World War One, the Easter Rising, the War of Independence and Civil War-all of which would impact on its progress. But when Bernard O'Shaughnessy began his tenure as the CTI's first principal in 1906, these events were far in the future. In the fifteen years that he remained in that position, his exceptional organizational and administrative skills would come to the fore as he guided the school through those stormy waters with a resolve and tenacity that would leave an indelible imprint for most of the twentieth century.

Laying the Foundations 1906 - 1930

The Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act of 1899 extended to the new county councils the powers already conferred on the urban authorities to levy rates for instruction and stipulated that state aid could only be dispensed in relation to local spending.[34] The new Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (DATI) had an annual budget of £166,000. A little over 30 per cent or £55,000 of this was initially devoted to technical instruction. Under Section 16 of the Act, the DATI was obliged to distribute the first portion of this sum-set at £24,000 by the Board of Technical Instruction - among the county boroughs in proportion to their population. The county boroughs would then apply this money to schemes approved by the DATI. The remaining £30,000 was to be distributed by the department to county and urban schemes that were drawn up in close consultation with the DATI.[35] During its first two decades, technical education's vocational curriculum was characterized by flexibility. This allowed each school design courses that reflected the economic infrastructure of the local economy and consequently prepare students with skills that would allow them access employment in the local labour market. From the outset however, the scheme was beset by a lack of adequate funding and any attempts at reforming the system were subsumed during the next two decades by these financial constraints and by the evolving political crises in Ireland and in Europe. The emergence of a newly independent Irish State in December 1922 witnessed Saorstát Éireann being at something of a disadvantage in terms of its educational institutions. Inheriting few formalized structures in the education sphere the Cumann na nGaedheal government had to quickly come to terms with a complex network of privately owned educational institutions, many deeply influenced by the Catholic Church. It would now also have to consider the

34 Emmet O'Connor, 'Dawn Chorus', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its Forerunners 1899-1994*, p.60.

35 J. Cooke, 'The Dispute between the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and the City of Dublin Technical Instruction Committee, 1901-1912', in *Technical Education: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Michael Clune*, (Charleville, Oriel Printers, no date), p. 49.

appropriate role of the vocational education sector in the new state.[36] However, self-government had brought with it the freedom to plan new structures and to reform inherited institutions, albeit in a climate of political uncertainty and fiscal austerity. In 1926, the government appointed a commission to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the country's technical education system and to ascertain its contribution, if any, to trade and industry. In a wide-ranging review, the *Report of the Commission on Technical Education* in October 1927 would call for, among other things, radical changes to meet the needs of trade and industry. The commissioners, who were of the opinion that 16 years of age was the appropriate age to begin technical education, would also address the issue of providing vocational instruction for children between 14 and 16 years of age who had left primary or secondary school. Such a scheme of continuation education should, they believed, have a clear practical bias. Furthermore, the commissioners did not favour a didactic approach to teaching and, like the Belmore Commission some thirty years before, recommended that 'the object of the teacher should be to encourage observation, initiative and self-reliance, rather than to impart information and enforce rules'.[37] Although the *Report* met some criticism from the Catholic Church-criticism that would later become more focussed-its main proposals were adopted and embodied in the Vocational Education Act (1930). It was in this climate of political instability, fiscal austerity and clerical suspicion that formal technical education took its first tentative steps in Ireland.

Preparing a Syllabus

The opening of the Waterford Central Technical Institute in October 1906 allowed all the disparate courses administered by the technical instruction committee be conducted under one roof. Responsibility for designing courses to meet the needs of the city was thrust upon the new Principal, Bernard O'Shaughnessy. While O'Shaughnessy was obliged to comply with the tenets of the 1899 Act - to introduce a scheme of technical instruction that reflected and supplemented the prevailing economic characteristics of the city-this was predicated upon having suitable staff. Initially, the staff comprised of a Commercial Instructor, Building Trades and Manual Instructor, Assistant Science Master, Art Master, Assistant Art Master and two Domestic Economy Instructresses. It was envisaged that an Evening Teacher and a Drill Instructor would be appointed in the 1907/08 session.[38] Most of the

36 Brian Girvin, 'The State and Vocational Education', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its Forerunners 1899-1994*, p. 62.

37 Aine Hyland, 'The Curriculum of Vocational Education', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its forerunners 1899 - 1994*, p. 131-34. See also *Report of the Commission on Technical Education*, (Dublin, 1927), p. vii-145. Amongst the commission members were two foreign education experts, Professor A. Rohn of Switzerland and Mr N. Fredrickson from Sweden.

38 *County Borough of Waterford Technical Instruction Committee: Annual Report 01 August 1906 - 31 July 1907*, (Waterford, N. Harvey, 1907), pp. 3-5. Included in this and subsequent *Reports* and *Prospectuses*, is a comprehensive account of the work of the CTI, including a list of all students, their social backgrounds and occupations and the prizes won in the preceding year.

teachers were from England or Scotland and many of them had postgraduate degrees or were in the process of acquiring additional qualifications. Almost all had considerable experience of teaching in similar technical colleges in England, Scotland or on the Continent.[39] As the syllabus expanded during the next few years demand for admission exceeded the supply of available places. During its first year operating in the Parnell Street building, the Central Technical Institute attracted 544 individual students and during that year a Day Trades' Preparatory School catering for boys between 13 and 15 years of age was successfully established. As O'Shaughnessy explained, a scheme of technical instruction that fulfilled the requirements of both the act and the economic characteristics of the city would by necessity be very general in nature. Nonetheless the syllabus, which was expanded considerably in subsequent years, was both innovative and practical and was divided into Day Classes for children and Evening Classes for adults; and the courses of instruction ranged from Dressmaking and Typewriting to Building Construction and Chemistry.[40]

Reflecting the general nature of Waterford's economy-more commercial than industrial-the Building Trades Course was made up entirely of trade students i.e., architects' assistants, builders' and carpenters' apprentices while 43 per cent of those attending the Chemical Trades Course were employed in that profession or in allied trades.[41] This clearly indicated that local industrial and commercial interests recognized the value of the educational courses on offer; and as time went on more employers demanded more job-specific courses for their own employees. But for students also there were tangible benefits in pursuing a course of study at the CTI. These were outlined by Bernard O'Shaughnessy at the Irish Technical Association's 1913 Congress in Bangor, County Down. There, O'Shaughnessy in a visionary lecture delineated a blueprint for the future progress of technical education in Ireland that had been a constant theme of previous congresses. Referring to apprentices, O'Shaughnessy stated that those attending technical school at night should be given time off to attend relevant courses by their employer. Furthermore, he believed that those attending night classes-in 1910 there were 34,818 night students nationally- should not start work until 9 a.m. the following morning. Highlighting the fact that since 1906 the DATI had paid grants to Day School apprentices, O'Shaughnessy believed that scholarships to these courses should be paid at apprenticeship rates.[42] O'Shaughnessy was, however, speaking from experience. A scholarship scheme had been in place in Waterford since 1907. Reflecting the public support that greeted the opening of the Central Technical Institute, philanthropic donations from individuals and commercial organizations in the city were regular occurrences from an early stage. These subscriptions, which ranged from £10 to £1, were regularized in 1907 with the adoption of a formal scholarship

39 See footnote 56 for the origins and subsequent locations of some of the early teachers recruited by the technical instruction committee.

40 *County Borough of Waterford Technical Instruction Committee: Annual Report 1906-07*, pp. 3-9.

41 *The Central Technical Institute Waterford: Prospectus 1914 - 1915.*

42 My thanks to Mr Jim Cooke for this information.

scheme.[43] This money was then pooled and scholarships awarded following a competitive examination or an exhibition. Spread throughout all departments of the CTI, the scholarships were offered in the form of money, free tuition, free books, free tools or entry to a more prestigious course; as such they were much sought after by students. Success and completion of the course was often rewarded with a shorter apprenticeship or an increase in wages, or both.[44] Boys were also prepared for entrance examinations to the shipyards of Vickers Ltd., of Barrow-in-Furness and to Harland & Wolfe in Belfast. In 1911, the Royal Navy informed the Committee that it would be prepared to accept as Boy Artificers those who had successfully completed a course in the Day Trades' Preparatory School. Two years later the Lords of the Admiralty added the name of Waterford Technical Institute to the list of educational authorities that would be permitted to make recommendations for entry and training of Boy Artificers in the Royal Navy. One such recommendation from Waterford was thereafter allowed annually.[45] Later, in the same year, the committee was approached by the Post Office who agreed to take apprentices from the CTI provided they completed a course in telegraphy.[46] A specific course was subsequently designed to meet this request. Thus, by designing courses to meet the demand from both industry and the public service, and also by allowing these commercial organizations design courses to suit their own individual needs, the school expanded both the courses on offer and its teaching staff. From an initial teaching staff of eight in 1906 the CTI had twelve by 1912, fourteen by 1926 and eighteen in 1929.[47] In this way, in what one could call an embryonic public private partnership, the school cultivated a reputation as a centre of educational excellence and was a third level technological college in all but name.

The Labour Exchange Act of 1909 also provided a unique opportunity for the placement of CTI students in suitable employment. Following the passing of the act, the Association of Technical Teachers at their annual congress in Sligo in 1910 discussed the possibility of cooperating with the new labour exchanges so as to find suitable employment for their students. In Waterford the first manager of the city's first labour exchange, Mr Rathcliff, had been a former teacher of commercial

43 WTIC, Minutes, 22 March 1907, 26 June 1908; 28 August 1908; 25 September 1908 and 30 September 1908. Between 1907 and 1908, scholarships were provided by many of the leading citizens in the city and county. An annual scholarship of £10 was given by Dr. Baily; Sir William Goff gave £2. 2s. and scholarships of £1 were provided by Sir William Paul, The Marquis of Waterford and Mr. A.G. Graves. In 1913, the Chamber of Commerce offered a scholarship of £3 for students in the Commercial School.

44 *Ibid.*, 28 September 1908. See also *The Central Technical Institute Waterford: Prospectus 1908-1909*, pp. 8-16.

45 WTIC, Minutes, 29 September 1911. See also *The Central Technical Institute Waterford: Prospectus 1914-1915*, pp. 8-22.

46 *Ibid.*, 27 October 1911.

47 *Central Technical Institute: Annual Report 1906-1907*, p. 6; *The Waterford Central Technical Institute: Prospectus 1926- 1927*, and *Prospectus 1929-1930*, p. 3.

subjects at the CTI from where he had been recruited in 1910.[48] As a result, a close relationship between the Waterford Labour Exchange and the CTI developed thereafter ensuring that students from the school were in a more advantageous position when seeking employment. This is another example of an embryonic public private partnership approach adopted by O'Shaughnessy as he sought to establish the status of the CTI in Waterford.

Lady Aberdeen

From its earliest years, a Prize Night had been inaugurated at the CTI to acknowledge and reward outstanding achievement by students in all the departments of the school. The Principal had also initiated this as he attempted to develop the social side of the school's activities. Separate to the scholarship scheme, these prizes were usually in the form of money and ranged from ten shillings to two and sixpence.[49] Each year a prominent personality from the world of politics, business or a local dignitary would be invited to present the prizes. In 1908, the Right Honourable Augustin Birrell was invited to present the prizes and the following year Dr. Windle, President of University College Cork, was the guest of honour; and in 1914 John Redmond, MP for Waterford City, was the invited guest. But it was the presence of Lady Aberdeen in 1910 that captured the imagination of the city. By this time Lady Aberdeen was an international figure. The daughter of Lord Tweedmouth, Isabel Maria Marjoribanks was born in Inverness, Scotland in 1857. Twenty years later she married John Gordon, Seventh Earl of Aberdeen. Early in her married life she set up the Haddo House Association. Founded on democratic principles, the association encouraged personal development and induced servants and ordinary workers to join arts and crafts classes. Her husband was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on two occasions, for a brief period in 1886 and a second term from 1905 to 1915. In 1893, he was appointed Governor General of Canada and he and his wife helped organize and design the Irish Village at the World's Fair in Chicago in that year. Already an energetic advocate of social reform-in particular a vociferous proponent of women's suffrage-Lady Aberdeen agitated publicly for the implementation of safer and better working conditions for women working in Canadian workshops and factories. During her husband's second term as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland she was elected President of the Irish Industries Association and it was in this capacity that she was invited to Waterford in 1910.[50] She arrived on Thursday, 3 November and spent two days in the city. On the first day, as guest

48 WTIC, Minutes, 22 February 1910 and 30 June 1911. My thanks to Mr. Jim Cooke for bringing this, and other interesting material, to my attention.

49 The prizes are outlined in all prospectuses extant up to 1941.

50 For a good biographical account of Lady Aberdeen see, Maureen Keen, *Isabel: Lady Aberdeen in Ireland*, (Dublin, Colourpoint Books, 1999). Shortly after her husband's appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for a second time in 1905, Lady Aberdeen established the Women's National Health Association. In 1908 at the International Tuberculosis Congress in Washington D.C., the association shared the first prize of $1,000 for its efforts in eradicating tuberculosis in Ireland. See also WTIC, Minutes, 26 June 1908 and 29 October 1909.

of honour at the CTI's Annual Prize Night, she presented the prizes to the successful students and the following day she was entertained with a drive along Waterford's scenic coast in a car loaned to the committee by Mrs. Barron-Newell of Woodstown.[51]

Perhaps the most famous piece of craftsmanship ever acknowledged at Prize Night was an ornate oak chair that was crafted by a woodwork student in 1914. This unique chair was made from the oak of the dismantled 'Timbertoes' bridge which, in 1913, was replaced by a new reinforced concrete bridge over the River Suir. Built in 1793 by the American, Lemuel Cox, 'Timbertoes' was made from Quebec Oak. In 1913 the oak piles were auctioned off in job lots. William Blair, Manual Trades Instructor at the CTI, bought one such lot for use in the woodwork department. The chair became emblematic of the skills and expertise available at the CTI thereafter. A photograph of the chair was subsequently used for many years to adorn the CTI prospectus.[52] It is currently used by the Mayor of Waterford during Waterford City Council meetings.

School of Art

The School of Art, which was open each evening for trade students and apprentices, also prepared its students for the competitive examinations of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the Irish Secondary Teachers' Drawing Certificate and those of the Board of Education. In respect of these examinations a special class for teachers was also held every Saturday morning. It also prepared students to compete for the various scholarships at the Royal College of Art in London. However, it had difficulty attracting adequate numbers of students to make it economically viable and in 1911 the Head of the Art School, Mr Samuel J. Murphy, was asked to visit the successful art school in Fermoy, County Cork to see how it managed to attract students. The visit did however lead to a restructuring of the syllabus of the art school, one that was more co-ordinated with the other departments of the CTI.[53] But in 1912 the art school at the CTI was convulsed in a public controversy. Following the annual inspection by the DATI inspectorate, a damning report was issued which was highly critical of the School of Art. In particular, it singled out Murphy and his teaching methodology as being unsatisfactory. This led to angry exchanges between the art teacher and DATI officials, which eventually became public knowledge. A public protest by the art students ensued with 108 of them signing a petition supportive of Murphy and condemning what they called 'an unwarranted attack on the school'. The local newspapers also lent their support to the protesters. However, a letter to the *Waterford Standard* signed by 'A Parent' and asking if the inspector's real objective was in fact 'to replace Murphy with an Englishman' probably tapped into a growing antipathy towards the

51 WTIC, Minutes, 28 October 1910 and 25 November 1910.

52 A photograph of the chair was used to illustrate the quality of craftsmanship in the CTI from 1915 onwards. The cost of Cox's wooden bridge was £14,000.

53 WTIC, Minutes, 24 November 1911 and 10 January 1913.

school's predominantly English teaching staff.[54] The controversy was eventually resolved when DATI officials met with Murphy in Waterford in January 1913. There, armed with the examinations' record of the School of Art since his employment there, Murphy forced the DATI into an embarrassing climb-down.[55] This quarrel highlighted a growing level of overt nationalism which must have been unnerving for the non-Irish staff and it is perhaps no coincidence that it was around this time that many of them began returning home. Indeed, by the early 1920s the staff was predominantly Irish.[56] But more importantly, the row had galvanized local support behind the CTI. Moreover, the Art Department of the CTI was one of only four in Ireland recognised as a School of Art. Its main function - especially during the 1920s- was to train candidates as teachers of art and to supply schools throughout Ireland with Irish art teachers and reduce the dependence on cross channel teachers. Within a year of the controversy Murphy had resigned and was replaced by John Shea.[57]

54 *Waterford Standard*, 29 October 1912; *Waterford News*, 26 and 28 October 1912. The Inspector's Report is contained in WTIC, Correspondence, 1911-1913, 18 October 1912. Also contained in this file is the original petition with the names of the 108 signatories.

55 WTIC, Minutes, 10 January 1913.

56 In 1913, W. Carr, from Manchester, teacher of Higher Commercial Subjects at the CTI since 1910, was appointed commercial instructor at the Palatine High School in Blackpool. His successor, T.J. McCormack from Tipperary, was appointed Principal of the Municipal Technical Schools, Armagh, in 1919. He was succeeded by John F. Lane who had been a teacher of Irish and Commercial Subjects at the CTI since 1914. Lane successfully applied for the position of teacher of Higher Commercial Subjects after McCormack left. In 1914, Samuel J. Murphy, Head of the Art School resigned and was succeeded by J. R. Shea from Burnley. Shea left in 1920 to take a similar position in London. Mr. Percy Squire from England replaced him. Also in 1914, G.W. Bird, from Sunderland, teacher of Mathematics, Engineering and Metalwork at the CTI since 1909, was appointed Assistant Engineering Instructor of the Borough Polytechnic, London. Charles Warren from Plymouth replaced him. Warren left in 1916 to take a position as head of the engineering department of the Neptune Iron Works-the former Malcomson shipyard - to supervise the manufacture of munitions for the war. He continued teaching at the CTI in a part-time capacity. In 1914, G.W. Roberts, who had been a lecturer at the University of Birmingham before coming to work at the CTI in 1911 as the Assistant Science Master, also returned to England. Roberts replaced a Mr. Saunders, also from England, who died after only six months in Waterford. In 1910, Arthur J. Hale, Chemistry and Physics teacher, originally from London, resigned his position in the CTI and accepted a position as Chemistry Instructor at Finsbury Technical College, London. William S. Blair, a ships' carpenter from Greenock, near Glasgow in Scotland, was appointed as Manual Trades Instructor in 1906. He retired in 1947 and died in Waterford City in 1965.

57 WTIC, Minutes, 31 January 1923. Murphy was one of the first teachers employed by the technical instruction committee in 1902, at £100 per annum. The first teacher employed was Miss Henrica O'Connor.

Bringing Education to the People

One of the more interesting features of the CTI during the early years was the large amount of female enrolments, especially in the Domestic Economy Classes. This necessitated additional classes being provided and an additional teacher being employed, and would be a characteristic feature of the Domestic Economy Classes, in general, for many years. Indeed, during the war years, additional buildings in various parts of the city had to be rented to provide such classes for the growing demand. In 1913, a house in Mount Sion Avenue was rented and in the following year another in Catherine Street, adjacent to the CTI and known as the Branch Technical Institute, was rented and used as a day school to provide training for domestic servants. Two years later, in 1916, a house in Monastery Street was also acquired to provide cookery and dressmaking classes. In the same year the Catherine Street house was relinquished.[58] This decentralization of practical domestic economy classes into urban artisan dwellings had been successfully pioneered by the Rathmines and Rathgar Urban District Technical Instruction Committee a few years earlier. The object was, according to O'Shaughnessy, 'to bring instruction nearer to the homes of the people and to render it more readily available to mothers of families and others unable to attend the Central Technical Institute'.[59] But such decentralization had a more practical benefit. During the war years maintaining an adequate food supply became a national priority and land, which Waterford Corporation had intended for house building purposes, was now divided into allotments for food production. The CTI was allocated one acre for this purpose in the new housing estate of Mount Sion Avenue. This was in close proximity to the house it already used for Domestic Economy Classes.[60] The buoyant demand for Domestic Economy courses nationally is illustrated in the table below.

Statistics Showing Attendance in Domestic Economy Classes in Different Centers - 1904-1912

	Cork	Limerick	Waterford	Clonmel	Tralee	Wexford	Ballina	Blackrock
1904/5	330	287	309	59	112	34	148	108
1906/7	300	253	-	62	88	13	142	115
1907/8	510	409	221	81	88	33	140	98
1908/9	804	655	392	253	134	38	244	103
1909/10	475	509	223	157	88	32	173	98
19010/11	482	375	203	150	117	26	184	113
19011/12	509	294	167	136	107	26	188	83
19012/13	-	-	201	-	-	-	-	-
Population (1901)	76,112	38,151	26,769	10,167	9,867	11,168	10,886	8,719

Source: Central Technical Institute, Correspondence, 24 October 1912.

58 *County Borough of Waterford Technical Instruction Committee: Central Technical Institute, Annual Report 1915 - 1916*, (Waterford, N. Harvey, 1916), p. 6. See also WTIC, Minutes, 23 May 1913, 3 July 1914 and 15 May 1916.

59 *Ibid.* See also WTIC, Correspondence, 1911-1913, 24 December 1912.

60 *Ibid.* This Annual Report also records the death of Bishop Sheehan, which occurred on 14 October 1915.

From the outset Waterford's Central Technical Institute was the recipient of much public support and goodwill. And it was not only the business people of the city that recognised the advantage of having prospective and current employees with technical training. Other schools, both primary and secondary, were quick to avail of the school's highly qualified teaching staff to teach practical subjects like Science, Commercial subjects and languages-including Irish-in their own schools. Indeed, one of the CTI's most successful courses was its Irish language classes. As early as 1907 the CTI embarked on a course of Irish language instruction. These quickly became very popular. The Gaelic League used their own premises in Lady Lane, adjacent to the school, to conduct these classes and also provided the teachers. By 1909, Irish classes were being taught in the Day School with the Gaelic League appointing its own teacher and, as a result, many of the schools in Waterford City that did not have Irish on the curriculum began teaching Irish using the League's teachers on a part-time basis. A separate Irish language class for teachers was also provided.[61] In September 1918, agreement was reached between the Waterford branch of the Gaelic League and the Waterford Technical Instruction Committee for classes held in the Gaelic League premises to be recognized as classes under the jurisdiction of the committee. These teachers were then employed and paid on a part-time basis. However, in 1922 the committee, aware that the quality of teaching was uneven, decided that no further appointments to teach Irish would be sanctioned unless the applicant held a recognised certificate for teaching Irish, held a BA with Irish as one of their subjects, or held an equivalent qualification.[62] This would seem to have complied with the Provisional Government's[63] policy of intensifying the use of Irish in primary schools and in initiating crash courses in Irish to familiarize teachers with the basics of the language. To this end special preparatory colleges were opened in 1926 and 1927 to train primary school teachers in the use of Irish.[64] In 1923, a scholarship scheme was introduced in the CTI whereby, following a competitive examination, two scholarships were awarded annually to study Irish at the Irish College in Ring, County Waterford. As a result of a combination of Irish being made compulsory for certain state posts and government inducements to students for answering subjects through the medium of Irish in examinations, the Gaelic League classes in Waterford witnessed a dramatic increase in enrolments. And like the Domestic Economy classes, additional rented accommodation had to be found to conduct these classes. By the end of the decade there were almost 200 students a year

61 WTIC, Minutes, 29 November 1907 and 6 May 1910. Teachers' Irish classes were held on Saturday mornings.

62 *Ibid.*, 29 November 1922. See also *City of Waterford Vocational Education Committee: Diamond Jubilee of Technical Education in Waterford City 1906-1981*, (Waterford, Harvey Printers, 1981), p. 8.

63 The Provisional Government operated from 14 January 1922, following the acceptance by Dáil Éireann of the Treaty a week earlier, to the establishment of Saorstát Éireann on 6 December 1923.

64 J.J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 133.

attending these classes.[65] This resulted in impressive enrolment and attendance figures at the CTI. The statistics of the school's first ten years in operation are illustrated in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Individual Enrolments at Waterford Technical Institute, 1906-1915

Year	Male	Female	Total	Average Attendance hours per student
1906/07	233	311	544	-
1907/08	169	256	425	55.7
1908/09	155	272	427	57.1
1909/10	159	275	434	62.9
1910/11	197	248	445	65.8
1911/12	212	300	512	67.1
1912/13	206	246	452	63.2
1913/14	214	316	530	69.8
1914/15	208	303	511	89.7
1915/16	216	308	524	91.3

Source: Central Technical Institute, *Annual Reports*, 1906-1916.

Reviving the Glass Industry

One of the more prescient initiatives embarked upon by Bernard O'Shaughnessy was an attempt to revive the famous Waterford Glass industry which had closed in 1852. In 1912, O'Shaughnessy proposed that glass making be included as part of the committee's scheme of technical instruction. This proposal was forwarded to the DATI for their experts to analyse the viability of the initiative. In response, the department sent its expert, Mr. St John Lyburn, to Waterford to discuss the matter with the committee in April 1912. Lyburn informed the committee that the DATI had conducted experiments and had succeeded in recreating glass similar to that produced by the Waterford Glassworks during the nineteenth century. Indeed, the department had at the Cork Industrial Exhibition some years earlier erected a small glass-making furnace and under his supervision had carried out a number of experiments. While he had succeeded in producing glass similar to Waterford Glass, the cost he believed was too great to command a good sale in Ireland. His opinion was that 'the time was not ripe for such an undertaking in Waterford by Waterford people'.[66] Had the efforts of O'Shaughnessy and the DATI been successful the history

65 *Ibid.*, p.135. See also WTIC, Minutes, 3 September 1920, 29 November 1922 and 5 September 1928. Schools in Waterford City - Waterpark, Ferrybank the Convent of Mercy and the Ursuline Convent - requested these Irish classes from the CTI and it then organised the classes using the Gaelic League teachers. Other venues used by the Gaelic League were, the Temperance Hall and 113 The Quay. The Irish College at Ring, County Waterford was opened in 1905.

66 WTIC, Minutes, 26 April 1912 and 2 June 1912. This contained a discussion on the findings of the DATI Inspector on the feasibility of re-starting the Waterford glass industry under the auspices of the CTI.

of industrialization in Waterford, and indeed in Ireland, could have been fundamentally altered. Nonetheless, these efforts did illustrate the flexibility that characterized the various schemes of technical instruction throughout the country and the embryonic entrepreneurial innovation that such flexibility fostered. When the Waterford glass industry was eventually revived in Waterford in 1946, the Central Technical Institute played a pivotal role in that revival and in its ultimate success.

Resignation

World War One in particular, left an indelible mark on the operation of Waterford's Central Technical Institute. By 1918 there had been a turnover in staff of almost 75 per cent, and the composition of that staff was now clearly Irish. In November 1918, the global influenza pandemic hit Waterford and the CTI was forced to cease operations for two weeks.[67] Staff resignations continued and in May 1921, at the end of the school year, Bernard O'Shaughnessy unexpectedly tendered his resignation. Ascribing this decision to;

> ...special circumstances connected with reasons of health [and that] it has been apparent to me for some years that I ought to arrange so that my work, instead of being both day and evening, as at present, should be wholly day. This consideration has become more pressing within the past twelve months and when I had recently the offer of a post in which the desired condition was present, I felt it my duty to accept it.[68]

The stunned committee initially refused to accept his resignation and immediately adjourned the meeting to consider the situation at a specially convened meeting a week later. There, however, O'Shaughnessy's resignation was accepted. Efficiency and professionalism had marked O'Shaughnessy's tenure. He had been an extraordinary administrator and put in place an organizational structure for technical education in Waterford City that would last for half a century. It is obvious from the Minutes and Correspondence that the Committee - having had a week to digest the situation - quickly accepted the resignation as a *fait accompli*.[69] But what could have caused O'Shaughnessy to leave so abruptly? Many valid reasons can be advanced to answer this question. During the War years many of the early Scottish and English recruits resigned their positions at the CTI. Some enlisted in the Armed Forces and as the domestic political situation deteriorated in the wake of the Easter Rising in 1916, more left.[70] With the death of his staunch friend and closest confidant Bishop Sheehan in 1915, O'Shaughnessy may now have felt isolated; and as the political situation deteriorated he may have sought to return home

67 Kevin Killeen, 'Technical Education in Waterford', in *Diamond Jubilee of Technical Education in Waterford City*, (Waterford, City of Waterford Vocational Education Committee, 1981), p. 8. See footnote 56 for staff turnover.

68 WTIC, Minutes, 25 May 1921. This is contained in O'Shaughnessy's letter of resignation.

69 *Ibid.*, 3 June 1921.

70 See footnote 56.

to England like many of his colleagues. Indeed, following the Government of Ireland Act 1920, the British Government allowed non-Irish teachers in technical schools the opportunity to transfer to similar institutions in England, Scotland, Northern Ireland or Wales. While these hypotheses may, in one way or another, have contributed to his decision to resign, a more plausible answer is contained in a very warm letter from John Shea to O'Shaughnessy in the summer of 1920. Shea, from Burnley, Lancashire had been appointed Head of the School of Art following the resignation of Murphy in 1914. He subsequently returned to a similar position in London. In his letter he inquired about the health of O'Shaughnessy's wife, ' I hope Mrs O'S has recovered from her recent illness' he mentioned.[71] Therein lies the clue to O'Shaughnessy's resignation, for within two years of returning to London his wife had died. The 'special circumstances connected with reasons of health' that he referred to in his letter of resignation referred, in fact, to the health of his wife and not to himself. In the circumstances, as it seems that she did not recover, this would have accentuated any decisions he may have had with regard to returning to England. In one of his last communications with the Waterford Technical Instruction Committee, O'Shaughnessy, in a letter acknowledging the condolences received from the committee, mentioned that he had kept in touch with the progress of the Institute and that,

> Reading the newspaper accounts of the meetings of the Committee I have noted with pride and pleasure the continued development and progress of the work of the Institute, a splendid record, especially having regard for the trying times you have recently experienced.[72]

A New Principal

The Minutes and Correspondence of the Waterford Technical Instruction Committee rarely made reference to politics. Indeed, except for a few cursory references to World War One, little indication is given of the political turmoil enveloping Ireland before and particularly after 1916. In fact there is not one reference to the Easter Rising. The first reference to 'strife' occurred in October 1920 when the committee adjourned its monthly meeting in protest over the treatment of Terence McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork who died after a seventy-four day hunger strike. A resolution was passed:

71 WTIC, Correspondence, 1920-1922, Letter from Shea to O'Shaughnessy, 24 July 1920. Although Bernard O'Shaughnessy was recruited as Principal of the CTI from London and returned there in 1921, he seems to have travelled to Waterford to take up the position from Burnley, Lancashire. In July of 1906 he travelled by boat to Cobh and from there by train to Waterford. This would seem to suggest that he was originally from Burnley and would also explain his close relationship with John Shea, who was also from Burnley.

72 *Ibid.*, Letter from O'Shaughnessy to W. S. Blair, 23 June 1923. O'Shaughnessy was then living at 265, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, London W2. When in Waterford he lived at 38, John's Hill in the city. His last communication with the CTI was in 1933.

> That as a mark of our highest esteem and respect to the memory of the late Alderman Terence McSwiney, TD, Lord Mayor of Cork, and by way of recording our emphatic protest against his treatment by the British Government, we, the County Borough of Waterford Technical Instruction Committee, assembled for our monthly meeting, do now adjourn.[73]

Six months later the committee, which was in the process of constructing the first extension to the CTI, censored a local engineering company, Grahams, for supplying material made in Northern Ireland. As this was in breach of the Belfast Boycott a resolution was passed that in future only Irish goods were to be used in the construction process.[74] However, it was following the appointment of O'Shughnessy's successor, John F. Lane, a teacher at the CTI since 1914, that the committee found itself quickly embroiled in the hostility of civil war politics and from which it would not extricate itself for many years.

John Lane had just returned from an extended leave of absence when he was appointed Principal within three weeks of O'Shaughnessy's resignation. He instantly informed the committee that while accepting the principalship, he would be unable to take up the position immediately due to domestic difficulties. In his stead William S. Blair was appointed Principal *pro tem.*[75] Although Lane eventually returned to work early in the New Year, in late September of 1922 events took a dramatic turn for the worse. On Wednesday, 20 September, Lane was arrested and imprisoned. A month earlier he had again requested leave of absence and it was while he was on leave that he was apprehended. In a poignant letter which gave his address as 'The Prison, Waterford', Lane informed the committee that;

> On Wednesday last while engaged in the work of the Institute, I was placed under arrest and conveyed to the Prison where I am still detained. As I do not know when I may be free to resume my work I would feel very grateful if you would be so good as to grant me leave of absence for the period of my detention. I will of course be perfectly satisfied with any arrangement you may think fit to make as regards my substitute...[76]

On the same day that the committee debated Lane's position it also discussed the worsening political situation in Ireland due to the death of General Michael Collins and resolved:

> That we the members of Waterford Technical Instruction Committee wish to record the sense of appalling loss, which Ireland sustained by the death of General Collins and wish to express to all who may help

73 WTIC, Minutes, 27 October 1920.

74 *Ibid.*, 27 April 1921.

75 *Ibid.*, 11 July and 8 September 1921. Lane had applied, unsuccessfully, for the principalship of Navan Technical College in 1920.

76 WTIC, Correspondence, 1920-1923, Lane to Chairman of Waterford Technical Instruction Committee, Bishop Hackett, 25 September 1921.

> in the furtherance of our country's welfare the earnest hope that Ireland, which has now wept over the graves of Collins, Brugha, Griffith and Boland and soon see all of her sons united in lasting peace.[77]

John Lane's appointment as Principal had now immersed the committee into the vortex of the national crisis. Indeed, Lane's frequent 'absences' could now be easily explained. An anti-Treaty Sinn Féiner, Lane - it was rumoured - was actively involved in Civil War activities in the Commeragh Mountains along the Waterford Tipperary border. As a result, he was imprisoned by the Cumann na nGaedhael government in September 1922. He would remain incarcerated for another seven months. His release witnessed him struggle for a further six months to retain the principalship of the CTI. Officially, however, the Minutes record Lane's seven-month absence as resulting from 'a dangerous and serious illness to a member of his family [that] would keep him away from his duties indefinitely'.[78] On 9 April 1923, Lane wrote to the committee informing it that 'On Tuesday, the 8th inst., I was released from Harepark Camp, no charge having been brought against me'.[79] Informing the committee that he was now in a position to resume his duties the committee at a special meeting a week later agreed to invite him to resume as Principal of the CTI; but first it sought DATI sanction. However, the DATI was not so accommodating and instructed the committee to defer Lane's return and any remuneration due him was to be withheld until the department considered his case.[80] In reply, the committee put together a high-powered delegation which included the mayor and requested a meeting with DATI officials to fight for Lane's re-instatement.[81] Over the next four months a flurry of correspondence between the committee and the DATI resulted in the Secretary of the DATI, T.J. Meyrick, informing the committee in July;

> ...that the Department are (*sic.*) unable to sanction or to consider the question of resumption of duty by Mr Lane, or the payment of salary to him from the funds of the Scheme, until a decision in his case has been reached by the Special Advisory Committee on Arrested and Interned Government Employees.[82]

Following intense communications between the committee and the DATI, the Advisory Committee on Arrested or Interned Government Employees interviewed Lane on 31 July. Eventually, in October, it decided 'on the immediate resumption of Mr Lane as Principal and Secretary... and of the payment to him of salary... of £310...'[83] The impasse resolved, the committee could now focus on expanding the

77 WTIC, Minutes, 30 August 1922.
78 *Ibid.*, 27 September 1922.
79 WTIC, Correspondence, 1920-1923, Lane to Hackett, 9 April 1923.
80 *Ibid.*, Secretary of the DATI, T.J. Meyrick to Secretary of the WTIC, John Lane, 23 April 1923.
81 *Ibid.*, Acting Secretary of WTIC, W. S. Blair to Meyrick, 2 May 1923.
82 *Ibid.*, 14 May 1924.
83 *Ibid.*, 3 October 1924.

technical education courses on offer and to consider the physical expansion of the Central Technical Institute.

A Decade of Progress

Under Lane's stewardship the CTI continued to progress. Apprenticeship classes for local builders, printers, engineers and motor mechanics were introduced during the first half of the decade. In 1925, the Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland deemed the CTI a 'recognised institute' for pharmaceutical apprentices wishing to sit their licence examination and classes in advanced business methods were also organized to cater for Irish Civil Service officials. Students were also prepared for examinations of the Institute of Bankers and the Grocers Institute.[84] This prescient approach to employment was fulsomely acknowledged by the Department of Education in its Annual Report for 1926. Therein it praised the work being done at the CTI mentioning that;

> Amongst special indications of an awakened interest in technical education, tribute is paid to a recent development, in Waterford City, to associate entrance to apprenticeship in a skilled trade with a period of preliminary training. The acceptance of this practice, already in operation in many places abroad, by any significant section of industry in Ireland was a new development and welcomed accordingly.[85]

More innovation was also evident. Slides produced as part of the photography course, begun in the Art School in 1922, were subsequently used in local cinemas to inform the public of the opening and re-opening of the school.[86] Special classes for those wishing to sit the entrance examination for An Gárda Síochana were initiated in 1929 and in this year also, anticipating opportunities for employment following the completion of the Shannon Scheme and the beginning of the national electricity grid, a course in electrical engineering began.[87] To resource this course a nine cylinder 140 horse power Clerget Rotary Engine was purchased following the liquidation of Irish Air Lines Ltd., and three second-hand motor cars - a Swift, a Gladiator and a Dodge-were purchased by the committee for the motor engineering course.[88]

84 WTIC, Minutes, 29 October 1924 and 28 October 1925.

85 Quoted in Dominic O Laoghaire, *The Missionary Impulse: A Tribute to Vocational Education*, NCEA Occasional Paper No. 3, (Dublin, The National Council for Educational Awards, 1991), p. 48. Fifty years later these courses would become known as Pre-Employment courses.

86 WTIC, Minutes, 29 November 1922 and 31 January 1923. The normal method of informing students and the general public was, up until then, by individual postcards.

87 *Ibid.*, 27 February 1929. See also *Central Technical Institute: Prospectus 1928-1929*, (Waterford, Harvey Printers, 1929), p. 9. For a good account of the Shannon Scheme see Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Shannon Scheme and the Electrification of the Irish Free State: An Inspirational Milestone*, (Dublin, Lilliput Press Ltd., 2002).

88 *Ibid.*, 30 January 1929 and 29 November 1932.

By this time the curriculum at the CTI had expanded beyond the capacity to cater for all the students within the one building. Although a small extension had been completed in 1920 a more significant expansion or another building was now needed. In 1929, agreement was reached to purchase a plot of ground adjacent to the school for an extension. However, within a year one of the most imposing buildings in Waterford City, the Bishop's Palace, was put up for sale; and it was offered to the committee of the Central Technical Institute.[89] But other more pressing matters would, temporarily, deflect the committee's attention away from this issue.

John Lane's first years as Principal would be played out against the backdrop of a Saorstát Éireann educational policy slowly gathering pace. In 1924, the Intermediate Act was passed and was followed two years later by the Attendance Act. But the government's major initiative on technical education evolved quickly between 1926 and 1930. While the development of technical education nationally was constrained by an acute lack of funding, an educational system devoted to the defence of the prevailing social structure and, from 1922 onwards, burdened with the task of reviving the Irish language, the sector had, nonetheless, expanded at a steady pace. Between 1924 and 1929 there had been an increase from sixty-five to seventy-two in the number of established technical schools in Saorstát Éireann and a concurrent increase in student numbers from 21,808 to 32,834 during the same period. There was also an increase in centres with recognised technical classes from 380 to 1,228 and student enrolments increased from 10,295 to 36,823.[90] Nonetheless, the sector was characterized by low pay, poor working conditions and the quality of education dispensed was, to put it mildly, uneven. Female teachers were also forced to resign on marriage. Employees of technical instruction committees did, however, acquire security of tenure and pension rights under the Local Government Act of 1919; the Local Government Act of 1925 re-affirmed these provisions. While this latter act also provided protection against dismissal without compensation and provided 'marriage gratuities' for women forced to resign after marriage, working conditions were still permeated by inequalities in pay, lacked a pay scale and remuneration was significantly lower than for similar teachers in the North.[91] Consequently, the Irish Agriculture and Technical Instruction Officers' Organization (IATIOO) pressurized the government to address the inadequacies pervading the sector. As a result in 1926, the Minister for Education, John Marcus O'Sullivan set up a commission on technical education under the chairmanship of John Ingram, 'To inquire into and advise upon the system of technical education in Saorstát Éireann in relation to the requirements of trade and industry'. Calling for radical changes to meet the demands of trade and industry, including the

89 *Ibid.*, 29 October 1930.

90 K. Byrne, 'Laying the Foundations: Voluntary and State Provision for Technical Education 1730-1930', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its Forerunners 1899-1994*, p. 32.

91 Mary Jones, "For the Youth of the Common People" The Vocational Education Officers' Organization 1930-1954', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its Forerunners 1899-1994*, p.108.

introduction of continuing education for fourteen to sixteen year olds, the commission's report in October 1927, seemed to address all the issues of concern to the IATIOO.[92] The report was endorsed by the IATIOO at its annual congress in 1928 and in the following year at its annual congress in Sligo, the President of the Irish Technical Instruction Association, B.P. Bowen, announced that 'there will be complete unanimity behind the Minister when he introduces his measure'.[93] In April 1930, the Vocational Education Act was introduced.

The Waterford Technical Instruction Committee met for the last time on 2 October 1930. The purpose of the meeting was to elect a committee in accordance with Section 8 of the VEC Act. John Lane became the first CEO of the City of Waterford Vocational Education Committee and, to commemorate the inauguration of the new statutory body, an official seal of the committee was designed by the Head of the School of Art, Mr Percy Squire.[94]

Conclusion

The Vocational Education Act was important in allowing many of Ireland's poorer children avail of the opportunity of acquiring a technical education. However, for the concept of vocational education to find architectural space or cultural currency in an increasingly repressive environment would prove to be difficult. Church opposition to non-denominational education and political indifference were the main impediments. That the sector did survive is testament to the ingrained tenacity within the sector. While the development of technical education in Waterford City was analogous to the national exemplar, the traditions of practical education were already deeply rooted in the city. Underpinned by a desire to map its own destiny Waterford was to the forefront in developing a comprehensive programme of technical instruction. The building - and opening in 1906 - of the Central Technical Institute was emblematic of that desire. And just as vocational education nationally persevered, technical education in Waterford survived to make a lasting contribution to the social, economic and cultural tapestry of the city.

92 Emmet O'Conor, 'Dawn Chorus', in John Logan (ed.), *Teachers' Union: The TUI and its Forerunners 1899-1994*, p. 55.

93 *Irish Technical Instruction Association: Twenty-Fifth Congress Sligo, 1929*, (Enniscorthy, The Echo, 1929), p. 15.

94 WTIC, Minutes, 24 October 1930 and 29 October 1930. The design comprised of three galleys and a star and cable signifying respectively, 'Knowledge and Continuity' and the inscription was in Irish. Squire received two guineas for his design and the seal was manufactured by Messers Waller & Co., Dublin, at a cost of £5.

CORRIGENDA

Decies 61 (2005)

Dónal O'Connor, 'Malchus (*c.* 1047-1135), Monk of Winchester and First Bishop of Waterford'.

p. 134: line 3: *for* Malchus *read* Malachy.

p. 139: line 12:*delete* Navicula ergo nostra marimum audit attemptare periculum.

Constitution of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society

1. ***Name:***
The Society shall be called - "The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society" (formerly The Old Waterford Society).

2. ***Objects:***
The objects of the Society shall be:
(a)to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general but with particular reference to Waterford and adjoining Counties;
(b) to promote research into same;
(c) to arrange for the further informing of members of the Society by way of lectures on appropriate subjects and visits to places of historical and archaeological association;
(d) to issue a periodical publication; and
(e) to engage in such other activities as the Committee may consider desirable.

3. ***Membership:***
The Society shall be composed of all persons who are members at the date of the adoption of these Rules together with those who may subsequently be admitted to membership by the Committee. Honorary Members may be elected at any Annual General Meeting.

4. ***Government:***
The Society shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer together with not less than six nor more than eight other members, one of whom may be elected as Hon. Outings Organiser. In addition to those members elected as provided above each officer, on relinquishing office, shall become an ex-officio member of the Committee and shall remain such for one year.

5. ***Election of Officers and Committee:***
The election of the Officers and Committee of the Society shall take place each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer shall first be elected individually and in that order, following which the additional members shall be elected beginning with the Hon. Outings Organiser.
In the event of there being more than one nomination for any office or more nominations for the Committee than there are vacancies, as provided by these Rules, then the election shall be carried out by secret ballot.

No member of the Society who is absent from the General Meeting shall be eligible for nomination as a prospective member of the Committee unless he or she shall have previously intimated in writing to the Honorary Secretary his or her willingness to accept nomination.

The Committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members. Such co-options shall be effective only up to the date of the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

A Chairman who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election as chairman or vice-chairman until a period of two years have elapsed after his relinquishing office. For the purpose of this Rule the word "year" shall mean the period elapsing between successive Annual General Meetings.

6. ***Provision for Trustees:***

If it should become desirable at any time to register the Society with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, or to appoint Trustees, such registration and such appointment may be authorised at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose. Such Trustees as may be appointed shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

7. ***Duties of the Chairman:***

The primary duty of the Chairman shall be to preside at all Committee and other meetings of the Society. It shall also be *his* duty to represent the Society at any gatherings where representation shall appear to be desirable.

8. ***Duties of the Honorary Secretary:***

The Honorary Secretary shall:

(a) record the minutes of Committee meetings and of the Annual General Meeting of the Society;

(b) maintain files of the correspondence relating to the Society;

(c) arrange for such meetings, lectures and outings as the Committee shall direct, and notify members accordingly;

(d) arrange for notice of Annual General Meeting of the Society to be sent to all members; and

(e) submit a report to the Annual General Meeting on the activities of the Society since the date of the last such Meeting.

9. ***Duties of Honorary Treasurer:***

The Honorary Treasurer shall:

(a) receive and disburse monies on behalf of the Society, as directed by the Committee, and shall keep accounts of all receipts and expenditure, together with supporting vouchers;

(b) prepare an annual statement of accounts recording the financial transactions of the Society up to and including the 31st December of each year, which statement shall, as soon as may be after said date be submitted to the Society's Auditors for certification;
(c) present the audited statement of accounts to the next Annual General Meeting; and
(d) maintain an up-to-date list of subscribing members.

10. ***Annual General Meeting:***
The Annual General Meeting shall be held, not later than the 30th April, at such venue, on such date and at such time as the Committee shall decide. Each member shall be given at least seven days notice of the date, time and place of the Annual General Meeting.
The quorum for an Annual General Meeting shall *be* fifteen members.

11. ***Special General Meeting:***
A Special General Meeting of the Society shall be convened if:
(a) any fifteen members of the Society request the Honorary Secretary in writing to do so, stating at the time of such request the reason why they wish to have the meeting convened; or
(b) it shall appear to the Committee to be expedient that such a meeting should be convened.
In convening a Special General Meeting, the Honorary Secretary shall give at least seven days notice to each member of the Society, stating in such notice the intended date, time and place at which such meeting is to be held and the purpose of same.
The quorum for a Special General Meeting shall be fifteen members.

12. ***Quorum for Committee Meetings:***
The quorum for a Committee Meeting shall be five members.

13. ***Annual Subscription:***
The annual subscription shall be such amount as shall be decided from year to year at the Annual General Meeting or at a Special General Meeting held for the purpose of fixing the amount to become due as from the first day of January next following the date of such meeting. The subscription year shall coincide with the calendar year. *Any* member, other than a new member who has not paid his or her subscription before the 31st December in any year shall be deemed to have resigned.
Subscriptions of new members accepted between 1st September and 31st December shall be deemed to be in respect of the ensuing year and shall be at the amount applicable to that year.

4. ***Rules not to be altered:***
These Rules shall not be altered except by resolution passed by a single majority of those present at an Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting.

5. ***Rules to be printed:***
The Rules of the Society shall be printed and re-printed as often as may be necessary. A supply of copies shall be held by the Honorary Secretary who shall make them available to all applicants subject to a charge based on the cost of producing them. Each new member shall be provided with a free copy of the Rules.

6. ***Earlier Rules repealed:***
These Rules supercede all previous Rules or Constitution of the Society.

The adoption of these Rules was resolved at the AGM of the Society, held on March 23rd 1979, such resolution having been proposed, seconded and passed by majority of the members present.

Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society Membership 2006

(Up to September 30th 2006)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Webster Street, IN 46801-2270, USA.
Arthur, Rev. R., Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
Aylward, Mr J., Wander Inn, Johnstown, Waterford.

Balding, Mr O., Kilmacomb, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Barrett, Right Rev. P. F., Bishop's House, Wellbrook, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
Bergin, Mr D., 20 Harbour View, Scotch Quay, Waterford.
Brazil, Mr D., 'Killard', John's Hill, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr D., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Brennan, Mrs E., 11 The Brambles, Ballinakill Downs, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Brennan, Mr J., 25 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
Broderick, Dr. E., 1 Pheasant Walk, Collins Avenue, Waterford.
Brophy, Mr A., Bushe Lodge, Catherine Street, Waterford.
Burns, Mrs A. M. B., 97 Park Road, Loughborough, Leicester, LE11 2HD, England.
Burtchaell, Mr Jack, Giles Quay, Slieverue, via Waterford.
Butler, Ms B., 22 Decies Avenue, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.
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