DECIES

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Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta agus Staire Phort Láirge

COMHAIRLE CATHRACH PHORT LAIRGE
WATERFORD CITY COUNCIL

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Photograph by Miriam Broderick

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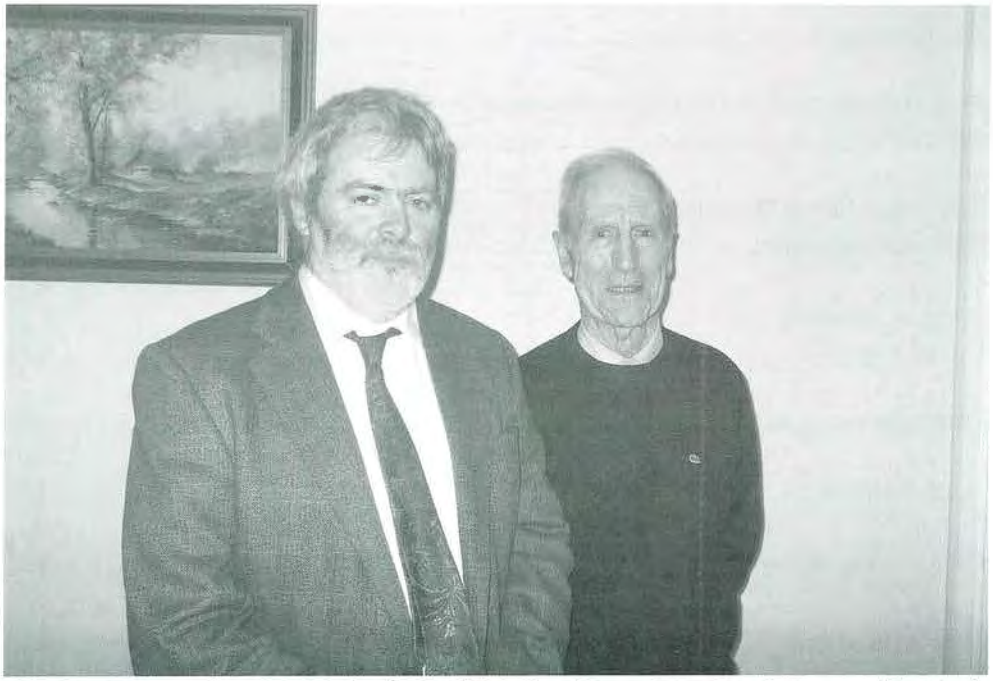
Decies **70**

CONTENTS

Members enjoying a trip to the Copper Coast in July with guide Jim Cullian.



The late Kevin Hall with Pádraig Ó Macháin who delivered the March lecture, The Book of Lismore.

Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society
Officers and Committee Members
2014/2015

OFFICERS

Kevin P Hall was elected Chairman of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society at the 2014 AGM but passed away suddenly on 2 May. He was succeeded by Erica Fay who had been elected Vice-chair.

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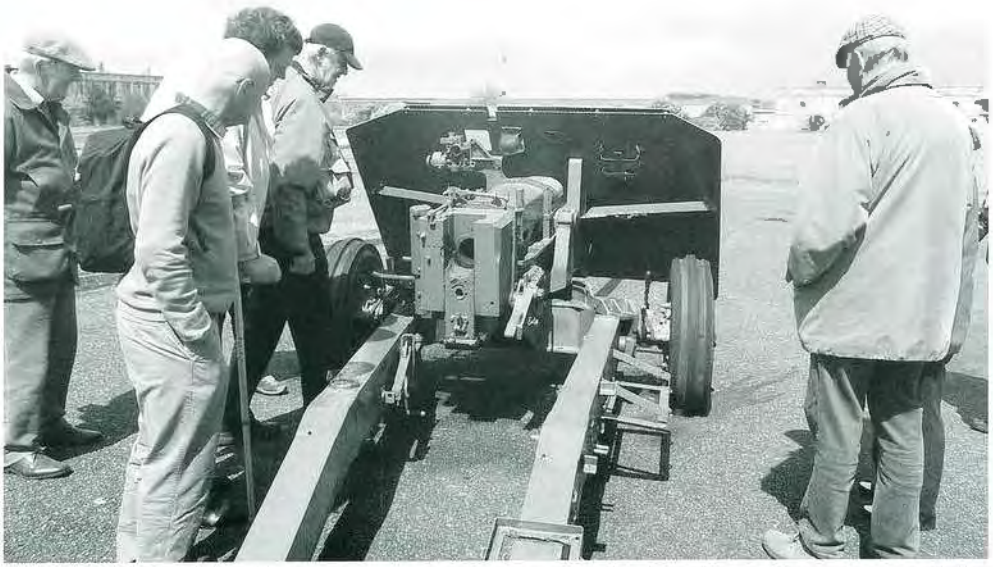
Launching Decies 69, *left to right, Bernadette Guest, Heritage Officer Waterford County Council, William Condon, Chairman WAHS, Julian Walton, author of* On this Day *and Deputy County Mayor, Cllr Gerard Barron.*



Some members of WAHS showing a great interest in a 25 Pounder artillery piece on Spike Island.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Ba bhreá liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil le gach éinne a chabhraigh liom iris na bliana seo a fhoilsiú – coiste an chumainn, an coiste eagarthóireachta agus go háirithe údair na n-alt. Dóibh siúd go léir mo mhíle buíochas.

Eddie Synnott who typeset the journal and scanned the images once again deserves the gratitude of the society.

I would like to point out to intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for *Decies* 71 (2015) is 1 May 2015. **Articles received after that date will be held over for publication in the following year's journal.**

Dar ndóigh beidh fáilte roimh altanna as Gaeilge nó as Béarla.

For further information on the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society see our website: http://waterford-history.org/

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Visiting the Quaker Graveyard at Wyse Park in August with Joan Johnston.

In the garden of the Medieval Museum on a fine June evening, listening intently to archaeologist Orla Scully.

WAHS members leaving by ferry for Spike Island.

List of Contributors

Ian d'Alton, MA (NUI), PhD (Cantab.), FRHistS, FRNS, is the author of *Protestant Society and Politics in Cork, 1812-1844* (Cork University Press, 1980), and of numerous papers, chapters in books and essays on southern Irish Protestantism from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. A recipient of the Royal Historical Society's Alexander Prize in 1972, he was an editorial advisor and contributor to the Royal Irish Academy/Cambridge University Press's *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (2009). His other scholarly interests lie in the literary arena (principally the works of the Anglo-Irish writers Elizabeth Bowen, Molly Keane and Iris Murdoch) and in French art medals, 1870-1935. In 2011-12, he was an honorary Senior Research Fellow in the School of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool and, in 2014, will be a Visiting Fellow at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Eugene Broderick is a former secondary school principal. He also lectured at the Waterford Institute of Technology and has served as chairperson and secretary of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society. He is the author of numerous publications on aspects of Irish history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His particular research interest is the Church of Ireland in the nineteenth century. His doctoral thesis was a study of the church in Waterford in that century.

Des Cowman was co-founder and first editor of *Decies* from 1976 and has contributed many research items to it. He was also co-founder of what is now the Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland and first editor of its Newsletter and its Journal. He has written two books on aspects of Waterford history as well as other books and many articles on the social and economic aspects of Irish mining history. He has also lectured widely.

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

John Morris served as a Senior Manager in the Geological Survey of Ireland. He conceived and initiated what is now the Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland in 1995 and served as its founder Chairman and as Director up to 2013. He was also jointly responsible for achieving European Geopark status for the Copper Coast in 2001 and has been a director since then. He has written, or co-written, many research items on Irish geology and mining.

Dermot Power is a native of Waterford and has worked as a master-cutter in Waterford Crystal and as a professional musician. His published works include *Ballads and Songs of Waterford* (2 volumes), *The Street Where You Live*, *Historical Photographs and Anniversaries of Waterford City*. He was a contributor to *The Famine in Waterford: Teacht na bPrátaí Dubha* (Geography Publications/Waterford County Council, 1995) and is a frequent contributor to *Decies* as well as the *Munster Express* and Waterford Local Radio. He is current researching a social history of Waterford from 1800.

Mary Stratton Ryan is an Irish artist and art historian, graduate of the National College of Art and Design. She has published widely, and articles by her may be found in the *Irish Arts Review*, *History Ireland*, *Carloviana*, the Tuam Journal of the Historical Society Galway and in French, German and Italian publications.

Nicholas John Sheehan was born in Sheffield in 1949 and he visited the family farm in Leperstown a number of times in his early childhood. He graduated in medicine in 1973 and, after training as a rheumatologist at St Thomas' Hospital in London he was appointed to a consultant post in Peterborough in 1986. He has published articles on a variety of medical and scientific subjects and has written two books on local history.
Dr Sheehan lives in Uffington, near Stamford, with his wife Jonquil and they have three adult children and a granddaughter. He is a nephew of Nicholas Sheehan who was one of the nine Co. Waterford farmers.

David Toms was educated at St. Paul's Community College in Waterford and at University College, Cork where he completed a PhD in 2013. He currently lives in Cork, lecturing in the School of History, UCC and working as a learning technologist. His historical research has appeared in journals including *Sport in History*, *Irish Economic and Social History*, and *Soccer & Society*. His first book, *Soccer in Munster: A Social History, 1877-1937* is forthcoming from Cork University Press.

The Clerical Career of the Rev. Richard H. Ryland, 1788-1866

Eugene Broderick

Rev. Richard Hopkins Hyland.

The name of Richard Ryland is well known in Waterford as the author of *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*. First published in 1824, it was a work of significant scholarship by a man described as 'an amateur, though seriously dedicated historian',[1] who saw himself as the successor and even corrector of Charles Smith, whose *Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford* had appeared in 1746.[2] His book places Ryland in a long tradition of scholarly clergymen belonging to the Church of Ireland.[3] However, while remembered for his historical and literary endeavours, Ryland regarded his clerical vocation and its attendant duties as his primary concerns. Indeed, his obituarist described his writings and researches as the 'lighter tasks' of his 'leisure hours'.[4] First and foremost, Richard Ryland was a man of the cloth, and this article seeks to illuminate this aspect of his life, which has been virtually forgotten and ignored.

Early life and career

The Ryland family, which originated in England, settled in Dungarvan in the sixteenth century.[5] The date of birth of Richard Ryland's father, also called Richard, is uncertain. Like his son, he too was a clergyman. He served as curate of Ardmore in 1778[6] and in 1793 he became vicar of Killybarrymeaden.[7] In that same year he was

1 So described by the Rt. Rev. Michael Olden in his introduction to an edition of Ryland's history produced by Wellbrook Press Limited, Kilkenny, in 1982.

2 Olden, 'Introduction'.

3 For a discussion of the contribution to scholarship of Church of Ireland clergy see Toby Barnard, 'Scholars and Antiquarians: the Clergy and Learning', in T.G. Barnard and W.G. Neely (eds.), *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland: Messenger, Watchmen and Stewards* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 231-58.

4 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

5 See www.waterfordmuseum.ie/exhibit/web/Display/article/253/1 for information on the Ryland family. Accessed 1 September 2014.

6 William H. Rennison, *Succession List of the Bishops, Cathedral and Parochial Clergy of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore* (Dublin, no date), p. 125.

7 Rennison, *Succession List*, p. 179.

collated to the prebend of Modeligo, in the diocese of Lismore.[8] Two years later he was appointed treasurer of the diocese of Waterford.[9] Ryland Senior died in 1800 and was buried in Dungarvan. He was married to Mary Burton, who was born in 1764 and died in 1798. Their son, Richard Hopkins Ryland, was born on 7 March 1783 and educated at the Waterford Endowed School.[10] He graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and was ordained in Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, by Bishop Joseph Stock in 1811. Ryland preached his first sermon in the cathedral on 24 February 1812. He was curate of Killesk, near Dunbrody, County Wexford, for a short period, before becoming curate of Dunhill parish. In a parliamentary report, dated May 1820, he is recorded as curate to the chancellor of Waterford, Rev. James Bourke.[11] In 1821 he secured the position of curate in Trinity parish, which was centred around Christ Church Cathedral.[12] He was installed as chancellor of the diocese of Waterford on 24 October 1824,[13] and prebendary of Mora, in Lismore diocese, on 29 January 1842.[14]

Ryland married Isabella Julia (died 1873), the daughter of Rev. George Louis Fleury, archdeacon of Waterford. They had eight children, six sons and two daughters.[15] One of his sons, John Frederick, continued the family's tradition and became a clergyman.[16]

Income and duties

As curate to the chancellor of Christ Church Cathedral, Ryland earned an annual salary of £50.[17] When he secured the position of curate of Trinity parish, his yearly income was probably in the range of £50 to £75.[18] Whether he continued as the

8 Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae: The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies of Ireland*, vol. I (Dublin, 1851), p. 201.

9 Cotton, *Fasti*, p. 151.

10 These particulars of Ryland's early life and career are based on his obituary which was published in the *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

11 *Papers Relating to the State of the Established Church in Ireland*, House of Commons, 1820 (93), ix, p. 243.

12 Rennison, *Succession List*, p. 97. He may have obtained this appointment even earlier as he is listed as a curate in Trinity in John Erck's *The Ecclesiastical Register*, p. 172, which was published in Dublin in 1820. His obituary in the *Waterford Standard and Conservative Gazette* gives the date as 1825. Such confusion is not unusual in relation to the Church of Ireland curates, reflecting their lowly status in the Church.

13 Cotton, *Fasti*, p. 148. The chancellor was secretary of a cathedral chapter.

14 Cotton, *Fasti*, p. 190.

15 www.waterfordmuseum.ie/exhibit/web/Display/article/253/1

16 John Frederick Ryland, born about 1822. Ordained priest in 1847 and served in a number of parishes in England. In 1864 he became precentor of Waterford. www.niallbrn.wordpress.com/2014/05/15/the-vicars-of-tallow-co-waterford-1639-1910/ Accessed 1 September 2014.

17 *Papers Relating to the State of the Established Church in Ireland*, 1820, p. 243.

18 These figures are based on salaries returned for curates attached to Christ Church Cathedral contained in *Papers Relating to the State of the Established Church in Ireland*, House of Commons, p. 241.

chancellor's curate is unclear, but it is likely he did. This gave him a combined income of between £100 to £125 in the year, which could be augmented a little by baptism, marriage and funeral fees. This made Ryland more fortunate than many of his fellow curates in the Church of Ireland, who had to depend on one income (around £75 per annum), which contemporaries regarded as inadequate. The *Waterford Mail*, commenting on their plight in 1833, lamented 'the neglect and poverty in which the working curates have been always condemned to remain'.[19] When he was appointed chancellor of Waterford Cathedral in 1829 Ryland's financial circumstances experienced a considerable improvement. He now earned an income of around £476. The formal duties attached to the post were not onerous: preaching one Sunday in four weeks, reading prayers every morning during that week and twice on the Sunday following. Furthermore, by virtue of his cathedral office he was rector of Monamintra, worth £30 a year.[20] As there were no Anglicans living in this parish,[21] he had no duties to perform. The prebend of Mora was worth an additional £259, and the cathedral duties attached to it were nominal: preaching occasionally and attending chapter meetings.[22] The prebendary was also rector of Mora, a small churchless parish in County Tipperary, with a Church of Ireland population of nine in 1831. Ryland's duties here were discharged by a curate.[23] While his official duties as a dignitary of two cathedral chapters were quite undemanding, Ryland busied himself in other ways in the Church of Ireland and was an active clergyman in Trinity parish for many years.

Evangelical beliefs

For most of his clerical career Ryland was a convinced evangelical. His obituarist wrote:

> At a very early period of his ministry he became deeply impressed with the solemn responsibility of his office as a minister and steward of the mysteries of God. It was a time in this country when a race of remarkable men was raised up in several parts of Ireland full of zeal, and standard bearers of the truth as in Jesus.[24]

This spirit of religious seriousness first became apparent in Irish Protestantism following the unrest of the French Revolution. Though strongest among Methodists, it was also found among a minority of pious-minded individuals in the Established Church. These formed the pioneering members of the evangelical party in the Church of Ireland, who were determined to imbue the Church with a

19 *Waterford Mail*, 13 March 1833.

20 *Second Report of His Majesty's Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, House of Commons, 1834 (523), xxiii, p. 200.

21 *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland*, House of Commons 1835 (45, 46), xxxxiii, 5c.

22 *Fourth Report of His Majesty's Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, House of Commons, 1837 (500), xxi, p. 368.

23 *First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction*, 27c.

24 *Waterford Standard and Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

new sense of religious authority and mission.[25] Through the leadership of a number of inspiring figures, the influence of evangelicalism spread within the Church, and by 1810 it was an established, though still a minority force, which saw a period of steady growth in numbers and influence in the succeeding years. It was not until the mid-century that the Church could be described as predominantly evangelical, and it was only after disestablishment that it became overwhelmingly so.[26]

Evangelicals possessed a firm belief in the reality of sin, a person's helplessness without divine aid, the gracious mercy of God and in the atonement wrought by Christ.[27] In their teachings no doctrine was more important than the doctrine of justification by faith alone.[28] The Bible was believed to contain all the truth that was necessary for salvation and its trustworthiness as the lodestar of faith made it the foundation of all evangelical teachings.[29] Given the laxity which had characterised the eighteenth-century Established Church, emphasis was placed on the Bible rather than on the Church in teaching the Christian faith.[30] In general, 'the Evangelical clergy in Ireland entertained moderate views in respect to episcopacy, clerical orders, the nature of the sacraments, and the degree of importance to be attached to rites and ceremonies'.[31] Such attitudes were regarded as anti-Church by many bishops and clergy, and the evangelicals had a tense relationship with the hierarchy for many years.[32] This fact was acknowledged in Ryland's obituary: 'Many hindrances were placed in the way of Richard Ryland by his clerical brethren in the ministry of the "old high and dry stock", as well as by many amongst the laity who disliked the doctrines to which they could give no assent'. This may explain why, in the opinion of the obituarist, 'promotion in the Church came slowly to one so full of faith and good works'.[33] In due course, the evangelical tendency was to prevail and served as an animating force in the Church, inspiring clergy and laity to higher standards of belief and practice.[34]

Not content with a religious animation in the general sense, evangelicals also established special agencies to promote their ideals.[35] The nineteenth-century evangelical revival was spearheaded by a number of societies, with the declared purpose of imbuing every aspect of Church life with a renewed sense of religious

25 For an overview of the origins of Anglican evangelicalism see Desmond Bowen, *Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 61-2; and Thomas J. Johnston, John L. Robinson and Robert W. Jackson, *A History of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 1953), pp. 250-3.

26 Donald H. Akenson, *Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885* (New Haven and London, 1971), p. 132.

27 Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 62.

28 J. T. Ball, *The Reformed Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 1886), p. 241.

29 See Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 62; James Godkin, *Religious History of Ireland* (London, 1867), p. 240.

30 Kenneth Milne, *The Church of Ireland: a History* (Dublin, n.d.), p. 42.

31 Ball, *Reformed Church of Ireland*, p. 240.

32 Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 134; Godkin, *Religious History of Ireland*, p. 240.

33 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

34 Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 132.

35 Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 133.

vigour and purpose. The principal characteristic of evangelical societies was the simple fact that they were special interest groups founded to promote a specific objective or a relatively narrow set of objectives.[36] Some of these societies included the Hibernian Bible Society (1806), the Sunday School Society for Ireland (1809) and the Hibernian Church Missionary Society (1814). Ryland was to be associated with these bodies during his clerical ministry.

His obituary claimed that Ryland established the Bible Society in Waterford. By 1820 there was a Waterford Auxiliary Bible Society in existence, which was affiliated to the Hibernian Bible Society. The objective of the society was to promote the authorised version of the Bible, without note or comment being added thereto. The Waterford society operated a book depository at George's Street.[37] However, the society, it would appear, was only a moderate success, judging by the comment of a speaker at one of its meetings in 1822, when he described the city as 'backward in the cause of the Bible Society and has been for years'.[38] A change was evident at the annual general meeting held in October 1824.[39] The society's altered circumstances were a reflection of the increasing progress of evangelicalism at local and national level. The attendance of 600 was the most numerous to date and contrasted with that of a meeting in January 1822, which had attracted 200.[40] It was reported at the 1824 meeting that demand for copies of the Bible had trebled in the last three months. Ryland was elected to serve on the committee which issued the following notice in the local press: 'It would be difficult to show how either religion or morality can be more effectually promoted than by endeavouring to draw an increased attention to the Word of God, and by proving our attachment to the Bible by promoting its circulation'.

By 1826 there was a significant increase in the circulation of the Bible, Ryland stating that if the trend continued the circulation would be nine times greater than in 1824.[41] Two years later, in 1828, he was able to report the formation of six associations in the county affiliated to the Bible Society in the city. This achievement, however, according to Ryland, should not engender complacency, as he told those gathered at the meeting: 'But how much remained yet to be done throughout the world might be gathered from the circumstance that though the Waterford branch distributed 5,000 numbers of scriptures, yet what was that among a population of 200,000 in the district'.[42] The popularity of the society continued into the 1830s, with the *Waterford Mail* reporting at the height of the Tithe War that it was prospering, notwithstanding the disorganised state of the country.[43] The Bible Society continued to be active in the 1850s and 1860s. At the 1855 annual meeting it was reported that in the city and adjoining district alone during the past year the

36 Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 134.
37 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 15 February 1820.
38 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 22 January 1822.
39 *Waterford Mail*, 23 and 27 October 1824.
40 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 22 January 1822.
41 *Waterford Mail*, 31 May 1826.
42 *Ibid*, 21 June 1828.
43 *Ibid*, 19 September 1832.

number of copies of the scriptures distributed had quadrupled.[44] In 1863 members heard that various branches of the society throughout the county, affiliated to the Waterford auxiliary, were continuing to send subscriptions. Tramore had contributed largely to the fund, while Dunmore East's collection was described as a 'handsome one'. An increased contribution had been received from Stradbally, thus enabling Waterford to forward £80 to the parent society in Dublin.[45] The Tramore branch was noted for the size of its contributions,[46] subscribing £46 to the coffers in 1862.[47] This achievement indicated a vibrant local branch.[48]

Ryland attended the inaugural meeting of the Waterford branch of the Church Missionary Society on 22 October 1824 and was elected to its committee.[49] Within two years meetings were attracting considerable attendances.[50] At the 1828 annual meeting, Rev. Ussher Lee, dean of Waterford, made reference to the increased interest among members of the Established Church in the society and to the large attendances at the monthly meetings held at the parochial school in Peter Street.[51] The Church Missionary Society was still active in the 1850s and 1860s. It was reported at the 1853 annual meeting that £100 had been remitted to the parent society.[52] In 1854 meetings in connection with the society were held at Waterford, Dunmore East, Tramore, Kilrossanty, and Dungarvan; and the annual remittance was £108.[53] An annual sermon was preached in many churches in aid of the body.[54]

The organisation with which Ryland was most closely associated was the Waterford Sunday School, described in his obituary as 'his chief care'.[55] He founded it in 1825,[56] in the room of a small house in Michael Street. A few years later it moved to new premises, the parochial schoolhouse at Peter Street. In addition to the instruction of children every Sunday, a lecture was held every Monday evening. On 15 August 1831 the school found new accommodation, the present Large Room located in the City Hall. A Sunday school was conducted here every Sunday morning and evening. Every Monday it was the venue for a meeting of one of the other Protestant religious societies in the city, and on Friday morning the Waterford City Mission met there. When the lease was not renewed in 1857, a meeting was convened on 13 May of the same year, at which it was resolved to

44 *Ibid*, 22 May 1855.
45 *Ibid*, 1 June 1863.
46 *Waterford Mail*, 1 June 1863.
47 *Ibid*, 21 May 1862.
48 See also *Waterford Mail*, 15 October 1866.
49 *Ibid*, 23 September 1826, 13 December 1826.
50 *Ibid*, 23 September 1826, 13 December 1826.
51 *Ibid*, 15 March 1828.
52 *Ibid*, 16 July 1853.
53 *Ibid*, 16 August 1854.
54 *Ibid*, 9 August 1856, 13 August 1859, 29 June 1863, 24 September 1866.
55 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.
56 This account of the early history of the school is based on the address Ryland delivered on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Protestant Hall at Catherine Street. *Waterford Mail*, 4 November 1859.

build a hall to provide a suitable place for holding the Sunday school, and for meetings of a moral, literary, scientific and other general Protestant purposes. A committee was selected,.[57] and the foundation of a new Protestant hall was laid at Catherine Street in November 1859. Ryland addressed the large gathering of Protestants on that occasion and emphasised the two fundamental principles which inspired the endeavours of the school: 'first, that man was far gone from original righteousness; second, that Christ came to save the lost'.[58] The hall was opened on 4 July 1861. Ryland, in his capacity as secretary of the Waterford Bible Society, presented a Bible for use in the hall, declaring: 'An open Bible is the birth right of every human being, the badge and token of every free man and the greatest privilege a rational creature can enjoy'.[59] A portrait in oils of Ryland was hung in the Protestant Hall, in recognition of the founder of the Waterford Sunday School.[60]

The Sunday school was one of the most active and vibrant of the city's Protestant societies. By 1860, together with the school in the Protestant Hall, there were also schools in St. Patrick's Parish, the Abbey and Ballinakill.[61] In addition to weekly Sunday Schools in the various locations, there was an annual excursion[62] and an annual festival after Christmas for all the city's schools.[63]

There was near universal recognition among Anglicans in Waterford of the importance of Sunday schools in the transmission of the teachings of Protestantism to the younger generation. Many Protestants would have agreed with the correspondent in the *Waterford Mail* who wrote: 'I look on the Sunday school as the greatest bulwark against Popery'.[64] The schools also gave the laity an opportunity to become involved in the life of the Church. Of all the religious societies, the Sunday schools probably impacted on a greater proportion of Church members than any other. Parents were involved because of their children's participation and there was an impressive attendance of laity on the excursions and at the festivals.[65] This would have pleased Ryland as lay involvement in the schools was for him a fundamental concern, as is evident in his reminiscences on the establishment of the Waterford Sunday School:

> Aye! my friends, money never was wanting whenever the people of Waterford were appealed to on behalf of any good cause and I do firmly believe money will never be wanting in this place. There was one defect, however, heretofore; they depended too much on the clergy and said to us, 'We are inclined to give our money, not our time,

57 *Waterford Mail*, 21 July 1857.
58 *Ibid*, 4 November 1859.
59 *Ibid*, 5 July 1861.
60 *Ibid*, 6 January 1862.
61 *Ibid*, 1 August 1860.
62 *Ibid*, 1 September 1852, 10 August 1853, 9 August 1854, 19 July 1856, 11 August 1857, 6 August 1859, 1 August 1860.
63 *Ibid*, 2 January 1858, 9 January 1860, 9 January 1861, 6 January 1862.
64 *Ibid*, 11 January 1865.
65 See notes 60 and 61 above for relevant references.

> you must do the work'. When this matter was being considered, in the midst of great uncertainty, I resolved to see what could be done by the people when left to themselves, and went off to London, where I remained two or three weeks. When I came back I found that the whole matter was finished. Aye! leave it to the people, and don't treat them as mere children, and depend upon it they will not be found wanting in valuable cooperation.[66]

Women were especially active in their support. The first school in Michael Street was conducted by five women. Female participation on the excursions and in the festivals was noteworthy, and Ryland's wife and two daughters were among the attendance.[67]

Controversy with Catholics

One of the consequences of a more evangelically inclined Church of Ireland was controversy with Catholics. It was the deeply held conviction of many evangelicals that the main source of Ireland's economic, social and political problems was the Catholic religion.[68] Roman Catholicism was regarded by ardent evangelicals as a pernicious faith, based on superstitions and heresies, these being perpetuated by a priesthood steeped in ignorance and obscurantism, the members of which held a tyrannical sway over their congregations, reducing them (the congregations) to a state of servile thraldom.[69] Following the Act of Union, it became the firm belief of many evangelicals that if the Catholic Irish could be converted to the reformed faith, a transformation of the country would be effected.[70] It became their religious duty to free Irish Catholics from 'Popish superstition' and the authority of the 'Antichrist' in Rome.[71] By the 1820s a movement to promote the conversion of the Catholic population to Protestantism was under way. Often called the 'Second Reformation',[72] this campaign of proselytism prompted the Anglican archbishop of Dublin, Dr. William Magee, to declare in 1825: 'In truth, with respect to Ireland, the Reformation may, strictly speaking, be truly said only now to have begun'.[73]

There is a substantial body of evidence which reveals that Ryland was sympathetic to the objectives of the 'Second Reformation'. His obituarist commented

66 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

67 See notes 60 and 61 above for relevant references.

68 Irene Whelan, 'The Stigma of Souperism', in Cathal Poirtéir (ed.), *The Great Famine* (Cork, 1995), p. 136.

69 Eugene Broderick, 'The Famine and Religious Controversy in Waterford, 1847-1850', in *Decies* 51 (1995), p. 12.

70 Whelan, 'Stigma of Souperism', pp. 136-7.

71 Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. xii.

72 For a comprehensive overview of the Second Reformation see Irene Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland: The Second Reformation and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840* (Dublin, 2005). See also Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*; and Bowen, *Souperism: Myth or Reality* (Cork, 1970).

73 *The Evidence of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1825), p. 10.

that 'he held what were called extreme Calvinist views',[74] a description which places him in the ranks of the most ardent evangelicals. A consideration of his actions and words confirms this view. It was in a climate of increasing religious suspicion and recrimination throughout Ireland, to which the activities of Protestant proselytisers contributed significantly, that a proposal in 1824 to establish a school in Waterford according to the system of education pursued by the London Hibernian Society caused a significant public controversy between Waterford's Catholics and Protestants. To this society belonged the dubious honour of being the most aggressive of the Protestant proselytising bodies.[75] It had been founded in London in 1806 on strident anti-Catholic principles.[76] Evangelical activists in Waterford convened a meeting in September 1824 to discuss the education of the lower orders in accordance with the society's principles. Admission was by ticket, as there was a fear of disturbances being caused by Catholic opponents of the scheme.[77] A large crowd attended, and it was resolved to establish an educational institution. Various speakers denied that there was a desire to engage in the proselytising of Catholics, though it was acknowledged that the clergy of the Roman Church were opposed to the society's activities. One Catholic priest, Rev. John Sheehan, denounced the decision to found a school. Notwithstanding Catholic objections, a committee was elected to bring the scheme to fruition, and Ryland was one of its members.[78] There was a subsequent meeting at the Catholic cathedral in October to give expression to concerns over proselytism.[79] Three London Hibernian schools were eventually established - at Dungarvan, Stradbally and Tallow.[80]

In the spring and summer of 1827 a series of sermons was organised in Waterford City to promulgate the message of the Reformation. Such sermons were a feature of Ireland's religious landscape in the 1820s, in the course of which Protestant preachers contrasted the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church with those of the Bible in order to argue that many of the tenets of that Church were devoid of scriptural authority. The first sermon was preached in Christ Church Cathedral by Rev. Richard Ryland on Sunday 4 February on the subject 'All Scripture is given by the inspiration of God'.[81] He was also the preacher of the second one, entitled 'Making the Word of God of none effect through your Tradition'. In this address, Ryland denounced the practice of honouring saints, and described canonisation as dishonourable to God. He rejected the notion of the need to abstain from meat on Fridays. The Catholic practices of confession and absolution he asserted to be irrelevant, as Christ had already accomplished the great work of human redemption.[82]

74 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.
75 Donald H. Akenson, *Irish Education Experiment* (London, 1970), p. 82.
76 Akenson, *Irish Education Experiment*, p. 82.
77 *Waterford Mail*, 25 September 1824; 29 September 1824.
78 *Waterford Mail*, 2 October 1824.
79 *Waterford Mirror*, 30 October 1824.
80 *Second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction Ireland*, 14c, 24c, 25c.
81 *Waterford Mail*, 7 February 1827.
82 *Ibid*, 14 February 1827.

The sermons attracted large congregations. The one for Ryland's second sermon was, according to the *Waterford Mail*, 'the most numerous we have ever witnessed'.[83] Though the avowed purpose of the sermons was to expose the errors of Catholicism, and while 'several' Catholics were reported as being present at Ryland's first sermon,[84] these addresses were aimed primarily at Anglicans. The occasions were used to strengthen the conviction of the Protestant auditory as to the righteousness of the cause of the reformed faith. That offence might be given to Catholics - and it was -[85] did nothing to deter the supporters of the 'Second Reformation':

> Spirit-stirring addresses... rang through Ireland at this period and served to encourage the harassed Protestants; like the shout of the Roman soldiery, who cared little how they roused their slumbering enemies, so that they sent cheer and courage to the hearts of their famishing and beleaguered comrades.[86]

The event which really highlights Ryland's support of the 'Second Reformation' and the ardency of his evangelicalism was his involvement in efforts to establish an association in Waterford connected with the British Society for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation. A meeting for that purpose was held on 9 November 1827. Ryland addressed the gathering and expressed militant sentiments. He quoted the words spoken by a Catholic priest at a meeting relating to the Mendicant Asylum: 'within the walls of the asylum I shall not interfere with those people; but out of them I shall certainly make proselytes of all that I can'. A strident Ryland declaimed:

> As Protestants, as Christians, were we not bound to proselytise all that came within the sphere of our influence to the pure and true faith of the Gospel? And if so, how could we make a compromise with our bounden duty? Sir, I am ashamed of such conduct, and I call upon Protestants to fling to the winds so base a compromise.[87]

He regretted the fact that

> we Protestants have too long kept back – too long made it a practice to conceal our object, as though it were not our positive duty to spread abroad the light of the Gospel, and proclaim to everyone the glorious message, that he who believeth in the name of the Lord Jesus, shall be saved.[88]

83 *Ibid*, 14 February 1827.
84 *Ibid*, 7 February 1827.
85 *Ibid*, 28 February 1827.
86 Dawson Massey, *The Faithful Shepherd or the Life and Times of Godfrey Massey, Vicar of Bruff* (London, 1859), pp. 232-3.
87 *Report of the Proceedings at a Public Meeting Held in the City of Waterford on Friday, Nov. 9, 1827, for the Purpose of Establishing an Auxiliary to the British Society for Promoting the Principles of the Reformation* (Waterford, 1827), p. 16.
88 *Ibid*, p. 15.

Ryland deplored the fact that there were clergymen reluctant to proselytise lest they cause controversy with Catholics and recounted an anecdote by way of rebuke:

> The son of a respectable Roman Catholic gentleman, residing not many miles from this city, not long since applied to a neighbouring Protestant clergyman for advice on the all-important subject of religion. He confessed his doubts of the system in which he had been educated, and solicited advice. But what think ye did this Protestant clergyman say to him? 'Friend, let me apprise you, that you are undertaking a most painful task; consider what a serious thing it would be to displease your relatives and friends; stay as you are; be satisfied with the religion in which you were brought up, and think no more of the matter'.[89]

A committee was appointed to establish a branch of the society in Waterford and Ryland was one of those selected to serve on it.

The meeting and the committee achieved little. The first anniversary meeting of the Reformation Society was an uninspiring occasion. The report of the secretary was brief and expressed the regret of the committee at having done so little. One thousand copies of the proceeedings of the inaugural meeting had been printed and circulated, and 800 copies of the Douay version of the Bible had been procured and distributed. The committee acknowledged that the report was not a flattering one, though it was convinced that the spirit of religious inquiry was strongly abroad among Catholics.[90] If the Reformation Society believed this, it did little to address the situation, at least on the evidenee of its second anniversary meeting.[91] There are no more reports available of subsequent meetings.[92] The fate of the Waterford branch of the British Society for Promoting the Principles of the Reformation reflected the wider failure of the 'Second Reformation' movement in the 1820s.

Tithe War, 1830-1838

In Richard Ryland's *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford* he outlined his thoughts on one of the most contentious issues in Irish political life during the first three decades of the nineteenth century – tithes, a tax levied on agricultural produce for the support of the clergy of the Church of Ireland. Opposition to their payment was an amalgam of economic and religious objections.[93] Economically, tithes were regarded effectively as an extension of

89 *Report of the Proceedings*, p. 16.

90 *Waterford Mail*, 10 September 1828.

91 *Ibid*, 10 October 1829.

92 See *Waterford Mail*, various editions, 1830-1840.

93 See Patrick O'Donoghue, 'Causes of the Opposition to Tithes', *Studia Hibernica* No. 5 (1965), pp. 7-28; Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, pp. 87-8; S. J. Connolly (ed.), *Oxford Companion to Irish History* (Oxford , 1998), p. 543.

rents.[94] The basis of religious hostility was the fact that the majority of those liable for this impost – Catholics – derived no benefit from it. In fact, many of them loathed the institution they were compelled to support.

In his essay Ryland concentrated on the economic dimension of tithes, choosing to ignore the religious concerns of opponents. He argued that if tithes were not combined with excessive rents their pressure 'would scarcely be perceptible'.[95] The problem was that they were taken from the 'scanty portion' remaining to peasants after they had paid their rent.[96] He did not favour abolition of tithes, as the landlords would simply use this as an opportunity to increase rents. Rather, Ryland believed that a solution lay in mutual reduction by landlords and clergy of rents and tithes, respectively, and 'the sum of their abatements will go to relieve the occupier [of land holdings]'.[97] This analysis was naïve in its proposals regarding rents and tithes, for the reason that there was no evidence of a widespread willingness by landlords and clergy to reduce what they regarded as their legal entitlements. The analysis was also flawed by the author's unwillingness to consider the religious objections to tithes and his failure to acknowledge the extent to which they contributed to the popular hostility towards them.

The Tithe War began in the parish of Graiguenananagh, County Kilkenny, in December, 1830.[98] The resistance soon spread throughout the country. During much of 1832 anti-tithe meetings were held throughout Waterford: at Butlerstown (two),[99] Ballylaneen (two),[100] Kilrossanty,[101] Tramore,[102] Portlaw[103] and the city.[104] This agitation ensured the cessation of payments to many clergy, his obituarist noting that 'Mr. Ryland's tithes were, of course, unpaid to him'.[105] By April 1833 substantial sums of money were outstanding (since 1829) to him and other Anglican clergymen in Waterford, as may be seen in the table hereunder:

94 Donal McCartney, *The Dawning of Democracy: Ireland 1800-1870* (Dublin, 1987), p. 135.

95 Richard Ryland, *The History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*, (London, 1824; reissued, Kilkenny, 1982), p. 390.

96 Ryland, *History*, p. 390.

97 Ryland, *History*, p. 391.

98 For an account of events at Graiguenamanagh see Patrick O'Donoghue, 'Opposition to Tithe Payments in 1830-31', *Studia Hibernica* No. 6 (1966), pp. 69-72.

99 *Waterford Chronicle*, 17 January 1832, 18 September 1832.

100 *Ibid*, 2 February 1832, 21 August 1832.

101 *Ibid*, 12 June 1832.

102 *Ibid*, 12 July 1832.

103 *Ibid*, 2 August 1832.

104 *Ibid*, 4 September 1832.

105 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

Arrears of tithes due to clergymen in Waterford, 1829-1833[106]

Diocese of Waterford	£	Diocese of Lismore	£
Richard Ryland	**406**	George Bourke	471
Joseph Burke	470	Ambrose Power	954
Richard Hobson	280	Charles Minchin	169
Henry Archdall	278	William Mackesey	480
John Cooke, Sen.	668	George Gumbleton	296
John Cooke, Jnr.	310	John Jackson	260
John Palliser	375	Daniel Sullivan	364
Henry Fleury	196	Francis Newport	333
Richard Fleury	455	William Hughes	160
William Frazer	172	Stephen Dickson	1,056
		James Hewetson	442
		John Devereux	982
		Henry Stewart	1,772
		Thomas Monck	800

Deprivation of income caused many clergy, including Ryland, hardship. Once again, Ryland's obituarist noted: 'During the tithe warfare of 1833, the condition of the Irish clergy was lamentable'.[107] Yet their plight during the years of the Tithe War has been virtually ignored by historians. Understandably, that of the peasantry engaged in a struggle against an iniquitous tax commands the greater attention and sympathy. Nevertheless, the sufferings of Anglican Churchmen - albeit a tiny minority of the population - deserve acknowledgement.[108] The sympathetic *Waterford Mail* quoted a contemporary observer:

> Your heart would bleed if you knew the condition to which these good and learned men are reduced by this outrageous system [of anti-tithe agitation]. Many are.....with large nominal preferments from which they cannot obtain a single sixpence; and yet with families to support, with children to educate, and with an appearance to maintain in the world. Some of them have sold their stock, some their libraries; and some of them alas! educated, Christian gentlemen are driven to solicit pecuniary contributions.[109]

106 *A Return of the Arrears of Tithe due in the several Dioceses of Ireland from 1st May 1829*, H.C. 1833 (509), xxvii, p. 11.

107 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

108 An exception to this neglect of the sufferings of the Protestant clergy is Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 171-2. Moreover, Professor Akenson has written that the plight of Anglican parish clergy during the Tithe War 'demands understanding as well'. See Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 181.

109 *Waterford Mail*, 7 December 1831.

Given the financial privations Ryland endured, his obituary records an interesting episode:

> It was whispered that he [Ryland] should have an income provided. In two days £1,000 was raised and brought to him. He refused to touch one penny of it. He refused it for his family as for himself, and the money was forthwith returned. He said he feared he should not be faithful to his Master if he touched their gold, much though he prized their love and valued their affection..[110]

In response to the situation facing the Church of Ireland, the government introduced a bill in 1832, which became law on 1 June,[111] placing £60,000 at the lord lieutenant's disposal to be advanced to financially distressed clergymen. This money was to be given to those whose tithes for 1831 were in arrears. The amount to be allocated to a clergyman was set at two-thirds of the tithes due to him, with a limit of £500 per individual.[112] This fund offered the clergy some measure of financial relief. However, those who applied for money from the lord lieutenant often received only a fraction of the arrears due to them, as may be seen from a comparison of the table hereunder with the table above detailing arrears:

Money paid to Anglican clergymen in Waterford by the lord lieutenant in lieu of arrears for 1831[113]

Diocese of Waterford		**Diocese of Lismore**	
	£		£
Richard Ryland	**57**	George Bourke	156
Richard Hobson	13	Ambrose Power	86
John Cooke, Sen.	132	Charles Minchin	55
John Cooke, Jnr.	53	William Mackesey	17
Richard Fleury	5	Francis Newport	148
		Stephen Dickson	236

Pecuniary hardships were only one aspect of the impact of the Tithe War on clergymen such as Richard Ryland. It must also have been a time of fear and concern for personal safety. Though Waterford was spared the violent excesses of

110 *Standard and Waterford Conservative* Gazette, 5 January 1867.

111 2 Will.IV, c.41.

112 The money was advanced on the basis of a loan; the rights to the tithe arrears of the clergy in receipt of financial assistance coming under government jurisdiction. See Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 155.

113 *Return of the several Sums of Money issued and advanced by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland out of the Consolidated Fund, upon the Application of any Ecclesiastical Person or Persons entitled to Tithes, or Composition for Tithes, under the Provisions of 2. Will, IV, C. 41*, H.C. 1833 (480), xvii, pp. 2-4.

other parts of the country,[114] particularly those of neighbouring Tipperary[115] and Kilkenny,[116] nevertheless there were instances of intimidation and violence directed against the operation of the tithe system and Anglican clergy in Waterford. For example, in 1835, while Rev. John Lymberry was performing service at Kilrossanty, two men with blackened faces broke into the glebe house and took two guns and a brace of pistols.[117]

It was not until 1838 that the tithe question was resolved. Under Lord John Russell's measure[118] tithes were abolished and replaced by a rent charge equal to 75% of the nominal value of the tithes. Responsibility for payment of this fee rested with the landlord, not with the tenant.[119] This act was a success.[120] However, in an important respect, it came too late for the Church of Ireland. An astute observer such as Ryland likely appreciated how passions were excited against it and it came to be regarded with hostility, even contempt. Ryland would have understood how his Church became, in effect, an object of revulsion for many Catholics.

The Great Famine

The Great Famine caused terrible sufferings throughout Ireland when the potato crop failed in the autumn of 1845. Church of Ireland clergy played a significant role in the efforts to assist those who were victims of the catastrophe. Archbishop Richard Whately of Dublin said of his clerical colleagues during those years:

> The Protestant clergy literally shared their bread, or rather their meal, with their parishioners without the least sectarian distinction; they devoted all their time, all their energy, all their health and all the poor law left them of their small revenues to those who were starving around them. Their wives and daughters passed their days in soup kitchens and meal rations.[121]

114 There was a very serious level of crime in Ireland. In 1833 Earl Grey informed the House of Lords that between the 1st of January and the end of December 1832, the number of homicides was 242; of robberies, 1,179; of burglaries, 401; of burnings, 568; of houghing cattle, 290; serious assaults, 161 riots, 203; of illegal reviews, 353; of illegal notices, 2,094; of illegal meetings, 427; of injuries to property, 796; of attacks on houses, 723; of firing with intentto kill, 328; of robbery of arms, 117; of administering unlawful oaths, 163; of resistance to legal process, 8; of turning up land, 20; of resistance to tithes, 50; taking forcible possession, 2 Quoted in Brynn, *Church of Ireland in the Age of Catholic Emancipation* (New York and London, 1982), p. 193.

115 See Thomas G. McGrath, 'Interdenominational Relations in Pre-Famine Tipperary', in William Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1985), pp. 268-72.

116 Michael O'Hanrahan, 'The Tithe War in County Kilkenny, 1830-1834', in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1990), *passim*.

117 National Archives of Ireland, Outrage Papers, 29/1 (January, 1835).

118 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 109.

119 Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, p. 192.

120 Akenson, *Church of Ireland*, pp. 192-3.

121 Quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 293.

Forty clergy died in 1847 alone helping those who were suffering.[122] Waterford was no exception in terms of the privations experienced.[123] and the charity of Anglican clergymen.

Two curates died ministering to the needy – William Wakeham in 1847 and Morgan Crofton in 1849.[124] The charitable actions of most clergy went unrecorded. In terms of the practical distribution of relief, the city was divided into districts and Church of Ireland clergy went around from house to house with tickets for coal, soup and clothing.[125] Only occasionally do we get a glimpse of their efforts, including those of Ryland. At a meeting in the city in September 1846, he addressed the issue of the best means of providing immediate employment to relieve distress.[126] A month later at another meeting, he argued that the local relief committee should adopt measures which would lower the price of provisions and give employment to those in need.[127]

Religious controversy renewed

The Famine heralded a period of religious strife which endured for over a decade. The failure of the potato crop was regarded by many evangelicals as a punishment sent by God on a sinful people.[128] The Famine was also seen as a sign of God's providence; the visitation of disease being sent with a purpose. It presented an opportunity to spread the truths of the reformed religion and to rescue the Irish peasantry from the errors of Catholicism. Rev. Alfred Doudney, the Church of Ireland curate of Bunmahon, hailed the potato failure as 'among the greatest benefits that could have befallen Ireland'. He regarded it as a providential act because 'it placed Protestantism before the peasant in a light in which he was never wont to regard it'.[129]

122 Alan Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland, 1691-1996* (Dublin, 1997), p. 187.

123 For an account of the Famine in Waterford see the various essays in Des Cowman and Donald Brady (eds.), *The Famine in Waterford, 1845-1850* (Dublin, 1995).

124 William Fraher, *Desperate Haven: The Poor Law, Famine and Aftermath in Dungarvan Union* (Dungarvan , no date), pp. 69, 71. Rev. Wakeham was curate of Grange and died aged 32, while Rev. Crofton was curate of Dungarvan and was aged 30 when he died.

125 Mrs. Hamilton Madden, *Memoir of the Late Right Rev. Robert Daly, D.D., Lord Bishop of Cashel* (London, 1875), p. 275.

126 *Waterford Mail*, 30 September 1846.

127 *Ibid*, 7 October, 1846.

128 Irene Whelan, 'The Stigma of Souperism', p. 144. The *Waterford Mail*, editorialising on the first appearance of blight, attributed it to the national sin of violent crime (6 December 1845). The idea of the Famine as retribution was not an exclusively Protestant idea. It was also regarded by some Catholics as the consequence of sin. See Cormac Ó Gráda, *An Drochshaol: Béaloideas agus Amhráin*, (Dublin, 1994), p. 59.

129 David Alfred Doudney, *A Pictorial Outline of the Rise and Progress of the Bonmahon Industrial, Infant and Agricultural School, County Waterford* (Bunmahon, no date), p. 9.

What Doudney had in mind were the renewed efforts of evangelical missionaries to achieve the conversion of Ireland. Reports of the Famine were of special interest to English evangelicals. Before the advent of the blight, they had displayed a particular concern for the country on account of the Maynooth grant of 1845, under which additional state funding had been allocated by the British Parliament to the national Catholic seminary.[130] This action had offended the sensibilities of many Protestants and increased the determination of some to eradicate Catholicism as the religion of the majority of Ireland's population. The Famine afforded the occasion to achieve this. It was believed that misfortune would make the peasantry more receptive to hearing the teachings of true religion and more responsive to those rendering assistance.

A significant feature of the campaign was the extent of support from England, both in terms of finance and personnel. The leader of the crusade was Rev. Alexander Dallas, for many years rector of Wonston, Hampshire, and founder in 1849 of the organisation which played a central role, the Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics.[131] With its headquarters in London, its English evangelical leadership, in co-operation with Irish sympathisers, attempted the religious transformation of Ireland, from Catholicism to Protestantism. Missionary endeavours were concentrated in the west of the country, where the Famine's effects were most devastating.[132] The period 1849 to 1854 was one of intense Protestant crusading and triumphalism, but by 1860 the missionary efforts were in decline. Waterford was not immune to the increase of religious tensions in the country and, as in the 1820s, they manifested themselves in controversy between Catholics and Protestants.

Controversial sermons, 1848-1861

In 1848 a series of Lenten controversial sermons was preached in Christ Church Cathedral, a practice which continued until 1861. Preaching in 1851, Bishop Robert Daly of Waterford and Lismore described the objective of his sermon and this may be taken as a description of the purpose of the entire series:

> The object of the present discourse will be to prove that the Roman Catholic Church does not regulate her teaching by what has been taught by Christ and His apostles, but in many important parts of doctrine advances not only what is not sanctioned by them but is contrary to their word and thereby, to use the language of my text, 'They despise Him that sent them'.[133]

130 Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 199-200; Whelan, 'Stigma of Souperism', p. 144.

131 For an account of this organisation see Miriam Moffit, *The Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics, 1849-1850* (Manchester, 2010). See also, Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 208-24.

132 For an account of their activities see Miriam Moffitt, *Soupers and Jumpers: The Protestant Missions in Connemara, 1848-1937* (Dublin, 2008).

133 *Waterford Mail*, 8 March 1854.

As in the controversial sermons of the 1820s, the teachings of Catholicism were to be measured against the words of scripture. Consequently, sermons were peppered with Biblical quotations and references to learned works of Catholic and Protestant theology.

Richard Ryland preached two sermons – one in 1850 and the other in 1856.[134] The first one had as its title 'Romanism Analysed', and its contention was that the Church of Rome, by her tenets and actions, had ceased to be a true church and had abandoned the great principle upon which the Christian faith was founded, namely the belief in the atoning death of Christ. He rejected key elements of Catholic doctrine: infallibility, purgatory, transubstantiation and the devotion to the Virgin Mary. With liberal references to the Bible, he argued that many Catholic beliefs lacked a basis in scriptural authority.[135] The second sermon was entitled 'The Saviour wounded in the house of His friends'. With evangelical fervour Ryland described the Bible as a 'store house, a vast repository of wisdom and truth, to which we can turn for information and guidance'. Measured by this standard, the Catholic Church 'gives a plain, downright, positive denial of Christ's words'. He was also critical of the exalted status accorded to Mary in Catholic doctrine.[136]

During the first controversial sermon preached on 15 March 1848, Bishop Daly declared that 'he did not enter upon a course of sermons on controversial subjects in the spirit of contention between rival churches, but with a desire to draw attention to truth of the first importance to salvation'.[137] Other preachers expressed similar sentiments, Ryland stating that 'We are aware of the difficulties of religious controversy. It has a tendency to generate bitterness and ill-will. I pray God we have kept from both'.[138] In his sermon Archdeacon Thomas Bell spoke of the need to 'avoid all bitterness and evil speaking',[139] while Dean Hoare announced that it was his 'anxious desire to avoid giving offence .... And that he trusts that Roman Catholics will calmly consider what he has endeavoured to put forward in a Christian spirit'.[140]

Such protestations, however sincerely uttered, were unrealistic. A series of controversial sermons, delivered over a number of years, was bound to offend Catholics. Their very titles were often provocative. Those of 1850 included:

134 He was scheduled to preach on 12 and 13 April 1848 but, for some reason, did not do so. See *Waterford Mail*, 15 March 1848.

135 *Waterford Mail*, 6 April 1850.

136 *Ibid*, 13 March 1856.

137 *Ibid*, 18 March 1848.

138 *Ibid*, 6 April 1850.

139 *The Claim of the Church of Rome to Universal Dominion and Exclusive Salvation: Being the Substance of a Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Waterford on Sunday Evening, March 30, 1851, by the Archdeacon of Waterford* (Waterford, 1851), p. 3.

140 Note included by the preacher in *The Right and Duty of All Persons to Read the Holy Scriptures: Being the Substance of a Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Waterford, on Sunday Evening, March 9, 1851, by the Very Rev. Edward N. Hoare, A.M., Dean of Waterford* (Waterford, 1851).

'Exorbitant Claims of the Romish Priesthood', 'The Marks of the True Church', 'Worship of the Virgin Mary'; while among the subjects in 1852 were: 'Church of Rome not Infallible', 'The Bible alone is the Rule of Faith', 'Purgatory' and 'Transubstantiation'.[141]

Sentiments expressed in the course of sermons reinforced the sense of provocation. Rev. Daniel Foley denounced what he termed 'the corruption and spiritual tyranny of the Church of Rome'.[142] Bishop Daly characterised the Catholic religion 'as not that taught by Christ and His apostles'.[143] Ryland, despite his disavowal of seeking to cause disharmony between the creeds, asserted that Catholicism 'gives a plain downright denial of Christ's words' and was 'erroneous and subversive of God's truth'.[144] Protestants not only feared but believed that 'the Roman Church had become corrupted' and he called on its members to cast off 'the shackles of Popedom'.[145]

Other actions by supporters of the sermons served to fuel confrontation, in contradiction of sentiments to the contrary. Placards were printed and displayed around the city announcing the topics of the discourses.[146] Daly stated that the Catholic clergy might have been expected to answer the arguments of the Protestant preachers, but had not done so. In consequence, some of the sermons had been printed and sent to all the Catholic priests in the city in the hope of eliciting a response.[147] Many of the sermons were printed in the *Waterford Mail*, often on the front page. The full texts of those for the years 1848 to 1852 were carried in the journal.

But what really made the sermons controversial was their timing – they were preached against the backdrop of the Irish Church Missions' crusade of proselytism in the west of Ireland. Archdeacon Bell acknowledged this fact in the course of a sermon he delivered in 1851, when he told the congregation that he was 'entering on a subject which the events of the present day have invested with special interest and rendered more than commonly exciting'.[148] In fact, the heyday of the crusade (1849-1854) coincided with that of the sermons.

Catholic reaction to the sermons was hostile, clearly signifying that they were found to be offensive. The *Waterford News* expressed its regret in March 1849 that 'this season of famine, penury, and death was selected for the old threadbare abuse of Popery'.[149] The same journal, referring to the sermons of the following year,

141 *Waterford Mail*, 20 February 1850, 6 March 1852 for full list of sermons for the respective year.
142 *Ibid*, 8 April 1848.
143 *Ibid*, 8 March 1854.
144 *Ibid*, 13 March 1856.
145 *Ibid*, 6 April 1850.
146 *Ibid*, 22 April 1854.
147 *Roman Catholic Doctrine of Remission of Sins: Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Waterford, on Sunday Evening, March 23, 1851, by the Lord Bishop of Cashel* (Waterford, 1851), p. 7.
148 *Claim of The Church of Rome to Universal Dominion*, p. 1.
149 *Waterford News*, 16 March 1849.

lamented the 'shameful scenes' enacted in the cathedral during Lent when Catholicism was attacked.[150] A sermon of the Rev. Arthur Wynne came in for vigorous criticism that same year.[151] A correspondent in 1852, in an open letter to Daly, criticised him for putting up bill posters throughout the city announcing what the writer described as the bishop's 'determination to put forward some of the principal tenets of Catholicism for ridicule during the coming holy season'.[152] Two years later another Catholic protested about the placards publicising the sermons.[153]

Ryland and controversial sermons

By associating himself with controversial sermons, Ryland contributed to religious tensions and divisions in Waterford City. Considering the evident offence taken by Catholics, why did he participate in them? Given his evangelical convictions, he would have concurred with sentiments expressed by Bishop Daly in 1852:

> If the Roman Catholic Church is teaching for doctrines the commandments of men instead of the words of Christ and His apostles, then they are not teaching the way of salvation. I do solemnly declare that I believe this to be a fact, and it is this conviction which makes me feel it to be my duty... to sanction these controversial sermons.[154]

Preaching himself in 1850 Ryland declared that 'We believe that they [Roman Catholics] are in grievous error, but we desire to remember that God has adopted children even in that corrupt church'.[155] This was an implicit articulation of an obligation to preach the truth to Catholics. In his 1856 sermon he asked his listeners:

> My brethren, when we see and hear and read of these things in the religious practices of the Roman Catholics around us, what shall we feel? What should we do? Shall we not feel great heaviness and continual sorrow in our hearts?... Shall we not endeavour... to remove the veil that is before their eyes?[156]

By participating in the programme of controversial sermons Ryland satisfied the imperative of his evangelical conscience, but at the cost of contributing to raised religious tensions.

It has already been observed that the controversial sermons were delivered against the backdrop of the missionary crusade organised by the Rev. Alexander Dallas and his agents in the Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics. However, it is important not to associate Ryland with their activities. Commenting on Dallas and his supporters, Professor Desmond Bowen has

150 *Waterford News*, 18 March 1850.
151 *Waterford News*, 22 March 1850.
152 *Waterford News*, 27 February 1852.
153 *Waterford News*, 14 April 1854.
154 *Waterford Mail*, 8 March 1854.
155 *Ibid*, 6 April 1850.
156 *Ibid*, 13 March 1856.

observed that they 'gloried in insulting the faith of the people and often they failed to distinguish the sinner and the sin'.[157] Ryland was not guilty of either charge. As has been noted earlier, in his sermons he did utter sentiments at which Catholics might take offence. This was due to the zeal of his evangelicalism rather than an inclination to glory in insulting Catholics. In fact, in 1856 he spoke words which tended to assuage the asperity of his more acerbic remarks:

> They [Roman Catholics] are our kinsmen according to the flesh. We admire in them many excellent gifts of God. Our interests in this world are bound up with them. We are connected to them with many endearing ties. Is it strange then that it should be our heart's desire and prayer that they should share with us in a happy eternity?

Whilst misdirected in their beliefs, Ryland acknowledged that they had a 'zeal of God' and that the 'earnestness and sincerity' of many of them could not be doubted.[158] And he certainly distinguished the sinner from the sin, saying in his 1850 sermon that 'when we bring charges against the Roman Catholic creed we, by no means, involve the persons of the members of that church'.[159]

In relation to Dallas and his associates, Bowen has also commented:

> To Dallas [his] duty was the bringing of the English evangelical version of the Christian faith to 'a rude uncivilised race, totally uneducated, and without the means of acquiring instruction in ought save the semi-barbarous usages and customs of their forefathers... as fearful to behold as that prevalent on the bank of the Ganges'.[160]

Ryland would have rejected such opinions. Reference has been made to his essay on the Irish peasantry in Waterford, which gives an invaluable insight into his attitudes towards this significant section of the Catholic community and the target of many of the verbal assaults of the Irish Church Missions. In the essay Ryland acknowledged the prevalence of negative attitudes towards the Irish among the English:

> The people of England were taught to consider the Irish as savages, despising the comforts and decencies of civilised life, and only happy when engaged in massacre and rapine. Everything that could degrade the national character was eagerly published; all their natural and acquired vices, their errors of temperament, and the ferocious acts which have so frequently disgraced them, were anxiously brought into view...[161]

157 Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 249.
158 *Waterford Mail*, 13 March 1856.
159 *Ibid*, 6 April 1850.
160 Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 251.
161 Ryland, *History*, p. 384.

He accepted the fact of the state of degradation in which so many peasants lived: 'it may be safely asserted that the lowest class in Ireland is the most miserable in the world'.[162] However, according to Ryland, this was not the natural character of Irish peasants; rather they were 'generous, hospitable, high minded'.[163] Their degraded state was the 'great misfortune of Ireland' and was at variance with 'the intelligence and knowledge which they possessed'. The fact was that they were victims of circumstances beyond their control.[164]

The causes of this abject poverty were identified by Ryland and included an unjust land system,[165] unemployment[166] and subdivision of land holdings.[167] In a passionate piece of writing, replete with sympathy for the peasantry, he described the consequences of these circumstances:

> The exciting causes of the insurrectionary spirit which has so long harassed Ireland are to be traced to the misery of her peasantry, to their wretched and precarious subsistence, to their miserable hovels, to the privations they endure, to the abject state of dependence in which they exist, and above all, to the rapacity and oppression which they frequently endure... We are amazed how they can endure such misery, but are not prepared to think that insurrection is the necessary consequence... Extreme suffering will break through all bounds; a wretch with a family around him, famishing in a hovel, or, what is still more dreaded, turned upon society without a home to receive, or even hope to comfort him, is prepared to violate all restraint and justice and order...[168]

He clearly evinced a sympathy and understanding for the plight of the peasantry, something beyond the willingness, or indeed, the ability of the leadership of the Irish Church Missions.

Moreover, while Ryland deplored Catholicism's departure from the path of true religion, in his essay he recognised and was willing to acknowledge the sincerity of religious practice of the Irish peasant, something he was to do later in his controversial sermons, as has been noted earlier. He wrote: 'He is much attached to his devotions, and most regular in his attendance at chapel'.[169] By way of illustrating their respect for religion, he recounted an anecdote which, though marked by stereotyping and sentimentality, is nevertheless sincere in its intention and admiration:

> The following fact, which occurred in this county, exemplifies his [the peasant's] respect for his religion. A farmer, passionately attached to

162 *Ibid*, p. 385.
163 *Ibid*, p. 382.
164 *Ibid*, p. 387.
165 *Ibid*, pp. 387-8.
166 *Ibid*, pp. 392-3.
167 *Ibid*, pp. 393-4.
168 *Ibid*, p. 396.
169 Ryland, *History*, pp. 399-400.

> whiskey, always became very turbulent and abusive to his family when he took more of his favourite beverage than agreed with his understanding... His wife and children adopted the following ingenious plan of protecting themselves from his violence... As soon as they were aware of his approach to his cabin... they all dropped to their knees as if to pray; he immediately followed their example and soon fell into a sound sleep...[170]

Ryland even defended the Catholic clergy, often criticised by evangelicals, especially in England, for their failure to curb the violent excesses of their flocks. He believed that it was expecting too much of them in that regard: 'We seek too much when we expect that the Roman Catholic clergy should, in every case, repress the outrages and check the bad passions of the people'. He acknowledged the efforts of priests who are 'anxiously and incessantly engaged in promoting peace and harmony, order and regularity, amongst their people'. He had witnessed 'their zealous and indefatigable labours', but Ryland admitted 'how little sway can religion maintain over men inflamed with the spirit of demons'.[171]

The efforts of the Society of Irish Church Missions failed because it was English in origins, design and goals. Dallas and his associates saw it as their duty to bring the English version of the reformed Christian faith to an uncivilised race. They came to regard themselves as emissaries representing British civilisation and serving the cause of British cultural imperialism.[172] Professor Desmond Bowen has highlighted the essential difference between Dallas and Irish evangelical leaders such as Robert Daly and John Gregg. His comments may be equally applied to Ryland:

> [These] passionately evangelical clergymen... were 'Irishmen all'. They were well acquainted with the habits, the prejudices and the good qualities too of their fellow countrymen and wished ultimately to benefit the land of their birth and of their affections...[173]

Ryland was inspired by an intense spiritual desire to bring his fellow countrymen and women out of what he believed to be the spiritual darkness of Catholicism. This desire was not suffused with cultural overtones of a superior British civilisation as opposed to the defining primitiveness of Ireland and of Irishness. In fact, in the course of his sermon of 1850 he made the following interesting point:

> I do not say to my Roman Catholic countrymen to join the Church of England, but build again your old church, long trampled and disfigured by aliens and foreigners and, taking Jesus Christ for the corner stone, rest solely on Him. Review the church of St. Patrick – the church that quarrelled with Rome about the season of Easter – the

170 *Ibid*, 400.

171 *Ibid*, p. 397.

172 Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 246-56.

173 Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 250.

> church to which the nations of the earth resorted when all the world beside was sunk in superstition and ignorance.[174]

This was a radical call of liberation from Roman Catholicism to a Protestantism inspired by Ireland's ancient Christian traditions, and not simply a creed attached to the English version of the reformed faith.

Richard Ryland was an intelligent and sensitive observer of the state of his country and his reflections made him sympathetic towards the native peasantry. As an evangelical, it was his ardent wish to expose his fellow countrymen and women to the truth of the reformed Protestant faith. Thus, he could write persuasively in their defence but, driven by evangelical ardour, he could also speak words which affronted Catholic sensitivities.

Death and remembrance

Richard Ryland died on 31 December 1866.[175] After a funeral service held in Christ Church Cathedral on 3 January 1867, he was buried in the Protestant Cemetery at John's Hill in the city.[176] This was an appropriate place of burial because he had been one of the most active promoters of the idea of this cemetery.[177] In the aftermath of his death, his role and contribution as a clergyman of undoubted evangelical principles were highlighted. His obituary recorded: 'Matthias of the Bethesda, Roe of Kilkenny, Quarry of Cork and Ryland of Waterford were names soon well known throughout Ireland as front-men in the school of evangelical testimony'.[178] He was thus associated with the endeavours and achievements of some of the Church of Ireland's foremost advocates of evangelicalism. His efforts were credited with having a significant influence on clergy and laity, a fact evident in the comment of Rev. Thomas Gimlette on the appointment of the staunch evangelical, Robert Daly, to the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore in 1843:

> The Protestants of Waterford were prepared to receive an evangelical bishop with open arms. They were people who knew the joyful sound of the gospel which they had heard for many years from the lips of a devotedly Christian minister, Rev. Richard Ryland, whose labours preceded those of Bishop Daly at Waterford.[179]

Ryland was certainly held in high regard by Waterford's Anglican community, a maudlin and dramatic piece of verse capturing the sombre mood of some:

> *In Memoriam, Rev. R.H. Ryland*
> O! dying year did'st wreak thy latest scoff,
> On those, who wearied with thee, bade thee go,
> And parting did'st with palsied hand strike off,

174 *Waterford Mail*, 6 April, 1850.
175 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 2 January 1867.
176 *Ibid*, 5 January 1867.
177 *Ibid*, 30 January 1867.
178 *Ibid*, 5 January 1867.
179 Madden, *Memoir of the Late Rt. Rev. Robert Daly*, p. 254.

One of the noblest names our Irish Church could show;
Vain spite! Self-branded thou shalt pass away,
Bearing his life whose friendship was our pride;
But through long years still our tongues shall say,
"That year! an ill one. Then our Ryland died".[180]

After his death there was a desire to perpetuate his memory. At a public meeting, specially convened to discuss how to achieve this, it was decided to construct a memorial mortuary chapel in the Protestant Cemetery. Bishop Daly contributed £50 towards the project, declaring at the meeting his respect 'for the memory of our late esteemed and beloved friend'.[181] This chapel was built, though a plaque in Ryland's honour intended to be placed therein seems never to have materialised.[182]

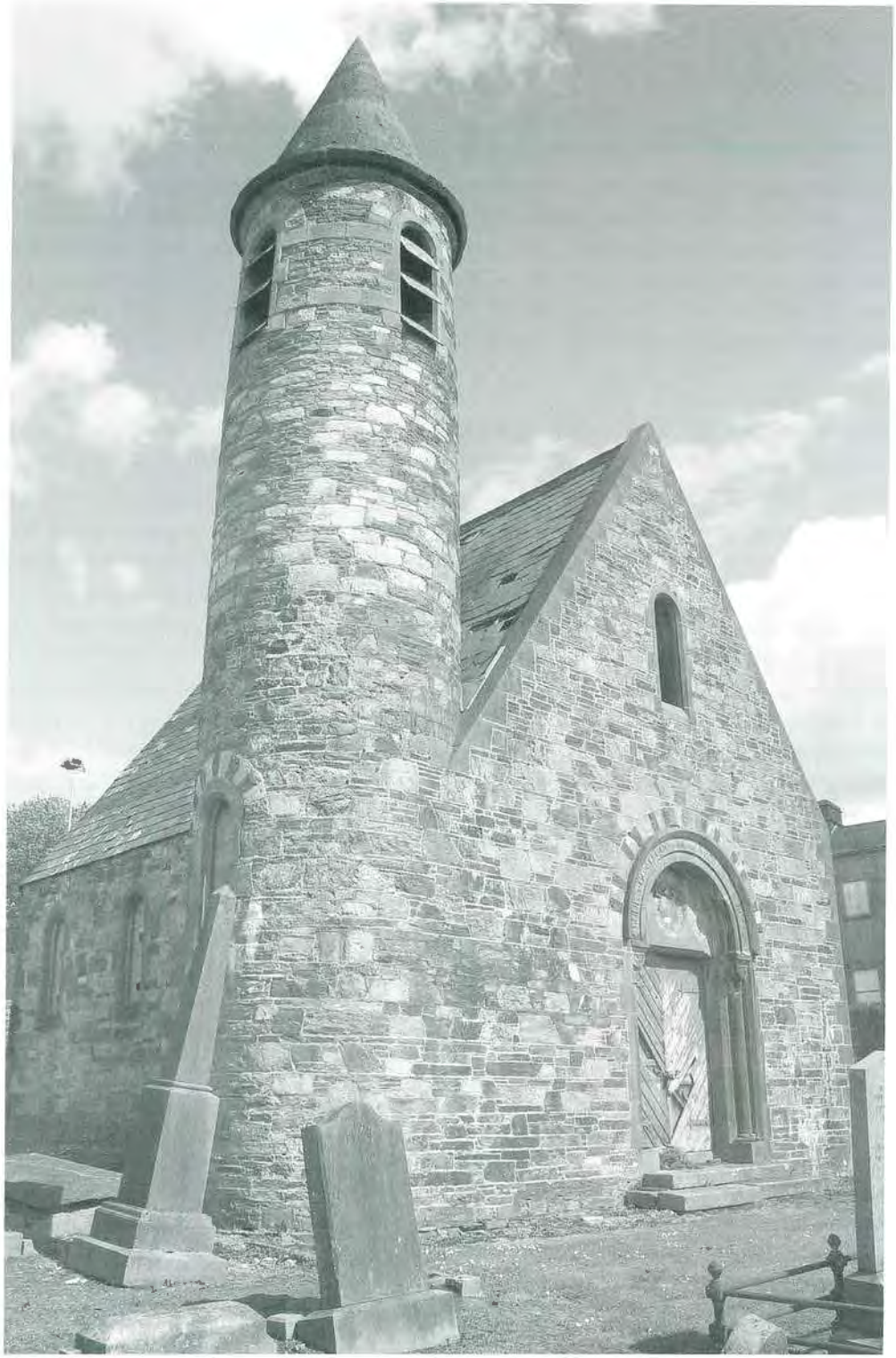
Conclusion

Richard Ryland was a clergyman whose ministry was inspired by deeply held evangelical convictions. For him, it was a conscientious imperative to bear witness to the truths of the Protestant faith. This demanded that he proclaim its beliefs to the Catholics of Waterford, as he believed them to be members of a church which, having abandoned the authority of the teachings of the Bible, had become corrupted by error and false doctrines. He was motivated by a desire to liberate them from the perdition of false religion. While he reprobated their creed, he recognised the sincerity of their religious practice. Ryland also sympathised with the plight of Irish peasants, and viewed them as victims of circumstances, particularly economic, which were beyond their control. It was this sympathy and understanding that distinguishes him from the attitudes of Alexander Dallas and the agents of his proselytising crusade. While posterity has primarily remembered Ryland as a scholar and historian, this is not as he would have wished it. Richard Hopkins Ryland was certainly the Muse of History's good servant, but was God's first.

180 *Standard and Waterford Conservative Gazette*, 5 January 1867.

181 *Ibid*, 30 January 1867.

182 P.M. Egan, *History, Guide and Directory of the City and County of Waterford*, (Kilkenny, 1893), p. 269.



The Ryland Memorial Chapel, John's Hill, Waterford. Photograph by Miriam Broderick

A nation fed by hook and thread

Mary Stratton Ryan

In the Summer of 1885 Austrian artist Marianne Preindlsberger (1855-1927) visited Ireland with her husband Adrian Stokes (1854-1935) whom she had met in Pont Aven Brittany in 1883. They stayed at Castletownshend with Artist Egerton Coghill (1853-1921) a neighbour and future brother-in-law of Edith Somerville (1858-1949). Egerton was a fellow student with Marianne at Colarossi's atelier in Paris.

As art students they shared art masters Dagnan-Bouvert and Bouguereau and embarked on many painting trips together. The result of this Irish painting trip was several historically valuable studies of Irish life. An introduction was made by Edith Somerville to painter, journalist and suffragist Fanny Curry 1848-1917, whose father was land agent to the Duke of Devonshire, Lismore Castle, County Waterford. This introduction brought Marianne into the heart and homes of the working Waterford people, especially on the Lismore estate. Among the paintings she produced were several studies of young Waterford children. Her drawing *Evicted* is a study for an oil painting entitled *Homeless*. Its subject is a destitute brother and sister, whom she met on their way to the Waterford Workhouse; the little girl clutching a loaf of bread, clasps the hand of her older devoted brother. They are bare-footed. These children were numbered amongst many evicted families in Waterford at the period.

This drawing as well as several watercolour studies by Marianne of cottage lace makers was later published in leading English magazines the *Graphic* on the 2 January 1886 and the *English Illustrated Magazine* in1889.

These illustrations give a very rare visual record into the early engagement by Irish children in the cottage craft of lace-making. A set of Marianne's etchings is held in Waterford County Museum, Saint Augustine Street, Dungarvan.

The Great Irish Famine led to 1 million deaths and the emigration of another million people. New sources of income were desperately needed. Irish Women were well known for their skilled needlework and there was a fashionable demand for lace throughout Europe and America and as a result lace makers began to produce at a competitive price crochet versions of the more expensive needle and bobbin laces.

Although lace making was a very profitable business, the traditional methods were too slow to afford the quick relief that the country needed. In an effort to copy the treasured and exquisite forms found in the valued Venetian needle lace and the more delicate filigree of Rosaline lace, there emerged a very distinctive style of Irish crochet lace that proved to be both quick and profitable. A 7 inch piece of lace could be crocheted in about twenty hours, whereas the same piece would take at least two hundred hours to sew with a needle. It soon became known as *Point d'Irlande* or guipure lace. It is a style which evolved out of patience and ingenuity and from this creativity a hungry nation was fed

Plate 1: Evicted drawing by Marianne Stokes.
By kind permission of Waterford County Museum

Plate 2: Homeless by Marianne Stokes.

By kind permission of Waterford County Museum

Plate 3: Lacemaking in Cappoquuin, etching based on watercolour by Marianne Stokes.
By kind permission of Waterford County Museum

Plate 4: Lacemaking in Cappoquuin, etching based on watercolour by Marianne Stokes.
By kind permission of Waterford County Museum

Plate 5: Lady Arbella Denny, artist unknown. By kind permission of Waterford County Museum

Dean Jonathan Swift of St Patricks Cathedral, Dublin was the first to encourage lace making on a large scale. In his *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* written in 1720 he was motivated in defence of the weaving of linen, silk poplin and lace making. Swift enlisted Lady Arbella Denny to organise the teaching of lace making to the abandoned children of the Dublin foundling orphanages. This enabled the needy to earn a living and become independent, at the same time supplying the home market. At this early period Irish lace was modelled on French and Italian patterns .A combination of philanthropy and patriotism often with Church affiliations both Catholic and Anglican was a pattern that remained unchanged in the history of Irish lace making.

Irish crochet lace developed as a new industry of economic importance during the famine and for many years afterwards becoming the dominant form of the seven types of Irish lace. Its production employed 20,000 girls from 1847 onwards. Lace schools sprang up during the 1850s and 1860s. Many of the lace makers were illiterate and so instructions were given orally or passed along in samples and graphic pattern books.

The child lace maker in Marianne's pictures from Cappoquin learned how to make lace from the nuns in the nearby St Josephs Carmelite Monastery, Tallow Co. Waterford, who had a long tradition in the craft. The children are portrayed making the most distinctive feature of Irish lace, which are its separate motifs. These stylized motifs especially roses, shamrocks, ferns and leaves are all created as single pieces, and are later joined by either filigree mesh or crocheted bars. A corded padding is often incorporated into the motif so giving a sculptural life to the motif. It is an artistic mode that lends itself well to the creative mind as much is left to the imagination in its individual design.

The labour soon became a family occupation and was well adapted to the rigorous life of the working people. The lace industry required little capital as each worker collected muslin and thread from the lace centre and made the motifs at home. Cotton thread was inexpensive. However fine manloves linen thread and silk were also used. An illustration of silk crochet lace is to be found perfectly drawn on the boarders of the etchings by Marianne Stokes.

The word crochet is the ancient French word for Hook. The craft requires only the simplest of handmade tools; a crochet hook. This hook was generally made of

carved ox bone, or wood. However many early Irish hooks were made by cutting away part of the eye of a sewing needle and placing it in a cork handle. Lace was often made in the dim glow of a turf fire and a glass globe of water to reflect back what little light it shed. It became known within Ireland as 'relief lace', and its production crossed the social and religious divide. Everyone in the family could contribute to the finished piece and most families had their own secret and closely guarded motifs. The family nickname was often reflected in the motif with which the family was associated, such as the Lily Quigleys or the Rose McMahons.

The finished motifs were placed in a pillow case and brought to a lace making-centre. Here the motifs were arranged on a prepared pattern and carefully crocheted together to form everything from collars and cuffs to bodices, gowns and coats. The lace was then sold to markets in Dublin, London, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Milan, Brussels, New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Export figures for 1880 amounted to £18,000 and by 1907 it had reached £15 million.

Interesting experiments were carried out in the 1850s by Mrs Letitia Veevers of the Industrial School, Mohill, Co. Leitrim using a variety of both native wild and cultivated plants. For example blast i.e. the bark of linden and aloe, nettle, Solomon's seal, sweet pea, and honeysuckle, among others. Eleven examples of 'Irish vegetable lace' manufactured from skeins produced from these plants are part of the collection of rarest Irish lace held at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. They were presented by Irish Viscountess May Doneraile, to Sir William Hooker in1855 in exchange for seeds and plants he had sent her for her garden in Doneraile Court, Co Cork.

The Dublin lace dealer Ben Lindsey (1829-93) prepared a catalogue for the Mansion House Exhibition of Irish lace in London in 1883 which included for the first time photographs of the laces, making it a valuable record.

In 1887 Lady Isabel Aberdeen took over the management of the Irish Lace Depot, 76 Grafton Street, Dublin. This was a non-profit making concern which along with the Irish Industries Association formed after the Edinburgh Exhibition of 1886 and the Royal Dublin Society helped improve sales and encourage better designs. One of the key visionary figures in promoting excellent design standards in Lace making was James Brenan RHA, headmaster at the Cork School of Art from 1860-1889. The peak of this industry in Ireland was reached in 1907, with the Dublin International Exhibition, the Chicago Exhibition and Lady Aberdeen's Vice Regal Lace Ball in Dublin Castle.

From this wellspring of Irish ingenuity and community cooperation the lace industry flourished and served as a vital cottage industry. It not only fed its people but preserved their dignity. Clones in Co. Monaghan, Carrowmena and Moyville Co Donegal became important centres in the northern half of the country with Kilcullen Co. Kildare in the east, Muining's Erris Co. Mayo in the west and Cork was the leading centre in the south.

Plate 6: The Irish Lace Depot, 76 Grafton Street, Dublin, 1887.
By kind permission of Waterford County Museum

With generosity of spirit and pride in their work Irish lace makers turned their skills to rescuing others. When a crisis among Breton fishermen arose due to the non appearance of the sardine in 1903 in Cornouaille it was Irish lace maker's who taught the families of fishermen how to make *Point d'Irlande*, saving them from famine.

In 1904 Marchioness Elena Guglielmi brought several Irish crochet lace makers to Isola Maggiore an island on the Lake Trasimero in Italy where the impoverished fishermen's families were facing starvation. They taught the fishermen's wives and daughters to make lace and it became known as *Punto da Irlanda*. Today in the Palazzo delle Opere Pie there is a large collection of old Irish and modern Italian lace.

With a tiny hook and a skein of thread much heartache and suffering was avoided when Breton and Italian fisher folk learned from Irish women how to feed their families on shamrock and roses.

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The Dungarvan Ore Ships Part I: The example of the coaster *Ruby*

John Morris and Des Cowman

Explanation

Our original intention was to find the context for the sailings of the *Ruby* August 1840 to November 1850 noted in Fig. 1[1] particularly its voyages carrying copper ore from the Knockmahon mines to the smelters in Swansea and returning with coal (for context see Appendix III). Counterpart information concerning that trade was published in the 'Ship News' column of the weekly Swansea newspaper, the *Cambrian*. This, in very summary form, recorded the arrival of a wide variety of vessels into Swansea, including occasional mention of the *Ruby* and at least eighty-eight other vessels carrying copper ore from Dungarvan.[2] What were they; who owned them; who skippered and crewed them, where were they built? Some of the answers lay in the vast, but largely un-catalogued, shipping files stored in the UK National Archives in Kew, London.[3] As a result of exhaustive researching, too much information is now available for any one article. However, none of it yields as much detail as Captain Sheehan's record in the Waterford County Museum which is unique in that it was not a statutory document and so equivalent records for other vessels were usually destroyed after usage. Therefore we start with it in the context of insights gained in Swansea and Kew, with the intention that a fuller listing and analysis of other vessels involved in the Dungarvan copper ore trade will be presented in a subsequent article. The local ore trade was just part of a far larger copper ore trade with similar quantities being transported to Swansea from the two other major Irish copper mines[4] and some sporadically from

1 While this is strictly an account book giving costs of transporting cargoes and profits there from, such rare survivals are also known as 'Cargo Books'.

2 Scanned versions of the *Cambrian* are available to load onto a memory stick in National Library of Wales, Swansea. Since the research was done there the *Cambrian* has gone on-line http://welshnewspapers.llgc.org.uk/ accessed, 2 September 2014. Sales of the ore transported are usually announced a week after, see 'Ship News' under 'Ore Sales'.

3 National Archives (henceforth abbreviated as NA), Kew - BT: Board of Trade and successor bodies: Division 27, Records of the Registrar General of Shipping and seamen, 1702-2002; BT 98, Registry of Shipping and Seamen: Agreements and Crew Lists, 1747-1860; BT 99 as BT 98, for the period 1861-1994; BT 107 Registry of Shipping and Seamen: Transcripts and transactions, 1786-1854; BT 108 and BT 107, 1855-1889.

4 Allihies in West Cork and Avoca in Wicklow.

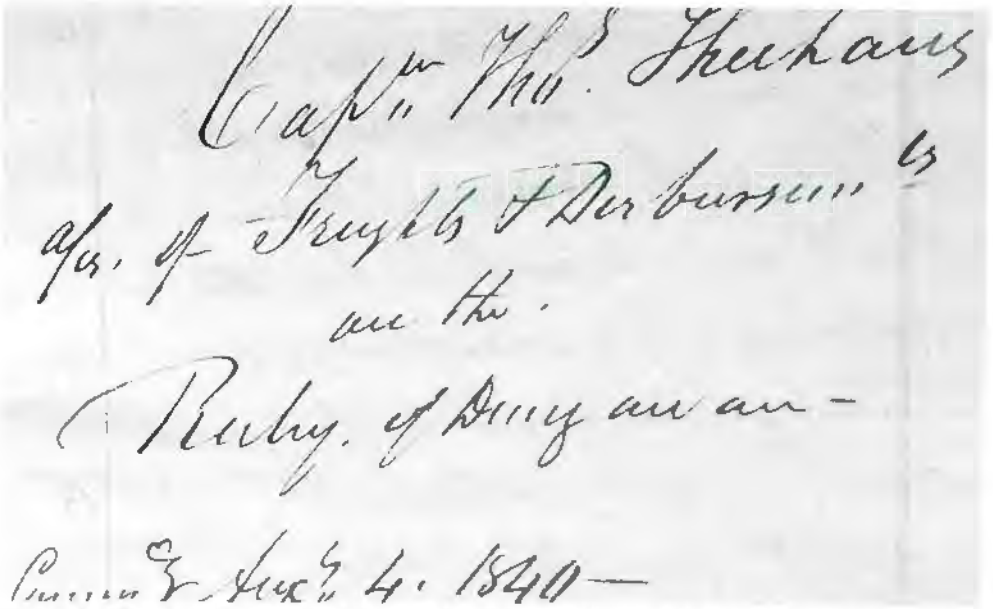


Figure 1: *The opening page of the notebook in the County Museum, Dungarvan, reads 'Captain Thomas Sheehan Account of Freights and Disbursements on the Ruby of Dungarvan Commencing August 4 1840.' It runs up to November 1850.*

other more short-lived Irish operations. Ore was also imported into Swansea from Cornwall and from places as diverse as Norway, Cuba, Chile and South Australia.[5]

Ruby - the background

The history and details of the *Ruby* are given in its Registration Certificates, a compulsory process.[6] It was constructed in Douglas, Nova Scotia in 1818, one of many such ships built where timber was readily available. It was first registered in St. John, New Brunswick on January 9, 1819, under the initial ownership of two St. John's merchants, James Ewing[7] and Robert Hart Hamilton[8]. The certificate names Miles Brown as the initial master of the vessel at the time of registration and he was succeeded by Joseph Dobinson on June 2, 1819, and by John Baker on March 29, 1820, the former appointed in New Brunswick, the latter in Bristol. It was first registered as a brig, suitable for Atlantic sailing, but was subsequently re-rigged as a brigantine[9], either in Bristol or London, a sail configuration more suitable for coastal work as per accompanying table.

5 The Authors presented papers on the latter three in Santiago, Chile in April 2013.

6 NA, Kew, Registration Certificates BT 107.

7 James Ewing is recorded as the owner or co-owner of several other vessels for which certificates exist in BT107/474; and he is named as a Glasgow based merchant and co-Executor of a Janet Pagan in her will dated April 22, 1823 (Provincial Archives of New Brunswick: http://archives.gnb.ca/Search/MC3706/Details.aspx?culture=en-CA&abstract=8869&section=NameIndex) accessed 2 September 2014.

8 St. John, New Brunswick Registration Certificate, 1/1819, dated January 9, 1819: BT 107/474.

9 A 'brigantine' is a two-masted vessel, square rigged on the forward mast, and schooner rigged on the rear mast.

Table 1

Registration port	Years	Certficate numbers	Rig pattern
St. John, New Brunswick	1819	1/1819	Brig (trisail mast)
London	1821 1824 1825 1828	35&145/1821 354/1824 523/1825 275/1828	Square rigged foremast; Schooner rigged aft mast
Waterford	1829	1/1829	Ditto

After various changes of ownership in London, it was finally purchased in September 1828 by a Henry Willson (*sic*) of Rotherhithe, Surrey, who also served as ship's master. What his trading intentions might have been are unknown, but by December 30th, 1828, it had been seized for breaches of the revenue laws[10] possibly in connection with smuggling tobacco which was a common offence at that time. It was sold by auction in Waterford where it was purchased by John Eagan, the first local ship's master (Appendix I), although it seems to have passed quickly into the ownership of three Dungarvan based owners, John Thomas Hearn (3/8 shares), Andrew Carbery (3/8 shares) and John Hearn (the remaining ¼) where it was registered on 23 January 1829.[11] By 1832 J.T. Hearn had died and his widow, Eliza, sold his share to John Hearn and the next year he sold his quarter share to Captain Thomas Sheehan[12] (see Appendix I). By 1834, the *Ruby*, under Sheehan, made its first known recorded delivery of copper ore to Swansea.[13]

In 1836 the shareholding changed again and this was formally registered.[14] John Hearne sold his shares, leaving Carbery with half ownership and Patrick Cody and Sheehan with a quarter share each. *Slaters Directory* (1846) lists Andrew Carbery of Fair Lane as owner of Dungarvan Brewery, a coal dealer, corn merchant and

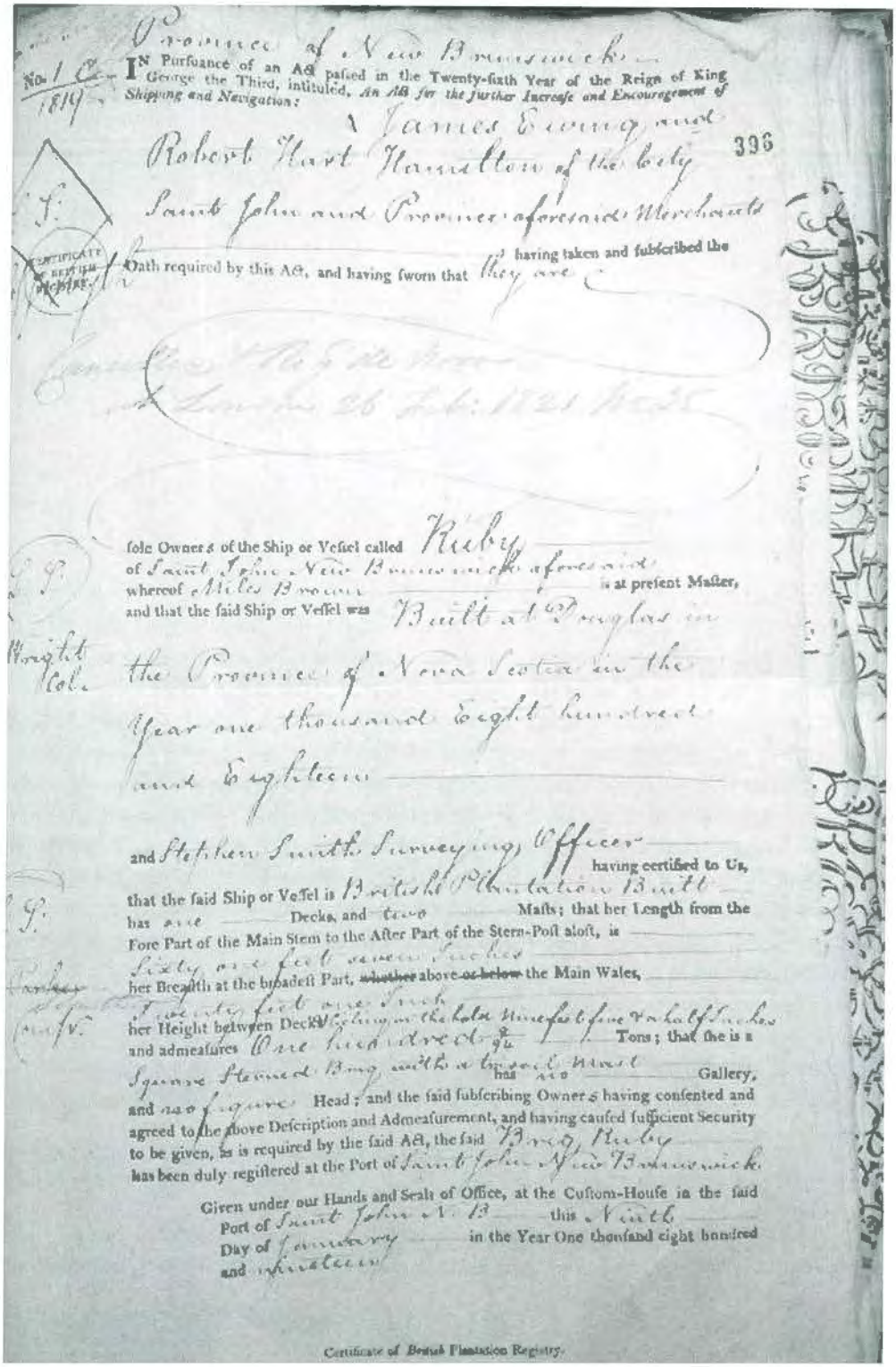
10 There should be some record of this drama but various searches in the Parliamentary Papers (www.eppi) or in Kew (CUST, HCA – High Court of Admiralty) revealed nothing.

11 *Ibid*. London 275, Cert. 1/1829 (Jan. 23rd 1829). Shares were recorded in 64th parts – thus Carbery and Hearn's shares were formalised as 24/64ths but here simplified to lowest fraction.

12 It was frequent practice to give ships' captains the incentive of shares in the ship.

13 *Cambrian*, 1 March 1834, 'Shipping News'.

14 NA Kew, Dungarvan/20 dated 3 December 1836.



Province of New Brunswick.

No. 1/1819

IN Purſuance of an Act paſſed in the Twenty-ſixth Year of the Reign of King George the Third, intituled, *An Act for the further Increaſe and Encouragement of Shipping and Navigation:*

James Ewing and Robert Hart Hamilton of the City Saint John and Province aforesaid Merchants

396

Oath required by this Act, and having ſworn that they are

ſole Owners of the Ship or Veſſel called Ruby of Saint John New Brunswick aforesaid whereof Miles Brown is at preſent Maſter, and that the ſaid Ship or Veſſel was Built at Douglas in the Province of Nova Scotia in the Year one thousand eight hundred and Eighteen

and Stephen Smith Surveying Officer having certified to Us, that the ſaid Ship or Veſſel is British Plantation Built has one Deck, and two Maſts; that her Length from the Fore Part of the Main Stem to the After Part of the Stern-Poſt aloft, is Sixty one feet seven Inches her Breadth at the broadeſt Part, ~~whether~~ above ~~or below~~ the Main Wales, Twenty feet one Inch her Height between Decks Eighteen feet five & half Inches and admeaſures One hundred & 96/94 Tons; that ſhe is a Square Stemed Brig with a Square Stern has no Gallery, and no Figure Head; and the ſaid ſubſcribing Owners having conſented and agreed to the above Deſcription and Admeaſurement, and having cauſed ſufficient Security to be given, as is required by the ſaid Act, the ſaid Brig Ruby has been duly regiſtered at the Port of Saint John New Brunswick.

Given under our Hands and Seals of Office, at the Cuſtom-Houſe in the ſaid Port of Saint John N. B. this Ninth Day of January in the Year One thouſand eight hundred and nineteen

Certificate of British Plantation Registry.

Figure 2: *The original registration certificate (no. 1/1819) of the brig* Ruby *in St. John, New Brunswick 1819.*

dealer, ship[15] owner (one of ten), timber merchant and tallow chandler.[16] Patrick Cody, Main Street was also listed as a ship owner, grocer, chandler, coal dealer and sail maker, but little is known of Captain Thomas Sheehan. By then, the eighteen-year-old *Ruby* required considerable maintenance, including, strangely, a lot of expensive rope made by Michael Cooney of Main Street (mainly for mast stays?). *Slater's Directory* 1846 also records a nail-maker, William Daniel of St. Augustine Street.

The initial, 'notional' tonnage was nearly 99 tons but it was capable of occasionally carrying up to 105 tons of copper ore.[17] Its length (including scroll-headed bowsprit?) was over 61 feet (nearly 20 meters), the keel nearly 46 feet (10.75 meters) in length and its width just over 20 feet (6.03 meters). There was a clearance of 8 feet 8 inches (2.7 meters) in the cargo hold below deck.[18] It usually had a crew of five comprising the captain, a mate, two seamen and a 'boy'. However there seemed to be substantial change-over in crews and their composition, Thomas Sheehan being the only constant. He was born about 1802 (his given age fluctuated greatly from year to year as did that of many other members of the crew!).[19]

15 Strictly, the term 'ship, when used to describe a sailing vessel, refers to a vessel with three or more masts, each of which was square rigged. It is however used in modern and common parlance, as here, to describe a sailing vessel of any type or rig configuration.

16 *Piggot's Directory* 1824 has Andrew Carbery living in Main St., having salt and lime works, being a timber and general merchant but not a ship-owner. The brewery in Fair Lane was then owned by Dowers. In *Slater's Directory* 1846 Carbery was described as 'executor of the late John Dower'. In 1855 he was elected first chairman of the new Town Council. See William Fraher (ed.) *A calendar of the minutes and records of Dungarvan Town Commissioners and Urban District Council 1855-1950*, (Dungarvan District Council, 1991) p. 10.

17 The 'Registered Tonnage or Burthen' of a nineteenth-century vessel is a measure of volume, not weight , ultimately deriving from the volume of a 'tun', a thirteenth-century barrel of wine which weighed about 2,240 pounds, or 1,020 kg: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Builder%27s_Old_Measurement accessed 2 September 2014. The various tonnage revisions essentially reflect revised methods to calculate a more accurate assessment of the cargo carrying capacity of a vessel. Up to 1837, this was based upon calculations derived from the external measurements of the vessel, but from 1837 onward, reflecting changes enacted in 1835 (Merchant Vessels Act, 1835, Act 5&6, Wm IV, Cap. 56.), the system presents a measure of the internal cargo carrying capacity. This was modified yet again in 1854 with the introduction of the 'Moorson System' which, by deducting internal space not available for transporting cargo or passengers, differentiated between 'gross' and 'net' tonnage. When *Ruby* was re-registered in 1836 (20/) its tonnage was formalised at 70.52.

18 In the re-registration of 20/1836 different measurements are given (in feet) – length 58.8; width amidships 17.5; clearance below amid ship 9.3. Re-registration in Plymouth in 1859 produced yet another set of measurements.

19 NA, Kew, BT 98, Crew Agreements.

Captain Sheehan's record, 1840-50

1840
August 4th
Left Dungarvan with bacon and 3 casks of lard to Portsmouth; to London in ballast to collect 'dales' (deal, pine planks). Anchored in Cowes Roads. From there to Salcombe and on to Gloucester to discharge the dales and take on 'barks' for Bristol. On to Newport to bring 98.5 tons coal for Mr. Coady in Dungarvan. Costings are given for each section and the write-off is November 9th.
Thus the *Ruby* was away from Dungarvan about 3 months but had spent over £40 on running repairs over half of which was 'sail-maker's bill' (reason for Cowes Road?). Nevertheless there was a profit of nearly £85 divided proportionately between the owners.

November 9th
Corn and bacon to London stopping at Portsmouth on the way there and Leamington on the way to Newport. Loaded 98.5 tons of coal for Cody. Called to Waterford on way back. Paid £41-9/8 for lard, tar, cabin mop, repairing windlass, blacksmith, sailmaker (£21-5/11), carpenter (£9-7/9), etc.. Profit £43-7/6.

1841
24th February
Either oats and/or barley from Dungarvan to Southampton (Elim and Emsworth are mentioned), in ballast to Newport and loaded 102.5 tons of coal for home. That seems to have taken six weeks (home by May 4th) with profit of £82-15/-. Captain Sheehan's pay £22.

May 14th
To Cardiff in ballast to bring 93 tons of coal back for Cody. The profit £3-7/6d.

Repairs - May 18th – October 12th

The *Ruby* then had to undergo major repair and/or refurbishment over the summer and autumn of 1841 including a new mast (Illeg. and Cavanagh) costing £21-10/-. Other locals mentioned include Kirby the sawyer, William Daniel the nailer, Toban the carpenter and Michael Cooney the rope-maker (£23-18/5). Cost £260-13/1d paid for proportionally by the three shareholders.

20th October
Oats to Southampton and then in ballast to Cardiff for coal.

1842
29th December (1841)
In ballast to Bunmahon; loaded 102 ton of copper ore for Swansea and returned

with 104 tons of culm. Needed more repairs including nearly £8 worth of rope. Nevertheless a profit of nearly £48 was made. Carberry had bought out Cody's share and now owned 3/4 of the *Ruby*.

27th February
In ballast to Newport, returning with 102 tons coal for Cody.

5th April
From Bunmahon (102 tons ore) to Swansea recorded returning with 105 tons of culm.

3rd April
In ballast to Newport for 106 tons of coal for Cody. Note [p. 18] £1-10/- for 'damage done in Newport'.

2nd May
In ballast to Swansea to pick up 40 tons of coal and 70 of culm.

May 31st
In ballast to Youghal where further repair work undertaken. Left 17th June with corn and butter for Bristol. From there to Newport for coal some of which may have been brought to Waterford city (only pilotage there mentioned) and 70 tons brought back to Youghal. Left there on 17th July with 78 tons oats from Keeffe of Tallow to Portsmouth. Mention of anchoring in Cowes Roads and in Lemmington *en route* from there to Swansea. There on 19th August taking on culm for Youghal (2nd September). From there with corn to London. In ballast to Newport returning to Dungarvan with coal (tonnage unspecified). Had been away from Dungarvan for about five months.

16th September
74 tons oats to Portsmouth, returning in ballast via Lemmington.

12th December
About 80 tons oats for Mr. Oake in Southampton and back in ballast (26).

Details are given of how they provisioned themselves for the three voyages out of Youghal (p. 24). In Dungarvan they took on potatoes, fish and bread (£1-4/6) and more fish in Youghal (8/6). In Bristol it seems they bought a quarter of beef (£1-6/9), 3 bags of potatoes (10/10d) and bread (also 10/10). Back in Youghal they stocked up for the trip to Portsmouth with fish (11/6), potatoes (£1-3-9) and 47 lbs of beef (11/9). Once there they needed more fish (11/-) along with bread, sugar and coffee (£1-0/8). It is not clear where they purchased two lots of beef (£1-1/10 & 16/1) and pigs heads (16/1). In Youghal for the long trip to London they took on more beef (8/9), potatoes (12/-), fish (9/6) and bread (17/6). In London, more fish

and bread (£1-5/-) plus coffee, sugar and lard (19/7). It seems on the way to Newport they stopped at Penzance for miscellaneous groceries (£1-4/-). At Newport, for the journey home, they took on 5 bags of potatoes (13/4) and 43 lbs of pork (12/3). And thus fed they returned to Dungarvan.

1843
27th January
66 tons of copper ore apparently brought to Dungarvan for transport to Swansea; towed by steamer to Neath to pick up 102 tons of culm.

27th February
74 ton of oats for Southampton (Mr. Oake), returning in ballast but with "hoopes for mast" (?) for Cody.

24th February to early April. Under repair.
The major expenditure, £13-13/- once again was on rope (for the rigging?) paid to Michael Cooney; also employed Kidney the carpenter, Andrew Drohan of Abheyside, smith, Mr Mahony for a pot, and Keating for pump leather. Paint had been bought in Southampton. Total cost £44.

7th April
To Southampton with 74 tons of corn (oats?) for Mr. Oake. In ballast to Newport, calling at Falmouth for water (cost 6d). Dungarvan early May with 109 tons of coal for Cody.

11th May
In ballast to Llanelly for coal (took 20 days) loading 120 tons for John Power.[20]

May 19th onward. Further repairs.
Needed painting, a new anchor stock, Michael Cooney paid £13-13/7 for ropes, Andrew Drohan the smith £12, and a carpenter Kidney for a day the total cost being almost £40.

For the first time we learn the crews' individual wages. Excluding Thomas Sheehan Skipper there is (his brother?) the mate Patrick Sheehan (£2-10), John (£2-2) and Patrick (£2) Kiely and Clifford, the boy (7/-).

27th September
To Southampton with about 102 tons oats; in ballast to Newport for 104 tons of coal for Cody. The crew were the same except that Patrick Kiely was replaced by Andrew Organ.

20 Listed by Slater 1846 as coal dealer, cooper and publican of William St.

9th October
To London on November 15th with about 72 tons of oats for Mssrs Gilles and Hone. On to Saunderfoot (west side of Carmarthen Bay) to pick up 98.5 tons of "stone coals" for Carbery. While there they required the services of a carpenter for repairs.

November 27th
Loaded 96 tons of copper ore directly in Dungarvan for Swansea. From there to Neath to pick up 102 tons of culm for Mr Power.

Figure 3: *Captain Sheehan's account of the return voyage to Swansea and Neath which commenced on the 27th November 1843.*

1844

16th January onward. Repairs.

Again in need of Cooney the rope-maker, carpenters Conway (8.5 days) McDonnel and Edmund Kearns. The provisions they brought and bought are listed and include the usual fish, beef, bread and potatoes, but the first vegetable mentioned - cabbage in London (6/6). They also brought a 1.5 cwt. pig from Dungarvan and salt for post-slaughter, presumably.

January 28th

98 tons of copper ore from Dungarvan directly for Swansea (paid £12 for a chain there) and 101 tons of culm from there to Youghal. They had two different ordinary seamen on board - John Curran and David Whelan. Left Youghal on 2nd March in ballast for Bunmahon loading 97 tons of copper concentrate for Swansea and returning to Dungarvan sometime in April with 105 tons of culm for Mrs. Hearn.[21]

18th April

To Bunmahon, loaded 98 tons ore for Swansea returning with 105 tons culm for Mrs. Hearne. Quayage to Quinlan mentioned.

26th August (apparently no commission since April)

About 74 tons of oats to Southampton then to Newport on September 27th (i.e. one month out) to bring 104 tons of coal back arriving sometime in early October.

18th October

98 tons of copper ore from Bunmahon to Swansea, returning with 108 tons of culm for Cody; again needed Cooney's services.

30th November

To London with 78 tons oats returning (from Newport? – p. 51, very abbreviated entry) with 105 tons of coal.

1845

18th March

To Bunmahon to take 98 tons ore to Swansea and return with 108 ton culm for Cody.

5th May

In ballast to Llanelly to bring 102 tons culm for Cody.

7th June

In ballast to Newport to bring back 103 tons of coal to Cody.

21 Eliza Ahearn/Hearn (variously spelled) already mentioned as selling the shares in the *Ruby* inherited in 1832 from her late husband, John Thomas Hearn. Slater 1846 records her as coal merchant and publican of The Quay and Slater 1856 has her once again as a ship owner.

1st July
Cattle to Bristol; in ballast to Newport to bring back 102 tons coal to Cody. Profit £10-10/2.

15th July
To Liverpool with 100 tons of wheat and over 1.5 tons of butter, returning with 100 tons of salt to Cork. From there back to Liverpool with 100 tons of wheat and butter, returning to Dungarvan with 100 tons of salt for Cody.

August 24th
100.75 tons of wheat to Liverpool returning with 100 tons of salt for Cody.

13th October
To Newport in ballast returning with 100 tons of coal for Cody. Profit £12-5/5.

19th December
95 tons ore from Bunmahon to Swansea, in ballast to Llanelly returning on February 1846 with 102 tons of coal for Dungarvan brewery (owned by Carbery). Shareholding now 3/8ths each between Carbery and Cody with Captain Sheehan retaining quarter, the profit of £30-7-3 being divided proportionally.

1846
24th March
96.5 tons of ore to Swansea, returning with 101 tons coal for Cody. Profit £9-12/8/.

20th April
In ballast for Youghal to pick up 102 tons of wheat for Liverpool and to deliver from there 102 tons of salt to Cork arriving there June 8th (i.e. 7 weeks). From Cork to Bunmahon on June 12, picking up 93 tons of ore and returning to Bunmahon with 103 tons of coal.

6th July
To Bunmahon to load 96.5 tons ore for Swansea, returning 21st July with 103 tons of culm for Mr. Mortimer. Profit £30-18/11.

12th August
103 tons of wheat from Dungarvan to Newport returning with 101 tons of coal.
Repairs early September.
New sails provided by Cody £11-18/1, also hooks and thimbles (for repairing same?), ropes from Cooney (£1-14/8), sails Maurice Mulcahy[22] (£1-18/4) plus 4 days carpentry work.

22 For the role of the Mulcahy family, see display 'Sailmaking' in Waterford County Museum, Dungarvan.

6th September
103 tons wheat to Cork, picking up over 100 tons of oats on 30th October (there for 54 days!) for Chichester (upriver). In ballast to Llanelly calling to the Scilly Islands for repairs to the 'cat head'(?). Picking up 94 tons of coal for the brewery they returned to Dungarvan in January 1847 (4 months away). Minor repairs were needed, most significant being £4-16/3 of ropes from Cooney.

1847
Repairs – January
Carpenters Connery and Crotty, Cooney making new ropes, the sails needed to be repaired (Mulcahy) and there had been damage to the 'mast hoops and hanks'.

17th March
In ballast for Llanelly to bring 100 tons of coal to Cork. Left Cork 16th April with 106 tons of bacon to Liverpool (arrived 28th) loading 80 tons of salt for Waterford. There they paid 4d to go under bridge and 5/- for 'hobbling (?) tide above bridge'. On 11th June left Waterford in ballast arriving Cardiff on 16th loading 100 tons of coal. This they brought to Liverpool, and there loaded up 100 tons of salt for Kinsale on 23rd July. They left with cattle (first mention livestock) and ballast two days later for Milford and unloaded the cattle August 17th. In ballast to Newport where they loaded 104 tons of coal on 20th August for Cody, it being unloaded on 26th. (They were away 5½ months; total profit £57-14/-).

September – October.
Repairs.
They already had to buy cordage and canvas in Liverpool, rope in Kinsale and canvas in Newport. All the usual were employed with some others. Michael Green got 25 days out of it and 8 days were spent by a labourer caulking. Cooney, as usual did best earning £5-13/3. A piece of oak apparently had to be brought from Clonmel and fitted. Total price £30-6/8.

25th October.
60 tons of timber loaded (ballast also needed) for Cardiff. There 100 tons of coal loaded for Cody.

1848
January 11th
93 tons of copper ore from Bunmahon to Swansea with 97 tons of culm being loaded for Mrs. Hearn.

February 3rd
Cattle to Swansea (12th - compass had to be repaired there), ballast to Neath to pick up 100 tons of culm (14-18th) for John Power, Dungarvan 27 February.

March 16th
To Swansea with cattle (there 24-27th) to bring back 102 tons of culm for Mr. O'Brien, Dungarvan 1st April. Profit 16 days £13-1/4.

April 3rd
89 tons of ore from Bunmahon for Swansea on 10th, going then in ballast to Cardiff on 19/20th to load up with 103 tons of coal and iron for Cody.

May 3rd
Cattle to Swansea (on 5th), in ballast to Neath loading 100 tons coal (10 to 25th) for Waterford. There loaded wheat, flour and rice(?), June 13-20th, for Liverpool (reached 22nd) taking 101 tons salt for Cody (back 16th July). Profit 10 weeks, £23-6/6.

August 4th
Cattle to Swansea (7th), ballast to Newport (11th) to bring 100 tons of coal for Mr. Power, arriving August 15th.

August 29th
Cattle to Swansea (31st), ballast to Newport (4-7th September) to bring 100 tons of coal for Mr. Power, arriving September 14th. Profit £10-5/6.

September 21st
Cattle to Swansea (2nd October), ballast to Newport (10th & 11th) to bring 101 tons of coal for Mrs. Curran[23]. Profit £11-2/9.

November 8th
To Swansea with cattle (10th) in ballast to Newport (13th) to bring 102 tons of coal for Mrs. Curran (back 21st Dec). Profit £11-8/6.

1849
February 5th
90 tons of ore from Bunmahon to Swansea (arrived February 26th) and back with 99 tons of culm for Mr. O'Brien.[24] Profit £23-2/2.

April 2nd
99 tons copper ore from Bunmahon for Runcorn[25] (there 24th April to 3rd May), 100 tons rock salt from there to Youghal (6th May) leaving on 24 May for Bristol

23 For the trading role of the Curran family see display in Waterford County Museum, Dungarvan.
24 Slater lists Timothy O'Brien as a coal dealer of Blackpool St., but does not mention the new recipients of coal/culm in 1848-50.
25 On the Mersey for the smelters in the Lancashire coalfield. The Mineral Statistics (*op. cit.*) refer to such as 'Private Sales' without saying where.

(30th) with 78.75 tons of oats arriving 10th July, then to Cardiff collecting 102 tons of coal to bring to a Mr Lane in Cork, arriving July 8th. Left Cork 18th July in ballast for Youghal to pick up 79 tons of oats for Bristol (arrived 30th). From there to Newport to load 104 tons of coal for Cody, arriving 27th August. They had been away nearly 6 months with profit of £13-16/2.

September 5th
98 tons copper ore from Bunmahon to Swansea, loading 102 tons of coal for an unnamed customer in Cork, arriving on 22nd September. Left Cork 24th September for Bunmahon loading 97 tons ore reaching Swansea 30th October. Returned to Dungarvan 4th November with 100 tons of culm for Maurice Mooney. Profit £13-19/4.

November
Repairs
Connory, carpenter 10 days, William Large (carpenter?) 11 ½ days, labourer scraping ship, Drohan, blacksmith; Mulcahy the sailmaker. Cooney the ropemaker earned £7-7/8 out of total cost £15-14/-

1850
December 27th (1849)
Loaded 70 tons timber for Burry (18 January), returning with 100 tons culm for Maurice Duggan. Profit £13.

February 18th
Timber from Dungarvan to Llanelly (8 days) and returned with 100 tons of culm for Tom Mooney. At Llanelly had to replace top sail yard. Profit £10-11/4.

March 20th
Timber to Swansea on 20th March, returning with 100 tons of culm for Maurice Harney.

April 8th
94 tons ore from Bunmahon to Swansea where 100 tons of coal loaded on May 9th. Delivered to Cowes on May 25 with a stop off in Dartmouth on May 15 *en route*. From Cowes in ballast to Poole loading 88 tons of clay on June 3rd for Liverpool (June 14th). There for 12 days, then taking 70 tons of coal to Limerick reached in only 4 days (June 30th) but then stayed there a month, before leaving in ballast down river for Kilrush where they loaded flag stones to take to Liverpool (September 10th). There loaded 104 tons of salt taken on board, unloaded four days later in Dungarvan. They had been away over 5 months with profit £45-8/10.

October 27th
Oats from Mr. O'Brien to Newport (14th). Loaded 102 tons coal for Cody. Profit £15-9/7.

November 25th
In ballast to Waterford (December 4th) to bring dales' for Cody. Profit £3-18.

That was the last voyage recorded by Captain Sheehan and Appendix I gives the wider context. In brief in April 1852 both Sheehan and Cody sold their shares to the new Captain, Thomas Kavanagh, who thus became half owner. The *Ruby* continued to ply out of Dungarvan until 1859 when the forty-one-year-old vessel was sold on and re-registered in Plymouth.

Comment on the *Ruby's* ore voyages

There are certain patterns to the *Ruby* voyages exemplified by a voyage tabulated below which departed on 29th December 1841 with one of the many copper ore concentrate shipments to the smelters in Swansea. The costs of leaving Dungarvan in ballast are usually the same, this being fixed by law at 1/8 (1 shilling and eight pence) per ton for loading (i.e. about 6½ tons ballast loaded) and 8d (pence) for unloading.[26] Candles were always bought locally. What is called discharging ballast in Bunmahon possibly included the cost of loading the ore which was probably rowed out to the *Ruby* at anchor off Stage Cove (see Appendix IV). At Swansea the ore would have taken about eight hours to unload[27], where it was then subsequently sold by auction to the smelter companies..

Table 2

Ballast Dungarvan 10/8	Harbour dues, Swansea £1-19/4
Clearance Dungarvan 15/5	Trimming cargo Swansea 15/-
Pilot out Dungarvan 5/-	Steamer, Swansea 10/-
Candles Dungarvan 4/-	Pilot Swansea 23/-
Discharging ballast Bunmahon 10/-	Pilot to Dungarvan 5/-
Discharging copper, Swansea £2	Filling culm Dungarvan 8/-
	Cash to woman 2/-

The harbour dues probably included the cost of loading the culm (coal smalls) which had to be 'trimmed', the load distributed evenly to minimise movement at sea which could cause deadly spontaneous combustion. Most major British ports had steam ships to tow the wooden sailing ships to or from their berths. Dungarvan did not have such but pilots were used to negotiate the ever shifting sand banks. For some reason the word 'filling' was used in Dungarvan for unloading.

The function of the woman mentioned in Table 2 above is only once identified [p. 81] – each time they returned she brought them coffee! All these charges add up to £9-10/-. The freight charge on the 102 tons of copper ore was 7/6 per ton, a

26 PP 1854-1855 Appendix to second report of the Commissioners to Inquire into local charges upon shipping, p. 6

27 Thomlinson, C. *Cyclopaedia of Useful Arts*, Vol. I (1868), p. 428 giving times per ton.

total of £38-4/3 paid for by the shippers, the Mining Company of Ireland, while that on the 104 tons of culm on the return journey was at 5/- per ton - £26 agreed price by local merchant P. Cody. Thus on the £64-7/3 earned in freight, £9-10/- was expended on fees – but the crew had yet to be paid and there were maintenance expenses, as we have seen.

Sailing times varied. In 1848, for instance, the *Ruby* twice completed the Dungarvan – Swansea run in two to three days (3-5th May, 8-10th November) but the same journey in March took eight to nine days (16th - 24th), presumably struggling against the weather. Other aspects of the voyages are not so easily explicable. Why constantly go as far up the Bristol Channel as Newport to collect coal? How were the more complex voyages arranged? For instance, leaving Dungarvan 2nd April 1849 with ore for Runcorn was simple but how did they know 100 tons of salt awaited them there to transport to Youghal? It may have been opportunistic to bring oats from there to Bristol, but how did they then know that Mr. Lane in Cork needed 102 tons of coal from Cardiff? This unknown communication system manifests itself frequently.

A sequel to Captain Sheehan's account book is too brief and sporadic for such comment – 1852 and 1855 get only single sentences. However, a new pattern does emerge under Captain Kavanagh, with the *Ruby* being based mainly in Waterford although there is no recorded change in ownership (see Appendix I). As Swansea (or Runcorn) do not feature in voyage reports after 1850, it is presumed that the vessel ceased involvement with the copper ore trade, the last such known voyage therefore being that in April 1850. The sequence of voyages from 1851 to 1858 are as follows[28]

28 National Archives, Kew, "Voyage Reports", BT 107 to 1854 and BT 108 thereafter.

1851	August 6, Waterford - Port Talbot September 7 – Waterford September 26, Waterford - Port Talbot October 16 - Dungarvan November 14 - Waterford November 26, Waterford - Southampton Dec 14 - Cardiff December 19 - ??
1852	Dungarvan-Waterford-Truro, 2 voyages
1853	January 28, Dungarvan – Cardiff - Waterford Feb 24 Waterford - Southampton March 31 - Cardiff April 25 - Waterford May 29 Waterford - Portsmouth July 6 - Dungarvan July 24-Waterford July 25 Waterford - Portsmouth (September 6-October 18) - P.Talbot (November 2-21)-Waterford.
1854	December 29 1853 Waterford-Portsmouth January 3 – Limington - Port Talbot - Waterford July 25, Waterford – Portsmouth September 19 – Limington – Port Talbot October 18 - Waterford November 16, Waterford - Newport December 12 – Dungarvan NOTE Waterford- Bristol Channel ports-Waterford-Cardiff, 4 voyages
1855	NOTE Bristol Channel ports-south coast of Ireland-Cardiff
1856	January 13, Waterford - London (oats & bacon: *February* 25 to March18) - Exeter (general cargo: April 13 to May 3) - Newport (in ballast: May. 28) - Waterford (coal: June 8) June 14, Waterford - Southampton (oats: June 23) - Newport (in ballast: July 13) - Dungarvan (coal) July 10, Dungarvan – Newport July 12 – Dungarvan July 31 August 4, Dungarvan – Newport August 20 – Waterford September 21 October 15 Waterford – Southampton (October 20 to September 16) –Newport – Waterford January 1857
1858	August 4, Waterford - Southampton August 10 - Cardiff (September 1-30) -Waterford October 3 October 20, Waterford - Southampton November 4 – Cardiff November 29 - Waterford December 24

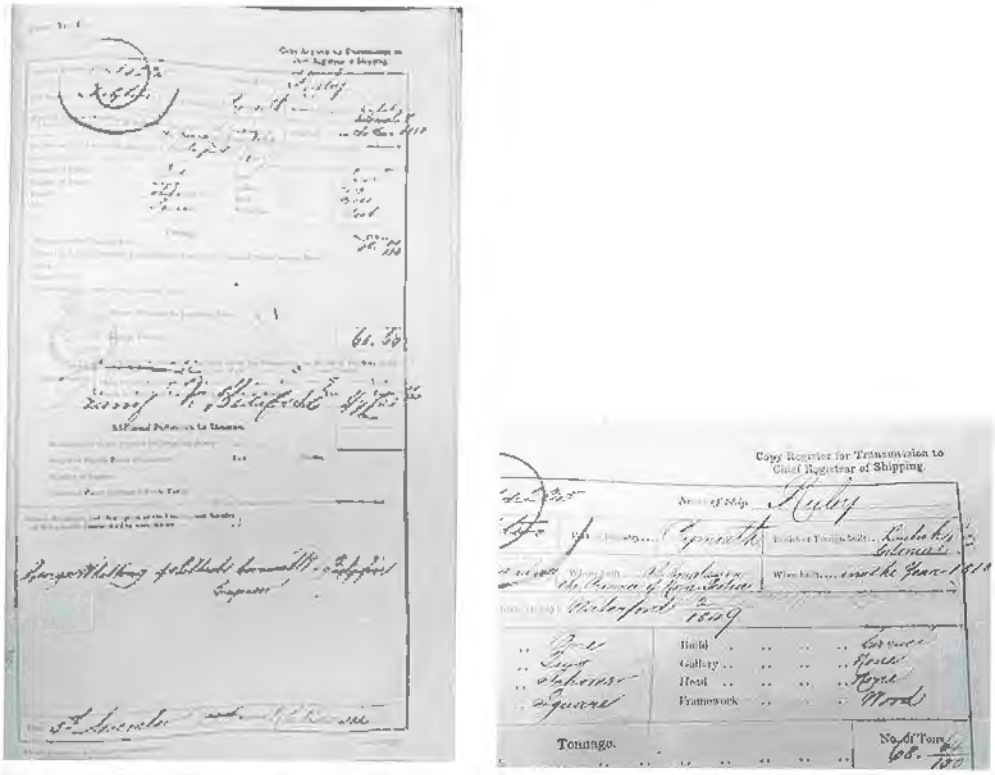


Figure 4: *Ruby Registration Certificate: Plymouth, 32/1859, November 5, 1859: on right, enlarged view of top right hand side of certificate showing manuscript note, in pencil, that vessel had been sold 'by decree of the High Court of Admiralty of England'. Note reference to 'schooner' rig by this date.*

The *Ruby* in its Dungarvan context

'Almost the entire trade of Dungarvan is dependent on the exports and imports of the place, and on the interchange of agricultural produce and general merchandize in the markets.'[29]

The *Ruby*, therefore, is only one a number of similar coasters many of whose names have been lost – apart from the 88 known so far which are recorded irregularly as having brought Bunmahon ore to Swansea.[30] Table 3 puts into proportion the tiny contribution of the *Ruby* to the overall shipment of ore from Bunmahon to Swansea.[31]

29 *Slaters Commercial Directory*, 1846

30 The *Cambrian* newspaper of Swansea, 'Shipping News' which sometimes gives ships from Dungarvan arriving there along with captains' surname. Scanned images in Swansea City Library. These eighty-eight boats will be discussed in Part II.

31 Total shipment collated from official annual Mineral Statistics.

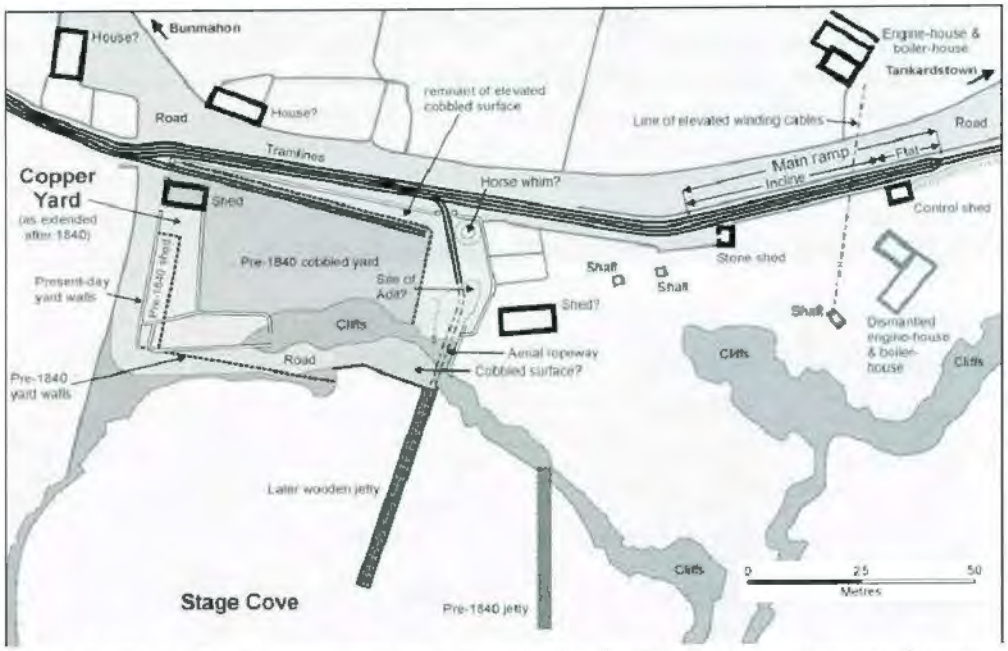


Figure 5: *Conjectured reconstruction of the shipping facility at Stage Cove (see footnote 31).*

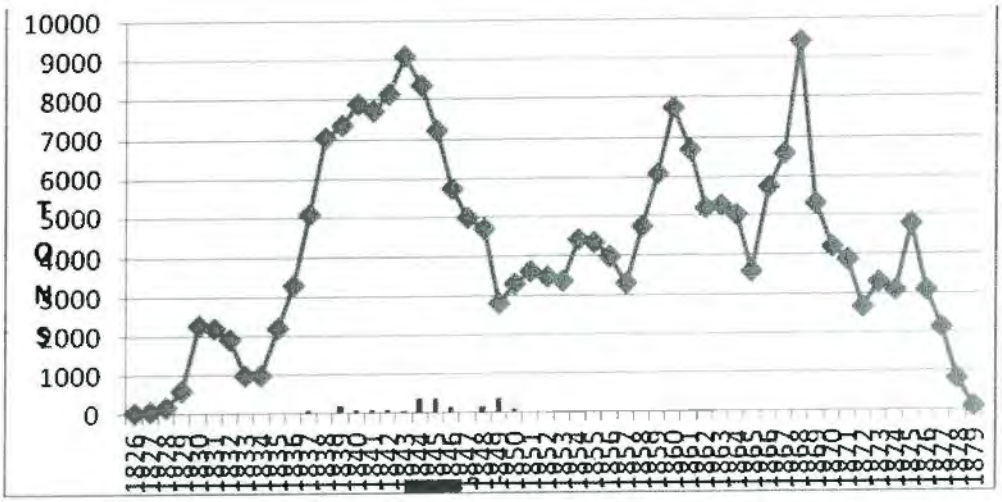


Table 3. Total annual sales of Knockmahon copper ore as recorded in '"Mineral Statistics'" between 1826 and 1879, compared with documented and computed Ruby ore cargoes between 1834 and 1850.

Over a known total of 23 voyages between 1837 and 1850, the *Ruby* transported an aggregate total of 2,181.4 tons of copper ore and one cargo of 99 tons to Runcorn, Lancashire in April 1849. Apart from the years 1844, 1845 and 1849, when it made four copper ore voyages, the *Ruby* was, at best, only an occasional

trader in the copper ore shipping business, making only single or in some years two such voyages per annum. In most of these years, the tonnages represented less than 2% of total copper ore exports, rising to a maximum of 14% in 1849 and that only during a period of very marked reduction in ore production.

Table 4 summarises Dungarvan shipping information given in the *Parliamentary Gazetteer*[32] for 1834, having first listed the types of boats of the almost 2,000 men who earned their livings fishing. Copper ore ranked as second highest export value and coal/culm the most important import.

Table 4

EXPORTS	£VALUE	**IMPORTS**	£VALUE
Corn/grain	£25,860	Coal/culm	£7,409-15/-
Copper Ore	£20,000	Iron	£2,306
Provisions	£18,311	(unstated)	£6,600
Swine	£3,000		
TOTAL	£69,486	TOTAL	£16,315

Marmion (1858)[33] gives the same totals but cites exports as grain, cattle and butter. These exports are reflected only partly in the 56 recorded voyages of the *Ruby*. Fifteen of the shipments were of grain (wheat or oats), seven of cattle (starting 1845) with only small portions of butter and no live swine. There were, however three shipments of bacon and another three, surprisingly, of timber but seven left Dungarvan in ballast. There are the seventeen shipments of ore, normally loaded in Knockmahon (usually called 'Bunmahon'). Marmion states that the imports are coal, timber and manufactured goods. None of the latter feature in the *Ruby* record and only two shipments of timber, but forty-nine of the fifty-six are coal or culm with two consignments of salt from Liverpool (salt mines of Cheshire) and three returned in ballast. The Gazetteer gives statistics of Dungarvan as a centre for the local countryside buying in agricultural goods for export and for town use; selling its imports and local manufactures.

32 *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* (London 1843-44), 'Dungarvan'.

33 Marmion, *Ancient and Modern History of the Ports of Ireland*, (London, 1858), p. 547 with similar totals for 1835. Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*, (1837) gives similar details on fishing but strangely nothing on trade for previous years.

The Ruby: final years

At some time during 1859, the *Ruby* was sold to a George Whitting of Saltash, Cornwall and re-registered in November that year in Plymouth, Devon. It was sold again in 1863, to a William Pickard, a shipbuilder of Appledore, Devon and registered in the port of Bideford, Devon in September, 1863 (Appendix 1: Bideford certificate 10/1863). However, little information has survived about the last twenty-five years of the *Ruby*.[34] A reference to a voyage between Cardiff and Fremington, near Barnstaple in North Devon, with a cargo of coal, characterises the trading pattern of the *Ruby* recorded in the only surviving records of the latter years of its existence[35]: in 1862 trading principally on coal cargo routes between Newport in south Wales and Boscastle, Saltash, Lydney and Plymouth in south-west England, while in 1878, the last year for which *Ruby* records survive, it traded between Newport, Neath and Swansea in south Wales and Fremington, Appledore and Bideford in north Devon.

Table 5

Waterford	1829 1836 1849	1/1829 20/1836 2/1849	Square Rigged foremast, Schooner rigged off mast
Plymouth	1859	32/1859	Schooner
Bideford	1863	10/1863	Schooner
Bideford	1882	##1882	Ketch

The *Ruby*, as Table 5 shows, continued to have a square rigged foremast up to 1849 but when sold on ten years later it was a straight-forward schooner, possibly better adapted for taking side winds across the Bristol Channel. By 1882 it had another rig change converting it into a ketch.

A hand written note on the face of the Bideford certificate records the ultimate fate of the vessel in January 1888: 'Vessel lost on the 9th of January 1888 on the south tail at the entrance to Bideford Bar. Certificate of Registry lost with the vessel. Registry closed March 19, 1888'.[36]

An article under the title, 'The Fog in North Devon: wrecks in Barnstaple Bay'[37] provides a little extra information about its demise. The *Ruby* was one of three, uninsured vessels which foundered in dense fog on the South Tail on the night of Sunday, January 8th, 1888 while *en route* from Cardiff to Fremington with cargoes of coal. Its demise is recorded only very briefly: 'Ruby, ketch, owned by

34 This policy of selective archiving of 10% of records for the period from 1861 onward has, unfortunately, resulted in the loss of most of the records for Dungarvan and Waterford registered vessels other than for the years 1862 and 1878.

35 1862 - BT 99/107; 1878 - BT 99/1176.

36 NA Kew, BT 107/29.

37 *North Devon Journal*, 12 January 1888, p. 5.

Mr. W. Pickard, of Appledore; Master Lamey and two men'. The crews of all three vessels were saved either by taking to their own boats or by being taken aboard a lifeboat.

That the *Ruby*, had lasted seventy years is remarkable. New Brunswick built vessels registered in St. John in the 1820s had operational life spans averaging only seven years.[38] Such very short lifespans has been attributed to various factors: a susceptibility to dry rot; use of improperly seasoned timber in the construction of the vessels; and a higher than average risk of sinking while at sea. The latter problem has been attributed to the stress and strains placed upon various parts of softwood hulls by timber cargoes in particular, resulting in a rate of loss approaching twice that of UK constructed vessels in 1836 and 1838.[39] Why the *Ruby*, built at the dawn of the Canadian maritime shipbuilding industry survived almost to the demise of that industry, and, in so doing, should have lasted so much longer than any of its peers is uncertain but we have noted the amount of maintenance give to it in Dungarvan in the 1840s. That it passed into the ownership of a shipbuilder, William Pickard, from 1863 and remained with him up to 1888, undoubtedly contributed to its continued longevity.

The following Appendices amplify and give wider contexts for the record in Dungarvan County Museum – a fuller history of the *Ruby* through its registration details tabulated in Appendix I: a list of local crew members from the six monthly agreements they made in Appendix II: in Appendix III the significance of Swansea as a world smelting centre: and in Appendix IV the difficulties of loading ore on to boats like the *Ruby*.

Figure 6: *Section of Knockmahon mine c.1840 showing schooner anchored off-shore waiting for ore-cargo.*

38 E.W. Sager and G.E. Panting, *Maritime Capital: the shipping industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820 – 1914*, (Montreal and Kingston, Canada, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), pp. 62-3.

39 Sager and Panting, *ibid*, pp. 62-64, Table 3.4.

Appendix I
Ownership and registration of the *Ruby* over seventy years

The RUBY (official ship number 14235): registration, ownership and other technical details, 1818 - 1888.

DATE	PLACE	REG. CERT. NUMBER	VESSEL DESCRIPTION	TONNAGE	OWNER(S)	MASTER	NOTES	SOURCE
1818			Built Douglas, Nova Scotia.				Builder not recorded on Cert 1/1819	
1819 January 9	St. John, New Brunswick	1/1819	Brig, with a trisail mast.	100 9/94	EWING, James & HAMILTON, Robert Hart, Merchants, St. John, New Brunswick			BT 107/474
1821 February 26	London	35/1821		94 44/94	MINET, Joseph Minet and HOOTON, Edward Charles: Merchants: Great Bush Lane, Cannon St., London KNILL, John: Fruit broker: Pudding Lane, London	HOOTON, Richard		BT 107/34
1821 June 4	London	145/1821	Two masts; Brig rigged forward mast, Schooner rigged aft; square sterned with flush deck	94 44/94	same as above 1-9-1823: E.C. HOOTON sold his rights to J.M.HOOTON	HOOTON, Richard ELLIOT, William (6-2-1822); COWARD, Thomas (18-10-1822); HASWELL, George (5-8-1823)		BT 107/34
1824 July 2	London	354/1824	Two masts, square rigged forward, schooner aft; 61' 4" max length; square sterned; carvel built; scroll head	94 44/94	MINET, Joseph: Merchant, Great Bush Lane, Cannon Street, London. 32/64 shares. KNILL, John, Fruit Broker, Pudding Lane, Lower Thames St., London. 32/64 shares.	HASWELL, George (5-8-1823)	J.M.Hooton not listed as a co-owner	BT 107/38
1825 August 5	London	523/1825	As above; maximum length 61 feet, carvel built.	94 44/94	MINET, Joseph L.: Merchant: Great Bush Lane, London 64/64 shares	HASWELL, George		BT 107/43
1828 September 12	London	275/1828	As above	94 44/94	WILLSON, Henry: Master Mariner: Broadway Rotherhithe, Surrey. 64/64 shares	WILLSON, Henry		BT 107/53
1829 January 29	Waterford	1/1829			HEARN, John Thomas: Gentleman, Dungarvan. 24/64 shares	EAGAN, John	Vessel seized and condemned for a breach of the Revenue Laws and sold by public auction at the Port of Waterford on Dec. 28, 1828.	BT 107/365

Appendix I (continued)

					CARBERY, Andrew: Gentleman: Dungarvan. 24/64 shares HEARN, John: Gentleman Dungarvan. 16/24 shares 24-6-1832. Eliza HEARN, widow of J.T Hearn sold 24/64 shares to John HEARN 26-7-1833. John HEARN sold 16/24 shares to Thomas SHEENAN, Mariner, of Dungarvan 11-6-1836. John HEARN sold 8/64 shares to Andrew CARBERY, Merchant, of Dungarvan 11-6-1836. John HEARN sold 16/64 shares to Patrick CODY, Merchant, of Dungarvan	SHEENAN, Thomas (24-7-1833)		
1836 December 3	Waterford	20/1836	Schooner rigged aft mast: square rigged forward mast	70 1812/3500	CARBERY, Andrew; Merchant: Dungarvan. 32/64 shares CODY, Patrick: Merchant: Dungarvan 16/24 shares SHEHAN, Thomas, Mariner: Dungarvan. 16/64 shares	SHEEHAN, Thomas	Note that certificate issued under Act 5 and 6, William 4th, Cap 56	BT 107/374
1849 May 24	Waterford	2/1849	Schooner rigged; length 58 feet,	70 1812/3500	CARBERY, Andrew; Merchant: Dungarvan. 32/64 shares CODY, Patrick; Merchant: Dungarvan 16/24 shares SHEHAN, Thomas, Mariner: Dungarvan. 16/64 shares 16-4-1852 Thomas SHEEHAN sold 16/64 shares to Thomas KAVANAGH Master Mariner, of Dungarvan 16-4-1852 Patrick CODY sold 16/64 shares to Thomas KAVANAGH, same as above	SHEHAN, Thomas KAVANAGH Thomas (2-4 1852) CONNERY, Mathew (18-9 1857) KAVANAGH, Thomas (28 6-1858)	Note that certificate issued under Act 8 and 9, Victoria, Chapter 89	BT 107/394
1859 November 5	Plymouth	32/1859	Schooner	68 64/100	WHITTING, George: Engineer Saltash. Cornwall 64/64 shares	GIST, Samuel (40329: 29-2-1860)	Hand written pencil note on face of certificate "Sold by decree of the High Court of Admiralty of England, dated ...."	BT 108/60

Appendix I (continued)

							RAWLE, Edward (7885: 26-1 1861), GREGOR, Joseph (17-1-1863); RAWLE, Edward (7885: 31-1-1864)	Hand written pencil note on rear of certificate: "With reference to the declaration form, Section 28, Clause 2, please add date of Admiralty decree which should appear on the registry. See Section 42, Clause 3. Edward Sheppary, ... , 11th November 1859."	
1863 September 4	Bideford	10/1863	Schooner, 63 feet	68 64/100	PICKARD, William Shipbuilder Appledore, Devon. 64/64 shares		HACKING, N.C. (54866: 19-10-1863) WILLIAMS, Thomas (4-1-1866); JENKINS, Thomas (9-2-1872), SERECH, Robert (26-1-1874); DAY, Benjamin (29-3-1877); HOCKING, Archibald (31-1-1882); HOCKING, Wm H (14-3-1884)	1882, April 1 Certificate noting change of rig from Schooner to Ketch 1888 Hand written note in red ink on face of certificate: "Vessel lost on the 9th of January 1888 on the south tail at the entrance to Bideford Bar. Certificate of Registry lost with the vessel. Registry closed March 19, 1888"	BT 108/79

Appendix II
List of crew members

Humble crew members never find their way into nineteenth-century directories and are listed here as a unique record arising from incomplete Crew Agreements (BT 98). All up to mid-1852 are under Captain Sheehan, then under Captain Thomas Kavanagh. They signed on for six months, recorded here by year and half year, xxxx/1 or xxxx/2. Sailors' ages are not to be taken literally: for instance mate Patrick Keane was forty in 1835, had regressed to thirty-four the next year and in 1837 had aged rapidly to forty-five. These fluctuations are not given here nor are the variations in spelling.

1835/2

NAME	RANK	AGE	LIVED
Keane, Patrick	Mate	40	Dungarvan
O'Neil, John	Seaman	40	Dungarvan
Dower, Stephen	Seaman	20	Dungarvan
Dower, John	n/s	20	Dungarvan
Millar, John	n/s	20	Dungarvan

1836/1 1836/2

Keane, Patrick	Mate	40	Dungarvan	O'Neill, John	Mate	40	Dungarvan
O'Neill, John	Seaman	40	Dungarvan	Sheehan, Patrick	Seaman	41	Dungarvan
Dower, John	n/s	20	Dungarvan	Dwyer, Pat	Seaman	36	Dungarvan
Millar, John	n/s	20	Dungarvan	Mulligan, Michael	Seaman	18	Dungarvan

1837/1 1837/2

Keane, Patrick	Mate	40	Dungarvan	Power, Robert	Mate	47	Dungarvan
O'Neill, John	Seaman	40	Dungarvan	Drohan, Bart.	Seaman	28	Dungarvan
Grant, Jeffry	Seaman	24	Dungarvan	Murray, John	Seaman	20	Dungarvan
Donoghue, Patrick	Seaman	30	Dungarvan	Nugent, John	Seaman	22	Dungarvan

1845/1 1845/2

Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	50	Dungarvan	Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	50	Dungarvan
Downey, Michael	Seaman	21	Abbeyside	Downey, Michael	Seaman	21	Abbeyside
Lynch, John	Seaman	22	Dungarvan	Lynch, John	Seaman	22	Dungarvan
Sheehan, Thomas	Seaman	20	Abbeyside	Condon, James	Boy	16	Dungarvan
Condon, James	Boy	16	Dungarvan				

1846/1 1846/2

Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	50	Dungarvan	Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	50	Dungarvan
Connors, Edmund	Seaman	17	Dungarvan	Power, John	Seaman	26	Dungarvan/Abbeyside
Hickey, John	Seaman	20	Dungarvan	Leahy, Martin	Seaman	20	Dungarvan
Ryan, John	Seaman	22	Dungarvan	Lucy, Thomas	Seaman	20	Dungarvan

1847/1 1847/2

Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	50	Dungarvan	Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	50	Dungarvan
Lahy, John	Seaman	32	Abbeyside	Lahy, Martin	Seaman	22	Abbeyside
Lahy, Martin	Seaman	22	Abbeyside	Flynn, William	Seaman	32	Dungarvan

1848/1 1848/2

Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	50	Dungarvan	Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	51	Dungarvan
Lahy, John	Seaman	32	Abbeyside	Lahy, John	Seaman	32	Abbeyside
Lahy, Martin	Seaman	22	Abbeyside	Lahy, Martin	Seaman	22	Abbeyside

1849/2

Sheehan, Patrick	Mate	51	Dungarvan
Power, Patrick	Seaman	26	Dungarvan
Mountain, James	Seaman	20	Dungarvan

1851/2

Har(n?)y, Joseph	Seaman	17	Chepstow

1852/2

Cavanagh, Patrick	Mate	52	Abbeyside.
Sheehan, William	Seaman	23	Waterford
Whelan, Michael	Boy	19	Dungarvan

1853/1 & /2

Cavanagh, Patrick	Mate	52	Abbeyside.
Sheehan, William	Seaman	23	Waterford
Sheehan, Martin	Seaman	26	Dungarvan
McGrath, Thomas	Seaman	18	Dungarvan
Whelan, David	Seaman	18	Dungarvan

1854/1 & /2

Cavanagh, Patrick	Mate	52	Abbeyside.
Walsh, Patrick	Seaman	19	Dungarvan
Cuddihy, Richard	Seaman	19	Dungarvan
Neal, Thomas	Seaman	18	Waterford

1855/1

Cavanagh, Patrick	Mate	53	Abbeyside.
Connory, Matthew	Seaman	22	Waterford
Connory, Thomas	Seaman	19	Waterford
Millar, Martin	Boy	17	Waterford

1856/1

Thomas, William	Mate	37	Swansea
Williams, Isaac	Seaman	41	London
Smith, Samuel	Boy	18	Liverpool

1856/2

Connory, Stephen	Mate	21	Dungarvan
Flynn, George	Seaman	22	Dungarvan
Foley, James	Seaman	22	Co. Waterford

1858/2

McIntosh, Jermiah	Mate	22	Gravesend
Flynn, William	Seaman	25	Waterford
Keef, Michael	Seaman	26	America
Murray, John	Seaman	21	Waterford

Appendix III

Swansea and the copper context

The Swansea region itself had no copper. What it did have, and the reason why Swansea developed into the premier copper smelting region in the UK from its initiation in 1717, was the conjunction of a navigable river, the Tawe immediately adjacent to vast and easily mineable coal resources.[40] Copper smelting, by the 'Welsh process', was an enormously energy intensive process, involving a number of successive smelting stages to produce refined copper metal at an approximate ratio of one ton of metal to about 18 tons of coal.[41] It was consequently far more economical to ship copper ore to Swansea, even from places as far away as Chile, rather than ship coal to the copper mining regions.

Notwithstanding innovations made in mining and smelting in the 19th Century, and the research focussed upon them, they were dependent on an older technology - sailing ships. While some research attention has been given to ocean-going ore shipping (from Chile particularly),[42] the same cannot be said for the much more humble coastal shipping industry involved in the relatively short haul journeys from Ireland, Cornwall and north Wales to Swansea. An 'impression of inferiority may have led scholars to dismiss the coastal trade as unworthy of their attention and hence account for the low level of research output'.[43] Just a single publication offers an insight into one of those copper shipping routes, from Cornwall to Swansea,[44] and none, until now, on any of the Irish copper ore shipping routes.

40 R. Rees, *King Copper: south Wales and the copper trade 1584 – 1895*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press), p. 15-16.

41 S. Hughes, *Copperopolis: landscapes of the early industrial period in Swansea*, (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales), p 1-2.

42 Rees, *op cit*, p. 27-38 and the accompanying references p. 152-3.

43 J. Armstrong, 'Introduction: the Cinderella of the transport world: the historiography of the British coastal trade', in John Armstrong (ed.), *Coastal and Short Sea Shipping*, (Scholar Press, 1996).

44 P.H. Stanier, 'The copper ore trade of south-west England in the nineteenth century' (1979), reprinted in John Armstrong (ed.), *Coastal and Short Sea Shipping*, (Scholar Press, 1996), pp. 130-47.

Appendix IV
Shipping Knockmahon ore

The story of mining inland from Knockmahon (*c.* 1825 to *c.* 1850) and from Tankardstown (*c.* 1850 - *c.* 1875) is told elsewhere.[45] The copper-bearing rock from the mines went through various processes winding up as a coarse sand concentrate to be shipped to Swansea for smelting. Since there is no local harbour ships normally had to anchor off and the concentrate, presumable in leather bags, had to be rowed out from an inlet called Stage Cove. From the cliffs above a complex facility with railway linkage facilitated the movement of ore as has been described elsewhere from extant remains.[46] The presently visible copper yard was built in at least two stages, pre and post 1840. It contained an extensive cobbled floor area within its walls, as well as outbuildings and two entry points for spur lines from the tramway to facilitate off-loading of processed copper ore hauled up the tramway from the dressing floor to the west in Ballynasissala, as well as transfer of coal etc. on to the tramway for transfer back down to the Ballynasissala or up slope for the steam engines at Tankardstown to the east.

The remains of what has been interpreted as an aerial ropeway, and part masonry construction ropeway decline, are located at the eastern edge of the yard. The decline aligns exactly with the orientation of pairs of now barely visible bolts drilled into rock and arranged at intervals for some distance out from the cliff line. The bolts are believed to be the points at which upright, timber jetty posts were made secure and upon which the jetty was constructed, close to the eastern edge of a prominent, linear inlet in the rocky foreshore. The inlet is defined by the boundary between an upstanding area of rock foreshore to the east adjoining a much deeper zone to the west underlain by rock and pebbles. While this might be an entirely natural feature, its location close to the post-1840 jetty instead suggests that it may be the remnant of an artificial or partly artificial dock excavated into the foreshore to form a berth of sufficient depth to allow vessels to moor alongside the timber construction jetty, but only in most tranquil high-water conditions.

45 Des Cowman, *The Making and Breaking of a mining Community, The Copper Coast, Co. Waterford 1825-1875+* (MHTI, 2006).

46 J.H. Morris, D. Tietzsch-Tyler, and R. Scanlon, 'The Knockmahon – Tankardstown Mineral Tramway, Bunmahon, Co. Waterford', in *Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland, Journal* 5 (2005), pp. 53-74.

A History of Ballynaneashagh or St. Otteran's Cemetery

Dermot Power

Introduction

Many of us will find our final resting place in St. Otteran's Cemetery, commonly known as Ballynaneashagh. The history of this cemetery is a chequered one. It took almost 150 years for Ballynaneashagh to become an acceptable burial place to the ordinary folk of Waterford city and its surrounding area. Its foundation is a tale of ineptitude, poor record keeping, decisions not followed through and sometimes a flash of religious sectarianism. The frustration of those involved in the management of Ballynaneeshagh was probably best expressed by one of the Waterford Poor Law Guardians when he exclaimed, 'Will we never be finished with this Ballynaneashagh?'[1]

This article will examine the circumstances which necessitated the need for a new graveyard in 1847, the prolonged attempts to close the city's ancient graveyards, the living conditions of the citizens of Waterford city and the effects that the many epidemics and famine had on the population of the city. The spelling of the names of the churches may differ and are written here as they appeared in the various letters and resolutions. For example St. Olaf's is sometimes spelt St. Olaves. The spelling of Ballynaneashagh is problematic insofar as it has many variations. In the various Acts it is spelt, Ballynasheagh, Ballynaneesha being another variation. In almost every generation it has a different spelling. It is currently spelt, Ballinaneeshagh. The form used here, Ballynaneashagh, is from Power's, *Placenames of the Decies*.

Health hazard

By the early years of the nineteenth century the ancient burial grounds in Waterford were becoming overcrowded. As early as 1800 an act was passed in parliament allowing the Grand Jury of Waterford to close if deemed necessary the ancient graveyards of the city and to purchase land for new burial grounds,

> ... that the grand juries of the county and city of Waterford have full power and authority, and they are hereby empowered to present as nuisances, and to shut up all church yards with consent of yards or burial, grounds in the city of Waterford... provided the lord bishop of Waterford, for the time being, shall, under his hand and Episcopal seal, give his consent and approbation that such church yard or burial ground shall be shut up as aforesaid. [2]

1 *Waterford Chronicle*, 13 February 1875.

2 40th Geo. 3, c. 93.

In fact in 1832 during the cholera epidemic any person who died was buried not in the city cemeteries but in Kilbarry and Kill St. Lawrence.[3] However because of increased mortality rates in the workhouse during the Famine it was no longer possible to use Kill St. Lawrence for burials. At a meeting of the Waterford Board of Guardians in early February 1847 it was noted that, 'from the general increase of late in the mortality of inmates [of the workhouse] the burial ground of Kill St. Lawrence has become quite crowded and unable to afford anymore accommodation for the burial of persons, so that the Guardians deem it advisable to have the inmates henceforth in Kilbarry.'[4]

In July 1847 the Church of Ireland Bishop of Waterford made an application to the Grand Jury to close the ancient city's cemeteries on the basis that they were quickly becoming a health hazard and that a grave could not be dug without exposing decomposing corpses. The Grand Jury agreed to purchase a piece of ground outside the borough boundary in the townland of Ballynaneashagh.

However, in spite of this the city cemeteries were not closed and two years later in 1849 the condition of the cemeteries was untenable. At a town council meeting in July 1849 it was reported that one of the councillors had visited Kilbarry graveyard, and stated, 'I saw in Kilbarry the other day five coffins on top of each other, without a sod on them.'[5] The problem had now become an outrage and their notoriety was even raised in London, with the chairman of the General Board of Health remarking that, 'he had visited the graveyards in Cork and Waterford. So frightful was their condition, that he cautioned those in power against them, and assure those who had the power to correct the evil that if they did not do so those, consecrated cesspools would prove to be so many hotbeds of disease. They neglected his warning and his predictions were fearfully fulfilled.'[6] This warning was an allusion to cholera which once again had appeared at Waterford.

The frightful condition of the city burial grounds demanded urgent action and the following memorial was signed by the leading medical men of Waterford,

> We, the undersigned, declare it to be absolutely necessary to the safety of the public, that no more interments should take place in the churchyards of this city. The state of them, and especially of the older ones, are at once an outrage to public decency, as well as detrimental to the public health. In the cathedral churchyard, which is altogether unenclosed, and a public thoroughfare, as well as the resort during the night of bad characters, the earth is continually falling into the old graves, leaving passages or vents which lead to the remains deposited below, and serve for the escape of noxious gases; and when the earth is thrown up to form, fresh graves, it is found so loaded with animal matter, as to be actually offensive to the nose as well as eyes. In

3 *Waterford News*, 13 April 1849.
4 *Waterford Chronicle*, 20 February 1847.
5 *Waterford News*, 13 July 1849.
6 *Gardeners Chronicle & New Horticulturist*, Volume 9 (London), 29 September 1849, p. 308.

> Olave's Churchyard, the bodies have of late years been deposited in tiers, above each other, just under the east window of the church, till they are within less than 3 feet of the surface, and actually above the level of the ground within one or two yards adjacent; whilst at certain periods, and in certain states of the atmosphere, a putrid smell can be distinctly perceived in the neighbourhood. John's and Patrick's Churchyards are in much the same state; and we therefore submit, that it is the duty of every one, and especially of public bodies, to co-operate for the abatement of a nuisance so dangerous and disgraceful to our city.[7]

Indeed, according to many observers the unsanitary condition of those burial grounds contributed directly to the outbreak of cholera The following is a copy of the petition presented to the House of Commons by British MP, Mr. Mackinnon,

> That your petitioners have abundant evidence to prove, that in London, Bristol, Waterford, and other places, some of the most virulent and fatal cases of recent Cholera were developed in the immediate neighbourhood of burial places. That your petitioners respectfully suggest that, although the mistakes of centuries, as to the insanitary construction of the habitations of the living, and the sewerage of cities and towns, can be rectified only by necessarily slow degrees, and at an enormous pecuniary outlay,—the immediate arrestation of the practice of intramural burial,—a practice which admits of neither palliation nor excuse, is as easy as it is urgent and imperative. That for the above and other cogent reasons, your petitioners respectfully call upon your Honourable House to interpose your authority— to accord a power to step in between the living and the dead—and to pass, forthwith, a General Act for the formation of National Cemeteries, far removed from human dwellings.[8]

In 1849 a further attempt was made to close the city's cemeteries. On September 17th 1849 the following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Waterford Sanitary Association, 'Resolved - The old graveyards of Waterford have long been a disgrace to the city - and from the earth being overcharge with decomposing animal matter, the interment of bodies in those churchyards must be highly injurious to health.'[9] It further resolved, 'That our Chairman and Secretary be requested to forward these resolutions to the Central Board of Health in a letter enforcing in the strongest manner the necessity of forbidding intramural interments in the following church yards of the borough: Christ's Church, St. Olaves, St. Johns, St. Patrick's, St. Michael's and St. Peters.'[10]

7 *London Medical Gazette: Or, Journal of Practical Medicine*, (London, 1849), p. 877.

8 George Alfred Walker, *On the Past and Present State of Intramural Burying*, (London, 1851), p. 32.

9 *Waterford News*, 17 September 1849.

10 *Ibid.*

Order Ignored

The Commissioners of Health having examined the matter decided that these burial grounds should be closed and letter from the Board of Health to the Waterford Sanitary Association dated Sept. 26th 1849 stated that 'In accordance with the provisions of the Nuisance Removal and Diseases Prevention Amendment Act 1849 prohibiting from the present any further internment of deceased persons in the grave yards named therein.'[11] However this order largely went unheeded and people continued to bury their dead in the old city grave yards.

In 1852 another attempt was made to close the old city cemeteries. A memorial was sent to the Lord Lieutenant 'signed by the Lord Bishop of Cashel, by the Dean of Waterford and by five clergy men of different denominations; by eleven surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries and by 100 citizens residing at or in the immediate neighbourhood of two of these ancient burial grounds.'[12] Once again burials in the old cemeteries continued.

In 1860 a further attempt was made to close the old city cemeteries. The *Waterford News* of March 23rd 1860 carried the text of a memorial sent to the Lord Lieutenant describing the many attempts to close the old cemeteries and concluding, 'as the preliminary legal steps have been taken and the conditions fulfilled necessary for making use of the above mentioned piece of ground (Ballynaneashagh) as a cemetery, your memorialists pray that your Excellency will put an end to the nuisance and danger to the public health arising from further internments in the above mentioned ancient burial grounds by ordering that such further internments shall be discontinued as soon as possible.' However burials continued in the city centre. During the excavation of St. Peter's graveyard in the 1990s several coffin plates were discovered, one bearing the inscription, 'Mary Ann Croker Died 25th January 1873 aged 58'.[13]

As the attempts to halt burials with the city intensified many Waterford families were concerned about the status of family vaults.

There was also the problem of Ballybricken, a relatively new graveyard, was this to be closed under this new order?

Ballybricken Graveyard

At a meeting of Waterford Corporation towards the end of March 1860, a heated discussion took place on the status of Ballybricken graveyard and also the graveyard of the French Church. The meeting was told that, 'Ballybricken graveyard had not been opened more than thirty years, and within that period a large portion of virgin ground had been added to it. In fact there is yet but a small portion of the ground occupied.'[14] When Ballybricken burial ground 'was first opened, there was only a quarter of an acre comprised within its area; but since then five times that

11 *Waterford News*, 28 September 1849.

12 *Waterford News*, 23 March 1860.

13 I am grateful to Michael O'Sullivan for this inscription, whose father Bob recorded during the excavation of St. Peter's.

14 *Waterford News*, 30 March 1860.

extent of ground has been added.'[15] It also emerged at that meeting that there were no burials within the church, and that 'the internments in the churchyard were fully six feet deep.'[16] However, Dr. Macksey a medical doctor, stated at the meeting that, while he had 'no desire, whatsoever to oppose the exemption of Ballybricken, I have a very strong feeling that internments should not be encouraged around places of public worship. Decaying animal matter should not be where large crowds are assembled together; against that system of internment I have a strong objection.'[17] It was decided to send representatives to the hearing on the closure by the Privy Council, which was to be held on Tuesday April 2nd 1860 'to represent the interests of Ballybricken and the French Church. Mr. Pierce Kelly, solicitor, with counsel appeared for the parishioners of Ballybricken Church, against the closure of that graveyard and Counsellor Tandy appeared on behalf of the Roberts family of Waterford City, against the closure of the French Churchyard.'[18]

French Church

Mr. Tandy in evidence said that on average only one internment in five years took place in the French Church. That his clients were of Huguenot extraction, and that it was used only for persons of that persuasion and that in Dublin such graveyards were exempted. It was decided that and exception be made in favour of the French Church and also Ballybricken as it was a relatively new church and not an 'Ancient Burial ground'. All other graveyards within the city were ordered to be closed. With reference to vaults, the Lord Lieutenant ordered that 'Power was given by the Act for the owners to obtain permission to inter in them, if no valid objection was raised.'[19]

Kilbarry and Kill St. Lawrence

This attempt to close the old graveyards seems to have been successful, however Kilbarry and Kill St. Lawrence still presented a problem. 'Watchers' had to be employed to try and prevent burials in those cemeteries. At a meeting of the Sanitary Association in July 1870 Mr. T. Murphy said that he 'went out to one of the graveyards on Sunday last and found four new graves. Some of the corpses were thrown in a ditch and slightly covered with earth. It was a disgrace in a Christian country to have such a state of things existing. They should build a wall around the graveyards.'[20] The latter sentence is proof that at that period there were no walls to provide security against unlawful burials. In 1870 it was reported in the local papers that, 'at Wednesday's meeting of the Poor Law Board a letter was read from the Council Office, Dublin pointing to an order the Council made on 27th of January, directing that from and after that date burials shall be discontinued in the

15 *Ibid.*
16 *Ibid.*
17 *Ibid.*
18 *Waterford News*, 6 April 1860.
19 *Ibid.*
20 *Waterford Chronicle*, 8 July 1870.

burial grounds of the two parishes of Kilbarry and Kill St. Lawrence.'[21] However eight years later, burials were continuing in Kilbarry and Kill St. Lawrence. At a Board of Guardians meeting in January 1878, it was reported by the visiting guardian, Mr. W. Kelly, that he had visited Kill St. Lawrence and was 'sorry to see that though this graveyard had been closed a number of years by order in council, burials are of daily occurrence; the coffins are not sufficiently covered; human bones on the surface, while pigs and dogs have frec access to this cemetery. I also visited Kilbarry; I cannot find words to describe this church yard. It is a mass of rotting flesh. The dead are packed in layers, over each other, and not sufficient clay to cover them. I cannot trust myself to speak of these places, the principal burial grounds of the poor of Waterford.'[22] It was suggested that they be enclosed, however it was pointed out that it had already been agreed previously and a tender had gone out, but nothing was done. It was agreed that another tender to enclose the graveyards be sent out. At a further Board of Guardians meeting in the following month, it was decided that £600 be expended in walling in both cemeteries, and 'that the Board of Guardians had entered into a solid contract for the building of solid stone walls around each of those church yards.'[23]. In May 1878 it was reported that in relation to Kilbarry churchyard 'good work was being done by the contractor in the building of the wall that was to enclose it.'[24]

Ballynaneashagh/St. Otteran's Cemetery

In 1846 a committee was appointed by the City Grand Jury to manage the establishment of the new cemetery at Ballynaneashagh with three members of the committee acting as trustees. The following year the Grand Jury allocated a sum of £1,000 towards the cemetery,[25] £500 in order to purchase 5 acres of land in the townland of Ballynaneashagh and £500 to enclose it.[26] However from the beginning problems arose regarding who the land of the new cemetery was vested in and disputes between members of different religious denominations in the city. [27] At the Easter Vestry meeting held in Christ church Cathedral, in April 1849. It was stated at that meeting that, 'any new cemetery should be vested in the person that the old one was vested and that it was not a legally burying ground until that was done.'[28]

In fact the Grand Jury 'demonstrated an unwillingness to vest the sole control of, and right in, the hands of the parochial clergy.'[29] This issue was again raised at a meeting of the Sanitary Committee in August 1849 when an attempt was made to

21 *Waterford News*, 11 February 1870.
22 *Waterford News*, 25 January 1878.
23 *Waterford News*, 8 February 1878.
24 *Waterford News*, 19 May 1878.
25 *Waterford News*, 23 March 1860.
26 *Waterford News*, 28 September 1849.
27 *Waterford Chronicle*, 18 September 1847.
28 *Waterford News*, 13 April 1849.
29 *Waterford News*, 13 April 1849.

prevent any further burials in Kilbarry and Kill St. Lawrence, as an application for 'closure of them had been presented to the Grand Jury'.[30]

By 1854 there was a further discussion relating to the proposed closure of the city burial grounds and the division of Ballynaneashagh cemetery into plots for the various religious denominations at the quarterly meeting of Waterford Corporation. Old religious rivalry again reared its head when it was stated by Councillor Walsh that, 'Catholics had an objection to be buried without the ground being blessed.'[31] The Roman Catholic Bishop had been consulted in this matter and he replied that, 'there was no ritual form of consecration of burial grounds, the church was consecrated and it was part of the church consecration that the ground was blessed.'[32] However it was reported that the bishop had said that, 'if a portion was allotted to the Catholics, he would consecrate it.'[33] One interesting fact that emerged from that meeting was that, 'during the Commonwealth [1649 -1660] St. John's and St. Stephen's church yards were assigned to the Dissenters. St. Peter's and St. Patrick's were the Catholics, but on the restoration the Protestant clergy took all'.[34]

However, in 1857 it seems that an agreement was finally reached regarding the division of Ballynaneshagh into plots for the respective religious denominations. This fact is borne out by a map which was redrawn in the 1950's and tallies exactly with the following proposal which was adopted in June 1857.

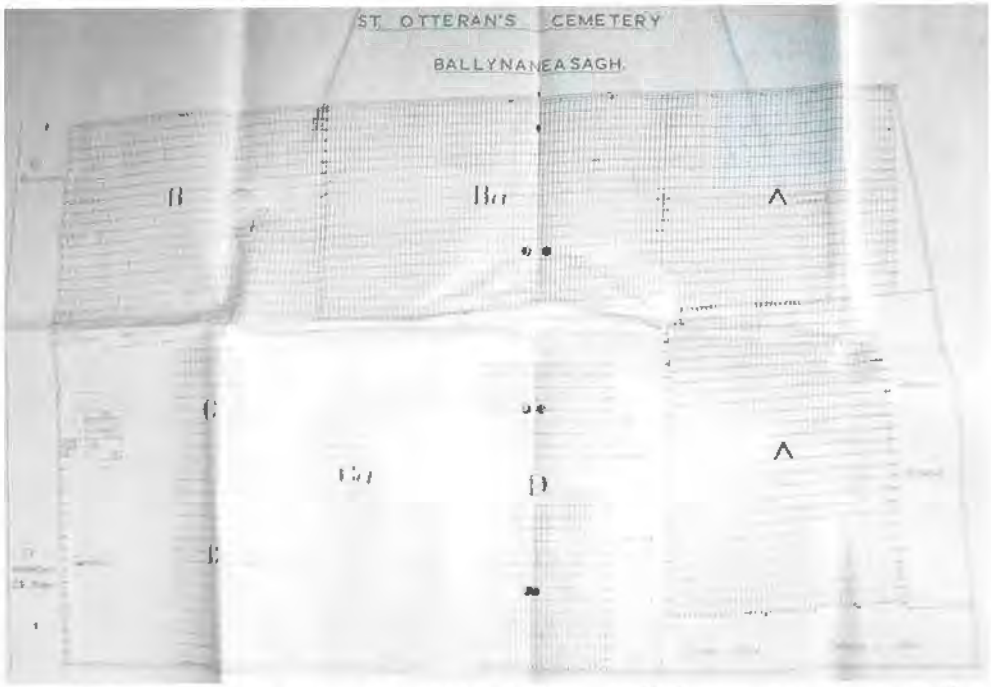


Plate 1: *This plan of Ballynaneashagh originally drawn in 1857 was redrawn in the 1950s. It is almost identical to the 1857 map.* Courtesy of Waterford City and County Council

30 *Ibid.*
31 *Waterford News*, 2 August 1854.
32 *Ibid.*
33 *Ibid.*
34 *Ibid.*

> A Burial Ground having been founded and enclosed at Ballynaneshagh, for the parishes of Trinity Within, St. Michael's Within, St. Stephen's, St. Olave's, St. John's and St. Patrick's in the Borough of Waterford and the Parishes of Trinity Without, St. John's Without, and St. Stephen's Without, and partly on the Borough and partly in the County of Waterford; and the two parishes of Kilbarry and Kill St. Laurence in the County of Waterford.
>
> Resolved - That One Acre, plantation measure running the entire length of the North wall of the cemetery of Ballynaneshagh, and abutting thereto (marked A on the plan) be allotted for Roman Catholic Pauper Burials. A line being drawn from the present gateway north, to the bounds of such reserved Acre, and dividing the remaining portion of the said entry into two equal parts.
>
> Resolved - That two Acres plantation measure, lying to the west of such line, (marked B on the Plan) be allotted for general Roman Catholic Burials. That three roods, plantation measure, lying to the east of such line, and abutting the South wall of the said entry (marked C on the Plan), be allotted for the burial of Protestant Dissenters, and that the remaining portion of such entry, Five Roods, plantation measure, lying to the right of such plan (marked D on the Plan), be allotted for the burial of Church of England Protestants."[35] It was agreed to send the plan to the Lord Lieutenant in the hope that he would sanction the plan and the "division of the new burial ground at Ballynaneshagh, according to plan therein proposed, in order to the Consecration of the several parts allotted to Episcopal Protestants and Roman Catholics... and that the portion allotted to Protestant Dissenters may become available for burials.[36]

Consecration of Ballynaneashagh

On Sunday, October 31st 1858, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Waterford, Dr. O'Brien, consecrated the Catholic portion of Ballynaneashagh and to it gave the name Saint Otteran's, after the Waterford Saint, Odhrán (in English Otteran) and the ceremony was vividly described in the local press,

> On Sunday Last the Right Rev. Dr. O'Brien Lord Bishop of the Diocese, consecrated that portion of the Cemetery at Ballynaneashagh, which had been apportioned for the internment of the Catholics in this City. The afternoon was very fine, the ceremony commencing shortly after two o'clock and hundreds of the Catholics of the City and neighbourhood joined devoutly in the holy observance of religion, which lasted for one hour and a half. The entire of the Catholic Clergy of the City joined His Lordship in the Consecration,

35 *Waterford Mail*, 30 June 1857.

36 *Ibid*.

> and also several of the students of St. John's College. A large procession being formed, going several times 'round the ground, with Cross and Censor, in front - the Bishop in full canonicals following, with the body of clergymen coming after. A canopy was erected in the centre of the ground, when His Lordship declared the ground Consecrated, and bestowed the Episcopal Benediction on the kneeling multitude by whom he was surrounded.[37]

Despite the consecration many people were still reluctant to bury their loved ones in Balllynaneeshagh. At a meeting of Waterford Corporation in March 1860 it was stated that, 'people will not go to Ballynaneashagh. They have a strong objection to that place and from whatever cause that is, it is certain they will not use it as a burial place.'[38] It was further stated that, 'The rich people are afraid that they will be contaminated if they were to be buried there, amongst the poor.'[39]

Famine Victims

It is difficult to determine how many victims of the famine were buried in Ballynaneashagh. By 1847 Waterford was suffering not only from the effects of famine but also typhoid and typhus with a reported 490 typhoid cases in hospital in the summer of that year.[40]

In 1849 there was a major outbreak of cholera throughout Ireland. The *Waterford News* of August 31st 1849 reported that up to that date in Waterford, over 900 persons had contracted cholera of whom 500 died. These were certainly buried in Ballynaneashagh. A newspaper report of September 1849 stated that, despite the many deaths from cholera, 'Waterford coffin makers were complaining that they were supplying fewer coffins to the Workhouse'[41] which indicates that the unfortunate victims of cholera were being buried in mass graves without coffins. Some measure of the number of persons from the workhouse buried in Ballynaneashagh at that period, can be gained from a report in the *Waterford Mail* of November 1857, which stated, that 'Since the burial ground was opened on the Cork Road, within two miles of this city, in the year 1847, upwards of 4,000 paupers from the workhouse have been interred there.'[42]

Effort to Popularise St. Otteran's

Despite this consecration, the people of Waterford still reluctant to bury their dead in St. Otteran's, still afraid of the taint of pauperism. This remained the case for almost twenty years, when in 1871 an effort was made to popularise St. Otteran's. At a meeting of the Board of Guardians held on Wednesday February 18th 1871, the subject of popularising St. Otteran's Cemetery alias Ballynaneashagh was

37 *Waterford Chronicle*, 6 November 1858.
38 *Waterford News*, 30 March 1860.
39 *Ibid*.
40 *Medical Times: a journal of medical science*, Volume XXI, 19 January 1850, p. 39.
41 *Waterford Mail*, 28 September 1849.
42 *Waterford Mail*, 28 November 1857.

Plate 2: *This memorial stone is almost certainly the earliest in Ballynaneashagh Cemetery. The inscription reads. Magnus Peter Bergeson. Master of the Swedish Barque Lovinlo. Died 11th June 1851.*

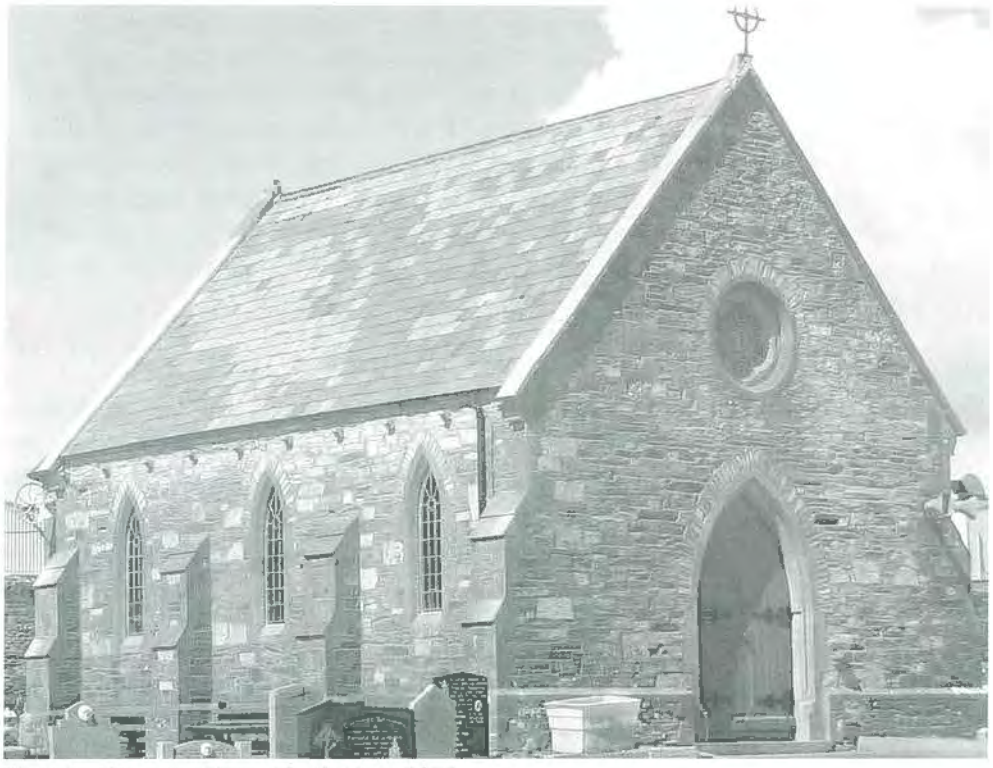


Plate 3: *Mortuary Chapel built circa 1871.*

Plate 4: *This stone reads as follows: To the memory of Private William Brough 17th Regiment who died on 30th of November 1851 after a service of 21 years in the above corps. Also his beloved wife Maria Brough who died on the 31st of January 1851. This stone was erected by his comrade soldiers as a testimony of the highest respect and esteem in which he was held in the corps.*

discussed. Alderman Redmond stated that despite having expended a large sum of money on Ballynaneashagh 'it has been almost useless.'[43] He went on to second a proposition by Major O'Gorman 'to erect within it a mortuary chapel, to beautify the grounds - to erect a large cross on a mound opposite the main entrance - to grow ivy on the front wall - to improve the gateway, and paint over it in large letters, "St. Otteran's Cemetery," the name by which it was originally consecrated by the Most Rev. Dr. O'Brien; and what will popularise it more than anything else, [is] to have the burial service read over the graves of those interred in it.'[44] However in 1877 at a meeting of the board one member complained that, 'he could not forget that they had expended many hundreds of pounds in building a chapel at Ballynaneesha, which was never used since it was erected... he examined the building the other day, and he found that no altar had been erected in it; no religious service had been performed in it; some of the roof had fallen in, and there was a lodgement of rain water on several parts of the floor.'[45] In1886 the name 'St. Otteran's' still had not been painted over the entrance and it was again proposed at a board meeting in September 1888.[46] In fact it was not until 1939 that 'the first mass took place in the mortuary chapel on Wednesday November 8th 1939.'[47]

The *Waterford Chronicle* reporting on the Board of Guardians meeting of February 1871 gave a detailed account on the operation of the cemetery. It reported that in one year only '37 persons were buried in St. Otteran's, 3 from the Lunatic Asylum and 34 from the Workhouse. The expenditure for keeping the cemetery open was £41 and that was completely wasted.'[48] It was believed that if the cemetery was improved 'people would pay 5 shillings for each person buried there and as there were about 600 Catholics a year being buried, that would amount to £150 instead of the present £41. The income of the Protestant cemetery was £20 or £30

43 *Waterford News*, 20 October 1871.
44 *Ibid.*
45 *Waterford News*, 7 September 1877.
46 *Waterford News*, 24 September 1886.
47 *Waterford News* 10-11-1939.
48 *Waterford Chronicle* 20-10-1871.

per year, however that cemetery was kept in beautiful condition and the Protestants were prepared to pay large fees to have their dead buried there.'[49]

The Registration of Births and Deaths (Ireland) Act 1863 provided for the registration of births and deaths with effect from 1st January 1864. A register of those buried in Ballinaneeshagh is available from that date, however some entries have been made retrospectively and we find that the first entry in the registration book is from 12th September 1862 and is that of 'James Murphy aged six weeks of age, Roman Catholic, who died on board steamer and was buried in St. Otteran's Cemetery by order of the coroner.'[50]

Clergy to attend funerals

The next important step in the history of St. Otteran's was the practise of clergy attending burial services, a practice which was rare in the nineteenth century in the case of most ordinary families.

This matter was plagued with indecision and acrimony. The clergy did attend a funeral service at the mortuary in the workhouse but did not attend at the graveside.

In August 1874 it was proposed that 'the poor who may die in this house (Workhouse) should receive Christian burial, as the Board has already laid out a large sum of money in erecting a Mortuary Chapel at St. Otteran's for this purpose and also has provided for the decent internment for of the Protestant inmates... that the chaplain should be present at each internment for this house.' It was proposed that Father Nolan be appointed chaplain to St. Otteran's cemetery which was situated in his parish 'subject of course to the approval of our Bishop' and that 'the Rev. Gentleman be paid such sum out of the Burial Board funds as this board may deem reasonable, for each internment at which he may be present."[51]

However by 1878 the matter still had not been finalised and it was again proposed that 'the burial service over Roman Catholic inmates be read in the mortuary chapel of Ballynaneeshagh.'[52]

However the following newspaper report from 1886 shows that all these resolutions had not been acted on. A report from that year outlined the case of a servant of Mr. Joseph Strangman (a local merchant) who was to be buried Ballinaneeshagh. The day was wet and 'when the funeral arrived there no one was to be found to take the coffin, and consequently it had to be left there on the ground for five hours.'[53]

At an acrimonious Board of Guardians meeting the following month (September 1886) accusations and counter accusations went back and forth claiming that much money was being spent by the Guardians on clergy to attend

49 *Ibid.*

50 Register of Burials in the Ballynanesagh Cemetery, http://www.waterfordcouncil.ie/en/Resident/Research,Family,History/Burial,Records/ accessed 1 October 2014.

51 *Waterford Chronicle*, 22 August 1874.

52 *Waterford News*, 24 September 1886.

53 *Waterford News*, 3 September 1886.

burials at Ballynaneashagh with one of the guardians remarking that 'Father Grennan received £160 a year for doing the duties, including the service at Ballynaneeshagh, and that is more than the former clergyman got.' Another of the guardians said that 'he never thought it included attendance at Ballynaneeshagh.'[54] Father Flynn (who attended the meeting on behalf of the Roman Catholic Bishop) was of the opinion that some of the expressions used would be calculated both to offend the clergy and bishop and he stated that the clergy were spoken of in very offensive terms, 'as going in herds and flocks to the funeral of the rich man, whilst not one was to be seen at the funeral of the poor man.'

The absence of clergy attending Ballynaneeshagh also gave rise to other problems. A Board of Guardians member told of an incident, where, 'the hearse driver while going out with a funeral, stopped outside a public house and went in for a couple of drinks. He remained so long within that, the friends of the deceased drew out the coffin and raised the lid to get one last look at the corpse.'[55] That particular meeting descended into chaos and the chairman was forced to adjourn the proceedings.

Church of Ireland portion consecrated

In early February 1875 the Church of Ireland Bishop of Waterford wrote to the Board of Guardians telling of his willingness to consecrate that portion of land allotted to the Anglican community of Waterford. He would consecrate the land provided that, 'the ground is distinctly marked out, and protected from any intrusion, and also, that a chapel is built at the expense of the Union, as has already been done in the Roman Catholic portion.'[56] It was stated at that Board of Guardians meeting that as there were only twelve Church of Ireland inmates in the workhouse, it was not feasible to erect a mortuary chapel for them and indeed 'if each creed or sect had a mortuary chapel they would be become as plentiful as blackberries.'[57] There the matter rested. However, it was also pointed out at that meeting that the twelve Church of Ireland inmates of the workhouse 'all objected to being buried in Ballynaneashagh.'[58] Mr. Conn, a Board of Guardians member said that 'the Protestant inmates had begged him not to bury them in Ballynaneashagh. He had said that, at his own expense he would bury every Protestant who died in the house in the Protestant Cemetery.'[59]

In actual fact Ballynaneashagh did not achieve the popularity it now enjoys until the 1950's. Writing in the 1940s Canon Power stated that Ballygunner Cemetery was 'the chief burial place for the City'[60] It is evident from that statement that Ballynaneashagh even at that late date was still shunned as the paupers graveyard.

54 *Waterford News*, 24 August 1886.
55 *Waterford News*, 8 September 1886.
56 *Waterford Chronicle*, 13 February 1875.
57 *Ibid.*
58 *Ibid.*
59 *Ibid.*
60 Patrick Power, *A Short History of the United Parishes St. John's and Ballygunner*. (Waterford, 1942), p. 21.

Plate 5: *Ballynaneashagh facing towards the north wall. It was in this area which stood the Workhouse plot, the suicide plot, the strangers plot and the plot for unbaptised babies.*

Ballynaneashagh Today

Today Ballynaneashagh is a beautifully kept graveyard, the taint of the workhouse now only a faint memory, designated as it should be to the history books. Gone are the days when those who committed suicide were buried in un-consecrated ground in the 'Suicide Plot'. Similarly the disposal of still born and un-baptised babies left a lot to be desired. While it may shock our 21st century values and sensitivities to learn that those babies were quite literally discarded without the benefit of a religious ceremony or the presence of a priest, it was the culture of a period where infant mortality was high, and Roman Catholic religious teaching told us that these babies would have to go to Limbo, and be absent from the presence of God for an indeterminate period.

To remedy this, local undertaker, John Thompson, in 1976/77, having read of the burial of still born babies in London, decided to dedicate a special a plot in Ballynaneshagh for those babies born in Waterford. He called it the Angels Plot and encouraged the parents of those babies who did not have a plot in St. Otteran's to bury them there. He did a great service to those parents and babies who in former times would have been buried in un-consecrated ground.[61]

The Famine victims buried in St. Otteran's are commemorated with a fabulous granite memorial slab. Indeed the local historian Canon Patrick Power insisted that after his death he was to be buried with the poor people of Waterford and his tombstone stands just outside the door of the mortuary chapel in the graveyard.

Conclusion

One might ask why people refused to be buried in Ballynaneashagh and persist in burying their dead in the ancient city cemeteries when it was illegal to do so. The answer is twofold. Firstly the taint of pauperism was associated with Ballynaneashagh from the outset, and people believed that they too would become paupers by association. Secondly, the taboo of suicides being buried in Ballynaneashagh presented a problem as is evidenced by a remark made at a meeting of the Board of Guardians in February, 1878, when, the 'Poor Law Guardians were told [while discussing Ballynaneashagh] that people would not bury their friends here because a suicide was buried here.'[62] Ballynaneashagh from the outset was plagued by indecision and ineptitude. As one reads the newspapers of the period and the reports from Waterford Corporation, the Sanitary Committee and Grand Jury all seemed to agree on the need to close the old city burial grounds, yet we find some months or indeed years later the closure of the burial grounds is back on the agenda of yet another meeting. It is amazing to find that it took thirteen years from 1847 to 1860 to affect the closure of the city burial grounds, and a further eleven years to close the overcrowded Kilbarry and Kill St. Lawrence burial grounds. Unfortunately the fact that the first burials in Ballynaneesagh were from the workhouse had the effect of instantly stigmatising it, and doomed it to be forever associated with the taint of pauperism. The families of some of those

61 Interview with John Thompson, 4 September 2014.

62 *Waterford News*, 8 February 1878.

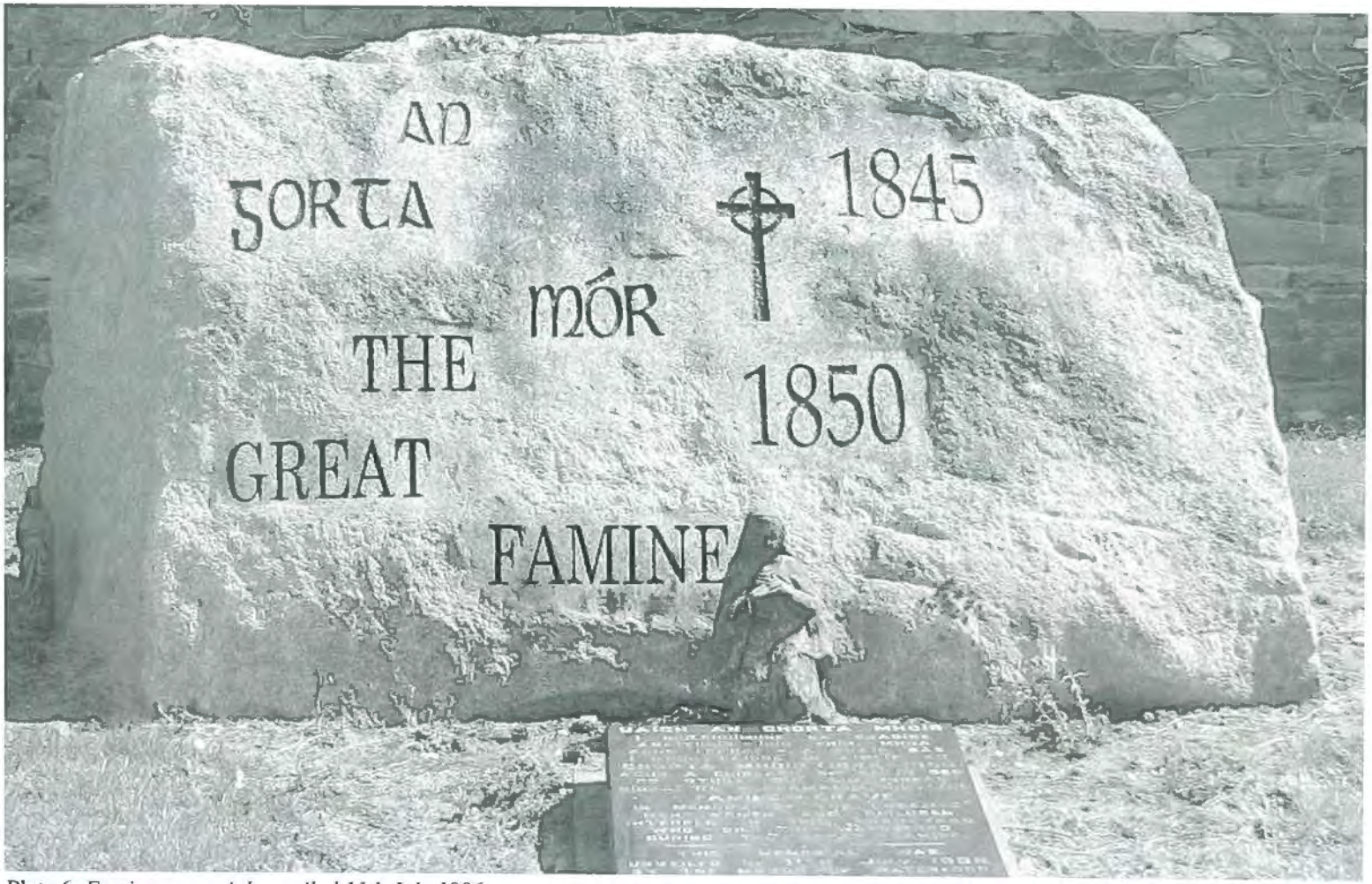


Plate 6: *Famine memorial unveiled 11th July 1996*

buried in Ballynaneesagh, as their financial condition improved, sought to have their loved one exhumed from Ballynaneesagh and interred elsewhere thereby exorcising their pauperism. We find an example of this in 1908, when Martin O'Brien applied for his wife to be 'exhumed from the Workhouse Burial Ground.'[63]

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the plot numbers of Ballynaneashagh were changed several times resulting in the same plot being sold several times. There were often disputes over the ownership of graves as happened in 1895 when a fight broke out in Ballynaneashagh over the ownership of a grave. A letter writer to the local papers who witnessed the fight was so horrified that he suggested, 'clergy should attend at the graveside in order to prevent this type of occurrence.'[64] The implication of this statement is clergy were not in attendance at funerals even at this late period. It seems that the thought of being buried in Ballynaneashagh filled some sections of the community with such revulsion that they were prepared to break the law to avoid it and bury their dead in the closed city cemeteries, as the following newspaper report demonstrates. At a Corporation meeting of May 11th 1880, it was stated that, 'it appears secret burials were taking place in St. Stephen's from the barracks.'[65] It is unlikely that we will ever know the full extent of burials in the ancient city cemeteries.

The taint of pauperism now long gone, the burial ground of St. Otteran's is now a much sought after burial ground. Unfortunately there are no more plots available there and a new burial ground has been opened in nearby Ballybeg. The passage of time was the saviour of St. Otteran's, as time dulled and finally erased the memory of the workhouse and the stigma attached to it.

The fortunes of Ballynaneashagh have now been reversed from the most shunned to arguably the most popular cemetery in Waterford city, which prompted one local wit to quip, 'The locals are dying to be buried there'. Finally in a period even into the late 1940's, when infant mortality was high, and as Appendix 1 shows that, in 1860 the cost of opening a new grave for a child under twelve years of age was six shillings and eight pence. This cost which was prohibitive to most poor families and presented a great impediment to the legal burial of their children. Most of these poor families were constantly on the verge of starvation and simply did not have the financial means to open a new grave which forced some, particularly in the case of still born babies, to find alternative means of disposing of their children's bodies.

63 *Waterford News*, 14 February 1908.
64 *Munster Express*, 30 March 1895.
65 *Waterford News*, 14 May 1880.

Appendix 1

The following were the fees charged for burials in Ballynaneashagh, June 1860.

For Freehold Family Grave Plot, to contain Six grave spaces	£5-5-0
For Freehold Family Plot, to contain Three grave spaces	£3-3-0
For Plot for One Grave, 9 feet by 4 feet	£1-1-0
For Board Fee for each interment of Adults	£0-10-0
For Board Fee for each interment of children under 12 years of age	£0-6-8
For Re-opening Graves of Adults, each	£0-10-0
For Re-opening Graves of Children each	£0-6-8
For right to construct a Vault	£3-3-0
For right to construct a single Brick Grave	£1-1-0
For Right to erect Foot and Head stones Grave	£0-10-6
For Right to erect Tomb and Flat stone Grave	£1-10-0
For right erect Iron Palisade Grave	£1-10-0
For use of Hand Hearse	£0-1-6
For Searching Register of Burials for One Year	£0-1-0
For Searching Register of burials for each additional year	£0-0-6
For Certified Extract	£0-2-6 [66]

66 *Waterford News*, 8 June 1860.

Appendix 2

The following verses are from a rather lengthy poem that appeared in the *Munster Express* of 1891. It had its origin in a suggestion that was made at a meeting of the Burial Board. As a member of the Burial Board, Alderman Redmond was to pass a local gardener's shop, which was owned by a Mr. Power, he was asked to call into Mr. Power and ask him to go to Ballynaneashagh and decorate it with some flowers. 'Alderman Redmond said, the Burial Committee having inspected the church yard and seeing a lot of things to be badly required they directed him as he was to pass Mr. Power's shop on his way home to call there and order Mr. Power to do some work, this he did and was therefore only a messenger'[67] Unfortunately a year later and Mr. Power still not had been paid for his work, and he threatened to take Alderman to court to recover his expenses. Eventually after much embarrassment for Alderman Redmond, the Burial Board paid up.

And amongst all the sights that I witnessed there
Was a graveyard called Peer Le chasyey[68]
Where the graves were all gardens
Of laurels and flowers
And the dead seemed to sleep in them aisey

Then I said to myself there's a graveyard at home
Where no corpse will accept a location
Unless he can't help it, when our Poor Law Board
Plants him there without invitation

But if Ballynaneashagh were decked out with flowers
And laurels and willows and myrtle
There isn't a dead man who wouldn't request
There to lie on his back like a turtle

So one day I called into a few friends on the Board
And I pointed to them the requirement
Of making a flowerbed out of each grave
Where the dead are placed in retirement

I pray you and I when the world we leave
The majority joining the hotter ones
May be laid down to rest in our last peaceful sleep
In the graveyard that's known as St. Otteran's

And May Power set laurels and flowers on our grave
And although it is I here who say it
May he send in his bill for the work that he's done
And accepts that the Guardians will pay it.[69]

67 *Waterford News*, 26 March 1892.
68 A reference to Père Lachaise, the largest cemetery in the city of Paris.
69 *Munster Express*, 18 July 1891.

Before Molly Keane: image and reality in the lives of the nineteenth-century gentry of east Cork and west Waterford[1]

Ian d'Alton

Introit

Historians are always looking for angles. One is that, in all individuals and communities, there are creative three-way tensions between how they are, how they see themselves, and how they are seen by others. These tensions provide the bearings for establishing senses of self- and group identity, coherence and otherness. The French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan has argued that our most cherished beliefs about ourselves are fictions. An Irish resonance is found in John Banville's subversive Big House novel, *Birchwood*, possibly following Wilde: 'We imagine that we remember things as they were, while in fact all we carry into the future are fragments which reconstruct a wholly illusory past'.[2] The purpose of this essay is not to try and demolish the well-proven scholarly analyses of the gentry, but rather to look critically at some of the perceptions, the fictions about them; and to be provocative, by counterpointing aspects of their existence against the image that they presented to the world and to themselves.

The area

The physical space covered in this analysis is the broadest possible definition of the Blackwater river catchment, a sort of triangular area with its corners at Mitchelstown, Dungarvan and Cloyne. Dervla Murphy has lyrically described this land: 'Everything is congenial: every curve of the hills and valleys, every bend of the rivers and streams, every distinctive seasonal scent of fields and woods.'[3] This is the former east riding of Cork[4] and, in Waterford, '...the prosperous Coshmore & Coshbride barony, with its planned landlord economy and estate towns of

1 This essay is based upon a paper delivered to a conference *Youghal celebrates history:* 'Explosive substances': politics and culture in the nineteenth century, 24 September 2011.

2 J. Banville, *Birchwood* (London, 1984), p. 12. See also Ian d'Alton, 'Remembering the future, imagining the past: how southern Irish Protestants survived', in F. M. Larkin (ed.), *Librarians, poets, and scholars: a festschrift for Donall Ó Luanaigh* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 212-30.

3 D. Murphy 'Swept away on my own river of life', *The Irish Times*, 8 Aug. 2011, p. 11.

4 The baronies of Barrymore, Kinnataloon, Condons & Clangibbon and Imokilly.

Lismore, Tallow and Cappoquin'[5] as well as the somewhat less rich Decies-within-Drum. These lands were owned and inhabited by Smith Barrys, Burke Roches, Penrose Fitzgeralds, Brodricks, Kings, Longfields, Usshers, Ponsonbys, Gardes and Ryes; Cavendishes, Villiers Stuarts, Musgraves, Nugents, Keanes, Chearnleys, Fuges; Sherlocks and Powers; Bagges and Bowles.

This is, these are, the gentry. The historian G. C. Bolton gave a serious hostage to fortune when, in 1983, he proclaimed that '...the role of the Anglo-Irish is a question which needs no further attention as such.'[6] As it turned out, he was spectacularly wrong. Almost as soon as these words hit the page appeared a stream of histories, literary interpretations and heavyweight economic and statistical analyses of the Anglo-Irish landed gentry and aristocracy. The freshness of four, in particular, resonates with my theme, and they provide source, inspiration and illustration for this piece. Mark Bence-Jones's *Twilight of the Ascendancy*, published thirty-four years ago, is a baroque chronicle of eccentricity. W. J. McCormack's *Ascendancy and tradition in Anglo-Irish literary history from 1789 to 1939* sets the juices flowing, and the mind racing. Jacqueline Genet's edited volume, now over twenty years old, The Big House in Ireland – reality and representation, was rather short on reality – forty-six pages – and long on representation – 246 pages, but nonetheless thought-provoking for all that. Terence Dooley's 2001 book *The decline of the Big House in Ireland* is a serious, sober, analytical work, grounded on much detailed research.

The economic reality

It suited agitators to represent the landed gentry as a monolithic bloc, rapacious and ruthless, overwhelmingly Protestant and often significantly absent, in mind as well as body. The acceptance of such was vital to a larger political purpose - and, indeed, it was hugely successful. Not only Irish-America, but significant swathes of liberal England, bought it. And in it were large elements of truth. But it skated over a couple of things. For one, the landed economy was somewhat more than Cromwellian land-grabbers; there were significant institutional outliers - corporate estates held by such as the London guilds, the Church of Ireland, Trinity College, the railway companies; and, closer to home, Waterford Corporation, the College of Physicians and the trustees of Waterford College.[7] For another, while the largest estates were substantially Protestant-owned,[8] there was a sub-class of Catholic

6 G. C. Bolton, 'The Anglo-Irish and the Historians', in O. McDonagh, W. Mandle and P. Travers (eds), *Culture and Nationalism in Ireland 1750-1950* (Canberra, 1983), p. 254.

7 L. Proudfoot, 'The estate system in mid-nineteenth century Waterford', in Nolan & Power, *Waterford history and society*, p. 521.

8 As Bill Vaughan points out, nearly half the country was comprised of estates each of 5,000 acres and upwards, which were owned by only 700 landlords – W. Vaughan, *Landlords and tenants in mid-Victorian Ireland*, (Oxford, 1994), p. 6. See also *idem*, 'An assessment of the economic performance of Irish landlords, 1851-81', in F. S. L. Lyons and R .A. J. Hawkins, *Ireland under the Union – varieties of tension: essays in honour of T. W. Moody*, (Oxford, 1980), pp. 173-99.

landowners, but of mainly small estates - the 1861 Census of occupations by religion throws up the intriguing statistic that fully 40% of landed proprietors in Ireland were Catholic, but holding only about 20% of the acreage.[9] Again, Protestant tenantry in southern Ireland is a little thin on the ground; but it existed. Furthermore, Cork and Waterford landowners as a whole weren't particularly prosperous; very few would have satisfied Richard Griffith's 1844 definition of a great landowner – 'A gentleman with from 6,000 to 10,000 acres of good arable land'. John Bateman's 1883 definition was those with over 3,000 acres and £3,000 valuation; twelve landowners in this area of Waterford, for instance, fall into that category. Unwise family settlements and the Famine, followed in smart order by the Encumbered Estates Court, picked off many gentry families by mid-century. Rapaciousness and ruthlessness were the consequences of inefficiency and incompetence, not the reverse, summed up in the landlords failing to keep rents in line with rising prosperity in the 1850s and 1860s, and thus experiencing all the more heavy a fall-out in the 1870s when times got bad again.[10] At one end of the spectrum was such as Lord Midleton whose incompetent agent Thomas Poole allowed arrears of £70,000 to accumulate between 1806 and 1838.[11] At the other was such as Arthur Hugh Smith Barry of Fota who substantially improved his Cork and Tipperary estates between 1870 and 1890. We shall meet him again.

Fragmentation and complexity

Mapping the gentry's houses and estates in this area there are two concentrations; one in a relatively narrow line from Midleton to Youghal, the other in the Blackwater and Bride river valleys.[12] The distribution of these houses is largely coincident with geographical comforts (for instance, sparse in the mountainous northern parts of the area and in the Drum Hills). Under the microscope, landed society appears much fragmented and its interrelationships quite complex.[13] The coastal area of west Waterford demonstrates, in microcosm, that complexity. Here are some[14] seventeen Big, or Biggish, Houses. But many do not represent the principal residences of landed estates. Why they do not show up as such is that a

9 From D. Akenson, *Small differences*, p. 162, Appendix F, and Proudfoot, 'Estate system', p. 519.

10 See G. Birmingham, *The bad times* (4th ed., London, 1914), p. 40; also W. Vaughan, 'An assessment of the economic performance of Irish landlords, 1851-81', in F.S.L. Lyons and R.A.J. Hawkins, *Ireland under the Union – varieties of tension: essays in honour of T.W. Moody*, (Oxford, 1980), 173-199.

11 J. Donnelly, jr, *The land the people of nineteenth century Cork*, (London, 1975), pp. 173-4.

12 Also confirmed in Proudfoot, 'Estate system', p. 524 and by J. Burtchaell, 'A typography of settlement and society in county Waterford, *c*.1850', in Nolan & Power, *Waterford history and society*, p. 551.

13 T. Dooley, *The Big Houses and Landed Estates of Ireland. A Research Guide* (Dublin, 2007), p. 97; Proudfoot, 'Estate system', p. 521.

14 See http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie:8080/LandedEstates/jsp/map.jsp (accessed 17 July 2011).

significant number were held on lease from larger estates such as Villiers Stuart, Fuge and Paul. It can get even more entangled – for instance, Clashanahy, on the coast east of Youghal, was a house held on lease in 1851 by Sir Richard Musgrave, himself a large landowner to the north, from the de Decies estate. Glenwilliam, just south of the modern N25, was leased by Richard Fuge to a Catholic cleric; while the same Fuge himself was leasing a house, Glencorran, from the Villiers Stuart estate – all this showing that care must be taken in defining economic and social relationships within and between the gentry families.

This introduces an important observation – the extent of change and mobility within the gentry classes over the nineteenth century. That change can be tracked through several useful lists. Four such are Samuel Lewis's 1837 *Topographical Dictionary*, Griffith's Valuation of 1848-51, John Bateman's *Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, published in 1883 and Walford's *County Families of the United Kingdom*, the self-proclaimed 'social bible' of the upper ten thousand, published in most years from 1860. In addition to these sporadic snapshots, lists of deputy lieutenancies, chairmen of petty sessions, magistrates, high sheriffs, grand juries, and boards of guardians provide continuous cross-referencing on who was in, and who was out. Finally, social status can also be gauged by memberships of synods, select vestries, charities, learned societies, and the like. Taking these sources together, and within a long secular decline - in 1884, Waterford had eighty-one county families; by 1918, fifty-three – we find significant 'churn' in the families that made up county society. In west Waterford, for instance, of recognised county families in the 1850s only a little over one-third of these appear to have still been there in 1918. What one might expect is true; the bigger landlords – Devonshire, Villiers Stuart, Keane, Musgrave, Bagge, Chearnley and Smyth – had the best survival rate.[15] This micro-study - making no claim to be representative, either in space or time - suggests that gentry society may have been a great deal more like Washington's celebrated axe, over time, than is generally recognised.

The Big House

Where, then, can we find the essence of gentryness if landed families are more ephemeral than they appeared to be? Seeking a sturdy reality, a potent image, it must surely be the Big House. It is Molly Keane's Aragon - Dromana with a dash of Lismore Castle:

> Aragon stood high above a tidal river. So high and so near that there was only a narrow kind of garden between house and water. It was almost a hanging garden: as Spanish as the strange name

15 The Griffith statistics, which are of estates of over £500 valuation, are in Proudfoot, 'Estate system', pp. 534-5, fig. 20.2. Theo Hoppen has postulated that up to a quarter of estate-owned lands changed hands as a result of the operations of the encumbered estate and land courts, even if a significant proportion of such land was bought up by more solvent existing landlords – K. T. Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800: conflict and conformity* (London, 1999), 87. A cursory glance would indicate that only eleven families out of thirty-four identified in the period 1837-1919 stayed the course.

> Aragon...Beauty so correct and satisfactory since then there has never been; nor so much dignity with so little heaviness...It was the quietest, most solemn garden. The parliaments of rooks in the woods below, only an echo here, a ring for the circle of the quiet.

Over the course of the nineteenth century the house grows ever more important, as the gentry withdraw from time to place in a troubled search for identity. Usually regarding Ireland as, in Joseph Hone's words 'a country, rather than as a nation,'[16] the gentry increasingly 'turned to geography in the attempt at patriotization'.[17] Largely centred on the Big House, this was a congenial route for them. As a social elite, by-and-large they relished the exclusivity and otherness that it represented. The houses played their part as the outward and visible material sign of the inward and spiritual social grace. Big Houses might be big – but they could be, and were, trumped by Great Houses. Kings and Keanes were on different levels – the latter's Cappoquin is Big; but it is not the Kingston's Mitchelstown: by the same token, the Chearnley's very fine Salterbridge does not really measure up to the grandeur of nearby Lismore Castle.[18] Evidenced by the spate of building and rebuilding that took place after the Famine, and the grief of the owners' families following its loss during and after the Troubles it is not an exaggeration to say that many of the Anglo-Irish had a passionate love-affair with the Big House. Examples are Lady Gregory's profound attachment to Coole, the Leslie's love affair with Glaslough, Edith Somerville's embrace of Castletownshend and Elizabeth Bowen's desperate quest to keep Bowen's Court going.

Nevertheless, it was not always a wanted identity.[19] Yeats's 'passion and precision' came with a price. Prisoners of their futures, the gentry's relationship with their houses was not universally benign.[20] That uneasiness seeps out from the literary, like damp in a wall. The heroine of Lennox Robinson's 1926 play *The Big House* - in a mirror image of a Sinn Féiner's declaration of fealty to Ireland - may have fiercely claimed her Big House as her life, her faith, her country.[21] But the owner, her father, had other ideas: one smoking ruin slumped in the midst of

16 J. M. Hone, 'Five Strains', *The Bell* 2:6 (September 1941), p. 26.

17 D. Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, (Dublin, 1996), p. 107.

18 The relative prosperity of post-Famine Ireland, as Terence Dooley has pointed out, ushered in a period of embellishment rather than new building: *Big House*, p. 42.

19 As the historian Oliver MacDonagh maintained, 'the physical precincts were . . . central to identity' - O. MacDonagh, *States of mind: a study of the Anglo-Irish conflict, 1780-1980* (London, 1983), p. 28.

20 In *Bowen's Court*, her family memoir, Elizabeth was explicit in this, the contrast between the '...intense centripetal life' of the demesne, and the 'plastic emptiness...' of the country around it, always conscious that they are, in Gearoid Cronin's perceptive phrase, in '...a place of isolation, exclusion and enclosure...'- E. Bowen, *Bowen's Court & Seven Winters*, (London, 1984), pp. 14, 20; G. Cronin, 'The Big House and the Irish landscape in the work of Elizabeth Bowen', in J. Genet (ed.) *The Big House in Ireland ; reality and representation*, (Dingle, 1991), p. 146; L. Fleming, *Head or Harp*, (London, 1965), pp. 17, 36.

21 Robinson's play was written in 1925-26. See C. Murray (ed.), *Selected plays of Lennox Robinson*, (Gerrards Cross, 1982), pp. 16, 192, 197 [*The Big House*].

another, he recognizes that his house was moribund long before it was burnt down: 'I'm just damned glad it's all over and there's no reason to make an effort any more.'[22] Likewise, the wreck of the Major in Jennifer Johnston's novel *The Gates* could only rail against his Big House: 'I hate it. I've always hated it'.[23] Anything but a home of rest and refreshment, Michael Davitt's poem *Third Draft of a Dream* brilliantly evokes the house as gaoler as well as gaol:-

> The door, that shadowy door
> Closes. And the mind is closed.
> A disembodied eye
> Roves through the big house...[24]

The house gobbles up resources, material and spiritual. It is the tyrannous invalid aunt forever banging on the bedroom floor for attention; the spoilt, demanding child always looking for sweets; the complacent, too-visible sentry in a hostile territory. But if the Big Houses did not live forever, another popular misconception is to associate their ends exclusively with the period around 1921. Like the families who lived in them, there's a continuous 'wash out' through the nineteenth century, for all sorts of reasons. As an extreme instance, Cappagh House, in Decies-within-Drum, no longer exists –it indeed was washed away, by an apolitical sea. Accidental immolation, particularly, was a constant threat – the NUI Galway database records seventy-six Big House fires in Munster and Connacht, most accidental, it seems, from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, two prominent examples of which in our area are D'Loughtane in Waterford, and Lota, just west of Cork City. And it is noticeable that fire as image is tailor-made for the fiction of the Anglo-Irish Big House and the resolution of plot, from Somerville & Ross's *Big House of Inver* through Elizabeth Bowen's *The Last September* to J. G. Farrell's *Troubles*. In Robert Tobin's words, it led to 'the readiness with which many Protestant writers have embraced, or at least acquiesced in, the imagery and language of extinction'.[25]

Social life

This leads on to obvious questions. How did the gentry see themselves? What, in fact, were they for? Shane Leslie, for one, was in no doubt – pleasure. 'Country

Previously performed in 1936, it was revived by the Abbey Theatre (producer, Conall Morrison) in a run from July to September 2007. The house, anthropomorphized by the likes of Elizabeth Bowen, was proxy for establishing an appropriate place in the social pecking-order - E. Bowen, 'The Big House' [1942], in *Collected Impressions* (London, 1950), p. 196.

22 But, 'saturated with character' as Bowen put it, some houses policed their inhabitants with what often seemed like a baleful watchfulness.

23 J. Johnston, *The Gates*, (London, 1974), p. 172.

24 M. Davitt, 'Third draft of a dream' (trans. P. Muldoon) in Tim Pat Coogan (ed.) *A special issue of Literary Review Ireland and the Arts*, (London, 1982), pp. 161-3.

25 R. Tobin, 'Tracing again the tiny snail track: southern Protestant memoir since 1950', in *The yearbook of English studies* 35:1 (January 2005), p. 172.

life' he averred 'was entirely organised to give nobility and gentry and demi-gentry a good time'.[26] In this reading, the women had parties, visits and gossip. The men had horses, foxes, guns, cards - and women.[27] Such a world involved a great deal of class- and gender-consciousness, in which 'family trees were meticulously composed.'[28] Hermione Lee characterizes gentry society as one in which 'grandeur has become snobbery, fanaticism has dwindled to eccentricity'.[29] It really counted whether one was a deputy lieutenant, or a poor law guardian, or a grand juror, or a magistrate. These Lilliputian gradations, unimportant and often nearly invisible to outsiders, were significant to insiders, and were often the cause of much social friction in this tiny world. It mattered to the earl of Listowel that the Prince of Wales visited his house Convamore in 1885.[30] It equally mattered to the earl of Kingston that George IV didn't turn up to his lavish and costly castle at Mitchelstown.[31] (Incidentally, both houses were burnt in the early 1920s. Convamore was the first to go, in 1921. There were no human casualties, unless

26 T. Dooley, *The decline of the Big House in Ireland*, (Dublin, 2001), p. 44.

27 See the description of Owen Fitzgerald's bachelor life in Anthony Trollope's 'Cork' novel, *Castle Richmond* (3 vols, London, New York, 1979), I, pp. 12-13 and 27-8.

28 L. Fleming, *Head or Harp*, (London, 1965), p. 17.

29 H. Lee, *Elizabeth Bowen* (London, 1999), p. 20.

30 'On April 17th 1885, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales and Prince Albert Victor, accompanied by the Earl and Countess of Listowel, the Marquis of Ormond, Lord and Lady Lismore, paid a short visit to Lord Waterford at Curraghmore. The one thing that was commented on generally was the all but total absence of the farming classes at Kilmeadan, along the road to Portlaw and Curraghmore. The only men of this class were some dozen who stood in a field some distance from Kilmeadan with a black banner on which the words "Evicted tenants - Will the Prince reinstate them?" were printed. At Kilmeadan Railway Station extensive preparation had been made for the Royal Reception. The Station was decorated with flags, flower, festoons and garlands and a large awning was erected at a point where it was arranged that the Royals would alight. There were a large number of soldiers and police present. There were up to two hundred people on the platform of the station. There was a military escort in waiting consisting of a squadron of the 21st Hussars under Captain Montague, a detachment of Waterford Artillery under Captain Cuffe and a large force of Police under County Inspector Owen, and District Inspectors Milling and Higgins. Mr. Connington, the Station Master had everything in admirable order. A large crowd of local people greeted the Royals in respectful silence on the railway bridge. The Royal party were taken to Curraghmore in Lord Waterford's carriage, drawn by two grey horses' - *Waterford News*, 19 April 1885. See also http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_family/hist_family_dacres.html (accessed 21 August 2011) for a description of a more hostile reception given to the Prince in Cork city.

31 A. L. King-Harman, *The Kings of King House*, (Bedford, pr. pr. 1996), pp. 32-3; B. Power, *White Knights, Dark Earls: The rise and fall of an Anglo-Irish dynasty*, (Cork, 2000), 74.5; J. O'Brien & D. Guinness, *Great Irish Houses and Castles* (London, 1992), pp. 131.

one counts Mrs Wrixon-Becher's false teeth.[32] The Castle followed, in 1922, a victim of the Civil War.)

But what about the business side of gentry life, namely, responsibility for overseeing the earning power of the estate? Sooner or later the bills arising from maintaining this luxurious lifestyle had to be paid; and many landlords lost sleep over how they and their heirs were going to make ends meet with a shrinking and uncertain rental. While Bill Vaughan has shown up the incompetence of many landowners, nevertheless a goodly number took their 'stewardship' of the property as 'life custodians' seriously and went over the books every year with their agents and accountants, keeping an eye on rent receipts and debt burdens. And the women played their part, in managing servants and the domestic economy. An example in west Cork was Edith Somerville, who did both. Careful management was especially necessary after the post-1879 depression and outbreak of the land agitation, in order to ensure that creditors could be kept at bay.

The gentry, as a class, may be collapsing into an increasingly interior life as the end of the century approaches, a variant of Terence Brown's '...drug-dull fatalism...'[33] But there are still some institutions and activities which provide external purpose. The Church of Ireland after disestablishment is a case in point. The gentry took to the new governance, national and parochial, with some enthusiasm.[34] Fanciful maybe, but can this be represented as the Church of Ireland's own 'Home Rule' moment, with its general synod and legislative structures aping the imperial parliament at Westminster? It is argued that Isaac Butt's Home Government Association, the forerunner of Parnell's Home Rule movement, was built on and peopled by, those who had begun to appreciate expanded political horizons through their involvement with the new church situation.

32 See *The Times*, 29 October 1921: '£85,000 COMPENSATION - Lord Listowel's burnt mansion: At Fermoy Sessions yesterday £150,000 was claimed for Lord Listowel for the destruction of his mansion, Convamore, Ballyhooly. His solicitor submitted to the Court a typewritten document addressed to Lord Listowel from "Headquarters, Cork, No. 2 Brigade," saying "On Wednesday, the 13th instant, the enemy bombed and destroyed six houses of Republicans as reprisals for IRA activities on the 10th instant. You being an aggressively anti-Irish person and your residence being in the Battalion area of enemy reprisals, I have hereby ordered that the same be destroyed as part of our counter-reprisals, - Commandant.' The Recorder awarded £85,202, including £55,319 for the mansion, £21,234 for the furniture, and £7,430 for pictures.

33 T. Brown, *Ireland, a social and cultural history, 1922-2002*, (London, 2004), p. 133. See also Mrs Henneker on Ireland, in Elizabeth Bowen's short story, 'The Back Drawing Room': 'One lives a dream there, a dream oppressed and shifting' - E. Bowen, 'The Back Drawing Room', in *The Collected Stories of Elizabeth Bowen*, (New Jersey, 1981), p. 203. Iris Murdoch saw 1950s Ireland as 'something of a dream country where everything happens with a difference' - P. Conradi, *Iris Murdoch: A life*, (London, 2001), p. 447.

34 For instance, of the ten lay members of the Standing Committee of the Diocesan Synod of Cork, Cloyne and Ross which first met on 23 November 1869, at least eight were of the gentry class – C. Webster, *The Diocese of Cork*, (Cork, 1920), pp. 357-9.

In the same vein was politics. Take Waterford, for instance. From 1830 to 1867, tories and liberals carved up the county between them. Three great landowners dominated - the tory Beresfords (the marquesses of Waterford) in the east and the whig-liberal dukes of Devonshire and Villiers Stuarts in the west. Satellite moons – Talbots, Musgraves, Carews, Nugents, Barrons, Keanes and the like – circulated these great bodies. Actual written election compromises appear to have existed in the majority of elections from 1830 to 1866, helped by the fact that the county returned two MPs to Westminster. In 1867, the pact came to an acrimonious end[35] - just, as it happened, on the cusp of a reinvigorated Home Rule movement. Quick off the mark as always, it took nearly ten years for the gentry interest to recognise the danger, when, at a by-election in 1877, the marquess of Waterford formally joined with the duke of Devonshire in promoting a joint liberal candidate against the home rule nominee. But by then it was too late. (It didn't help that, at the by-election, that candidate was a Mr Lehmann, a rather fruity London type, with a name unmercifully ripe for puns.[36])

Politics as a mishmash of spectator sport and social existence emerges in the Primrose League, founded in memory of Disraeli, and which came to Ireland in 1884. A gallimaufry of the best and worst of the Freemasons, Knights Templar and the Orange Order, it had badges, titles and rituals to beat the band, its bright baubles designed, in Britain, to appeal to the working-class. By complete contrast, in southern Ireland it was almost exclusively the gentry's preserve, with Big House meetings served by such as special train excursions. At its height, the league in Cork county had close to 4,000 members in the 1890s – the North-East Habitation had 583 on its books in June 1898.[37] Early on, women had their own organisation within the league. The first Ladies' Grand Council, based in London, had no less than two Waterford grandees on it, Lady Charles Beresford and the dowager marchioness of Waterford. While this was 'tea-and-cakes' unionism, it had its serious side too. Primrose League 'dames' were out in force to support evictions on the Ponsonby estate in April 1890.[38] Ultimately the League bolstered morale and enabled the gentry, in compensation for their diminishing role in Ireland, to reinvent themselves as part of a larger imperial project.

Morale was important; but practical politics was still a serious business. I mention just two elections, both in Cork county. The first is in 1867, where we meet a young Arthur Hugh Smith Barry, later notorious as the scourge of the Plan of Campaign and New Tipperary in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Elected unopposed at a by-election, it is perhaps surprising to learn, in view of his later shenanigans, that he stood as a Gladstonian Liberal, in favour of Irish Church disestablishment, denominational education, and an extension of the franchise '...as will include all that is really intelligent amongst the working classes'.[39]

35 E. Broderick, *Waterford's Anglicans: Religion and politics, 1819-1872* (Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 321-4.

36 'Election results for Munster' (MS in possession of Ian d'Alton), p. 141.

37 *Cork Constitution*, 9 June 1898.

38 L. Perry Curtis jr, *The depiction of evictions in Ireland 1845-1910* (Dublin, 2011), 182.

39 *Ibid*, 46.

The other contest is that for the new division of Cork East in 1885. The recently-formed unionist umbrella body, the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, decided, very unwisely as it turned out, to contest fifty-two seats in southern Ireland at the general election. It was wholly humiliated in fifty, explicitly demonstrating the numerical weakness of unionism.[40] The union's candidate for Cork East was Henry Villiers Stuart. He had been an MP, briefly, in 1873-74, for Waterford county and, while not endorsed by Butt's Home Government Association, was in favour of 'an extension of the principle of self-government within the limits compatible with the integrity of the Empire'.[41] He did not stand in 1874, but was returned in 1880 for the county, as a liberal with a vague tinge of home rule. By 1885, while the Land League's excesses had somewhat diluted his national leanings, his candidature was, to put it mildly, slightly off-standard for the ILPU. Billed as the 'Loyalist and Labour candidate', his main plank, with tenant purchase, was as an advocate for the rights of agricultural labourers – a somewhat curious position for a major landlord in west Waterford, with over 30,000 acres.[42] A landlord-labour alliance against the grasping gombeen men and tenant farmers, while seeming rather bizarre, perhaps reflecting Villiers Stuart's own unlikely life, described in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* as MP, clergyman, and Eygptologist,[43] and death - he drowned in a freak boating accident on the Blackwater in 1895.[44]

The narrative

Villiers Stuart's championing of agricultural labourers offers a glimpse of something other than Shane Leslie's 'pleasure principle'. Here, perhaps, is an element of moral purpose that is just a little more than *noblesse oblige*. Here was a reason

40 In eight Cork constituencies, for instance, loyalist candidates amassed a total of 3,136 votes, against more than ten times that number for the nationalists – see Brian Walker (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801–1922*, (Dublin, 1978), pp. 130–6; I. d'Alton, 'Cork unionism: its role in parliamentary and local elections, 1885–1914', in *Studia Hibernica* 15 (1975), p. 149. A.H. Smith Barry (South Huntingdonshire 1886-1900), R.U. Penrose-Fitzgerald (Cambridge City 1885-1906) and J.R.B. Pretyman-Newman (Enfield 1910-18, Finchley 1918-23) represented Cork Unionists, variously, between 1886 and 1918. Only right at the end of the Union was there one final throw of the national Unionist die, when Cork loyalists attempted to exploit the nationalist/Sinn Féin split at the 1918 general election – Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results*, p. 187. The Unionists received 2,400 votes, compared to 7,300 for the Nationalists, and 20,000 for Sinn Féin.

41 Curtis, *Depiction of evictions*, 139.

42 *Cork Constitution*, 2 December 1885.

43 David Murphy, 'Stuart, Henry Windsor Villiers', in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (Cambridge, 2009), vol. 9, pp. 136-7; Ian d'Alton, 'A "first voice": Henry Villiers Stuart (1827-95) and the cause of the Irish agricultural labourers', in B. Casey (ed.), *Defying the law of the land: Agrarian radicals in Irish history*, (Dublin, 2013), pp. 164-75.

44 As did Lord Waterford, in 1911 – see http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F0091EF83E5D13728DDDAA0894DA415B818DF1D3 (accessed 15 July 2011).

for being, a place in the narrative, indeed a narrative itself.[45] We see it in the activities of the ladies bountiful of the Big House. Some gentry wives and daughters, such as the countess of Desart, the Gore-Booth ladies, and some of Plunkett's and Æ's [George Russell's] female friends, who answered Sir Horace Plunkett's call to duty in his *Noblesse Oblige* (1908) gave charitable help to poor widows and ragged children while promoting cottage industries on the estate.

Was it mere duty, though, that informed the gentry's attitude towards local government reform in 1899? Their control of local administration had come to an abrupt end with the abolition of the grand juries. It seemed impossible that any ex-grand juror would have a snowball's chance in hell in the first local government elections. It seemed implausible that the conservative minister Gerald Balfour's call for 'the natural leaders of the people' to stand in the first local government elections[46] would be heeded. Yet, in Cork county, for instance, nine divisions were contested by gentry unionist candidates. With a Protestant electorate of little more than 10% - a natural base - their average vote was 17%, with four exceeding 25%, despite considerable nationalist and priestly opposition. Unionists did even better in UDC and RDC elections, winning a number of seats. And though no unionist won a county council seat in Cork, and only three in Waterford, it was not a bad result; it is notable, though, that it was obtained by considerable evasiveness towards home rule and a relentless focus on contemporary practical and material issues – land purchase, old-age pensions, free libraries, village hospitals, a Catholic university and the like.[47]

It raises the intriguing possibility of what might have been, if the gentry had grasped the Home Rule nettle. One commentator in 1890 looked for purpose: 'The landlords...could remain in the country for the discharge of other and more useful functions, national and municipal, than they have ever performed as the "English Garrison"....'. That commentator was Michael Davitt.[48] Sydney Brookes, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* as late as 1908, suggested that 'As an alien caste, they have conspicuously failed; as a native aristocracy it is still possible for them to succeed.'[49]

45 E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (London, 1993), p. xiii.

46 *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th series, vol. 53 (21 Feb. 1898), 1248.

47 Ian d'Alton, 'Cork Unionism: its role in parliamentary and local elections, 1885-1914', *Studia Hibernica*, no. 15 (1975), 153-7. Shannon, *Arthur J. Balfour and Ireland*, 99-106, paints a high-level, and thus much more pessimistic, picture of unionist participation, but does not deal with the more positive elements at the micro-level. Of 485 council seats in the three southern provinces, only twenty-nine (6%) were won by unionists. Results for UDC/RDC and town councils were more favourable for unionists.

48 M. Davitt, 'Retiring the landlord garrison', *Nineteenth Century*, XXVII (May 1890), p. 794.

49 S. Brookes, 'The last chance of the Irish gentry', *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXIII, (2 March 1908), p. 405. Brooks (1872–1937) was a British author and critic. See also, J.P. Mahaffy, 'The Romanization of Ireland', *Nineteenth Century*, L, (July 1901), pp. 33-4.

Thus, despite everything, elements of engagement and empathy are not entirely absent. There is no gainsaying the gulf, of course; apart from an alienating sectarian chasm the gentry, as magistrates, were always sitting in judgment on the people. But it is well to remember that the greatest hatreds often derive from, and feed on, Freud's 'narcissism of small differences'.[50] There are more unspoken commonalities than perhaps is generally recognised. If many landlords saw their tenants as dim, feckless, devious wastrels, this was almost exactly reciprocated. To take one very prosaic example: drinking to excess was something both the gentry and their tenantry could understand. Lady Charlotte Smith Barry, writing of Fota in the early nineteenth century, describes 'the great quantity of wine that was consumed there, the big decanter which holds nine bottles... being refilled many times, the door having previously been locked and the key thrown out of the window.'[51]

Who now reads Terence McGrath? His entry in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* describes him as a 'clear, vigorous, observant and humorous writer'.[52] 'Terence McGrath' was the pseudonym of Sir Henry Blake, sometime Resident Magistrate in Tuam and later Governor of Hong Kong. He published a book entitled *Pictures from Ireland* in 1880 and, from 1907, lived at Myrtle Grove, the Tudor manor house near Youghal.[53]

Blake is worth reading - if only once. Drawing on his experiences as a magistrate, and with obviously a considerable command of the economic minutiae of Irish life at the time, in *Pictures from Ireland* he empathetically observes such stereotypes as 'A land jobber', 'The tenant's friend', 'An absentee's agent', 'A dispensary doctor', 'A "gombeen" man', and so on. One essay, 'A landlord of the old school', is probably closest to how Blake thought the gentry saw themselves at the start of the Home Rule agitation. 'To the Irish landlord the year 1879 will present itself in time' he wrote presciently, 'as one of the saddest in his history. In 1848 when famine decimated the people, the bonds of sympathy still existed between them and their landlords...the tenants have themselves cut the cord of sympathy with the landlords, and turned upon them with a savage vituperation as undeserved as it was unexpected'. Marx identified - in what he called the 'imperialism of the peasant class'[54] - a mechanism by which peer and peasant could claim common interests. While this might have worked in revolutionary France, though, it didn't resonate in Ireland. A lethal combination of the shopkeeperate and sacerdotal stood

50 Bowen, *Bowen's Court* and *Seven Winters*, pp. 259, 436; M. Bence-Jones, *Twilight of the Ascendancy*, (London, 1987); D. Akenson, *Small differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1825–1922*, (Quebec, 1988), p. 149, using the term from S. Freud, 'The taboo of virginity' (1917).

51 O'Brien & Guinness, *Great Irish Houses*, p. 195.

52 'Blake, Sir Henry Arthur' (by Richard Hawkins), *DIB*, vol. I, 583-4.

53 Incidentally, its history encapsulates the mobility of gentry and crypto-gentry families, as it had many owners, such as the Haymans, Faunts and Pims in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1837 Lewis writes that it was inhabited by a Colonel Faunt. In 1870, it was put up for sale by Joseph W. Pim.

54 The Marx quote is from *Eighteenth Brumaire*. See Corey Robin, 'The war on tax', in *London Review of Books*, vol. 33, no. 16 (25 Aug. 2011), p. 8.

between them. The gentry were intensely suspicious of the towns and downright hostile towards the priests. Blake reflects this in his portrait of the landlord as having 'With the inherited instincts of his class...a firm belief in the moral inferiority of the Roman Catholic people [note – not the moral superiority of Protestants]...' 'The parish priest is considered by the landlord...in his secret heart as a dangerous viper to whom all the troubles of the country can be traced'.[55]

The paradox remains, of course. Independent Ireland - in the tory Arthur Balfour's self-satisfied phrase, the 'Ireland that we made'[56] - was indeed landed and conservative; but not in the sense that would have tolerated the likes of Smith Barry and Villiers Stuart as its leaders.

Three nineteenth-century novels loosely associated with Cork and Waterford lend credence to Roy Foster's contention that 'nationalist and unionist Ireland confronted each other . . . from positions of monolithic security; competition was unnecessary.'[57] One is Anthony Trollope's *Castle Richmond*, published in 1860, and set recognisably just west of Mallow. It has its moments as a rather poignant Famine novel;[58] but for our purposes its interest lies in its emphasis, which is a cats'-cradle of gentry love-stories. It speaks to a self-contained, selfish and self-important world where even information is sectarianised. Trollope writing - in this case, trivia about yet another broken Ascendancy engagement - of the rector's spouse '...jealous that a Roman Catholic priest should have heard such completely Protestant news before the Protestant parson and his wife.'[59]

By the end of the century, popular fiction was ploughing a somewhat different furrow. The newly-educated Catholic classes were uninterested in 'Protestant news': they wanted stories about their own. *Ballybeg Junction*, a comic piece written by Waterford-born author Edmund Downey in 1895 recreates a town, possibly based on Dungarvan, in which virtually all the characters, in direct opposition to Trollope, are of the Celtic genre. W. P. Ryan described Downey in 1894 as 'one of the most Irish of our recent writers';[60] and, in *Ballybeg Junction*, there's not a horsewhipping, choleric, port-crippled member of the gentry to be seen. Interestingly, any aliens are represented by English intruders. If the Protestant Lionel Fleming suggested that in west Cork before the First World War 'Nothing counted for about three miles on any side of us, because there were no Protestants until then',[61] here is the Catholic counterblast, in which the Irish gentry had in turn

55 T. McGrath, *Pictures from Ireland* (London, 1880), pp. 1-3.

56 Blanche Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour 1848-1905 first earl of Balfour K.G., O.M., F.R.S.* (London, 1939), vol. 2, 392; also Catherine Shannon, *Arthur J. Balfour and Ireland 1874-1922* (Washington, 1988), p. 281.

57 R. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 434.

58 Roy Foster, in a striking analysis of the novel, sees it as 'a Providentialist paradigm of the visitation striking desolation all around them..' - R. Foster, *The Irish story: telling tales and making it up in Ireland* (London, 2002), p. 135.

59 Trollope, *Castle Richmond*, II, p. 297.

60 W. P. Ryan, *The Irish Literary Revival* (London, 1894), pp. 88-9.

61 Fleming, *Head or harp*, p. 36; and echoed in Joseph Hone's 'High on the hill behind two white gates, we were a world and a law unto ourselves' - J. Hone, *Duck Soup in the Black Sea* (London, 1988), p. 238.

already been written out of the script, some forty years before Elizabeth Bowen could lament that 'in the life of the new Ireland . . . the lives of my own people become a little thing.'[62] Similar is Julia M. Crottie's 1901 novella, *Neighbours*. Subtitled *Annals of a dull town*, it is reputed to be modelled on Lismore. But if it was, few analogues of Devonshires, Chearnleys, Musgraves or Keanes soil its pages either. Maybe they weren't dull enough. Just as well for them, since it is perhaps sufficient to note the deliciously double-edged review given to Miss Crottie's literary endeavours by an English magazine – 'We heartily congratulate the author on having produced something which she will find it hard to beat'.[63]

Two characters

Two characters exemplify the movement of mores and attitudes of the gentry during the nineteenth century. One saw the Act of Union, the other the establishment of the Irish Free State. The first is George, earl of Kingston.[64] The Kings were great landowners of, amongst others, estates around Mitchelstown. The third earl, 'Big George' as he was known, was born in 1771. Succeeding to the title when he was only twenty-eight, he 'entered on life young'[65] by witnessing the killing of his sister's lover by his father and in 1798, narrowly escaping death by rebels. When he finally got his hands on money, as an impecunious descendant rather ruefully put it, he '...ushered in an era of folly and disaster which led finally to the ruin of the great Mitchelstown inheritance of the Kings'.[66]

The outward sign of this catastrophe was the extraordinary neo-gothic Mitchelstown Castle, started in 1823 and burnt down a century later. Trollope, in *Castle Richmond*, has a thinly-disguised description of the pile as 'huge, ungainly and uselessly extensive'. He accurately captures its alien nature, plonked onto the landscape, as its 'great hall door opens out upon a flat, bleak park, with hardly a scrap around it which courtesy can call a lawn'.[67] Allowing for literary hyperbole though, it really was a bit more than what the mid-century travellers Mr and Mrs Hall suburbanised, somewhat ridiculously, as a 'modern castellated mansion'.[68] Consciously modelled on Windsor Castle (it had a 'Royal Tower' for the king –George IV – who never visited it), everything about it was on a vast scale. It cost possibly between £100,000 and £200,000 (many tens of millions now) and was

62 Bowen, *Bowen's Court & Seven Winters*, p. 437.

63 J. Crottie, *Neighbours, being annals of a dull town* (London, 1901), inside front-papers.

64 'King, George' (by David Murphy), *DIB*, vol. 5, pp. 202-4.

65 Bowen, *Bowen's Court*, p. 255.

66 R. King-Harman, *The Kings, earls of Kingston* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 79.

67 Trollope, *Castle Richmond*, I, pp. 5-6. One 1825 description was kinder – 'the Mansion presents a magnificent appearance...'; it '....harmonizes with the surrounding landscape, and gives a dignity to the scene...' - J.P. Neale & T. Moule, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen, in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1825).

68 M. Scott (ed.), *Hall's Ireland. Mr and Mrs Hall's tour of 1840* (London, 1984), vol. 1, p. 40.

staffed lavishly (one of the chefs was young Claridge, later of London hotel fame). As a result by the 1830s the earl '...found himself burdened with £400,000 of debts without hope of ever being able to pay them off'.[69] Eventually he broke down. He was publicly declared insane in 1833 and died in London in 1839.[70]

But money troubles seemed to Elizabeth Bowen, whose family lived nearby, to be far too prosaic to explain Kingston's spectacular fall. More Mervyn Peake's Titus Groan than Dickens's Gradgrind, she divined that Big George

> ...epitomises that rule by force of sheer fantasy that had, in great or small ways, become for his class the only possible one. From the big lord to the small country gentlemen we were, about this time, being edged back upon a tract of clouds and obsessions that could each, from its nature, only be solitary. The sense of dislocation was everywhere. Property was still there, but power was going. It was democracy, facing him in his gallery that sent Big George mad.

Bill Power describes George King as 'A medieval lord out of his time';[71] Lord Kingston's view of his own reality was as an amalgam of the Norman baron and the great Irish chieftain; he was popularly known as 'The Chief of the Galtees' in the early 1820s. He pestered Robert Peel for a royal recognition of the title of White Knight borne by his mother's Geraldine ancestors. A final refusal from Peel brought forth an imperious 'I shall be satisfied with a recognition of the people and that nothing can deprive me of...'[72]

At the other end of the century was Arthur Hugh Smith Barry. Smith Barry's Irish estates – about 22,000 acres - were somewhat similar in size to the earl's; and, like Big George, Arthur Hugh had 'entered upon life young', succeeding his father in 1856 when thirteen years old. There the similarities end. Smith Barry stands out for his relative competence, economic efficiency and political nous. As already noted, he was elected MP for Cork county in 1867 at the tender age of twenty-four. History, though, has not remembered him as the liberal Dr Jekyll of that election, but as the arch-tory Mr Hyde of the Plan of Campaign and the Irish Unionist Alliance. He is now vilified as the prime mover in an effective and confident opposition by landlords to the nationalist land agitation in the 1880s and 1890s. Described, variously, as 'a pernicious little noodle of a Cork landlord'; a 'vainglorious little bashaw'; an 'aggressive busybody'; a 'man of 'lofty incomprehension'; and 'a virulent partisan' - these last three by Archbishop Thomas Croke[73]

69 His son, Viscount Kingsborough's, literary equivalent to the Castle was an esoteric work on Mexican antiquities, published at a cost of some £32,000 to the estate.

70 'King, George' (by David Murphy) in *DIB*, vol. 5, 202-4; Ian d'Alton, 'Keeping faith: an evocation of the Cork Protestant character, 120-1920', in P. Flanagan & C. Buttimer (eds), *Cork history & society* (Dublin, 1993), pp. 762-5.

71 Power, *White Knights, Dark Earls*, p. 94.

72 British Library, Add. MS 40355, Kingston to Peel, 12 March 1823.

73 *United Ireland*, 26 October 1889; *Tipperary Nationalist*, 14 August 1889; *Freeman's Journal*, 28 June 1889; D. Marnane, *Land and violence; a history of west Tipperary since 1660* (Tipperary, 1985), p. 110.

- he was one of the original trustees of Cork Defence Union formed in 1885 by a group of landlords for the provision of relief and temporary labourers where there were boycotts. Smith Barry worked enthusiastically with the Chief Secretary, Balfour, to stymie the Plan of Campaign on Charles Talbot-Ponsonby's Youghal estate.[74] His opposition to 'tenantism' carries heavy irony; he was himself only a 'tenant for life' under the terms of his father's will.[75]

In later years, Smith Barry was a prominent conservative politician, MP for South Huntingdon between 1886 and 1900, and chairman of the Irish Unionist Alliance between 1911 and 1913. He was created Baron Barrymore in 1902. He was strictly a one-off: unlike the earl of Kingston, the peerage did not survive him. But he died rich; and sane.[76]

Conclusion

What is perhaps curious about Irish landed society is that, as an economic, political, social and moral system - why ever it collapsed - it was not from a shortage of examination, analysis and prescription. Leaving aside the obvious polemics from implacable enemies convinced that the gentry were beyond redemption, there are dozens of quite thoughtful and forensic dissections of its defects and its strengths from friends and sceptical sympathisers in the periodical journals, pamphlets and newspapers of the later nineteenth century. And that is not to mention a veritable Niagara Falls of self-analysis and breast-beating from its own, such as Lords Castletown, De Vesci and Dunraven, Sir Horace Plunkett and, indeed, Sir Henry Blake. There were lots of excuses, yet none of them worked. Fitting perfectly into Sidney Webb's 'inevitability of gradualness', landlordism and its associated society crumbled in slow motion from 1880 to 1910. But why? Perhaps, at the end of the day, we are forced back to the cultural to seek the real reason; for it is surely Elizabeth Bowen's *Death of the Heart*. Maybe the disintegration is better explained by Dostoevsky rather than by Dooley. Not enough dreams and too much hope, to turn Bruce Hornsby's quote on its head. Image gradually displaces reality; all we are left with is Molly Keane's 'only an echo here...'; and image, which is nothing but smoke in the air, can then be just blown away. In almost a parody of itself the gentry burn out, are burnt out, and get out. We shall leave the last words to Bowen, writing of the end of a Mitchelstown Castle garden party, the end of the gentry, nearly a century ago:

74 L.P. Curtis, *The depiction of eviction in Ireland, 1845-1910* (Dublin, 2011), 183; DIB entry (by I. d'Alton).

75 See 'Instructions for settlement of the fortune of Miss Smith Barry, daughter of Arthur Hugh Smith Barry, Esq., M.P., on her intended marriage with H. Overend, Esq.', n.d., solicitor's note that AHSB is a 'tenant for life of estates in the Counties of Tipperary and Cork which are entailed in the usual mode' – DCN1402/74/1, Cheshire CRO; also Barrymore Estate Act 1905 (5 Edw 7 cap.1P, assented to 11 July 1905) – 'To enable the Baron Barrymore to restore certain forfeited leases in the town of Tipperary, and for other purposes'.

76 'Barry, Arthur Hugh Smith, Lord Barrymore' (by Ian d'Alton) in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 318-9.

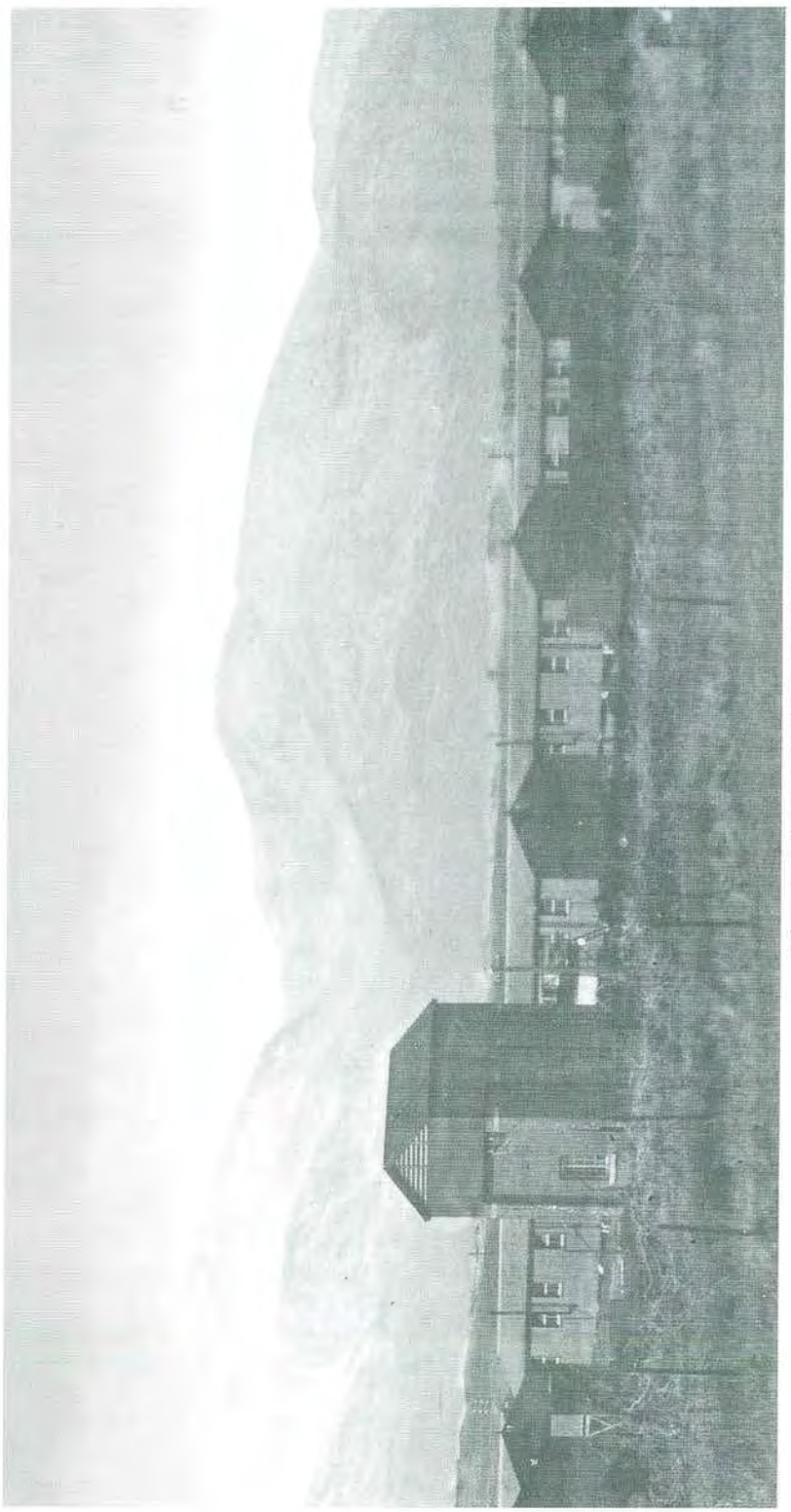


Plate 1: Ballykinlar Internment Camp

The unseen descent of the sun behind the clouds sharpens the bleak light; the band, having throbbed out *God Save the King*, packs up its wind-torn music and goes home.[77]

77 Bowen, *Bowen's Court*, 437, referring to 4 August 1914.

From Waterford to Ballykinlar: Internment during the War of Independence

Pat McCarthy

Before 1920 it is probably safe to say that few if any Waterford people had heard of Ballykinlar, an isolated if picturesque spot on Dundrum Bay in County Down. However between December 1920 and December 1921 it was a name that became all too familiar to nationalist families in Ireland as over 2,000 men including dozens from Waterford city and county were interned there without trial as the British forces tried to defeat the IRA. For the families of three Waterford volunteers, Maurice Galvin, Edward Landers and Declan Hurton, there was the added heartbreak for these men never returned home. Galvin and Landers died in the camp while Hurton was killed on his way home to Ardmore after his release.

Ballykinlar[1]

The Boer War had not been the quick and easy victory that the British Army had anticipated when the war broke out in October 1899. Instead the British Government had to commit major forces to a prolonged campaign. This in turn put a strain on training facilities in the United Kingdom. New locations for training camps with rifle ranges were identified including Ballykinlar in County Down.[2] The first troops to arrive there were reservists of the 5th Battalion of the Royal Irish Rifles who arrived in March 1900 to complete their training before despatch overseas. The Boer War ended in 1902 but the use of the new camp continued and expanded. In the summer of 1901 almost 2,000 troops were based there for training. Such numbers necessitated the building of permanent facilities such as kitchens, mess halls etc though most of the accommodation for the soldiers was under canvas. Gradually these were replaced by the army standard corrugated iron hut which was designed to hold twenty-five men. They were sturdy, dry and heated by a single smoky stove. Not very comfortable but at least they were an improvement on tents. Additional land for training and for firing ranges was acquired and eventually the base covered more than 1,500 acres, mostly sand dunes and nearby hills and fields. The camp itself was about 15 acres. World War 1 meant a further expansion of the camp which was designated the base for the 107th Brigade of the 36th Ulster Division. The 107th Brigade was made up of four battalions of the

1 In the nineteenth-century ordnance survey maps the area is referred to as Ballykinler. This usage is still common but in most history books the camp is referred to as Ballykinlar. The latter is used throughout this essay.

2 Philip Orr, *Ballykinler Camp. The first seven decades, 1900-1969*, (Downpatrick, 2012).

Royal Irish Rifles all recruited from Belfast and contained over 4,000 soldiers. For many of these new recruits, Ballykinlar was their first experience of life outside the city. The *Belfast News Letter*, newspaper of the loyalist community, waxed lyrical about Ballykinlar, 'the camp is situated in the centre of picturesque country-side, with the Mountains of Mourne forming an imposing background while on the edge of the camping ground and within easy reach of the tents is an arm of Dundrum Bay and here the men will have swimming and bathing drills. Within sight of the camp is the beautifully situated demesne of Tyrella.'[3] For the working class recruits who began to arrive in the camp from October 1914 on, the reality was different and conditions far from ideal. As winter set in, the wind blew sand everywhere while the rains turned much of the camp into a sea of mud. Discipline among the recruits was a problem at first and harsh measures were taken to deal with men who thought that they were 'entitled' to spend the weekend in nearby public houses. Gradually army discipline was imposed, facilities were improved and by May 1915 the Brigade was ready to move to England for final training before being posted to France.[4] For the rest of the war Ballykinlar continued as a major training depot for the constant flow of recruits needed to replace the men killed and wounded in the trenches of the Western Front. To facilitate the constant movement of men and supplies a new station, Ballykinlar Halt, was opened on the Belfast and County Down Railway, about three miles from the camp.

The end of the war in 1918 did not mean the end of Ballykinlar as a military facility. For the first time regular troops of the British Army were stationed there to assist the RIC who had come under armed attack in nationalist areas of County Down such as Crossgar, Ardclough and Castlewellan. The authorities however had a much more important plan for the base– an internment camp. Beginning in October 1920 army engineers began to construct additional huts laid out in lines of ten and enclosed by barbed wire fences. Two camps, no. 1 and no. 2, were constructed with four lines of huts, a capacity of 1,000 men, in each camp. The two camps were adjacent but separate and barbed wire entanglements were laid to ensure no communication between them. A central 'cage' was erected to act as a reception area for the expected influx of prisoners once interment of IRA suspects was introduced.[5] By this time two battalions of the British Army, the1st Battalion, Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry and the 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps were stationed in the camp. These units now had the added responsibility of guarding and administering the camp and ensuring that there were no escapes. Untrained as prison warders, soldiers were often content to secure the perimeter of internment camps and leave a lot of the day to day running of the camps to the prisoners themselves – an opportunity that the IRA were quick to grasp. In November 1920 Ballykinlar was about to become a household name to nationalist Ireland.

3 Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), p. 46.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 65-70.

5 Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013) pp. 59-63.

Internment[6]

There was a dramatic upsurge in violence in Ireland during November 1920. The Bloody Sunday killings of British intelligence officers and the shootings in Croke Park that same afternoon followed a week later by the Kilmichael ambush made it clear to the British authorities that the IRA were far from finished. The struggle had entered a new and bloody phase. As part of its response the Government now authorised the internment of all suspected IRA officers and volunteers. Between December 1920 and the Truce in July 1921 4,454 men were arrested and interned. By March, Ballykinlar, designed to hold 2,000 internees, was full and additional internment camps were opened at the Curragh, Spike Island in Cork Harbour, Kilworth Camp and Bere Island in Bantry Bay. On 22 June the Attorney General for Ireland and Unionist MP for Derry South, Denis Henry, informed parliament that there were 1,758 internees at Ballykinlar, 1,007 at the Curragh, 381 on Spike Island and 106 on Bere Island.[7] The arrests continued and by the time of the Truce, 11 July 1921, the authorities had started to use Kilmainham Gaol as another internment camp. Men who were detained in Munster were taken first to Kilworth Camp for screening. After interrogation some were released and others charged with specific offences. The others were issued with an internment order and transferred to Ballykinlar. These men were first moved to Cork and there put on a Royal Navy destroyer to be brought to Belfast by sea. In adverse weather conditions the voyage could take up to forty-eight hours. Confined below decks for the duration, conditions were grim but there was worse to follow. The men were landed at Musgrave Dock and paraded through the strongly loyalist docks and shipyards to the Queen's Quay station of the Belfast and County Down Railway. On their way through the docks the prisoners were invariably pelted with 'Belfast confetti' – a mixture of iron nuts, bolts, rivets and pieces of sharp steel – which the escorting soldiers and police usually made no effort to stop. In the words of Charles Mansfield: 'we had a pretty hot time of it in Belfast when coming off the destroyer'.[8] Patrick Whelan, Dungarvan, recalled a similar experience. 'On leaving the gunboat at Belfast we were pelted with bolts, nuts and stones by jeering Orange shipyard workers.'[9] Tommy Mooney of Ardmore recalled how he had to run the gauntlet of the Orange mob with his overcoat over his head and the head of a companion to shield them from the 'confetti'. He was grateful for the efforts of a British Army officer who forced the mob back.[10] A thirty mile rail journey brought them to Ballykinlar Halt

6 Colin Campbell, *Emergency law in Ireland*, (Oxford, 1994) pp. 101-111.

7 William Murphy, *Political imprisonment and the Irish, 1912-1921*, (Oxford, 2014), p. 195.

8 Charles Mansfield of Dungarvan was arrested in January 1921 and transferred to Ballykinlar later that month. His letters to his sister, Annie, have been preserved and give a unique insight into life in Ballykinlar Camp. I am indebted to Eddie Fitzgerald, son of Annie Mansfield, for access to this wonderful collection.

9 Bureau of Military History Witness Statement, (henceforth abbreviated as BMH WS), Patrick Whelan, No. 1,357, p. 11.

10 Communication from Tommy Mooney, author of *Cry of the curlew. A history of the Deise Brigade IRA and the War of Independence*, (Dungarvan, 2012).

and from there they were marched the last three miles to the camp. Occasionally military trucks were provided for this last stage. Tired and hungry, marching those last few miles could be a very trying ordeal especially for older prisoners. Dan Fraher, that great sportsman and nationalist, was sixty-eight years old when he was arrested in December 1920. According to Louis Walsh, himself an internee, 'Fraher got weak on the march, but was forced on by a cad of a junior officer with some stupid, brutal jibe like "if he were behind a ditch he would be active enough" and other frail men were treated as badly.'[11] On reaching the camp the men were registered, allocated an identity number and assigned to camp 1 or 2.

Life in the camp[12]

From the beginning the internees set up a military type structure to run the camps. Patrick Colgan, Dublin, was elected Camp Commandant. Each line of ten huts, containing up to 250 men, was designated a company and elected a 'line captain'. Later two of the huts in each line were rebuilt with cells and used to punish prisoners with solitary confinement for breaking camp regulations. This reduced the overall capacity of the two camps to 1,600 prisoners. P. C. O'Mahony of Dungarvan was one of the line captains.[13] Education and games committees were established and internees nominated as postmaster, provost marshal and court martial judges. Michael Hassett of Dungarvan was appointed Provost Marshall for no. 1 camp. A similar structure was established in no. 2 camp with Leo Henderson of Dublin, followed by Joe McGrath, as Camp O/C. The line captain was responsible for discipline in his company and for ensuring that the huts were cleaned and that fatigue duties were fairly shared out. To assist him in these duties he had a hut leader who was elected by the inmates of each hut. These officers liaised with the British authorities and generally ensured that the camp was run on disciplined lines. The accommodation huts were sparse, damp and in the winter time, filled with smoke from the solitary stove. In the view of General Sir Neville Macready, Commander in Chief of the British Forces in Ireland, the internees 'enjoyed a measure of comfort considerably greater than many were accustomed to in their own dwellings'.[14] His view reflected racial bias and stereotyping and few of the internees would have agreed with him.

Daily life in the camp began with reveille, the military waking call, at 7.15 a.m. Roll call was followed by breakfast at 8. Dinner was at 1 p.m. and tea at 4.30. The internees were required to be back in their huts for lock up at 5.30. Lights out was at 9.p.m. For the rest of the time the men mingled, strolled around the camp and participated in organised activities. Occasional roll calls and spot checks took place at irregular intervals. On windy days sand was a major problem. As Charles

11 Louis Walsh, *On my keeping and in theirs*, (Dublin, 1921), p. 42.

12 Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), pp. 130-168; William Murphy, *Political imprisonment and the Irish*, 1912-1921, (Oxford, 2014), pp. 195-207.

13 BMH WS, P. C. O'Mahony, 745, pp. 10-11.

14 C.F.N. Macready, *Annals of an active life* (London, 1924) Vol. 11, p. 511.

Mansfield put it: 'the weather here is very wild for the last few days, there is nothing but sand flying everywhere we go. Even at meals the tables are covered with sand. A person could not even walk across the compound but he would be eating sand, it is flying that bad.'[15] For many men the bitter cold wind blowing in from the sea was their lasting memory of the camp. As in all prisoner of war camps food was a constant concern. There were ongoing complaints about both quantity ('little on the small side', 'utterly inadequate') and quality ('abominable'),[16] 'the grub is still as rotten as ever.'[17] As a result the internees relied on parcels from home. According to Tod Andrews 'we would certainly have been hungry except for the generous parcels received from home.'[18] In one of his first letters Mansfield asked his mother to send on 'some tea, butter, sugar and boiled bacon'.[19] Three weeks later he wrote 'your most welcome parcel of grub reached me safe and sound.'[20] According to Louis Walsh many of the Waterford men were in Hut No. 11, Camp 1, known as the 'Dungarvan Hut' and which became famous for the quantity and quality of the food parcels. In his words 'a lot of the Hut 11 men were from Dungarvan, where the Cumann na mBan girls must be great cooks and cake-makers; and it used to make our mouths water, as the saying is, to hear the tales that circulated along the line about the sumptuous feasts that were wont to take place there. In famed Hut Eleven you're almost in heaven'![21] Money was not allowed within the camps. Instead prisoners had to exchange their money for tokens which could be used to buy extra food, cigarettes and other items. Charles Mansfield asked his family to send on some money, writing that 'it is not easy to keep cash as there are many collections made for many purposes', adding that 'it would not be very nice if he could not subscribe'.[22]

Boredom was the biggest problem of all for the internees. One man, Peter Byrne wrote to his wife that the prisoners saw 'nothing but barbed wire and plenty of that' and that 'everything and every day is the same in this Hell of a Damned place'.[23] To counter this, the camp leadership went to great lengths to keep the men busy and entertained. In both camps boards of education were established with classes in Irish, bookkeeping, and music. According to Patrick Brazil, from Waterford City, 'our camp was a veritable college'.[24] Particular emphasis was placed on learning Irish. Sean McGrath told a friend that ninety-five per cent of the internees in No. 1 compound were studying Irish and that many were hoping to

15 Charles Mansfield, 11.4.1921.
16 William Murphy, *Political imprisonment and the Irish, 1912-1921*, (Oxford, 2014), p.
17 Charles Mansfield, 10.10.1921.
18 C.S. Andrews, *Dublin made me*, (Dublin, 1979), p. 187.
19 Charles Mansfield, 7.2.1921.
20 Charles Mansfield, 28.2.1921.
21 Louis Walsh, *On my keeping and in theirs*, (Dublin, 1921), p. 62.
22 Charles Mansfield, 11.4.1921.
23 William Murphy, *Political imprisonment and the Irish, 1912-1921*, (Oxford, 2014), p. 203.
24 *Waterford News*, 16 December 1921.

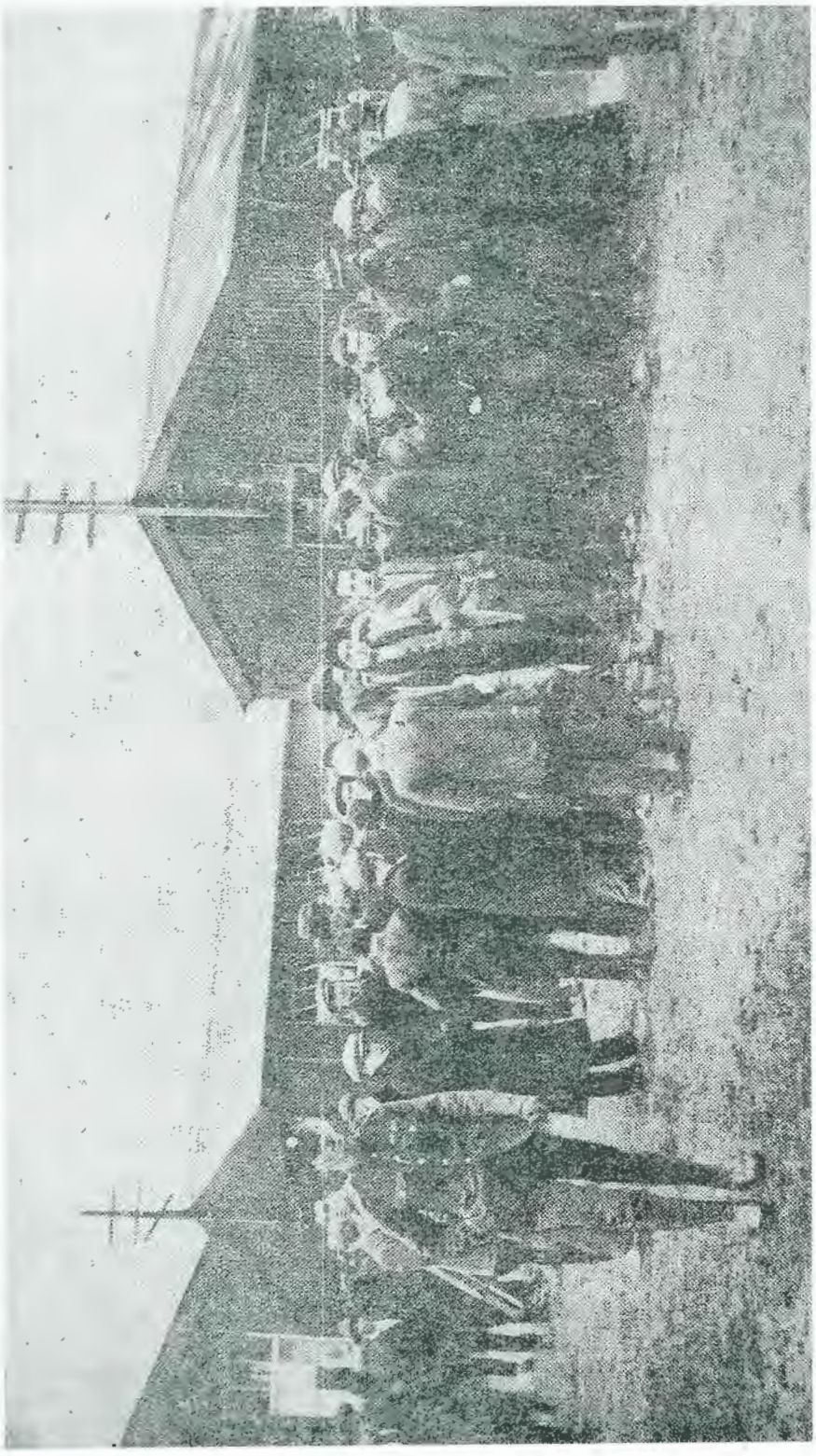


Plate 2: Internees in the camp

qualify for the 'Fainne'.[25] Patrick Brazil echoed that, 'extraordinary progress was made in the study of the Irish'.[26] Louis Walsh had a different view though: 'the (Irish) classes were not as well or as regularly attended as one would have desired. I met many young men in Ballykinlar who would have died for Ireland without a moment's hesitation, and yet who could not be induced to give a few hours every week to the study of their country's language and literature'.[27] Military drilling and talks on engineering, signalling and tactics were also a regular feature. For Patrick Ormond the most interesting lectures were those on the making and use of explosives.[28] Both camps also built up good libraries through donations of books from friends and sympathizers. Sport was also important in the daily life of the camp, mostly Gaelic football and athletics. Money for the purchase of footballs was raised through collections from the prisoners. Balls had to be replaced very frequently because of the barbed wire surrounding the recreation grounds. In May 1921 a championship was organised with senior and junior teams representing the 'lines'. 'The 'Peadar Clancy's' won the junior championship. Their team included Jim Ormond from Waterford – a unique sporting distinction for a Waterford man.[29] In the evenings after lock up, chess, drama and debates all helped to pass the hours. For the vast majority of the internees their religion and their devotion to it was a major factor in sustaining their morale. Most of them were Catholic and the Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. McRory, appointed a curate from nearby Dundrum parish, Fr. John McLister, as chaplain to the camp. He attended the camp daily to say mass and to hear confessions. His work load was eased considerably from February when Fr. Thomas Burbage from Offaly arrived in the camp as an internee. Together they provided spiritual support to the men until the camp was closed.[30]

Despite the best efforts of the IRA leadership in the camp, internment was an arduous and trying ordeal for the prisoners. Monotonous and inadequate food, the prohibition on visits, the boredom of the daily routine and the constant worry about the wives, children and relatives that they had left behind, left its mark on many of them. For many the absence of privacy in the huts was an ordeal. Louis Walsh disliked the 'forced close intimacy' that never admitted a 'moment's privacy'.[31] One internee on Bere Island, Dinny Collins, wondered 'if that fellow Billy Butlin who invented the holiday camp was ever interned'.[32] Certainly it was no holiday camp. For some it was the place of their death.

25 Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), p. 146.
26 *Waterford News*, 16 December 1921.
27 Louis Walsh, *On my keeping and in theirs*, (Dublin, 1921), p. 72.
28 BMH WS, Patrick Ormond, 1,283, p. 20.
29 Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), pp. 150-152.
30 *Ibid*, pp. 98-103.
31 Louis Walsh, *On my keeping and in theirs*, (Dublin, 1921), p. 45.
32 William Murphy, *Political imprisonment and the Irish, 1912-1921*, (Oxford, 2014), p. 204.

Death in the camp

At least eight prisoners died in Ballykinlar in 1921, three of whom were shot. On 17 January two men from Westmeath - Patrick Sloan and Joseph Tormey – were shot dead by a sentry when they ignored his warnings to stop conversing across the wire with friends in the other camp. The military described the incident as 'justifiable homicide' further adding to tension within the camp.[33] According to the camp regulations, Tormey and Sloan, should have been sentenced to fourteen days in the cells for their infringement of the regulations not shot.[34] Alderman Tadhg Barry of Cork was shot dead on 15 November.[35] That day about forty internees were being released on parole and Barry was among those saying goodbye to them at the camp gate. A sentry claimed that Barry had tried to make a dash for freedom and that he had no option but to fire. This version of events was hotly disputed by other internees. Five prisoners died from ill-health.[36] The first to die from illness was Patrick O'Toole of Carlow.[37] He had suffered from TB prior to his arrest and succumbed to the disease in Ballykinlar on 8 February. Maurice Quinn of Cork was also a victim of TB. He died on 7 June.[38] John O'Sullivan from Sallins, County Kildare died in the camp hospital on 5 May. His colleagues believed that his death was due to a severe beating that he had received when he was arrested.[39] The other two, Maurice Galvin and Edward Landers were members of the West Waterford Brigade of the IRA.

Maurice Galvin[40]

Maurice, born 1903, was the youngest of the large family of Edmund and Nora Galvin of Mogeely, County Cork. In 1919 Maurice was apprenticed to the drapery trade at the shop of Thomas O'Dwyer, West Street, Tallow. O'Dwyer, a native of Tipperary, was prominent in the local Sinn Féin cumann and soon Maurice joined the local IRA company which was commanded by Frank Ryan. Maurice's commitment and enthusiasm made an excellent impression and he was promoted to Adjutant.

33 Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), pp. 118-129.

34 Orr, Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), p. 40.

35 Charles Mansfield 17.11.1921; O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, pp. 249-63.

36 In some books there are references to an 'Edward Healy of Waterford who died of TB in the camp on 23 June 1921'e.g. O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war*, p. 91. I have not been able to identify Edward Healy and there is no mention of his death in the contemporary newspapers. His date of death is the same as that of Edward Landers whose death received wide newspaper coverage and there is the possibility that he has been confused with Landers.

37 O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war: Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, p. 94.

38 *Ibid*, p.91.

39 *Ibid*, p. 93.

40 Details of the life and death of Maurice Galvin are taken from *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 79, No. 229, p. 26.

At 11 p.m. on New Years Eve 1920 Tallow was raided by a large contingent of military from Fermoy and Dungarvan. Among those wanted was O'Dwyer but he was 'on the run' and evaded capture. Maurice was not so lucky. He was captured in his lodgings above the drapery store and taken to Kilworth Camp for questioning. Lucky for him the military did not find his revolver which was hidden behind the skirting board in his room. Although some of those arrested with him were released, Maurice was not so lucky and an internment order was signed. He was then taken to Ballykinlar. He appears to have been very sick on the voyage and was also suffered from an incipient kidney disease. He died on 9 April 1921 aged just 18. In one of his letters Charles Mansfield wrote: 'A very sad case happened here yesterday, one of the boys died R.I.P. He was quite a young fellow about 17 at the very oldest, Maurice Galvin, I knew him very well. He was not himself since he came here, the journey on the boat did not agree with him, he got a very bad attack of sea sickness and the reception we got in Belfast was a nice thing after sea sickness. May God rest his soul.'[41] His remains were taken to Tallow Road Station by train. He was buried in Dangandonovan graveyard in East Cork. There was no special display of arms or personnel by the Volunteers during the burial but after the mourners had dispersed a firing party gave the customary republican salute to the dead. On the fiftieth anniversary of his death a Celtic cross memorial was unveiled at his grave by the Tallow Republican Memorial Committee. To add insult to her loss, the military authorities sent his mother a bill for £34.4.0, the cost of conveying the body of her son from Ballykinlar to Tallow.[42]

Edward Landers[43]

Plate 3: Edward Landers, Lismore
Died Ballykinlar, 22 June 1921
Photo courtesy of Eugene F. Dennis

Edward Landers was born in Ballinvella, Lismore in 1881. A committed nationalist, he was active in Sinn Féin and in the Irish Volunteers. By 1921 he was second-in-command of the Lismore Company of the IRA. That year he was arrested and interned in Ballykinlar. In June he fell ill and a telegram was set to his wife on Tuesday 21 June. The next day she left for Ballykinlar but could not get further than Dublin owing to restrictions on train travel between Dublin and Belfast. The restrictions arose from the increased security and the need to

41 Charles Mansfield, 11.4.1921.
42 Hansard, House of Commons Debates, 2 June 1921.
43 Details of the life and death of Edward Landers and of the vain attempt by his wife to visit her dying husband are taken from the *Cork Examiner*, 27 and 29 June, 1921 and the *Freemans Journal*, 29 June 1921.

transport extra troops to Belfast for the visit of King George V who was opening the new Northern Ireland parliament. While in Dublin she was told that Edward had died of pneumonia on the 23rd.[44] On Saturday she accompanied his remains to Lismore where he was buried on Sunday 26 June in the presence of a huge crowd. Members of Cumann na mBan formed a guard of honour to his grave in St. Carthage's cemetery in the town. He left behind a widow and four children.

Escape attempts[45]

As might be expected in a prisoner of war camp there were numerous escape plans and quite a few actual attempts. The most notable attempts featured tunnels but the sandy soil of Ballykinlar made tunnelling particularly difficult. Initial tests in January 1921 showed that the ground was saturated and that the water table was very high. Any attempt at tunnelling would have to wait until the summer and drier weather. The Truce in July did not stop escape attempts and work on a tunnel from no. 1 compound continued. By the end of July the tunnel was over 100 yards long and was nearly complete. On 27 July soldiers began digging a trench around the compound and soon discovered the tunnel. It seems that a successful escape by over 50 prisoners by tunnel from the Curragh internment camp had prompted additional security measures which in turn led to the discovery of the Ballykinlar tunnel. The discovery did not halt further tunnelling attempts. After the closure of the camp in January 1922 the British carried out a thorough search and found no less than seven tunnels in progress!

A simpler, more direct attempt was made in October 1921 led by Dungarvan man, John O'Riordan, Training Officer with the West Waterford Brigade. Riordan had been arrested in January 1921. After detention in Kilworth he was transferred to Ballykinlar. O'Riordan secured a pair of wire cutters and decided to cut his way through the wire but not on the expected side towards the open country which was particularly well guarded. Instead he would cut his way into the adjoining army camp. He had served in the British Army, with the18th Royal Irish Regiment, during the World War and was very familiar with army camp routine. He was confident that he could mingle with soldiers who would be leaving the camp in civilian clothes to socialise and that way pass through the main gate to freedom. The escape date was set for Friday, 7 October.

That afternoon, two teams of prisoners began a football match while others gathered in groups to watch. The spectators were carefully positioned to obscure the view from the watch towers. Behind the screen of prisoners John O'Riordan dropped to the ground and began to cut the wire. As darkness closed in the match ended and the prisoners crowded along the wire as O'Riordan and three other prisoners, Colm Lawless from Dublin and Seamus Brennan and Michael Sheehy from Offaly crawled through the gap in the wire and concealed themselves in long grass

44 *Cork Examiner*, 27 June 1921. Despite the extra security measures the IRA succeeded in ambushing one of the troop trains on 23 June, killing three soldiers and wounding others.

45 Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), pp. 196-215.

and waited for nightfall. A number of times they were almost discovered but their luck appeared to be holding until an officer out for a stroll discovered Lawless. The alarm was sounded and the others were found, the last being O'Riordan who was about fifty yards ahead of the others. The escapees were escorted back into the camp and O'Riordan got twenty eight days on bread and water in the punishment cells for his escape attempt.[46]

Freedom

The question of the internees did not feature in the tense hours leading up to the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty at 2.10 a.m. on 6 December under threat of 'immediate and terrible war'. Later that morning Lloyd George presided at a meeting of his fellow British negotiators and apparently it was decided that the internees would be released but not until after the Dáil had ratified the Treaty.[47] Later that afternoon Arthur Griffith and Gavan Duffy met Lloyd George to discuss the release of the internees.[48] They persuaded the Prime Minister that his proposal would be counter-productive, that it would be seen as using the internees as hostages while an immediate release would help to create momentum in favour of the Treaty. The next day, having consulted with both cabinet colleagues and General Macready, commander of the British Army in Ireland, Lloyd George announced the immediate and unconditional release of all internees. Those interned in Kilmainham were the first to be released, on Thursday, 8 December. In a futile effort to reduce popular demonstrations the releases took place in batches of twenty-five. Releases from Bere Island, the Curragh, Kilworth and Spike Island all proceeded that same day and in every case the men were greeted with huge, cheering crowds. To many the releases were another sign that the Irish had won the war. Due to the location of the camp and the need to organise three special trains to transport them south, the men in Ballykinlar were not released until Friday, 9 December. However conditions were relaxed, the men in both camps were allowed to mingle and to stroll in the countryside. The camp hummed with excitement as men packed their bags and signed each other's autograph books. The next day they marched to Ballykinlar Halt singing rebel songs and there they boarded the trains which they decorated with tricolours. Both in Belfast and on the journey south the trains came under attack from loyalist mobs using rifle and pistol fire.[49] According to Patrick Brazil,' the train was subjected to a regular fusillade of stones and revolver shots from the rabid Orange party in the Banbridge district. I escaped injury myself but I consider myself exceptionally fortunate.'[50] Some of the internees suffered minor injuries but once the trains passed Banbridge they were

46 BMH WS, Sean O'Riordan, 1,355, pp. 8-10; Liam O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war, Ballykinlar internment camp 1920-1921*, (Cork, 2013), pp. 205-7.

47 William Murphy, *Political imprisonment and the Irish, 1912-1921*, (Oxford, 2014), p. 241.

48 Thomas Jones, *Whitehall Diary Volume III, Ireland 1918-1925*, (Oxford, 1971), pp. 184-5.

49 O'Duibhir, *Prisoners of war*, pp. 270-6.

50 *Waterford News*, 16 December 1921.

safe and they arrived in Amiens Street Station in Dublin to a tumultuous welcome. The men then dispersed and those not from Dublin were escorted to other train stations to continue their journey home.

Declan Hurton[51]

Declan was one of three brothers who were detained in December 1920, suspected of being active Volunteers. Declan who was known locally as 'Patsy' possibly to distinguish him from his father also Declan, had joined the British Army during the First World War. He had served in the Irish Guards and had seen active service on the Western Front. On demobilisation in 1919 he had returned to Ardmore where he was appointed postman. He also joined the local volunteers, D Company, 3rd Battalion, Waterford No. 2 Brigade (West Waterford Brigade). As postman he had been central to the unsuccessful attempt to capture Ardmore RIC barracks on 15 August but had not been suspected by the RIC. However with the introduction of large-scale round ups and internment from November 1920 the Hurtons were marked men. Declan and brothers Michael and Ned were first taken to Kilworth Camp for screening. Ned was released but Declan was interned at Ballykinlar and Michael at Bere Island Internment Camp.

Plate 4: Memorial to Declan Hurton

Declan was among those released on 9 December. After his arrival in Dublin he made his way to Kingsbridge Station where he took the train to Cork to meet his girlfriend there before travelling on to his home in Ardmore. As the train pulled in to Thurles Station at about 7 p.m. a hand-grenade was thrown at it by a member of the RIC. A number of passengers were injured, Declan the most seriously. He was taken to the North Infirmary in Cork where he died of his wounds on 16 December, aged thirty-one. His remains were removed to Ardmore and he was buried there on 18 December. An enormous cortege led by two bands followed the hearse and full military honours were rendered at the graveside by his comrades of the 3rd Battalion. An investigation by the Tipperary no. 2 Brigade of the IRA found that the grenade was

51 Tommy Mooney, *Cry of the curlew. A history of the Deise Brigade IRA and the War of Independence*, (Dungarvan, 2012), pp. 336-7; Siobhan Lincoln, *Ardmore memory and story*, (Ardmore, 2000), pp. 204-205; *Cork Examiner*, 17 and 19 December 1921.

thrown from the bridge over the railway adjacent to the station and identified the culprit as a Sergeant Thomas Enright. He was shot dead by members of the Tipperary IRA at a coursing meeting in Kilmallock, County Limerick on 14 December 1921.[52]

Waterford men in Ballykinlar 1920-1921

Thanks to the indefatigable work of Tommy Mooney of Ardmore and Peadar Murnane of Ballybay, Co. Monaghan, it is possible to give a fairly comprehensive list of the Waterford men who were interned at Ballykinlar. Where necessary this is supplemented by the lists in Liam O'Duibhir's book, *Prisoners of War*. This list refers to those interned in Ballykinlar only and does not include those Waterford men who spent time in the other internment camps such as Kilworth, Spike Island, the Curragh or Bere Island.

West Waterford Brigade

Michael Cotter, Knockanore
Thomas Hancock, Tallow
Sean Hubbard, Ring
Michael Coleman, Lismore
Patrick McKenna, Dungarvan
Daniel Fraher, Dungarvan
Patrick Ormond, Dungarvan
James Moran, Dungarvan
Michael Brennock, Dungarvan
Tom McCarthy, Dungarvan
Sean Riordan, Dungarvan
Michael Hassett, Dungarvan
Patrick Mulcahy, Dungarvan
Padraig C. O'Mahoney, Dungarvan
Michael Ronayne, Aglish
Patrick Cashin, Cappagh
Joseph Ahearn, Ballinamult
John Cashin, Cappagh
Patrick Condon, Ballymacmague
Thomas Crowe, Villierstown
Eamonn O'Dea, Dungarvan
John Crey, Dungarvan
Tadhg O'Shea, Lismore
Edward Landers, Lismore
Declan Hurton, Ardmore
Maurice Galvin, Tallow
Charles Mansfield, Old Parish
Tom Mooney, Old Parish
Pat Cullinane, Kilmacthomas
Frank Drohan, Kilmacthomas
John Hayes, Lismore
Tim Duggan, Lismore
Jack Keyes, Lismore
Michael Ward, Lismore
Lar Condon, Dungarvan
Michael Lynch, Dungarvan
James Cashin, Cappagh
James Butler, Ballinamult
Edmund Higgins, Ballyduff

52 Richard Abbott, *Police casualties in Ireland 1919-1922*, (Cork, 2000) p. 271.

East Waterford Brigade

Eamon Duggan,
The Glen, Waterford City
Thomas McCarthy,
St. Igatius St., W'ford City
Michael Ryan,
Johnstown, Waterford City
Edward Walsh,
Waterford City
Patrick Brazil,
Lombard St., Waterford City
John Kerr,
Waterford City

Eamon Power,
Dunmore East
Joseph Richards,
Dunmore East

Michael O'Neill,
St Michael's St.,
Thomas Walsh,
St. Mary's Tce., W'ford City
Liam Walsh,
Gracedieu Rd., W'ford City
Michael Galvin,
Waterford City
Thomas Kirwan,
Johnstown, W'ford City
John Dolan,
Coyle's Rest
(may be a misprint in register)
Nicholas Power,
Dunmore East
Eamon Colbert,
Main St., Rathgormack

From these lists we can say that at least fifty-five Waterford men were interned in Ballykinlar during the War of Independence of whom three never came home. All of them played their part in the Irish revolution.

The Nine County Waterford Farmers

Nicholas J Sheehan

On the afternoon of Thursday 7 September 1933, nine Waterford farmers from the Dunmore East area were arrested by a team of Civic Guards as they went about their daily work.[1] They were taken to the Garda headquarters in Waterford City and questioned overnight before eight of them were transferred the following day by motor lorry to Dublin where they were detained in Mountjoy Jail. Having been given compassionate bail, the ninth joined them soon afterwards. The initial charge against the farmers was that they were members of an unlawful association to promote, encourage and advocate the non-payment of poor rates. A second charge of conspiracy would be added before they were tried by a military tribunal under the Public Safety Act a month later. The arrested men were Patrick Halley (Brownstown), Nicholas Sheehan (Leperstown), John Sheehan (Leperstown), John Flynn (Leperstown), Richard O'Brien (Harristown), John Cullinane (Kilmacquague), Michael Kirwan (Kilmacquague), John Power (Dromina) and William O'Brien (Rathmoylan). The small group were all relatives or friends from the Gaultier area of East Waterford. Nicholas and John Sheehan were first cousins, while Michael Kirwan was a cousin of Nicholas Sheehan's wife Mary (nee Power), and John (Jack) Flynn was a descendent of the Ronayne-Sheehan branch of the family.

The episode became a *cause celebre* and the arrests and trial were front page news in the national press.

The background to this dramatic event was the Anglo-Irish Trade War (or the Economic War as it was popularly known) with Britain, which had left many farmers throughout Ireland impoverished and unable to pay their local taxes. On coming to power in the Irish Free State in 1932, the new Fianna Fáil government under Eamon de Valera quickly implemented a number of measures designed to boost the Irish economy, which was suffering from the effects of the Great Depression that had begun in 1929.[2] As well as introducing tariffs for a wide range of imported goods from Britain, de Valera refused to transfer receipts of land annuities due to the British exchequer. (The land annuities were annual repayments on loans granted by the British Government to Irish tenant farmers under the Irish Land Acts, to enable them to buy their land from their former landlords.) Britain retaliated by levying punitive tariffs on the importation of Irish farm exports. The imposition of 20% duty on cattle and other Irish agricultural imports to the UK,[3] which made up 96% of the Irish export market,[4] was a devastating blow and the value of Irish

1 *Waterford News*, 8 September 1933.

2 Patrick C Power, *History of Waterford City and County*, (Cork, 1990), pp. 263-4.

3 www.eircom.net The Economic War 1932-1938, accessed 15 May 2014.

4 www.multitext.ucc.ie The Pursuit of Sovereignty and the Impact of Partition, 1912-1949, accessed 15 May 2014.

exports to the UK dropped dramatically over the next few years. The cattle industry suffered particularly badly.

There was such a surplus of cattle in Ireland that farmers had to begin to give away or slaughter their animals because they could neither sell them nor afford to feed them. Many farmers, especially the larger cattle breeders, lost their farms and livelihoods.

Although the Irish government was withholding payment of land annuities to Britain, it did not go so far as to waive its own collection of annuities that were costing its farmers over £4 million annually. Where farmers failed to pay their rates, their livestock was impounded and auctioned it off.

In a period of heightened political tension, veterans of the Free State Army formed the Army Comrades Association, whose members soon became known as 'Blueshirts' because of their distinctive uniform.[5] In July 1933, former Free State general Eoin O'Duffy, who had recently been dismissed as Commissioner of the Civic Guards, assumed leadership of the Blueshirts under the new name of the National Guard.[6] The organisation particularly appealed to educated young farmers who had felt the impact of the economic war.

The National Farmers' and Ratepayers' League, which was soon to become the National Centre Party, was formed in 1932 and one of its aims was to assist farmers who were struggling to pay their rates and annuities. Around the beginning of August 1933, a meeting of the Gaultier branch was addressed by Mr Edmond Fleming, secretary of the county section of the League in Dundalk.[7] The meeting was held in the Gaultier creamery and was attended by about twenty or thirty people. In the absence of its usual chairman, Sir Robert Paul, Patrick Halley presided. Fleming told the meeting that in the event of seizures of cattle or other penalties, they should stand by their neighbours and help them in every way. All present agreed that farmers in the locality should be asked to sign a pledge, or petition, supporting the non-payment of poor rates and land annuities in the case of extreme hardship. The text of the pledge was:[8]

> We, the undersigned, adhere to the resolution of the National Farmers' and Ratepayers' League declaring that, under the conditions of the economic war, the farmers of this country are deprived of the means of paying the public charges assessed upon them. Further, it is well known and should be appreciated by the Government in power that we have already paid these commitments several times over through tariffs levelled on all agricultural produce. Consequently we will assist any member of the League by any means within our power in any trouble that may arise through inability to meet these charges.

5 Patrick C Power, *History of Waterford City and County*, (Cork, 1990), pp. 263-4.

6 Eugene Broderick, 'The Blueshirts in Waterford, 1932-1934', in *Decies* 48 (1993), pp. 56-7.

7 *Irish Press*, 10 October 1933.

8 *Ibid*, 6 October 1933.

Everyone at the meeting signed the pledge and copies were distributed to be circulated to other farmers around the district for signature. Men going around with the form were instructed to be friendly and not to use threats. About 100 or more people were visited and most signed. However, Nicholas Sheehan, secretary of the branch, compiled a list of the names of people who refused to sign and then sent it to owners of threshing machines instructing them to refuse to thresh for those people, as had been unanimously agreed by the membership. Patrick Halley sent a copy of the list of farmers' names to Edmond Fleming in Dungarvan. If they asked, people were told that there was no compulsion to sign the pledge and that those who were able to pay their rates should pay them. They were not necessarily warned of the consequences of not signing.

Towards the end of August, Nicholas Sheehan wrote to Laurence Dower, the owner of a steam threshing set operating in the district, saying that persons on an enclosed list of names had been boycotted and asking him not thresh or permit his threshing set to be put to use for any of those people.[9] When Dower commented that it was a very strange state of affairs, Sheehan replied that it could not be helped now as he had got his orders and instructions. Sheehan wrote a similar letter to John Power, secretary of the district's second branch of the Farmers' and Ratepayers' League at Crook. Power, who was secretary of the Crook Co-operative Society, passed the list of names on to John Cleere, who was employed by the society as a driver of a steam threshing set, telling him not to thresh for those people until he received further notice from Mr Sheehan from Leperstown. The list was also sent to Patrick Donnelly of Tramore, another owner of a threshing set. When Dower approached Sheehan on hearing that Mrs Johanna Flynn's threshing had been done despite her failure to sign the pledge, Sheehan gave him a handwritten note to take to Cleere to clarify the situation. It transpired that Mrs Flynn's name had been omitted from Cleere's list, presumably due to an administrative error. The 'Dear Laurence' (Dower) and 'Dear Jack' (Power) letters and the list given to Cleere, which were all in Nicholas Sheehan's handwriting, would be crucial to the events which were about to unfold.

On receiving reports of alleged organised opposition by farmers in East Waterford to the payment of rates and the alleged boycott methods adopted against those farmers who declined to support this campaign, the government's response was swift and severe. On Thursday 7 September, a force of twenty Gardaí, under the command of Chief Superintendent Murphy and Superintendent Fahy, were rushed from the city into the Dunmore East and Ballymacaw areas, where they took nine farmers into custody from their homes and the fields where they were working.[10]

Hearing of the planned arrests and there being no telephones in rural areas at that time, a neighbour cycled to Nicholas Sheehan's farm at Leperstown to warn of the Civic Guards impending arrival.[11] Sheehan abandoned his chores, took a quick

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Waterford News*, 8 September 1933.

11 Catherine Floe, *The Leaving of Leperstown*, (Victoria BC, 2005), pp. 64-67.

bath, changed into a new suit of clothes and set off up the avenue to await arrest. On the arrival of the guards, he was escorted back to the house where, at the request of Inspector B Harte, he immediately handed over about thirty documents including a notebook, a small diary, a cheque payable to the Farmers' and Ratepayers' League (Sheehan was part-time treasurer as well as secretary of the branch), a document bearing the resolution passed by the Farmers' and Ratepayers' League along with a number of names, and three postcards.[12] The notebook contained a list of names described as a Vigilance Committee, these being given as J Flynn, John Cullinane, Nicholas Sheehan, William O'Brien, Patrick Dunphy and Richard Phelan.[13] The guards conducted a thorough search of the house for other incriminating documents. A smashed drawer in the old mahogany sideboard in the sitting room was a lasting reminder of this intrusion.[14] Documents found by Detective-Sergeant Michael Byrne in John Power's house included the letter beginning 'Dear Jack', and Clecre gave his list of boycotted farmers to Sergeant Doyle.[15]

If they received any warning of the raid, the other farmers focused on securing their family and livestock. They were still dressed in their work clothes when the guards arrived but were permitted to pack a suitcase before being taken into custody.[16] The arrested men were taken to the Waterford Garda headquarters where they were interviewed well into the night. Halley was released on bail at 11 o'clock that evening to enable him to he at his wife's bedside for the imminent birth of their child.[17] The other eight farmers were detained and the following afternoon escorted by members of the Metropolitan Detective Division, they were taken by open-topped lorry to Dublin where they were imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail. After their dusty ride, the men were allowed to bathe and change into their good outfits, with the exception of a similarly grubby Nicholas Sheehan who was considered to be suitably attired already.[18] Deemed to have committed a political crime, they were to be tried by a military tribunal, the Constitution [Special Powers] Tribunal, under the Constitution (Amendment No. 17) Act, 1931.[19]

On the Sunday morning after the arrests, slogans calling for the release of the farmers were found painted in large white letters on the road surface outside several of Waterford's Catholic churches and also opposite the Clock Tower on the Quay and on the Mall outside Reginald's Tower.[20] After his newborn child had been baptised, Halley was taken to Mountjoy to join his colleagues.[21]

12 *Irish Press*, 7 October 1933.
13 *Ibid*. 10 October 1933.
14 Catherine Floe, *The Leaving of Leperstown*, (Victoria BC, 2005), pp. 64-67.
15 *Irish Press*, 7 October 1933.
16 Catherine Floe, *The Leaving of Leperstown*, (Victoria BC, 2005), pp. 64-67.
17 *Irish Independent*, 7 October 1933.
18 Catherine Floe, *The Leaving of Leperstown*, (Victoria BC, 2005), pp. 64-67.
19 www.irishstatutebook.ie Irish Statute Book, Constitution (Amendment No.17) Act, 1931, accessed 15 May 2014.
20 *Munster Express*, 15 September 1933.
21 *Irish Independent*, 7 October 1933.

Imprisonment was a frightening and chastening experience for the young men, who for a time feared that they would be charged with treason and could be shot if found guilty. However, while they had had to conform to the usual prison regulations such as exercising in the yard, they were afforded certain privileges as political prisoners, including being allowed to order in their own food and being permitted cigarettes and newspapers.[22]

Under the Public Safety Act, no preliminary court hearings were necessary in connection with the military tribunal. The accused men would be given every opportunity to prepare their defence and would be given thirty-six hours notice before they faced the tribunal.[23] On 10 September, while evidence was still being prepared against the nine farmers and the exact terms of the charge were yet to be drawn up, Eamon de Valera controversially mentioned them in a speech in Dundalk. Referring to a campaign by Mr MacDermot's Centre Party against the payment of rates, he spoke explicitly of an illegal conspiracy whereby representatives of the Farmers' and Ratepayers' Association had been endeavouring to intimidate farmers into signing a pledge not to pay rates and where refusal to do so resulted in their names being entered on to a list of boycotted persons which was circulated to owners of threshing machines. Mr MacDermot countered that the Centre Party and the National Farmers' and Ratepayers' League (by then essentially one and the same) had never authorised any campaign against the payment of rates but rather had resolved to do anything legally possible to protect from victimisation persons who were unable to pay by reason of government policy.[24] On 28 September, the Dáil rejected a motion by Mr MacDermot that the government's use of the Constitution (Amendment No.17) Act, 1931 was unjust and oppressive and deserving of censure. During the debate, ex-attorney general Mr Costello argued that de Valera's action in commenting on cases pending against Waterford farmers and calling it an illegal conspiracy had prejudged the point that the military tribunal would be called on to decide and was a gross abuse of his power as president.[25]

The farmers were held in Mountjoy Jail for the full statutory period of one month allowed by the Constitution Amendment Act. After a fortnight, the only charge against them was still that they were members of an association to promote, encourage and advocate the non-payment of rates. However, before the end of the month, the men were also charged with conspiracy.[26]

Whether or not there was any resentment or antipathy towards the arrested men, it was clear that they enjoyed widespread sympathy and support. About 200 farmers, members of Co. Waterford Farmers' and Ratepayers' League drawn from within a radius of thirty miles, travelled on 28 September to farms belonging to the nine imprisoned farmers to dig and save their potato crops.[27]

22 *Ibid.* 11 October 1933.
23 *Munster Express*, 15 September 1933.
24 *Irish Press*, 12 September 1933.
25 *Irish Independent*, 29 September 1933.
26 *Irish Press*, 29 September 1933.
27 *Irish Independent*, 29 September 1933.

Plate 1: *Eight of the nine Waterford farmers after their release from Mountjoy Jail. From the left, M. Kirwan, W. O'Brien (seated), J. Cullinane, J. Sheehan (seated), J. Power, R. O'Brien, P. Halley (seated) and J. Flynn.* Irish Independent.

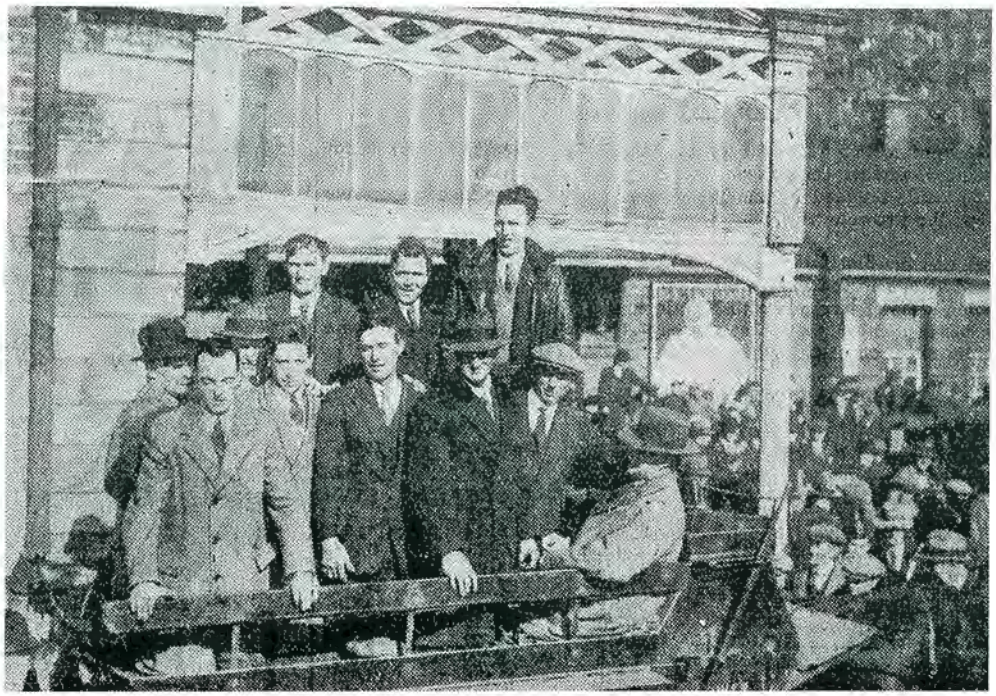


Plate 2: *The released farmers standing an the wagonette during the procession of welcome in Waterford.* Irish Independent.

On Thursday 5 October, heavily guarded by detectives, the nine accused farmers were taken from Mountjoy Prison to the courtroom at Collins Barracks by prison van to appear before the military tribunal.[28] The prosecution was being brought by the attorney general. Prosecuting counsel were James Geoghegan KC, TD, G Gavan Duffy SC and Kevin Haugh (instructed by J S O'Connor, of the Chief State Solicitor's Department), on behalf of the attorney general. Defending were Cecil Lavery, KC and P J Roe (instructed by Martin Halley).

The full charges against the defendants were:

> (1) That between August 20, 1933 and September 1, 1933, they were members of an unlawful association – namely, an association consisting of the accused and others unknown to (a) promote the non-payment of local taxation – namely, Poor Rates payable to the Waterford County Council; (b) encourage the non-payment of such taxation; and (c) advocate the non-payment of such taxation.
> (2) That, between August 20, 1933 and September 1 in the County Waterford, they conspired together, and with other persons unknown, unlawfully to compel persons to join the association called 'The National Farmers' and Ratepayers' League', and to sign a document in the words or to the effect following 'We, the undersigned, adhere to the resolution of the National Farmers' and Ratepayers' League declaring that, under the condition of the economic war, the farmers of this country are deprived of the means of paying the public charges assessed upon them. Further, it is well known and should be appreciated by the Government in power that we have already paid these commitments several times over through tariffs levelled on all agricultural produce. Consequently we will assist any member of the League by any means within our power in any trouble that may arise through inability to meet these charges' by intimidation and by preventing persons refusing or omitting to join the said association, or sign the said document, from having their corn threshed and from entering into lawful and ordinary business transactions and contracts.

Opening for the prosecution, Mr Geoghegan, alleged a reign of terror in the Gaultier district which he proposed had been instigated by another district for the purpose of discouraging the payment of rates. Referring to evil influences lurking behind the scenes, he implied that the campaign in Gaultier had been orchestrated by the neighbouring Dungarvan branch and he denounced 'the coward in the background'.

Acknowledging that the Constitution Amendment Act was a very penal measure, Mr Geohegan said that statements given by the accused to the police would not be put in evidence so as to give the men the benefit of every possible doubt. Without exception, the witnesses, including senior members of the Civic Guard, described the accused farmers as decent respectable men and no malice was

28 *Ibid.* 6 October 1933.

expressed towards any of them. Halley and Richard O'Brien had both been members of the Irish Volunteers and Halley was later a lieutenant in the Free State Army.[29] Halley would lose his army pension if convicted of the charges against him.

The case for the prosecution came to a close at 12.30 pm on Friday 6 October. Opening for the defence in the afternoon, Mr Lavery began by saying that he did not think that it was the duty of military officers of high rank to try criminal charges against law-abiding citizens and he asserted that the case would more properly have been heard by a judge and jury in the High Court.[30] He described the case as a tyrannical abuse of power for political ends and criticised the men's prolonged imprisonment before full charges were preferred against them. As the only evidence against seven of the accused was that they had visited a number of persons with a document and parted from them on perfectly friendly terms regardless of whether they had signed it, Mr Lavery asked the court to direct the acquittal of these men. He went on to say that it had been stated in the case against Nicholas Sheehan and John Power that the pledge put by them was a commitment not to pay the rates, whereas, in fact, it did not suggest that any farmer who had the means should withhold payment. He pointed out that, despite a covert suggestion to the contrary, the League was not an illegal organisation and it was not an offence to be a member of it. Notwithstanding this submission, the president of the court ruled that there was a *prima facie* case to answer and he directed that the case proceed.

In cross-examining Patrick Halley, prosecuting counsel, Mr Geohegan directed his attention to a letter from Edmond Fleming to the secretary of the Gaultier branch, whose fourth paragraph was in inverted commas and block capitals and read 'DO YOUR PART IN YOUR AREA'.[31] He suggested that this was the order which led to scores of people being visited. Halley responded that he regarded the pledge as a petition to the government and that any person who signed it could continue to pay his rates. He added that he did not take the boycott motion seriously as he believed that it would quickly blow over. Questioned about the vigilance committee, he said its purpose was to ensure that their neighbour was backed up and that he would not be in poverty in the event of his cattle or his horse being seized.[32]

Cross-examined by Mr Duffy, Nicholas Sheehan acknowledged that he was the originator of most of the letters but denied that he was the driving force in the Gaultier branch.[33] He admitted that his use of the word 'boycott' was unfortunate. Responding to the prosecution's claim that men who declined to sign the document were to be made agricultural and social outcasts, Sheehan said that the boycott applied only to threshing and he denied that it meant that the people were to be shunned; there were no plans for a second stage of sanctions. He was aware that

29 *Ibid.* 7 October 1933; 10 October 1933.
30 *Ibid.* 7 October 1933.
31 *Irish Press*, 7 October 1933.
32 *Irish Independent*, 10 October 1933.
33 *Ibid.* 10 October 1933.

there was talk of a no-rates campaign in the country and acknowledged that the actions of the Gaultier branch would be giving a lead to the country as a whole. Asked about the vigilance committee, he told the tribunal that, while the original intention was to appoint a number of people to this committee, he had subsequently received instructions that everyone in the branch was to be a member.[34]

The next witness, John Power, stated that the Crook branch of the League decided to have nothing to do with the boycott list but that he and his chairman circulated it to be of assistance to the Gaultier branch.[35] Recalling the meetings at the Gaultier creamery, John Flynn pointed out that Mr Wall TD had emphasised that any man able to pay rates should pay them and Michael Kirwan said they were told that their first duty was to their home and family and if they were not able to pay their rates the League would help them.

The greater part of the last day of the trial on 10 October was occupied by the closing speeches of counsel on both sides. In summing up for the defence, Mr Roe questioned the conduct of the attorney general in taking the men away from their families and livelihoods and locking them up for a month before their trial, when they would have readily responded to a summons to attend the tribunal.[36] He also repeated the criticism of Mr de Valera's speech at Dundalk. He declared that there was nothing to prove either charge and asked for an acquittal for all the accused on all counts. When the case for the defence had concluded, and before Mr Duffy spoke for the prosecution, Mr P Lynch KC made a statement to the court on behalf of President de Valera, regarding his speech at Dundalk. He said that the president had been speaking in general terms and that he publicly disavowed any intention to prejudice the fair trial of a case pending before the tribunal. Disputing this, Mr Lavery asserted that Mr de Valera's speech included an unequivocal reference to the nine Waterford farmers, and as it risked prejudicing their trial, it was a contempt of court. He criticised the timing of the statement, which was made when the case was reaching a conclusion and the tribunal was about to give its ruling, as compounding the offence. The president of the court ruled that the matter would be dealt with separately. If it was, the verdict was lost in the euphoria surrounding ensuing events.

Summing up for the prosecution, Mr Duffy alleged a vicious and immoral campaign of public mischief. He submitted that the men were working together in a deliberate anti-rate or no-rate campaign and that it was a matter for the court to decide how the words of the pledge were understood in the district.

At 7.30 pm, on Tuesday 10 October, after a trial lasting four days, the nine Co. Waterford farmers were found not guilty of the charges brought against them and were acquitted.[37] The following official announcement was made by the registrar of the tribunal, 'All prisoners found not guilty on all charges.'

34 *Irish Press*, 10 October 1933.
35 *Irish Independent*, 10 October 1933.
36 *Ibid*. 11 October 1933.
37 *Ibid*. 11 October 1933.

The men were set free at 8.30 pm and were met by their solicitor, Mr Halley. Relieved that their ordeal was over, they expressed appreciation of the kindness of the governor of Mountjoy and other prison officials. They then walked directly to Clerkin's Hotel on Eccles Street, where they would be staying until they returned to Waterford. The news of their release was met with jubilation in the Gaultier district and a deputation of farmers called on the relatives of the freed men that evening to celebrate with them

The following day, after being visited by friends and supporters including Mrs Redmond TD and Mr Wall TD, the released farmers were given a reception at Leinster House by members of the United Ireland Party.[38] They spent the rest of the day sightseeing around Dublin, and later were driven around Dun Laoghaire and other coastal beauty spots by Mr Fagan TD.

The nine farmers arrived in Waterford from Dublin by the 1.30 pm train on Thursday 12 October, where they were met at the North Station and given a heroes' welcome by relatives and hundreds of their colleagues who had travelled from distant parts of the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Wexford.[39] Parties of Gardaí had joined the train at stations on the approach to Waterford and the precincts of the railway and the bridge were lined by over 100 members of the Civic Guard drawn from the city, Kilkenny, Thomastown, Callan and Tramore. Outside the station, the freed men were given a rousing ovation by a huge crowd as they took their places in the wagonette which was to convey them to a public meeting in Broad Street. Accompanying the farmers in the vehicle were the Mayor of Waterford, Councillor M Cassin and TDs, Mrs Redmond, Mr James Dillon, General Mulcahy, Mr Nicholas Wall and Mr Richard Houlihan.[40] Marshalled by several young men in blue shirts, and flanked by a large contingent of Civic Guards led by Chief Superintendent Murphy, a big procession, headed by two large banners proclaiming 'Welcome to the Gaultier Farmers' and 'Irishmen, Onward to Victory', assumed enormous proportions as it proceeded down the Quay. Many more people lined the route.

Plate 3: *Dr M. Sheehan (right) congratulating his brother Mr N. Sheehan (Leperstown) following his release from Mountjoy.*
Irish Independent.

38 *Ibid.* 12 October 1933.
39 *Waterford News*, 13 October 1933.
40 *Munster Express*, 13 October 1933.

The meeting in Broad Street was chaired by Mr William Hearne, Chairman of the Waterford County Farmers' and Ratepayers' League, who described the released prisoners as 'the nine bright stars of East Waterford'. Speakers were Sir Robert Paul, General Mulcahy, Mrs Redmond, Mr James Dillon, Mr Houlihan, Mr Wall and the Mayor of Waterford. General Mulcahy held Fianna Fail representatives in Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary responsible for the false charge being brought before the Waterford farmers. Mr Dillon said that he had personally warned President de Valera nine months earlier that, if he continued to pursue his present policy, farmers would eventually become unable to pay either rates or land annuities. The meeting ended without incident.

The released men returned to their farms and families. Their case had highlighted the plight and hardship of Ireland's farming community but it would be many more years before the situation improved with the ending of the Economic War in 1938.

Acknowledgement
Personal memories were contributed by Mrs Catherine Floe, whose father, Nicholas Sheehan, was one of the nine farmers.

Plate 4: *The Waterford farmers welcomed home after they left the railway station after their arrival from Dublin following their release from Mountjoy.*
Irish Independent.

Sport and Society in Waterford, 1918-1939: A Survey

David Toms

Introduction

In 1918, county Waterford elected Cathal Brugha as MP, part of the wider trend of Sinn Féin candidates elected across the country as the push for independence gained wider public support, while in the city William Redmond of the Irish Parliamentary Party was elected into office. The election of Redmond gave a boost to the Irish Parliamentary Party, however briefly. Redmond, whose father John had called for Irish involvement in the First World War, was one of 1,756 Waterford men who took up the call by 1915. For soldiers like Waterford man James English, who died at the front, much of the impetus to go from Waterford had been economic, rather than idealistic.[1] The years following the end of the war would see many mass demonstrations of remembrance take place in Waterford, on some occasions with up to 10,000 people taking part in the act of remembering Waterford's war dead. In the period following the war, and throughout the period when such remembrance in the city was at its peak, Waterford with a growing, if often unemployed, working class, was a perfect place for sport to grow and develop both in terms of participation, with sports like junior soccer, hurling, or boxing and spectatorship: commercial sporting developments like greyhound racing and motor racing were just two new and novel spectator sports to make their mark in this period, not alone in Waterford, but elsewhere in Ireland and Britain. Waterford in the period after the end of the war and the passing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 would experience the economic slump experienced elsewhere when demand dropped with the end of the war. Amidst such an economic down-turn, sport was developing in Waterford at a much greater pace than it previously had done.[2] Although the city experienced something of the Victorian sporting revolution from the late nineteenth century onwards, it was in the inter-war period that the city and county saw a change in sporting activity that cemented its current sporting culture.[3] This article will argue that sport is crucial to understanding the lives of Waterford people in this period since it, along with other leisure activities like the cinema, the radio, card games and dances, trips to the seaside and fish 'n' chips was part of a changing popular culture that began in this period.

1 The story of James English and other Waterford men who went to the front is told in T. P. Dooley, *Irishmen or English Soldiers?*, (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1995).

2 For a comprehensive labour history of Waterford, E. O'Connor, *A Labour History of Waterford*, (Waterford, Waterford Trades Council, 1989) is unsurpassed for quality and scope in examining Waterford in the twentieth century.

3 To get a sense of sport in the Victorian era in Ireland T. Hunt, *Sport and Society in Victorian Ireland: The Case of Westmeath*, (Cork, Cork University Press, 2007) is the standout text in this regard.

What follows here then is by no means a comprehensive history of sport in Waterford between the two world wars; rather, this is a survey of the sporting activity of the city and county. The aim is to show and explore aspects of the diverse sporting culture of Waterford in the period, and to place this sporting culture in the wider context of the emerging leisure of the interwar period. From the formation of the Waterford and District Football League through motorcar and motorcycle racing on Tramore strand, the development of hurling in the city centre, rugby's brief rise and many other sporting endeavours what emerges is the importance of sport to communities across Waterford. Sports clubs were about more than just sport; they were key social centres around which people organised much of their free time. Brass bands were an important part of the match day experience; social nights with dancing and playing cards were part and parcel of club membership. We will see a whole range of clubs using their organisations to help causes in their communities. Offering a picture of Waterford in transition, with a declining rural population as the urban population grew with the arrival of new factories into the city in the 1930s, this article adds not alone to our understanding of the history of sport in Waterford, but to the social and economic history of the city in the twentieth century more generally.[4]

Waterford and District Football League, St. Joseph's Boys' Club and the birth of Soccer in Waterford, 1918-1930

Soccer in Ireland, much like in Britain, has traditionally been associated with areas of high industrialisation. Not for nothing, did the Irish Football Association and later the Irish League establish itself around Belfast in the 1880s. Nor is it any great surprise that the other places where soccer first took hold in Ireland in a major way were Dublin and Cork. This would change after the split between the IFA and the Leinster FA that led to the establishment of the Football Association of the Irish Free State.[5] As well as Cork and Dublin, places like Sligo, Athlone, Limerick and Waterford would all develop into strong soccer regions.

Although there is evidence of soccer played on a regular basis in Waterford well before the First World War, by and large the game lacked an organisational centre around which to develop strong ties in the community and for the game to flourish.[6] That would all change in 1924, when a group of men met in the city's

4 For instance, Lismore saw a 5.8% decrease in inhabitants 1926-36; Kilmacthomas an 8.2% decrease and rural Dungarvan a 6.6% decrease; Dungarvan's urban district saw an increase of 2.9%, while Waterford city saw an increase in population of 4.9% from 26,647 to 27,962: *1936 Census Preliminary Report*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1936) Table 2, p. 27.

5 The best work currently available on soccer in Ireland before the split is N. Garnham, *Association football and society in pre-partition Ireland* (Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005).

6 From 1900 to 1910, only a handful of organised soccer matches were reported in the *Waterford News*. These include games in 1902, 1905, 1908 and 1909. The teams that played were Waterpark Celtic AFC (attached to Waterpark College), De La Salle and Tipperary side, Cahir Park in a game that pre-dates their founding in 1910: *Waterford News*, 12 December 1902; 10 November 1905; 25 September 1908; 16 April 1909.

Catholic Young Men's Society Hall to establish the Waterford and District Football League.[7] The league's first chairman was Frank Phillips of the Mall, Waterford. Previously a captain in the army he was a member of the 'pal's brigade' from Dublin rugby circles in the First World War. The first Secretary was Jim Skelton of Morrison's Road, Waterford. The committee comprised of J. Barry, I. Woolfson, J.J. Murray, J. Mitchell, D. Browne, J. Kennedy and Kiely.[8] Frank Phillips' involvement in sport was not limited to soccer alone. A keen cyclist in the period prior to the First World War, his exploits on WGD Goff's cycling track in the People's Park was often brought up in newspaper articles about him. Phillips was also a keen rugby and cricket player.[9] His contribution to soccer in Waterford is significant. As we will see later on, he was involved in Waterford Celtic AFC that was the first Waterford team to succeed in becoming a League of Ireland side. Phillips, who lived on the Mall in Waterford City with his wife and children (one daughter and two sons) was a photographer by trade.

Before this the main outlet for the sport in Waterford was the Marquis' Cup. Later cup competitions included the George French Shield and the Infirmary Cup. This was sponsored by Hearne & Cahill & Co. The Marquis' Cup started life as an impromptu invitational competition where the Marquis would assemble a team to play against a local side. The first non-military side honoured in this way was Young Favourites. Not until 1929 was the Cup contested solely amongst the junior sides, when Parnell Celtic was its first winners, beating St. Joseph's AFC. The Infirmary Cup itself was not competed for until 1929 also, meaning that the Waterford & District League set up in 1924 was of vital importance in maintaining the growing interest in the sport between the end of the First World War and 1930. It was this league that buttressed the sports fledgling revival, allowing it to prosper.

The George French Shield came to the people of Waterford by way of one of their favourite entertainers. An English comedian, George French frequently toured in both Dublin and Waterford. French was a popular entertainer at the time frequently playing the Tivoli, Gaiety and Theatre Royal in Dublin and the Theatre Royal in Waterford.[10] He was a supporter not just of soccer, but the Civic Guard Sports and the newly formed Waterford Athletic Club, giving them ten guineas for a cup.[11] Standing at around four feet high and has a large silver relief depicting a soccer match, the shield was a very impressive prize. The Marquis of Waterford had been a long-time supporter of soccer in Waterford, as well as rugby. Indeed, the marquis stands probably as the only significant upper-class patron of the game in the city or county. Judging by one account of a game from 1929, he was a decent player of the game. In this particular match, played by a team of his choosing against a Waterford League Selected XI, his side were beaten soundly 6-2. The day though was a success it seems, the gate amounting to £11 10s which was

7 *Munster Express*, 27 December 1924.
8 *Waterford News and Star*, 26 August 1977.
9 *Munster Express*, 23 June 1923; 12 February 1926; 10 September 1926.
10 *Irish Times*, 7 September 1912; 12 December 1922.
11 *Munster Express*, 29 July 1927; 26 September 1930.

donated to the Portlaw Soccer Club.[12] The Infirmary Cup was not just a way of promoting the game of soccer, but also of promoting and helping the Infirmary itself. When the hospital required a lift to help its more immobile patients, a flag day was proposed. These were to be held on the 21st and 22nd of June, with the 22nd coinciding with the final of the Infirmary Cup itself.[13]

Isaac Woolfson, a Jewish immigrant living in Kneefe's Lane, was a committee member of the new Football League. He also served on the committee of St. Joseph's AFC, becoming their Chairman in 1931.[14] Isaac was the one who sought a way to increase the popularity and numbers who played the game, by attempting to set up the Employer's League in 1931.[15] The contribution of both Woolfson and Frank Phillips was recognised early on, with an article appearing in the Dublin-based *Football Sports Weekly* entitled 'Willing Workers in Waterford' praising both men's efforts in establishing the game of soccer in the city.[16]

The Young Favourites were established around late 1923 and by February of 1924, they played Cahir Park of Tipperary in the first round of the Munster Senior Cup at the Sportsfield in Waterford city.[17] Six months later, Young Favourites found themselves up against Cahir Park once more – this time in the Free State Cup. Cahir Park beat Young Favourites three goals to nil on that occasion. On the same weekend the YMCA played H. Denny and Sons team. Right through the 1920s many junior clubs sprang up around the city and county. Amongst these were CYMS, Mayor's Walk, Temperance Hall, Civil Service, St. John's, St. Joseph's, Ramblers, O'Connell Celtic and City Rangers. Membership of these clubs would have been quite cheap. This last side made it all the way to the semi-final of the Munster senior cup in 1926, and the following was written about the game in Dublin:

> The second semi-final of the Munster senior cup was played at Waterford last Sunday, the opposing teams being Victoria Celtic, Cork and City Rangers, Waterford. The Munster Football Association availed of the occasion to see for themselves how the game was progressing in that portion of their command... any inconvenience [in travelling] was more than compensated by the enthusiasm prevailing amongst the Soccer public in the City of Urbs Intacta. The local governing body are to be congratulated on the strides which have been made with the game... well done, Waterford! Keep going ahead like

12 *Munster Express*, 26 April 1929.

13 *Munster Express*, 13 June 1930.

14 M. Keane, *St. Josephs A.F.C, 1923-1993: 70th Anniversary Publication*, (Waterford, 1994).

15 *Munster Express*, 15 May 1931 - notice reads, 'There were 24 delegates representing 12 Waterford City firms, who intend competing in the new Employers' Football League present at the meeting of the Waterford and District Football League held on Monday night.'

16 *Football Sports Weekly*, 5 March 1927.

17 *Munster Express*, 9 February 1924.

this and next season the clubs in Cork will have more than the can do to hold their own.[18]

Founded in late 1923/1924, St. Joseph's AFC was formed in the Boys' Club of the same name set up by the clergy and the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Set up to provide a place for young boys to attend lectures, engage in physical culture through gymnastics, athletics and soccer, as well as have their 'spiritual health' catered for the boys' club operated in an identical fashion to the Catholic Young Men's Society. Overseen by the Rev. Dr. Hackett, then Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, aside from the soccer club that they would form of their own accord, there was to be billiards, quoits, chess, cards, skittles, boxing, gymnastics and a variety of other amusements including reading, concerts, learning fretwork, raffia and even woodwork.[19] The club also ran raffles, jumble sales and goose clubs with their drum for drawing names modelled on that used in the Irish Hospital Sweepstakes.[20] Not only were they engaged in keeping themselves entertained by these means but other sporting endeavours were a part of their programme. They held sports days that included all of the usual activities associated with them.[21] There was an annual summer holiday camp at Tramore and an annual Christmas tea party, often held for the local newspaper boys especially.[22] This broad range of activity displayed in the club is a further indicator of the club's contemporary outlook. Of a piece with many sports-based clubs at that time, their links to their community being manifested not just through representation on the sports field, but just as importantly in other elements of community life. The club catered for a huge number with the figure at the end of 1926 being some 355 boys.[23] Their remit expanded in sporting terms by 1929, with another second division side in soccer and a hurling and Gaelic football team established at the minor level. The membership would fluctuate though remain high with the numbers at the end of 1930 a strong 309.[24] In 1932, a Tramore branch of the Boy's Club was host to an incredible 2,065 of Waterford's poorest children on a special excursion by train.[25] Despite the strongly Catholic influence to be found in the Boys' Club the boys' own choice of soccer did not seem to problematic to anyone involved in the club itself. Bishop Hackett, president of the club, and instrumental in its establishment, had no qualms about the prospect of the boys playing soccer, despite its unfavourable association with the recently deposed administration of the country. Concerned more for the boys' physical and spiritual well-being, it's unlikely he cared what they played as long as they did so through the club where their mortal souls could be guided in the correct fashion and kept from causing trouble on the streets of the city.

18 *Football Sports Weekly*, 22 May 1926.
19 *Munster Express*, 23 December 1927; 27 December 1929; 24 December 1930.
20 *Munster Express*, 27 December 1929.
21 *Munster Express*, 2 April 1926.
22 *Munster Express*, 9 September 1927.
23 *Munster Express*, 17 December 1926.
24 *Munster Express*, 24 December 1930.
25 *Munster Express*, 26 August 1932.

However, one commentator in the *Munster Express*, 'Moltóir'[26] seemed to find the choice of soccer particularly abhorrent to Gaelic sensibilities. In his column 'In the Gaelic Arena' he wrote:

> The only field games being encouraged there [at St. Joseph's Boys' Club], as far as I know, is soccer and this can hardly be classified as one of Ireland's games, seeing that it owes its introduction to this country to England's army of occupation.[27]

Moltóir then attempted to suggest that the playing of Gaelic games would be of more benefit for the boys stating that if you have never witnessed a hurling final

> You do not know what real enthusiasm is, neither can you form an idea of the mighty deeds that can be performed by the unison of muscle, brain and brawn in a contest of speed, science and skill unrivalled by any team game in the world.[28]

Whatever the protestations of 'Moltóir' the popularity of the game of soccer amongst Waterford's young in the 1920s can be in no doubt. Nor does it seem likely that the bishop would berate the boys for playing the game if it meant their continued involvement with the St. Joseph's Boys' Club as well as the soccer club. Such was the popularity of the game amongst Waterford's young at that time that the playing of the game in the street had become a considerable nuisance. Between 1927 and 1930, a good number of cases appeared before the district court relating to young boys who had been apprehended for playing football in the street, often with broken windows becoming a problem from stray footballs. On one occasion a total of more than thirty young boys were summoned by the court to pay one shilling for the 'nuisance' they had caused with their ball playing. The district justice remarked that it was a pity there weren't more playing pitches in the city, and thought it a good thing that the boys should be playing football calling it a 'natural' thing. The previous day he had fined two boys five shillings and warned those in front of him that future fines would be two shillings six pence.[29]

In 1926, a juvenile league aimed at younger teenagers was established in the city.[30] The names of the teams point toward the streets the boys came from, where their community was formed, a team like Parnell for instance while a team name like Éire Óg, with its Fenian connotations, points to the nationalism of others. Football and the GAA were lucky to have the small number of pitches they did in the city but these weren't nearly enough to cater for the demand for playing space for young children. Waterford Corporation's Public Health Committee shows

26 In English this can mean either judge or umpire.

27 *Munster Express*, 21 December 1929.

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Munster Express*, 2 May 1930.

30 South Ward United, Celtic Rovers, St. Luke's, Young Favourites, Parnell Celtic, Longcourse Rangers, Civil Service, Eire Óg, Red Rovers and Shamrock Rovers. The last of these clubs took their name from the Dublin club no doubt as a result of the Dublin clubs recent winning of the League of Ireland for the 1924/25 season.

through its minute books to be unable, incapable or unwilling to solve other related problems. Over the period 1923-7, the Public Health Committee was charged with providing playgrounds for the young children of Waterford in a number of locations in the city. Few of the recommended sites were ever developed. Problems such as cost, the possibility of nuisance and the requirement of hiring a caretaker for the playgrounds were cited for the projects not being taken up. The problem was a bad one with the Honorary Secretary of the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee in the Corporation writing to the chairman of the Public Health Committee:

> I have been instructed by the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee to point out to the Public Health Committee that the playground for children at Brown's Lane has not been completed, and to request that its completion be expedited; also that the advisability of providing a playground in the vicinity of Upper Yellow Road and Morrison's Road be advanced...[31]

With conditions such as these it's no great surprise that street football should cause such a nuisance, or indeed that an after-school club like St. Joseph's Boys Club should be established to keep young boys off the streets and active. At one hearing relating to ball-playing in the street the District Judge said:

> I don't know why it is that the facilities for playgrounds for children in Waterford are quite insufficient. However, the lack of playgrounds is not a matter for me. At the same time the children must be kept off the streets not only in the interest of the citizens but in their own interests.[32]

Many of the boys prosecuted on this occasion were from within the same area for the most part: Doyle Street, Barrack Street, Shortcourse and Costelloe's Lane. All of these streets were right in the heart of the city, where conditions were often quite poor and football immensely popular. With small houses and large families, the street was often the only place where children had room to play. Given the large numbers being brought before the courts for street play, it seems even St. Joseph's Boys' Club or even the huge array of local soccer teams couldn't quite cater for everyone. By 1927, the make-up of soccer in Waterford had again changed with yet more new clubs in existence.[33] A huge number of teams sprang

31 Waterford City Archives, Waterford Corporation Public Health Committee Minutes, letter 18 August 1924, LA1/13/D/1; The site on the Upper Yellow Road earmarked for a playground was the same site on which Goodbody's jute factory was eventually opened in 1938, see *Munster Express*, 10 April 1936.

32 *Munster Express*, 28 June 1929.

33 *Munster Express*, 4 February 1927; Erin's Hope was a new club established that February in the band room of Erin's Hope Prize Fife and Drum Band on Newgate Street. At a meeting prior to the start of the new season, the Waterford teams met with the Munster Football Association which was chaired by G. Gilligan. Present at the meeting from Waterford were: Waterford Celtic (senior and junior), Hibernian,

up in the city, with all age groups playing, but one established itself as the premier club. Waterford Celtic rose quickly through the ranks from the local district league to the Munster Senior League before transforming themselves into Waterford FC in 1930 when they joined the League of Ireland. The work of transforming themselves from Celtic to a club representing the aspirations of a soccer-mad city required tremendous effort. It was a community effort to ensure the clubs first foray into the top level of Irish soccer was a successful one. While still Waterford Celtic, the club made an early attempt at entering the Free State league with a great deal of support from some in the sporting media, though it would prove unsuccessful. In early 1927 before they first made a bid, an article about the game in the city had this to say:

> Waterford your hour has arrived. The time is now opportune for you to get together and launch a club in the Free State League. Dublin is with you, Cork is with you, all soccer Ireland is with you. Cork sent Fordson into the Free State League, since when they have n e v e r looked back. It gave such a fillip to the game down Corkonia that surpassed their wildest dreams of imagination, and now Cork is sending another team into the premier League next season. Corkmen are assured that nothing succeeds like success... the game [in Waterford] would spread in a fashion that would take your breath away.[34]

Waterford Celtic relied on voluntary effort like any other club, something recognised in their own decision to play a benefit match for St. Joseph's Boys' Club.[35] A supporters' club was established by Waterford Celtic which bought the Foresters Hall for use by members; membership was open to all those affiliated with soccer teams in Waterford.[36] A meeting held in July to organise support for the club amongst local businessmen was put into action that August.[37] A collection was made amongst the various businesses of the city, which secured some £500 before the club began its first season. Support for the club was encouraged since it was expected it would provide a boost to the local economy, with the spending power of individuals attending away games estimated to be 10/- per head, thus a crowd between 1,500 and 5,000 could have a major impact on the pecuniary well-being of local traders.[38] A further illustration of support was a benefit night for the club held in the Broad Street Cinema in the city in 1930. A programme of singing and music was put on as well as 'the usual picture programme.'[39] The club's

City Rangers, St. Joseph's, Longcourse Celtic, McCrackens, Riffs, Tramore Celtic, Young Favourites, Red Rovers and Mayor's Walk. This meeting was important since at it two new grounds in the Poleberry area of the city were given over for use for association football. As well as this a loan of £20 was given to the Waterford council for the promotion of the game.

34 *Football Sports Weekly*, 19 March 1927.

35 *Munster Express*, 20 December 1929.

36 *Munster Express*, 4 October 1929; 8 August 1930; 8 November 1929.

37 *Munster Express*, 18 July 1930.

38 *Munster Express*, 8 August 1930.

39 *Munster Express*, 4 April 1930.

preparations stepped up a gear towards the end of the summer and as they entered their first season in the League of Ireland:

> The Committee of Management of Waterford Celtic AFC have issued several hundred circulars to football supporters in the city and district to secure debenture shares to the extent of at least £500. The special sub-committee appointed recently is in communication with a number of English and Scottish players, to whom they have offered terms.[40]

The club's committee seemed most excited about the prospects of the various Dublin teams coming to Waterford for away matches, since 'St. James' Gate have intimated their intention of running an excursion here on 31st August in connection with their league game, and are guaranteeing at least fifteen hundred followers.'[41] A big gate of this kind was ultimately what membership of the Free State League was all about. Waterford Celtic though was no stranger to either St. James' Gate or indeed clubs such as Shelbourne. In March of 1930 Waterford Celtic had played St. James' Gate in a friendly match in Ozier Park. A similar friendly had been played by Waterford Celtic and Shelbourne a couple of years previously in 1928, when the Dublin side beat the Waterford side 5-2.[42]

A couple of weeks later, the club was in talks to take a number of players from Bournemouth, Liverpool and Tottenham Hotspur.[43] Introducing a large number of non-natives to the side – George Wilson of Bournemouth, Dick Forshaw formerly of Everton and Liverpool, Lindsay from Tottenham Hotspur who had a spell with Llanelli and Jack Doran, former international and Celtic player was appointed to the position of player manager.[44] Doran had played for a large number of teams: Brighton and Hove Albion, Crewe Alexandra and Manchester City in the Football League; in the Southern League he played for Pontypridd, Coventry City, Norwich City and Mid Rhondda United. In Ireland he played for Shelbourne and Fordson's before finishing his playing career with Boston Town in the Midland League. Despite such high levels of organisation and buying power, the club would finish out the season in ninth place, winning just eight games. The club in this guise wouldn't last long, failing to seek re-admission to the league for the 1933/34 season before returning a number of years later, re-established, to win the Free State Shield in 1937.[45]

A Changing Waterford: Sporting Diversity in a Factory Town, 1930-39

Despite the return of peace and stability following the upheavals of the early 1920s, a different set of problems was about to undermine the city: unemployment

40 *Munster Express*, 1 August 1930.
41 *Ibid.*
42 *Munster Express*, 11 May 1928.
43 *Munster Express*, 15 August 1930.
44 *Munster Express*, 15 August 1930.
45 Poor gates in the late 1930s and a dispute with players over bonuses would see the club teeter on the brink of extinction until it was once more recast as the Waterford Football Club (1945) Ltd. as the Second World War came to its end.

rose in Waterford, with around 2,000 men and women idle in the city, and the active labour force falling from 8,017 in 1926 to 7,625 in 1936.[46] Amongst men, 53.9% of those unemployed in the city were single while an overwhelming majority, 87.2%, of single women were unemployed in 1926. By 1936, things had only marginally improved for single men in Waterford, where they still made up 52.9% of unemployed men. For young single women, the problem had become even more acute, they now accounted for 90.4% of all unemployed females.[47] Indeed, such was the state of unemployment in Waterford in this era that it would see branches formed of the general movement of the unemployed. As Peter O'Connor recalls of the period,

> [the] unemployed were well organised from 1931 to 1934. Many meetings were held in the Park and City Hall. Some of them boisterous. In November 1932, hundreds of unemployed marched through the city led by a band and carrying a banner inscribed 'Work or Maintenance'. In May 1931 a meeting was held in the large room, City Hall to select candidates to contest the municipal elections on behalf of the unemployed. Two candidates, Thomas Purdue and Daniel Nash were elected to Waterford Corporation. Their platform was 'Blood, Bread and Work'.[48]

For all that, work-based soccer developed in the interim. For those lucky enough to be in employment in 1931, a mid-summer league was established, made up of teams from some of the city's major employers including Graves & Co., Hearne's, Great Southern Railway and the Clyde Shipping Company.[49] For those who had work, this was an outward manifestation of the increasing hope presented by new industries operating under increasingly protectionist policies implemented by the new Fianna Fáil government. Waterford, after a torrid 1920s was a beneficiary of these policies.[50] New factories began operating in the city with Allied Ironfounders and Goodbody's jute factory opening in the 1930s. According to John Hearne, this saw the establishment of over a thousand new jobs in Waterford between 1932 and 1938, though not enough to offset the overall decline noted by Emmet O'Connor. Nonetheless for those men and women working in the newly-built factories, things were good and the establishment of the first proper factory league in soccer in 1936 is a testament to this; the league would continue right up

46 E. O'Connor, *Labour History of Waterford*, p. 223.

47 *Report on 1926 Census*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1931), Vol. VI: Table 32, p. 126; *Report on 1936 Census*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1941), Vol. VI: Table 27B, pp. 101-102.

48 P. O'Connor, *A Soldier of Liberty: Recollections of a socialist and anti-fascist fighter*, (Dublin, MSF, 1996), p. 2.

49 *Munster Express*, 31 July 1931; for a fuller discussion of factory leagues in Ireland see D. Toms, '"The Brightest Couple of Hours": The Factory, Inter-House, Inter-Firm and Pubs Leagues of Ireland, 1922-73', in D. Convery (ed.), *Locked Out: A Century of Irish Working Class Life*, (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2013).

50 E. O'Connor, *Labour History of Waterford*, p. 223.

to the eve of the Second World War, during which it would fall away to be revived again.[51] For those in employment in the new factories, there was commercial sporting activity like horseracing, greyhound racing and Waterford FC matches at Kilcohan and for those unemployed who were less flush, there was cheaper participatory sport like hurling, junior soccer, or boxing.

Though unlikely to be surpassed in terms of involvement and interest in the city, soccer wasn't the only game in town; plenty of other sports were part of Waterford's landscape in the interwar period. As it was for soccer, this period was an important one for hurling, a game which was not strong in Waterford city or county previously. In large part this was due to the establishment of hurling as the major sport of Mount Sion and the establishment in the city of the Erin's Own club; this club was established in the city around the same time soccer began establishing itself. Between them, they brought hurling to a level of quality in Waterford city which had lacked previously.[52]

Rugby, the poor cousin of team sports in Waterford, saw one of its best periods in the 1920s in Waterford.[53] In 1922, a game was played at Grantstown between The Town and local bankers.[54] Waterford city used the same pitch for games against Kilkenny and Enniscorthy around the same period.[55] Enniscorthy were frequent visitors against the city side in those years. In 1926, the CYMS in the city took up the playing of rugby.[56] The same year saw flirtation with the game from Mount Sion, the Christian Brothers' school, Newtown school and a team from the Clyde Shipping Company based on the quays in the city all taking part in the game.[57] A team from Tycor also played a match, as did a group from Woodstown.[58]

The establishment of a club in the town of Dungarvan was another positive for the game in the same era, this club forming in 1927.[59] CYMS were able to run two XVs in 1929/30.[60] The City club made an attempt at bringing some big names to Waterford to encourage interest in the game playing matches against both Dublin University and also Dolphin of Cork. The Waterford City rugby club had for its secretary the very capable Frank Philips, who was instrumental at the same time in

51 *Munster Express*, 24 September 1937; See J. M. Hearne, 'Industry in Waterford City, 1932-1962', in Nolan, Power, Cowman, (eds.), *Waterford: History and Society* (Dublin, Geography Publications, 1992), pp. 685-706.

52 A fuller account of the game's early development in the city can be found in D. Smith, *The Unconquerable Keane: John Keane and the Rise of Waterford Hurling*, (Dublin, Original Writing, 2010), pp.11-32; for a more general run-down of Waterford's GAA history see Cronin, Duncan, Rouse, *The GAA: County by County*, (Cork, Collins Press 2011).

53 *Cork Examiner*, 9 November 1910.

54 *Munster Express*, 18 November 1922.

55 *Munster Express*, 2 December 1922; 30 December 1922.

56 *Munster Express*, 5 March 1926.

57 *Munster Express*, 10 December 1926.

58 *Munster Express*, 7 January 1927.

59 *Munster Express*, 18 March 1927.

60 *Munster Express*, 4 October 1929.

the development of soccer in Waterford. The Waterford City club managed to get some sponsorship for the 1929/30 season from Beamish & Crawford of Cork.[61] In the same season the club won the Munster Junior Cup, beating UCC in the semi-final and Dolphin in the final. It was also their second season entering teams at the Senior Cup level. The club played some twenty-two friendly matches that season, the bulk of their matches – the result being the club could not progress to a level that would see them impacting on the game in Munster in a significant way.

Despite the best efforts of City, Waterpark and the CYMS club the game seemed to have a limited appeal with the population of Waterford, though undoubtedly the state of the game was much healthier by the end of the 1920s than it had been previously. Nevertheless the spectre of the row over Sunday rugby reared its head in Waterford, with an after-dinner speech following a match with Limerick side Lansdowne, being dominated by the topic.[62] The Waterpark club which had begun again around 1925 were very active in the city's social life, with dances and dinners that helped to promote the game as well as providing a stall at the Sisters of Charity bazaar which helped to raise some £13.[63] The club also donated money to the City and County Infirmary to the tune of £33 on one occasion.[64] The two main Waterford teams relied heavily on competition from Cork and Tipperary, playing a handful of games against teams from Kilkenny and even Carlow. Despite the promising flowering of the game in city and county in the middle of the 1920s the game couldn't gain the kind of foothold that it would have liked.

The rugby clubs worked together for each other's benefit, securing permanent grounds at Ballinaneeshagh, the 'Bullyacre', where soccer had been played previously.[65] Rugby was nomadic; a move to Ozier Park had even been mooted. Although a small fraternity in the city, rugby was a significant part of Waterford's social life. Even though Waterford rugby would establish itself briefly, as O'Callaghan notes 'little had changed in the fashion in which the Munster committee conducted its business... administrative power was shared among a hard-core of seven senior clubs'.[66] Neither the Cork nor Limerick teams were likely to want to give much of a voice to new clubs emerging in the region, having enjoyed a monopoly of power for so long. Without much of a say in the affairs of the game – and having seen the manner in which the Sunday playing debacle was handled – perhaps many were put off by the peripheral role they would be offered.

Boxing, another physically demanding sport, had pre-war ties to the city. Prize fighting was brought to the attention of the Waterford public in the court pages of the *Munster Express* in 1911. On this occasion the court case was related to goings on in the Tramore Pavilion, an amusement hall in the seaside town. The hall,

61 *Munster Express*, 4 October 1929.
62 *Munster Express*, 13 December 1929.
63 *Munster Express*, 17 August 1928.
64 *Munster Express*, 19 September 1930.
65 *Munster Express*, 12 October 1928.
66 L. O'Callaghan, *Rugby in Munster: A Social and Cultural History*, (Cork, Cork University Press, 2011), p. 57.

according to the secretary of the company had landed itself in hot water in the past owing to the risqué nature of songs performed at a concert in the past there, drawing condemnation from Catholic and Protestant pulpit alike in the town, and thus were very careful about the entertainment put on subsequently. An enterprising prize-fight organiser, Mr. Hennessy, managed to trick the owners of the company and the building to host a concert at short notice advertising in the seaside town with a bill for a concert while a bill in Waterford advertised the boxing contests. Duped, the secretary was to come to the hall the next day to see a boxing ring had been erected on the band stand and the hall damaged. One of the shareholders of the company, Peter O'Connor was a witness at the case. O'Connor, a winner of silver and gold at the 1906 Olympics had this to say from the witness box:

> There was a strong feeling at both Tramore and Waterford against letting it for boxing contests. Alderman Matthew Young tried to run contests in Waterford, but the use of the Theatre would not be given lately for them, and then he wanted to introduce them into Tramore; these are not boxing contests at all; they are merely the putting of untrained boys to break up one another; I am not averse to boxing if the parties are properly trained, but without training it is a dangerous thing.[67]

Obviously Hennessy thought the risk was worth taking, indicating that boxing as entertainment was a profitable, if undesirable, business. The sport would see a huge growth during the 1930s. Among the earliest to do so, St. Joseph's Boys' Club engaged in boxing exhibitions in 1927.[68] From 1930 onwards a huge number of boxing clubs established themselves in Waterford and south Kilkenny. Boxing exhibitions were also given in Ferrybank as part of a fête to raise funds for the local parish.[69] A combined Waterford Athletic and Boxing Club was formally opened by Peter O'Connor in 1930 in the city.[70] Boxing clubs were established in Mooncoin, Dungarvan, and Tramore around the same time. In all, there is evidence of fourteen boxing clubs being established between 1930 and 1939 in the south-east region, not including either St. Joseph's or those who boxed in the army or Garda Síochána.[71]

Some men kept dogs for coursing, with a huge number of clubs operating all over the city and county throughout the period.[72] When greyhound racing began in Ireland in 1927 in Belfast and Dublin, followed shortly by the opening of tracks in

67 *Munster Express*, 15 April 1911.

68 *Munster Express*, 23 December 1927.

69 *Munster Express*, 11 July 1930.

70 *Munster Express*, 17 October 1930; In the same era, the Coliseum cinema played host to an international boxing contest between Germany and selected Gardaí, see *Munster Express*, 3 May 1929

71 *Munster Express*, 1930-38; These clubs were established throughout Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary.

72 The Waterford and District Coursing Club was a relative latecomer to the scene, being established in 1938, *Munster Express*, 7 October 1938.

Cork and Limerick, many Waterford dog owners raced their dogs at these meetings, chasing the new 'electric hare'. In 1934, the first greyhound track was opened in Waterford in Kilcohan.[73] As well as coursing dogs, there was the Kennel Club for those who wished to enter their dogs into the more genteel dog shows. The Kennel Club also introduced a special reduced rate for an open class competition for workmen, charging 2s 6d for entry.[74]

The inter-war period was a great one for commercial, spectator-driven sports like soccer, horse and greyhound racing, as well novelty sports like the motor races as noted above. Tramore was the home of horseracing and this sport received a boost in 1926 with the passing of the Betting Act which as well as allowing on-course bookmakers, also saw the establishment of licenced premises for bookmakers to ply their trade. By 1929, there were some twenty-nine different premises for gambling, run by twenty-eight bookmakers.[75] By 1936, there were a total of seventy-four bookmakers in both city and county, with forty-five of these bookmakers based in the city.[76]

Tramore strand also saw a brief craze for racing motor car and motorcycles, as did Duncannon,[77] with a plan to develop these races at Tramore into something international and more permanent mooted at one point.[78] For those less disposed to the daredevil antics of early motor racing, other less dangerous sporting activities were available.

Billiards was hugely popular, and in Carrick-on-Suir, 'pitching rings' was an increasingly popular game. These were for the most part very male oriented sporting pursuits. Rings and other similar sports were most often associated with pub life, which was doing a roaring trade in the inter-war period. In 1926, there were seventy-nine publicans in Waterford city and in the county a further 191. By 1936, there 109 registered publicans in the city alone and a further 210 throughout the county.[79] Pubs, although many were run by women, were largely only for male customers.[80]

73 *Munster Express*, 14 September 1934.

74 *Munster Express*, 6 April 1928.

75 *Oireachtas Report into Betting Act 1926*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1929), NLI: OPIE/PP/29/5.

76 *1936 Census Report*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1940), Vol. II: Table 5, p. 89.

77 *Munster Express*, 27 June 1930.

78 See *Munster Express*, 27 September 1929; 10 July 1931.

79 For these figures see *1926 Census Report*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1928), Vol. II: Table 5, p. 82 and *1936 Census Report*, (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1940), Vol. II: Table 6A, p. 83.

80 On the pub in general see E. Malcolm, 'The Rise of the Pub: A study in the disciplining of Popular Culture', in Donnelly, Miller (eds.), *Irish Popular Culture 1650-1850*, (Dublin, Irish Academic Press 1998); and on the temperance movement see D. Ferriter, *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland*, (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1999); the Pioneers frequently invoked abstaining athletes as exemplars of temperance, pp. 116-120. However as the work of T. Collins and W. Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural history of Sport and Alcohol*, (Oxford, Berg 2005) shows, the relationship between drink and sport is a complex one.

Typically sporting pursuits for women were restricted, and those that were available were usually for more middle-class women. The Waterford Lawn Tennis Club had a significant female membership, as did the Tramore Club, as evidenced by their frequent mixed doubles and ladies' singles contests.[81] This wasn't the only racquet sport in town either, with a badminton club established in 1928.[82] Another sport which had a significant female participation was field hockey, sufficiently so for them to have their own Waterford ladies' Hockey Club and Bohemians Hockey Club also had a considerable female membership. There were also several ladies' golf tournaments throughout the 1930s.[83] It would take until the late 1920s before camogie got off the ground in Waterford city and county.[84] The game of contract bridge was also becoming popular with women in the 1930s, as was 'Pongo'.[85] Pongo was a kind of bingo played by throwing balls into marked holes and then marking a bingo card corresponding to the hole into which the ball fell until you got a full line, when people would shout "Pongo!" or "Housey-house!" to claim their prize. Although the latter of these wasn't exactly a sport, it was an amusement, and one of the few activities many women on excursions out to Tramore might have been able to enjoy. But the fact was that for many working-class women especially, if they had any free time, it was usually taken up with house duties, or childcare. With labour saving devices, like indoor plumbing, to say nothing of electricity restricted in its access for many, their labours in the home were arduous and time-consuming.[86] If working men hadn't a great deal of leisure time until the weekends, then their mothers, sisters, wives or girlfriends had even less such time.

One of the most popular pastimes for women in Waterford in this era though was Pongo. A game of questionable legality, it was nonetheless extraordinarily popular with the people of Waterford and Tramore – the seaside resort's amusement halls frequently playing host to the game. Among the earliest references to the game in the local newspaper were those in July and September 1936, where the game was questioned in the courts as being a form of illegal betting – a rigged game. In the second of these reports, headed 'Tramore Showmen Fined', the correspondent for the *Munster Express* tells us that the defendant, one of the amusement hall proprietors, gave a detailed explanation to the court of the game's workings; but, the correspondent notes 'the modus operandi of the game is well known to the public of Tramore and Waterford and needs no repetition here.'[87]

81 *Munster Express*, 6 January 1928.

82 *Munster Express*, 4 October 1929.

83 *Munster Express*, 20 June 1930; 21 April 1933; 25 February 1938, the latter of these a mixed match between Women's and Men's teams.

84 The first instance I have been able to find is a game played by a Dungarvan Technical School side in 1928. *Munster Express*, 6 April 1928.

85 *Munster Express*, 29 October 1937; 'Pongo' would become immensely popular after the end of the Second World War especially in Tramore.

86 Mary E. Daly, 'Turn on the Tap: The State, Irish Women and Running Water', in Mary O' Dowd, and Maryann Valiulis (eds.), *Women & Irish History*, (Dublin, Wolfhound Press, 1997).

87 *Munster Express*, 11 September 1936.

The men who ran the games were fined frequently, but this seemed to neither put a stop to the games, nor their popularity. The game also went by the name 'Fascination', though the change in name fooled no one, least of all the Tramore District Court Judge.[88] As with most things during this era, as well as being denounced in the court rooms, pongo also raised the ire of the clergy, who felt that in Cork, where the game was also popular at the same time, the game along with dancing was demoralising the country's young men and women. The suspect legality of the game was even the subject of a leader article in the country's newspaper of record, the *Irish Times*.[89]

Cinema was increasingly popular too, with a large number of cinemas springing up in the city during the 1930s, which along with spectator sports all formed part of the new leisure available to working-class people, and for those dealing with the enforced leisure of unemployment, the cinema matinee show provided cheap indoor warmth and entertainment.[90]

Socialising and Sport in Waterford: Bands, Dances and Card games, 1918-1939

Writing about Limerick, John McGrath notes 'the 1880s saw a critical social development...with the establishment of sport and musical clubs, associations that acted as a cohesive agent for these social groups and gave parishioners something definite to identify with.'[91] Waterford experienced a very similar development in the same period and the culture that began to develop from the 1880s onward was a well-developed part of sporting occasions in Waterford by 1918. Already we've seen what an active role St. Joseph's Boys Club played in the lives of many young boys. Beyond their fantastic work for poor young boys, plenty of sports clubs contributed significantly to local life, in city, town and village. The identification McGrath writes about can be seen elsewhere in Munster, in parts of Cork city's northside and in the 'up the roads' areas of Waterford city, with bands like Thomas Francis Meagher Band and Waterford's Barrack Street Band, founded in 1870. This band played at events such as the Waterpark College annual athletics' day, the People's Regatta, and at motor car and motorcycle races held in Tramore, as well as the more sombre occasions like Remembrance Day marches throughout the 1920s.[92] Band culture in Cork is captured evocatively in Frank O'Connor's short

88 *Munster Express*, 18 September 1942.

89 *Irish Times*, 24 February 1921; 20 September 1941.

90 As well as the Broad Street Cinema, there was the Regal, the Coliseum, and the Savoy. The census data bears this out too with the numbers employed in the cinema business in Waterford growing substantially from just ten people in 1926 to thirty-eight people in 1936 – See *Census Reports*, Vol. VI: Table 5 for 1926 and 1936 cited elsewhere in this work.

91 J. McGrath, 'An Urban Community: St Mary's Parish, Limerick and the social role of Sporting and Musical Clubs, 1885-1905', in Kelly, Comerford (eds.), *Associational Culture in Ireland and Abroad*, (Dublin, Irish Academic Press 2010), p. 129.

92 *Munster Express*, 24 May 1929; 27 August 1926; 20 September 1929 and 13 June 1930.

story 'The cornet player who betrayed Ireland', in which he recounts the factionalism in Cork's bands between those who were Redmondites and those who were O'Brienites.[93] This band culture that developed in Ireland had a strong precedent and many similarities that which developed in Britain.[94]

The factionalism of Frank O'Connor's world, and that described by Fintan Lane, was also a part of the band culture of Waterford. On one occasion the TF Meagher Band and Erin's Hope band, downing instruments, fought each other openly on the streets in Carrick-on-Suir in 1928 at a competition.[95] In spite of the nationalist significance of their names, both the TF Meagher Band and Erin's Hope were also engaged together in the procession for Armistice Day on at least one occasion together, with Erin's Hope and the Barrack Street Band engaging in a similar joint effort in 1922 for Armistice commemorations.[96] Erin's Hope Band also played at sporting occasions, such as the game between Waterford 'A' and 'B' in soccer for the semi-final of the Going-Smith Cup and the Ballyduff GAA Annual Sports.[97] In *Our Own Devices*, Morris contends that the playing *Amhrán na bhFiann* at GAA games by bands had a large hand in familiarising it with a wider public than it had been up to that point.[98]

Almost unfailingly reports of the annual Waterford Boat Club regatta included mention of the band to play and a fireworks display in the evenings. Throughout the 1890s when both cycling and rowing vied for pride of place as the most popular spectator sports in Waterford, a huge number of bands, firework displays and bazaars were a part of the efforts of the boat club. In 1890, when Oxford competed at the annual regatta, both the Manchester Regiment Band and the Waterford Amateur Band provided the entertainment. In other years, the Seaforth Highlanders Band, The Band of the Buffs and the Dublin RIC Band provided entertainment.[99] The Legion Band and Barrack Street Band provided the entertainment across the day in 1927, on the grand stand erected for the occasion.[100]

Over the course of the 1920s in the south-east the 'Cinderella' dance was a popular past-time. As an entertaining night for a sports club, it had been around before then. The Clonmel Workman's Boat Club were organising them as early as 1910.[101] Whist drives and Cinderella dances formed a large part of the social aspect of clubs. The annual dinner, and smoking concerts too formed part of this social

93 F. O'Connor, *My Oedipus Complex and Other Stories*, (London, Penguin, 2005).

94 T. Herbert, *Bands: The Brass Band Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1991).

95 F. Lane, 'Music and Violence in Working-Class Cork: "The Band Nuisance" 1879-1882', in *Saothar* 24 (1999): *Munster Express*, 14 September 1928.

96 *Munster Express*, 16 November 1928; 18 November 1922.

97 *Munster Express*, 30 April 1926 and *Munster Express*, 10 May 1929.

98 E. Morris, *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, (Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 2003), p. 65.

99 *Munster Express*, 12 July 1890; 28 July 1894; July 1895; *Sport*, 20 July 1895, reprinted in *Munster Express*, 27 July 1895.

100 *Munster Express*, 26 August 1927.

101 See *Clonmel Workman's Boat Club Minutes*, 23 October 1910; 26 October 1910.

milieu in which club members took part. Cinderella dances were ostensibly dances which ended at midnight, although this was frequently not the case at all.[102] Usually held in the run up to the beginning of Lent and around Christmas and New Year, detailed descriptions of what they involved are apparently no longer extant. In all likelihood, many were some kind of fancy dress ball. Examples of clubs that engaged in Cinderella dances as a means to raise money from Waterford city and county included Waterford City RFC, Waterpark RFC, Waterford Boat Club, and the Dungarvan GAA Club.[103] Carrick-on-Suir Boat Club held a Cinderella dance when hosting London Provincial Bank Rugby club after their match with Carrick-on-Suir RFC.[104] And of course, although women were more restricted in the sports on offer to them, these nights were an important way of including players' and members' wives and girlfriends in the local club's social life.

Whist drives, often preceding a Cinderella dance, were used to similar effect. The card game, which is played in tables of four in huge numbers, was of course itself a sport of sorts. Its popularity seemed to wax and wane, but for the early part of the twentieth century in Ireland it was certainly a popular means of socialising in sports clubs and raising money for a club's coffers. Examples of it being used for fundraising either for clubs or by clubs in aid of other organisations abound. In Waterford for example, the Civil Service Sports Club held a whist drive in aids of the Sisters of Charity poor relief fund, Dungarvan Golf Club likewise held whist drives, as did Dungarvan GAA Club and Brickey Rangers.[105] In south Tipperary, whist drives were especially popular. In Carrick-on-Suir examples of whist drives held by sports clubs include the Boat Club and the Christian Brother's Boys Athletic Club.[106] Whist wasn't the only card game to attract people's attention, but it was certainly the most popular at that time. Appearing to be the most popular past-times in the 1920s not just for fundraising amongst sporting clubs, both whist drives and Cinderella dances were used to supplement nursing and child welfare funds, band funds; for the funds of the Distributive Worker's Club, even as part of the INTO national congress when it came to Waterford in 1929.[107]

Conclusion

Speaking generally, the inter-war period is probably the least well understood in terms of social history in Ireland. With the exception of a handful of studies, it can sometimes reflect the feeling that the past is foreign country.[108] Nonetheless,

102 Ayto, Simpson (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Slang*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008).

103 *Munster Express*, 24 May 1929; 22 April 1927; 21 June 1929; 25 February 1927.

104 *Munster Express*, 29 March 1929.

105 *Munster Express*, 20 December 1924; 8 January 1926; 10 February 1928.

106 *Munster Express*, 5 February 1926; 11 May 1928; 29 April 1927.

107 *Munster Express*, 26 November 1926; 17 September 1926; 27 December 1924; 22 March 1929.

108 For instance see J. Augusteijn, *Ireland in the 1930s: New Perspectives*, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999); D. Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000*, (London, Profile Books, 2005); D. Ferriter, *Occasions of Sin: Sex and Society in Modern Ireland*, (London, Profile Books, 2009).

foreign though the country may be, it is surely an exciting and interesting one to explore. This article is but one minor exploration, though one I hope may nevertheless service future researchers. It is evident from what has gone before that the use of these various entertainments by sports clubs either for different causes as well as by other associations is a clear indicator that the sports club, whatever the sport, was important to local community in this period and had an important role to play in the creation of community, beyond merely sporting representation of a street, village, or workplace. In a city and county where many keenly felt the sting of unemployment, where many young boys and young men were idle, clubs like St. Joseph's, the CYMS, Erin's Own hurling club all provided a place to go and be involved - either as player or spectator. Whether joining the supporters' club for the local soccer team, playing a match to fund the local parish church, attending a dance or playing a game of cards to keep a GAA club going, all of these were an important element of sporting life throughout Waterford between 1918 and 1939. That a huge variety of sports had a vital role to play in people's lives throughout city and county can be in no doubt. Given this is only a brief survey of Waterford's interwar sporting life as it became a true factory town, it is evident that a rich social history is still to be uncovered from this period.

Seamus Reale

At the end of April 2014, Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society lost one of its most dedicated members with the sudden passing of Seamus Reale.

Seamus was my cousin and my friend, we shared a common interest in history, especially local history, and historic sites and buildings and we joined the society together at the time when the Old Waterford Society became Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society. Seamus was a great supporter of all the society's activities, he served for many years as a dedicated member of the committee, bringing to the society's attention many local historic sites which he felt were being neglected or in danger of being lost.

He was a member of the Friends of Waterford Museum of Treasures and has been a donor to its contents. He supported and enjoyed many of the trips organised by the Friends.

Seamus lived for most of his life in Marion Terrace at the end of Maypark Lane, where, like his father before him, he kept a showpiece garden. When he moved to his apartment in Catherine Street he brought his love of plants and gardens with him. He decorated the building with pots and urns; he even planted flowers in the street, at the base of trees planted by the City Council. He was a keen member of Waterford Garden Plant Society.

He loved antiques and beautiful things and enjoyed sharing the pleasure he got from them with others.

I was always amazed at his vast collection of music, especially classical music and his depth of knowledge of the subject. Again he loved to share his music with others. He really knew how to appreciate music, he had music for every occasion, but I will always associate this appreciation with Easter time. On Good Friday he would put on Bach's St. Matthew Passion, all three hours of it, the house would fill with this sombre music, appropriate for the day. Then, on Easter Sunday morning, the house would resound to the uplifting sound of Mahler's Resurrection Symphony. This appreciation of music also reflected his deep Christian religious beliefs.

Seamus worked for many years in the printing trade; he served his time in Harvey', under the clock and the arch in Georges Street, now but a memory. He later moved on to work for AIB, eventually retiring in 2002. His former work colleagues and his many friends refer to him as a gentleman, and that he was. He was also a sincere and genuine man, what you saw was what you got, a true friend, kind, considerate and generous to a fault.

May his gentle soul rest in peace.

On the morning of Seamus's Requiem Mass, I received the news of the passing of Kevin Hall. I could only think then of Kevin's family and that another gentleman had left us and that I had lost another friend. Now I realise the double loss to the society, but the society will go on and honour their memory and the memory of all past members who have passed on to their eternal reward.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a n-anam.

Michael Maher

Kevin P. Hall

In May this year the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society lost two very dedicated members – Seamus Reale, who had served with distinction for many years on the committee, and Kevin P. Hall who had been elected Chairman of the society at the Annual General Meeting in April. Kevin's sudden death deeply shocked members of the society and this was all the more poignant because the news was heard on the evening of the removal of Seamus Reale.

Kevin Hall was originally from Dundalk and was a practicing accountant all his life. He moved to Waterford in 1966 as manager of a local practice of TR Chambers & Halley & Co., now Ernst & Young. In 1987 he established his own accountancy practice where he worked until his retirement. However even after formally retiring he continued to practice. When he was in Waterford he went to the office every day and was always proud of the fact that in spite of being officially retired he was the first person at work every morning.

Kevin had a deep interest in the history and heritage of Ireland in general, and of Waterford city and county in particular. An active and committed member of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society he was first elected to the committee in 2009. In 2013 he was elected Vice Chairman of WAHS, then Chairman in 2014. Kevin was looking forward to his stint in the chair with enthusiasm and in the days before his sudden death was making arrangements to meet the Hon Secretary and PRO to plan out the coming year's events.

Following his retirement Kevin played an active role in a number of organisations in Waterford, including his local parish and Probus.

Throughout his life Kevin had a deep love of the Irish language, which he spoke fluently and was a frequent visitor to the many Irish-speaking areas of the country. Although he spent nearly fifty years in Waterford he never lost his Ulster accent and spoke in the Donegal dialect. He was familiar with all the Irish-speaking areas of the county including the Rinn Gaeltacht. Although he loved to spend time on the Aran Islands and visited West Kerry Gaeltacht, the Donegal Gaeltacht always had a special place in his heart.

Do chuireas aithne ar Kevin nuair a toghadh é mar bhall de choiste an chumainn sa bhliain 2009 agus as san amach ba ghnáth linn Gaeilge a labhairt le chéile. I rith a shaoil bhí grá speisialta aige don nGaeilge, teanga náisiúnta na tíre. Cé go raibh conaí air i bPort Láirge le beagnach caoga bliain agus cé gur thug sé chuairt ar na Gaeltachtaí go léir sa tír, an Rinn in iarrthar Phort Láirge ach go háirithe, níor chaill sé riamh canúint Dhún na nGall.

B'fhéidir gur *cliché* anois é an frása 'ní bheidh a leithéd arís ann', ach i gcás Kevin tá sé fíor.
Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé.

Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin

Book Review

Thomas P. Power, *Ministers and mines: religious conflict in an Irish mining community* 324 pp, (Bloomington, 2014), ISBN 078-1-4917-2604-4.

The mines are those around Bunmahon and the main minister involved is the extraordinary local curate, Rev. David Doudney; however the place itself is also out of the ordinary. His was an isolated parish fragment comprising a single townland, Monksland, the rest of the parish being near Clonmel. He arrived in 1847 not only in the midst of famine but also during a mining crisis. He also inherited a controversial Protestant school on the church grounds. He himself was a printer from London and did not come from an Anglican background.

The book explores his background and the steps which led to his curacy. Not only did he put his printing skills to local use but was innovative in ways that the title of one of his books illustrates – *The Bunmahon Infant, Embroidery, Printing and Agricultural Schools, Co Waterford* (Bunmahon, 1856). The printing school was first and had to overcome enormous obstacles to become a moderate success. Doudney was also concerned about the half-starved younger children wandering about in rags; he gathered money in England and established an infant school where they would be fed, clothed and taught. The girls from there could progress to the embroidery school and the boys to either of the others.

However, as Power explains, this benevolent activity was not in a vacuum but against a background of assertive Protestant missionaries including 'soupers', and resurgent post-Famine Roman Catholic Church. Doudney continually protested that he was not a missionary out to make converts but was just helping the community; the priests on the other hand were particularly outraged by the perceived threat of evangelisation in the infant school and even held public excommunication ceremonies isolating parents who refused to withdraw their children from it. In a conservative and judgemental society anybody stubbornly acting egregiously was likely to become isolated. It was not only the hostility of the priests, but also of some of his own congregation, of most of his fellow clergy and eventually of his mentor, Bishop Daly that finally broke him. Power explores the complex forces that led to his sudden and reluctant flight from Bunmahon.

This book not only draws on Doudney's voluminous writings over his lifetime as well as the memoirs of his family but also on a range of contextual sources, primary and secondary. For a seeularist, Doudney's accounts of his travails can be quite difficult to read due to his assumption that every explicable eddy in life is infused with divine purpose, supported by copious biblical quotations and declamations. Power, however, sees the man behind this – innovative, adaptable, commercially pragmatic, utterly honest, patient, fatalist and courageous. History can be about the mundane but the presentation of the extraordinary here provides an insight into the process of polarisation in a changing society. Dr Power rescued Doudney from the obscurity of history in *Decies* thirty-five years ago and this

book is the outcome of his research ever since. It was appropriately launched and is on sale in the very church where Doudney preached – now the Copper Coast Centre.

Des Cowman

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 Socicty).

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.

14. ***Rules not to be altered:***
These Rules shall not be altered except by resolution passed by a single majority of those present at an Annual General Meeting or a Special General Meeting.

15. ***Rules to be printed:***
The Rules of the Society shall be printed and re-printed as often as may be necessary. A supply of copies shall be held by the Honorary Secretary who shall make them available to all applicants subject to a charge based on the cost of producing them. Each new member shall be provided with a free copy of the Rules.

16. ***Earlier Rules repealed:***
These Rules 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 a majority of the members present.

Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society
Membership 2014
(Up to September 30th 2014)

Abbeyside Reference Archives, Parish Office, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Allen Public County Library, P.O. Box 2270, 900 Library Plaza, Fort Wayne, IN 46801-2270, USA.
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Thos. P. O'Neill Library, Serials Dept., Boston College, Chestnut Hill, 02467-3800, Mass., USA.
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