DECIES

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Irisleabhar Cumann Seandálaíochta agus Staire Phort Láirge

COMHAIRLE CATHRACH AGUS CONTAE PHORT LÁIRGE
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Cover Illustrations
Front Cover: Tramore Bay, 1787.

Back Cover: Memorial to the victims of the Seahorse tragedy, Doneraile Walk, Tramore. Photograph by Ivan Fitzgerald.

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Ms Erica Fay, Chairperson WAHS presenting a copy of Decies *70 to Mr Michael Walsh, CEO, Waterford City and County Council at the 2014 Christmas Lunch in the Granville Hotel.*

Anne-Marie Ryan signing copies of her book 16 Dead Men: The Easter Rising Executions *after her lecture to the society in January 2015.*

A beautiful sunny day for the annual coach trip.

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Bill Walsh showing a World War II era gas mask at the WAHS Heritage Week event.

Dr Eugene Broderick who lectured on the holy wells of Waterford with Chairperson Erica Fay.

With Julian Walton in St Patrick's graveyard on a dry summer evening.

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 am particularly grateful to Julian Walton and Cian Manning for their assistance and advice with this year's journal.

I would like to point out to intending contributors that the final deadline for the submission of articles for Decies 72 (2016) is 1 May 2016. **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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WAHS Heritage Week 2015 evening – Looking Back at 40 Years of Decies – Béatrice Payet, Hon Secretary, Michael Maher, PRO, Pat Deegan Vice Chair, Erica Fay, Chairperson, committee members Bill Walsh and Fergus Dillon.

The Upton family at the Christmas Lunch.

David Robson (centre) who lectured the society on the making of Barry Lyndon *with George Wright who starred as an extra in the film and Béatrice Payet, Hon Secretary.*

List of Contributors

Anthony Brophy is a native of Waterford and a chartered accountant by profession. He was Secretary of the Waterford Chamber of Commerce in the mid 1960s and served in a number of senior positions in the Waterford Wedgwood group. He has always maintained many interests beyond business including freelance writing on a variety of topics for journals at home and abroad. He is married to Anne and they live in Waterford City.

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 was 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.

James Doherty has an interest in military history and in particular the Irish involvement in the American Civil War. He is the co-founder of the 1848 Tricolour Celebration that commemorates the first flying of the Irish Tricolour by Irish patriot and American Civil War commander Thomas Francis Meagher. James is currently researching the history of the two military barracks in Waterford City.

Ivan Fitzgerald is a freelance genealogist and historical researcher. A native of Tramore, he obtained an MA in History at University College Dublin. He is also a graduate of the Certificate in Genealogy/Family History programme also in UCD. Ivan's article on the Power O'Shee family of Gardenmorris was recently published in *The Irish Genealogist*. He has also contributed valuable census substitutes from the Doneraile Papers to the Irish Genealogy Project. A further article for *The Irish Genealogist* based on 'Gaelic Genealogical Sources before 1700', with a case study on the Phelan sept is set to be published in next year's edition.

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 the author of *Waterford: The Irish Revolution,1912–23*, published by Four Courts Press in 2014 and is a frequent contributor to *Decies*.

Alice McDermott is a retired lecturer in History and Cultural Studies from Waterford Institute of Technology. She holds an MA in History from UCG and an MA in History and Local Studies from UL. She has published on John Redmond and the Redmond family legacy in Waterford, Charles Bianconi, Molly O'Connell Bianconi, the Great War, and a selection of Irish Nurses who served during the 1914-1918 conflict. She is a member of the Kilkenny Great War Memorial Committee.

Alicia Premkumar was born in London and now lives with her family in Co Carlow. Alicia is currently a first year pupil in St. Leo's Secondary School, Carlow. She has a deep interest in science and environmental issues and in 2013 she won the Young Environmentalist of the Year award in the Super Junior Category. Her essay on the nineteenth-century physicist John Tyndal, who was born in Leighlinbridge County Carlow, won a National Schools history prize and was published in *Carloviana: The Journal of the Old Carlow Society*. Her research work on Lady Ranelagh was presented to the National Committee for Commemorative Plaques in Science and Engineering and as a result, it was agreed to erect a commemorative plaque to her at Lismore Castle.

Committee members Fergus Dillon and Cian Manning after Cian's lecture on nineteenth-century Waterford MPs.

Visiting Bronze Age sites with Michael Desmond.

'Waterford and Wexford swarm with Dunkirkers'[1] Waterford and the war at sea 1642-1650[2]

Pat McCarthy

'Waterford and Wexford swarm with Dunkirkers'. Those words were written by Colonel Thomas Pigott from Cork to Sir Philip Percival in England on 9 November 1646. He was appealing to the English Parliament for assistance, both men and supplies, to resist the armies of the Irish Confederation who were threatening the English strongholds in Cork and he found it necessary to warn Parliament about the activities of Irish ships operating out of Waterford and Wexford. He went on to say: 'ships of great strength will be needed to convoy anything'. There had been a long tradition of piracy off the south coast of Ireland which was centred on ports like Baltimore, a tradition which reach its peak in the early years of the seventeenth century.[3] However 'privateering', which to some was a form of licensed piracy, was a new venture in Irish waters.[4] During the years of the Confederation of Kilkenny the Irish mounted a considerable naval effort both to ensure their own communications and supply lines with the continent and also to disrupt the naval efforts of the English forces. This was done by licensing ('letters of marque') private ship owners to attack enemy shipping and these ships were called privateers.[5] These letters of marque protected the crews from being treated as pirates, i.e. being summarily hanged on capture, and in return the privateers were required to bring all their prizes and other seized goods to a port controlled by the Confederation where a portion of the money was retained by the government. This strategy gave the Confederation of Kilkenny a ready-made navy while ship owners had a lucrative profession as long as they could avoid capture.

1 *Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1905), p. 328.

2 Maritime aspects of Irish history have traditionally been neglected despite the herculean efforts of the late Dr. John de Courcy Ireland. For the confederate period this neglect has been rectified by the tremendous work of Professor Jane Ohlmeyer and Dr. Elaine Murphy. Much of this article is based upon their published works which are referred to throughout.

3 John de Courcy Ireland, *Ireland and the Irish in maritime history* (Dublin, 1986), pp 124 – 150; Bernie McCarthy, *Pirates of Baltimore from the middle ages to the seventeenth century* (Baltimore, 2012).

4 For a definition and discussion of privateering see R. Baetens, 'The organisation and effects of Flemish privateering in the seventeenth century', in *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* X (1977).

5 Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the Civil War, 1642 – 1650', in *Mariner's Mirror* Volume 76 (1990), pp. 119-133.

The investors bore the risk while the state reaped some of the profits. Though no major naval battles were fought in Irish waters this was a period of constant conflict between confederate privateers and parliamentary ships. This essay looks at the part played in this naval war by vessels owned and based in Waterford.

Creating an Irish Navy

Between 1642 and 1649 Catholic Ireland was ruled by the Confederation of Kilkenny. Not only did the confederation raise and maintain armies against the royalist, parliamentary and Scottish armies in Ireland, it also created a powerful naval force of privateers. Privateers were part of naval warfare from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. England used them to great effect during the Elizabethan wars with Spain and some of the captains such as Francis Drake, John Hawkins and Henry Morgan became extremely wealthy from their exploits. The Spanish were not slow to respond and licensed their own ships to prey upon English ships. Many of these ships operated out of Dunkirk, a Spanish possession until 1646, and soon their exploits earned such a reputation that privateers were often referred to as 'Dunkirkers'. Moreover these hardy Flemish mariners developed a fast well-armed sailing vessel called a 'frigate'. Relatively small, it carried an armament of fourteen or sixteen guns and a crew of up to 100. The large crew facilitated the placing of a prize crew on any captured ship. The privateer was not designed to engage in battle with a warship. Its purpose was to capture, not to sink, enemy merchantmen and to bring the prize safely to port where the captured crew could be ransomed and the ship and cargo sold off to the benefit of owner, captain and crew, all of whom had shares in the enterprise. The *St. Peter of Waterford* was a typical privateering frigate. It was a 160 ton ship carrying sixteen cannon. The crew included Irish, English, Flemish and Spanish sailors. Flemish seamen were highly regarded as crew.[6] When a Waterford merchant, Nicholas Gennin, fitted out a ship, the *Trinity* as a privateer, his first instruction to the captain was to recruit men at Dunkirk for his crew.[7] In theory possession of a letter of marque should have ensured that the crew of a captured privateer should have been treated as prisoners-of-war. However the English parliament did not at first recognise the letters of marque issued by the Confederation of Kilkenny and in some instances the crews of captured Irish privateers were treated as pirates. The most notorious example occurred at Milford Haven on 23 April 1644.[8] Captain Richard Swanley, commander of the parliamentary naval squadron based at Milford Haven, captured an Irish ship and brought his captives, seventy men and two women, back to port. There he executed all of them by tying them back to back and throwing them into the sea. The House of Commons congratulated Swanley on his action and awarded

6 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

7 Elaine Murphy (ed.), *A calendar of material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty 1641 – 1660*, (Dublin, 2011), p. 99.

8 Elaine Murphy, 'Atrocities at sea and the treatment of prisoners of war by the parliamentary navy in Ireland, 1641-1649' in *Historical Journal* Volume 53 (2010), pp. 21-37.

him a gold chain for his exemplary action. Parliamentary newspapers commended 'the valiant and industrious Captain Swanley' and suggested that 'salt water was a very convenient drench to cure those barbarous wretches, which had taken a surfeit of Protestant blood in Ireland'.[9] However such brutality ceased as it became clear that the Irish privateers were capturing more English sailors than the English did Irish. Self interest advised against such treatment if there was a chance of reciprocity. Instead any captured Irish sailors were treated as prisoners-of-war and held for exchange.

The first meeting of the general assembly of the Confederation of Kilkenny took place in October 1642. In one of its first actions the supreme council of the assembly wrote to two of their agents in Flanders instructing them to find 'able, honest men' who were to sail to Ireland at once and protect the coast. In return they would be allowed 'to enrich themselves by the prizes taken upon our coast'.[10] The two envoys, Fr. Hugh Bourke and Fr. Shee were given twenty blank letters of marque and these were issued to captains based in Dunkirk. Some of these captains with their crews and ships relocated to Ireland, principally to Waterford and Wexford. By the end of 1642 the Venetian ambassador in London estimated that the confederate fleet consisted of '30 well armed ships at sea'.[11] In 1646 Dunkirk was captured by the French and even more of the privateers relocated themselves to Ireland. The influx of Dutch and Flemish Catholics into Waterford may have precipitated a request for a church in the city for their use. Luke Wadding wrote on their behalf to the papacy asking for the use of St. Olaf's church. This church is described as 'already partly derelict and will soon collapse unless it is quickly repaired. It is now deserted by everyone except the children who play there.'[12] Estimates of the confederate fleet range from forty up to ninety but the latter is probably too high.[13] A more reliable figure might be between fifty and sixty warships, probably evenly split between Wexford and Waterford.[14] Among the first to receive a letter of marque from the supreme council was Francis Oliver, 'a native of Flanders' whose letter included the specific instruction that he 'bring his prises into Wexford, Dongarvan, Tramore Bay, or any other ports of this kingdome which are now or hereafter shall be in our possession, and none other'.[15] This instruction was not always followed. In July 1649 Daniel Van Vooren of Dunkirk, captain of a Waterford ship, the *St. John*, claimed he had taken 'so many prizes that he can not

9 *Ibid.*

10 J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation and the war in Ireland, 1641-1649*, (Dublin, 1882-91), Volume 2, pp. 125-6, 203 – 5, 261 – 3.

11 Ohlmeyer, *Irish privateers*, p. 121.

12 Benjamin Hazard, 'Luke Wadding's petition to the Papacy on behalf of Dutch and Flemish migrants in Waterford, *c.* 1642-51' in *Analecta Hibernica* No. 41 (2009), pp. 3-10.

13 The estimate of ninety is given by T. S. O'Cahan, *Owen Roe O'Neill* (London, 1968), p. 83 but he does not list his source.

14 Elaine Murphy, *Ireland and the war at sea 1641 – 1653*, (London, 2012), pp. 106-9.

15 John C. Appleby, 'A confederate letter of marque', *Irish Sword*, Vol. XV, no. 61, p. 218.

count them all' but 'he hath not sent any of the prizes taken at sea unto Waterford nor any place in Ireland'.[16] Letters of Marque from the Confederation of Kilkenny were signed by Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry, a member of the supreme council and confederate lord high admiral.[17]

By the summer of 1642 the Irish Catholic forces controlled most of the country but significantly they had failed to capture most of the seaports on the eastern and southern coasts. Belfast, Drogheda, Dublin, Youghal, Cork and Kinsale all remained under English control. Only Wexford, New Ross and Waterford were in confederate, and their use of the latter two was greatly hindered by the English retention of the fort at Duncannon. Wexford was thus the main confederate port in the south east of Ireland from 1642 to 1645.[18] Even though the garrison at Duncannon did not fire at every ship that passed in order to conserve ammunition it was willing to engage any armed ship that ventured within range. In addition a squadron of English naval vessels often operated in the estuary of the Suir to support the garrison of the fort.[19] These not only resupplied the garrison but also intercepted any ships bound for Waterford or New Ross. In September 1643 the confederates agreed a twelve-month truce with the royalist commander, Ormond, the Lord Deputy. Esmonde, commander of the Duncannon garrison was also a royalist and the truce opened up Waterford port for Irish shipping although parliamentary ships continued to patrol the mouth of the estuary. Taking advantage of this, the confederates were able to send 2,000 Irish soldiers to Scotland in June 1644 where, led by Montrose and Alasdair MacColla, they campaigned for over a year. Two Flemish ships, the *Christopher* and the *Angell Gabriell* and an Irish vessel, the *Jacob*, all based in Waterford, were used for the transport of the troops. To avoid patrolling English vessels the ships went via the west coast of Ireland and landed the men near Duart in Scotland on 7 July.[20]

The truce concluded in September 1644 and the supreme council at Kilkenny prepared to resume hostilities. Their priority was to capture Duncannon fort and to open up fully the ports of Waterford and New Ross. In January 1645 a confederate army led by Preston began a siege. The garrison were ably assisted by a parliamentary squadron of four ships, the *Great Lewis*, the *Duncannon*, the *Swallow* and the *Jeremy*.[21] In December 1644 the squadron captured the *North Holland*, a merchant vessel sailing to Waterford.[22] The captured vessel was anchored at the fort and the cargo of salt used by the garrison. A few days later the *Orange Tree of Amsterdam*,

16 Murphy, *High Court of Admiralty*, p. 213.

17 Appleby, *Letter of marque*, p. 221.

18 Jane Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland; Wexford privateers during the 1640s' in *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society* Vol. XII (1988 – 89), pp. 23- 49.

19 J. R. Powell, 'Operations of the parliamentary squadron at the siege of Duncannon 1645' in *Irish Sword* Vol. II (1954 – 6), pp. 17 – 21.

20 David Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the highland problem in the 17th century*, (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 106 -8.

21 J. R. Powell, 'Operations of the parliamentary squadron at the siege of Duncannon 1645' in *Irish Sword* Vol. II (1954 – 6), pp. 17 – 21.

22 Murphy, *High Court of Admiralty*, p. 65

with a cargo of wine, vinegar and gunpowder suffered a similar fate.[23] After the cargos were unloaded both ships were taken to Milford Haven for sale and ransom of the crews. However the sinking of the *Great Lewis* by cannon fire from the shore and the capture of the fort on 19 March forced the other parliamentary ships to retreat and cleared the approaches to the ports of Waterford and Ross. From then on Waterford joined Wexford as the main ports for the confederate navy. The merchants of Waterford had contributed a substantial part of the cost of the besieging army and now they stood to benefit. They were described as being 'verie glad of this service. Wexford lost much of his trafficke by it'.[24] Although English ships continued to patrol off the south coast, the Waterford privateers became adept at slipping out to sea and continuing their depredations on English shipping in the Irish Sea, St. Georges Channel and the English Channel. At times they ranged even further searching for prizes in the North Sea or off the coasts of Spain or Scotland. The patrolling parliamentary ships were a constant menace to ships trying to access Waterford or Wexford. In October 1645 a frigate, the *Saint Peter*, carrying the new Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Rinuccini, to Ireland was intercepted by a parliamentary warship as it neared Waterford Harbour. A long sea chase followed before the *Saint Peter* found refuge in Kenmare Bay 140 miles to the west.[25]

To counter the threat from the Irish privateers the English relied on the ships that were loyal to the parliament. In the decade before the outbreak of the English civil war King Charles I had lavished money and supplies on the Royal Navy. Indeed his imposition of extra taxes on his people to pay for the navy had been one of the major causes of the breakdown in his relations with parliament. To Charles's immense chagrin most of his naval vessels sided with parliament when the civil war started in June 1642. Parliament's control of the sea was crucial to its success in the war. The parliamentary navy's control of the sea discouraged other powers from intervening on the side of the king and prevented supplies of arms and ammunition from reaching the royalist forces from continental Europe. It also meant that the parliament's navy was the main opposition to confederate ships in the war at sea. Operating from a secure base at Milford Haven in Wales, parliament deployed a fleet called the 'Irish Guard' to patrol the Irish coasts.[26] The Irish Guard initially consisted of eight warships and thirteen armed merchant ships commanded by Richard Swanley. As the war progressed and in particular after the defeat of the royalist forces this fleet was strengthened. Numerically it reached its peak in the summer of 1645 when forty-two ships can be identified as part of the Irish Guard.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

24 John T. Gilbert, *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1650*, (Dublin, 1879 -80), Vol I. p. 104.

25 Annie Hutton, *The embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini in the years 1645-1649*, (Dublin, 1873), pp. 8 –5.

26 Murphy, *War at sea*, pp. 89- 105; 151 – 171.

The execution of the king, Charles 1, on 30 January 1649 led to a re-alignment of forces in Ireland. James Butler, Duke of Ormond and the leader of the royalist forces returned to Ireland and concluded a peace with the Confederation of Kilkenny. The Catholic forces and the royalists were now united in common cause against parliament under Ormond's leadership. Letters of marque were now issued under his royal warrant and he directed that no captains should leave port until they had received 'our authority and direction'.[27] In practice this made little difference. Ormond also tried to ensure that the privateers sent all their prizes to confederate held ports like Waterford and Wexford to ensure that the state got its share. He appointed his agents to receive 'the king's part' at all the ports but little heed was paid to his ordnance. The privateers continued to use whichever port was convenient and profitable.

The heyday of the privateers 1646-1649

The years from 1646 to 1649 saw the peak of privateering from Waterford and Wexford. Estimates of the number of licensed Irish-based privateers vary but may have numbered between sixty and eighty ships in 1647 and 1648. Parliamentary men-o-war captured twenty one privateers between July 1647 and November 1649, approximately one third of the fleet. Of the twenty-one, nine were based in Waterford as suggested by their names.[28] This would imply that up to 40% of the Confederate fleet operated out of Waterford and a further 33% from Wexford. While some of these had relocated from Dunkirk and were owned and captained by Flemish mariners such as the redoubtable Captain Daniel Van Vooren, others had a Waterford provenance. Francis Brown, a prominent merchant in the city, paid for the fitting out of the *Patrick of Waterford* in 1647 and it was captained by Francis Oliver.[29] Ownership often changed hands. Christopher Turner's ship, the *Mary Conception of Wexford*, was captured when Cromwell's forces stormed that town in 1649. He immediately bought the *Peter of Scilly* which was lying at anchor at Waterford.[30] He obviously did not want to be absent from the lucrative business for long!

In November 1648 three ships, the *Mary Virgin of Wexford* with eighteen guns and 100 men, the *Patrick of Waterford* with twelve guns and seventy men and an unnamed Waterford frigate with ten guns and sixty men, sailed out of Waterford harbour. Over the next few weeks they seized three English ships.[31] They put prize crews on the captured vessels and ordered them to sail to Wexford. One of the prizes, the *Peter*, was recaptured but the other two seemed to have been brought safely to an Irish port. The privateers meanwhile had separated in search of other prizes before returning to their home port. It was a typical privateering mission. Privateers hunted individually or in squadrons as it suited. The *Patrick of*

27 *Ormond Manuscripts*, (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1902), p. 119.
28 Murphy, *War at sea*, p. 109
29 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
30 Murphy, *High Court of Admiralty*, p. 220.
31 Murphy, *War at sea*, pp. 2–3.

Waterford and the unnamed Waterford frigate were described as 'the usual consorts' of the *Mary Virgin of Wexford*. In 1648 a parliamentary commander reported 'eleven sail of Irish together' which later 'divided into three squadrons, two consisting of three ships in sum, the other of five'.[32] Faced with such powerful opposition, English merchant vessels normally surrendered when called on. Up to 1644 the Irish privateers confined their activities to the St. Georges Channel and the Irish Sea. Thereafter they spread their hunt for prey far and wide ranging from the north coast of Spain to the North Sea. The English Channel and in particular the approaches to the port of London were favourite hunting grounds. North Sea fishing fleets, colliers out of Newcastle and the lucrative trade between London and the Dutch ports were easy targets and were frequently raided. One English newspaper reported:

> They do daily set upon the colliers who go from port to port on the English coast. There are eight taken belonging to this place; the masters, ships and men are carried to Dunkirk or Ostend, where the coals and ships are sold and the men ransomed. There are divers taken to other ports.[33]

The coast of Cornwall was another lucrative hunting ground where ships coming out of France, Spain or the Mediterranean could be intercepted. Accordng to a report to the House of Commons in 1649:

> those Irish men-of-war lie constantly... in the throat of the Channel between Scilly and the Land's End so that no ship can pass them in or out unless in the night or in a dusky dark time.[34]

The Irish privateers operated in a vast and lucrative catchment area. But how successful were they? How many prizes did they capture? It seems that all the records for the ports of Waterford, New Ross and Wexford, including the books of the prize commissioners, were lost in the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922 making it impossible to accurately assess the number of prizes brought to the ports. There is however one contemporary account. Dr. Walter Enos was a theologian and adviser to Rinuccini, the papal envoy. He was also treasurer to the Diocese of Ferns and spent most of the war in Wexford. Thus he would have known most of merchants in the town who were also owners and sponsors of the privateers. He estimated that 'these privateers took over a six year period from the parliamentary ships of all three kingdoms, 1,900 vessels... and this does not include those ships which had been sunk in various naval encounters'.[35] If we assume that the Wexford fleet consisted of about thirty ships then Dr. Enos's estimate is equivalent to each privateer seizing ten ships per annum or just over one a month – a not insignificant figure. Since the number of ships operating out of Waterford was roughly the same as from Wexford then the number of prizes

32 Ohlmeyer, *Irish Privateers*, p. 124.
33 Cited in Ohlmeyer, *Irish privateers*, p. 125.
34 *Ibid.*
35 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

brought to Waterford would be of the same order. Two contemporary records give credence to this figure. In July 1649 the *St John of Waterford* was captured by the parliamentary warship, the Greyhound, and brought to Yarmouth where the captain, Daniel Van Vooren, was questioned. According to the records of the admiralty court:

> The examinant received a commission from the high admiral of Ireland seven months ago to seize English shipping. Since going to sea he seized two Hollanders and a Hamburg ship laden with rye and oats going to England which he sent to Ostend. He also seized two colliers laden with coal which he also sent to Ostend and sold them back to the owners for 1,400 guilders. The examinant captured two Yarmouth fishing vessels laden with fish and a Weymouth fishing vessel. He sold one of the Yarmouth ships back to its owner, John Page, at Ostend for £135 sterling. The examinant sent the other Yarmouth vessel to Dunkirk where it remains, and the Weymouth vessel to Ostend where it was broken up. He pillaged and sank a ship from Southwell. Last Friday he seized the *Richard and Elizabeth of London* which the examinant sent to Dunkirk. The examinant states that he seized many more prizes and pillaged and released the ships but cannot name them all. He did not send any of the ships to Waterford or elsewhere in Ireland but made use of the prizes to benefit himself and his crew. By his commission he is bound to carry any prizes he seizes to Ireland. The examinant has been at sea in the service of the late King Charles for five years with an Irish commission.[36]

Van Vooren was claiming that in the first seven months of 1649 he had captured nine ships. William Hoville of Waterford, captain of the *Angel Keeper of Waterford*, claimed similar success when he was captured and questioned in March 1648. He admitted to capturing eight ships in the fourteen weeks prior to his capture, three of which he sent to Waterford.[37] Joseph Content, a native of Dunkirk, captain of the *St Peter of Waterford* claimed to have taken thirty-six prizes, 'mostly English' in his first voyage in 1648 and a further sixteen in a second voyage in 1649. He sent some of his prizes to Waterford, the rest to Ostend.[38] So even if Dr Enos's estimate is greatly exaggerated we can still say that hundreds of captured ships were brought to Waterford between 1645 and 1650 where they and their cargoes were sold.

The activities of the privateers gave a huge economic boost to their home ports of Waterford and Wexford. Hundreds of captured ships ranging from small fishing boats to large merchant vessels along with their cargos, everything from foodstuff to munitions, from wine to tobacco, from clothes to precious metals, were sold off

36 Murphy, *High Court of Admiralty*, pp. 212-3.
37 *Ibid.*, pp. 250-1.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 255.

to merchants who flocked to the ports. According to Dr Elaine Murphy numerous contemporary writers and pamphleteers commented on the ill-gotten wealth of Wexford and Waterford.[39] A contemporary pamphlet reported that the inhabitants of Wexford had enriched themselves 'by robbing and pillaging at sea all English merchants they could light on since the war began and making a trade of piracy'.[40] No doubt the same could have been said about the citizens of Waterford. One report to the House of Commons stated that 'the cellars and storehouses of Waterford are full of Englishmen's goods, and the Irish there come and trade for them familiarly'.[41] Not all of the captured prizes reacbed Irish ports safely. In January 1647 Captain William Thomas of the parliamentary warship *Nonsuch* seized one confederate prize but noted in his report that as he did so five others sailed safely into Waterford Harbour.[42] Later that year the *Jennet of Leith*, laden with 40 tons of salt, seven barrels of pitch, four barrels of oatmeal and some wooden hoops was captured near the Island of Lewis off Scotland by the *Patrick of Waterford*. A week later the prize crew had brought their prize within sight of Waterford Harbour when it was recaptured by a parliamentary warship.[43] A similar fate happened to two large merchantmen who had been taken by Waterford privateers off the coast of France *en route* from the Canaries, laden with wine and fruit, and were recaptured as they entered Waterford Harbour. When the *Peter of Rotterdam* was seized and taken to Waterford in June 1648 it carried 26 lasts of rye.[44] Each last was valued at £20 and was auctioned off to local merchants – a handsome profit to the captain and crew. We do not know how much the ship itself was sold for but a similar ship, the *Allen*, was sold at Waterford for £97 in November 1649.[45] Sometimes the original owners redeemed the ship and cargo. John de Villet, a merchant of Amsterdam was happy to redeem his ship, the *St. Jacob*, its cargo of corn and its crew in March 1649.[46] The price he paid for his own goods is not known. The trade in captured goods could cross the battle lines. In July 1646, the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond and commander of the royalist forces, wrote to a merchant friend in Waterford, Edward Comerford, asking him to bid on his behalf for cloth and other items which had just been landed in Waterford. He authorised Comerford to spend up to £100, a very considerable sum of money, but cautioned him not to use his (Ormond's) name lest it bid up the price.[47] As the parliamentary blockade of Waterford tightened in 1649, many privateers sent their prizes to Limerick or Galway or to French ports but enough prizes continued to reach Waterford to maintain the new-found prosperity of the city.

39 Murphy, *War at sea*, pp. 113-7
40 Ohlmeyer, *The Dunkirk of Ireland*, p. 29.
41 Murphy, *War at sea*, p. 113.
42 *Ibid*., p. 55.
43 *Ibid*., p. 190.
44 Murphy, *High Court of Admiralty*, p. 85.
45 *Ibid*., p. 123.
46 *Ibid*., p. 94.
47 *Ormond Manuscripts*, (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1902), p. 107.

Waterford ship owners had another lucrative sideline. In return for Spanish diplomatic support and supplies the Confederation of Kilkenny allowed recruiting in Ireland for service in the Spanish army. Between 1644 and 1653 over 22,000 Irish men enlisted for Spanish service. These were usually mustered at Waterford for passage to the Spanish ports of Pasajes or La Corunna. A similar arrangement operated with France. Irish recruits were highly valued in the armies of Spain and France, then at war with each other. In January 1647 James Preston, an agent for Spain, arrived in Ireland with a commission to raise 500 men. By May Preston had completed his task and the 500 men were loaded on board two merchantmen. As the two ships left Waterford Harbour they were intercepted by a squadron of five French warships who convoyed them to Dieppe. No resistance was offered by the ships or by Preston. Once on French soil Preston and his men passed into French service.[48] Understandably the Spanish suspected that Preston was complicit and had betrayed his masters presumably for 'a better offer'. Obviously the Waterford ship owners did not care where they transported the men once they got paid. Conveying people of high rank could be even more lucrative. In March 1649 Ormond contracted with James Bryce and Peter Devereux, owners of the frigate *Santa Theresa* operating out of Waterford, to carry his family 'Lady Elizabeth, Lady Marquesse of Ormond, her children, retinue, family and such of her goods as may be conveniently received and loaded onto the same frigate' from France to Waterford.[49] This mission was carried out successfully and the owners and the captain, Adrian Van Diamond Swart, were handsomely rewarded.

The capture and sale of freight was not always to the benefit of the Waterford merchants. Sometimes their ships and cargos were intercepted by parliamentary frigates patrolling off the Waterford coast. In November 1648 the *John Baptist of Waterford* was captured when *en route* from Ostend to Waterford. It was owned by two local merchants, John Browne and John Stephens and captained by Lawrence Barron. Its cargo consisted of 337 muskets, twelve pairs of holsters and pistols, some woollen cloth and flax, six rolls of tobacco, two hogsheads of cut tobacco and iron.[50] In March 1649 the *London of Flushing* was seized while carrying a cargo of 'brandy, salt, tobacco, bread, flour, Brazil wood, liquorice, two tons of vinegar, woollen cloth and silk,' all consigned to a Mr. Everard, a merchant of Waterford.[51] The war at sea cut both ways.

48 R. A. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish mercenaries*, (Dublin, 1994), pp. 59-60.

49 *Ormond Manuscripts*, (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1902), p. 119.

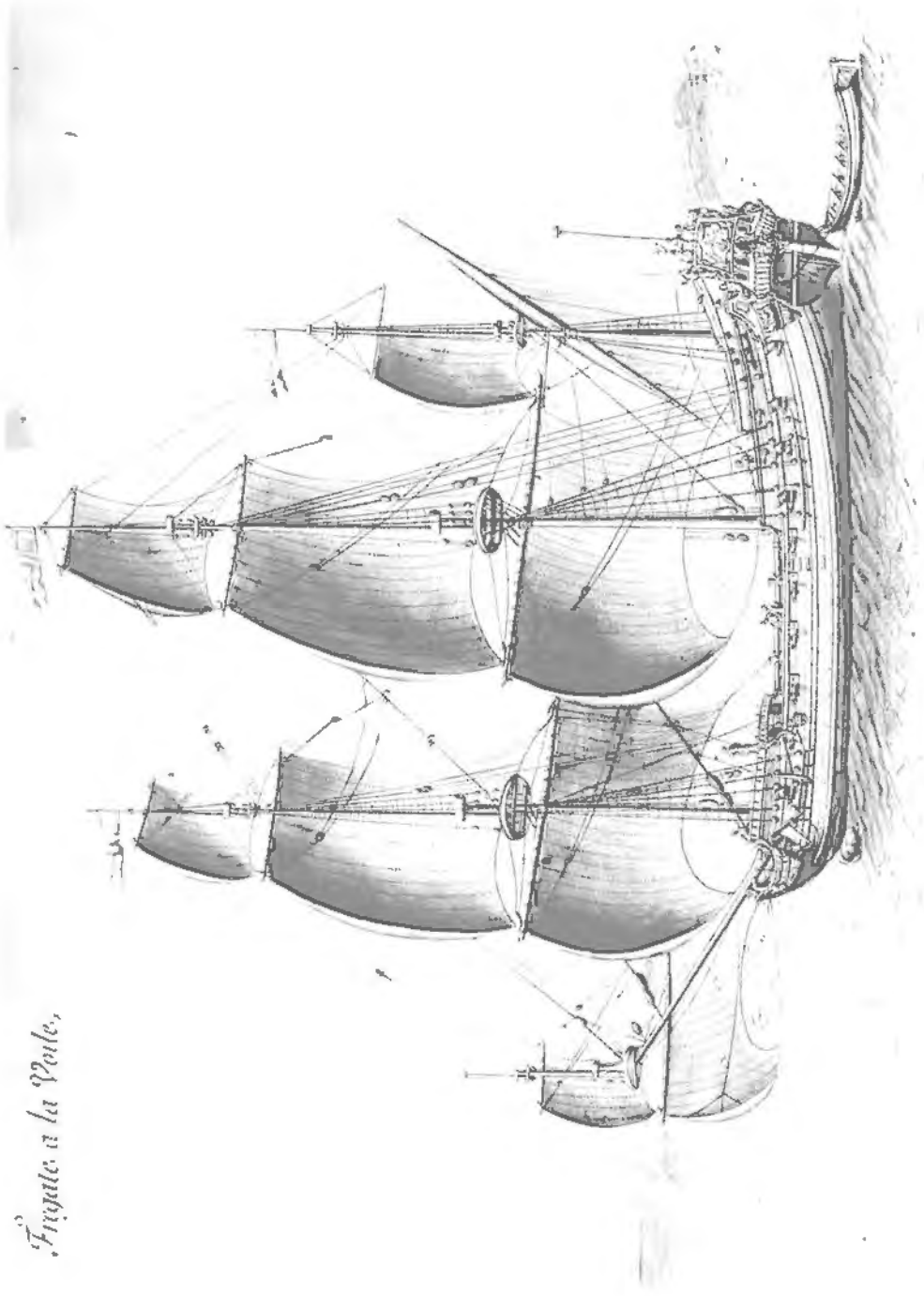
50 Murphy, *High Court of Admiralty*, p. 92.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

The end of the war at sea, 1650

Oliver Cromwell and his army of 20,000 veterans landed at Dublin in August 1649. After securing his northern flank by the capture of Drogheda he turned south. His immediate objective was the capture of the ports of Wexford, New Ross and Waterford. This would both secure his own line of communication with England and eliminate the confederate privateers, giving his navy complete command of the seas. On 11 October his troops stormed Wexford, sacked the town and killed many of the inhabitants and the garrison.[52] The next day Cromwell justified the slaughter as a punishment for 'the cruelties which they [the privateers] had exercised upon the lives of divers poor protestants'.[53] This sentiment was echoed by a parliamentarian pamphleteer who wrote 'and therefore God so ordered it, as to make them vomit up again their stolen riches'.[54] A week later New Ross surrendered after a brief bombardment. Cromwell now turned his attention to Waterford. Recognising that the fort at Duncannon was the key to the control of the sea approaches to the city, he sent Major General Henry Ireton with a force of 5,000 men to capture it. However the fort was staunchly defended by the garrison under Colonel Edward Wogan and on 5 November Ireton was forced to withdraw.[55] Cromwell himself failed to capture Waterford and in early December he marched west to Dungarvan and Youghal for winter quarters. However he had managed to capture Passage and had erected a battery and fort there. Fire from this fort could hinder but not stop traffic to and from the city. In January 1650 the *Angel Raphael* was hit by fire from the fort but it still managed to make its way up river to the city with its cargo of arms ammunition.[56] Many of the Wexford based privateers had relocated to Waterford after the fall of Wexford and in the spring and summer of 1650 they continued to attack parliamentary shipping. But successes were becoming rare as the entire parliamentary navy could focus on the Waterford coast. In July 1650 the parliamentary army now commanded by Ireton again hesieged the city. With the garrison and the citizens wracked by plague the city had no option but to surrender on terms which it did on 10 August 1650.[57] Two days later Duncannon surrendered. With their last haven on the south coast gone the privateers scattered, some to Galway or Limerick; the others to France. It was the end of a chapter in Waterford's maritime history.

52 James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1999), pp. 94-100.
53 Ohlmeyer, *Dunkirk of Ireland*, p. 29.
54 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
55 Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 107-9.
56 Murphy, *High Court of Admiralty*, p. 311.
57 Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 173-5



Frégate à la Voile,

Seventeenth-century frigate.

Lady Ranelagh – Katherine Jones (1615 – 1691) 'that most exemplary woman', John Milton

Alicia Premkumar

Early life

Katherine was born on March 22nd 1615. A daughter of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, her younger brother was the scientist Robert Boyle, the 'father of chemistry'. Her brothers had private tutors and went to school at Eton but like her sisters, Katherine had no formal education and was largely self-taught. She was known for her strong religious faith and good memory. She moved to England because of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641. There she married Arthur Jones and in 1643 became Lady Ranelagh when her husband acquired the title of Viscount Ranelagh.

Meeting influential figures

Once in England, Katherine entered an influential circle in London and she became friendly with prominent figures in politics, science and philosophy and other Anglo-Irish exiles. Her friend Lady Margaret Clotworthy who was married to an MP and her aunt Dorothy Moore who was married to a clergyman John Dury, both helped make introductions to leading thinkers in London. Katherine also became friendly with the scholar Samuel Hartlib, the physician Benjamin Worsley, the surveyor William Petty and the diplomat Henry Oldenburg. Both the poet John Milton and Oldenburg taught Katherine's son Richard. She maintained political connections on both sides during the English Civil War and used these to try to negotiate peace between King Charles I and parliament. These included her sister Mary's husband who was an MP and her brother Richard who later became an advisor to Oliver Cromwell. Her status in society also allowed her to write directly to King Charles II.

Katherine became a close associate of the philosopher and thinker Samuel Hartlib. She hosted gatherings at her Queen Street residence for like-minded intellectuals which became known as the 'Hartlib Circle' and which pursued a broad interest in the theories of universal knowledge and practical education. They documented advances in education, medicine, technology, religious thought and natural philosophy and discussed their ideas and research with each other.

Katherine was a driving force in this group and introduced her brother Robert to Hartlib who appears to have sparked his interest in medicine and later chemistry.

Katherine appears to have been involved with chemistry before Boyle and realised the need for a reformation in learning and knowledge. Hartlib was impressed by her energy and initiative and referred to her as 'Mr Boyle's incomparable sister, the Lady Vicountess Ranelagh'.

The Hartlib Circle discussed setting up formal institutions to further their ideas and discussed where to locate them. Hartlib came to Dublin in 1640 to establish institutions in Ireland. Katherine and Dorothy Moore campaigned for better education for women and William Petty later endorsed this in his plans for Ireland. Petty wrote a history of the Irish Rebellion and advanced proposals for Ireland invoking the name of Lady Ranelagh as a supporter of his ideas.

In the late 1640s, Robert Boyle, together with his friends Worsley and Dury began to refer to themselves as the 'Invisible College'. The Royal Society in London of which Robert Boyle was a founding member, was established in 1660 and grew out of both the 'Invisible College' and Hartlib's circle of friends. The aim of the Royal Society was to formalise the work of these groups and to create an official centre for exchanging information.

Katherine's religious beliefs governed her work and she shared these views with Samuel Hartlib, John Dury and Dorothy Moore. She also learned Hebrew to better understand the Bible and surprised her teacher William Robertson with her learning abilities. He even dedicated a book to her hoping it would encourage other women to pursue education. She promoted ideas which corresponded with these beliefs and during political and civil unrest she supported efforts to restore peace to England. Katherine had to be skilful in how she went about circulating her ideas and avoiding personal publicity. Modesty and devotion to God were important virtues of a lady and were valued as aristocratic qualities. A woman's accepted role in seventeenth-century England was restricted and they were expected to be silent and obedient. Gervase Markham's *The English Huswife* had been published in 1615 and included guidelines on the inward and outward virtues of a 'complete woman'.

Scientific research

The early seventeenth century was an era of scientific discovery. Galileo, the Italian astronomer who died in 1642 had challenged the Church's view that the Earth was the centre of the universe and Isaac Newton was developing ideas on mechanics. Francis Bacon wrote that the state should be separate from the Church and was encouraging experimentation over traditional beliefs. In France, Descartes was also encouraging people to think for themselves. William Harvey had discovered that the heart was a pump for the blood in 1620; the barometer was invented in 1643 and bacteria were discovered in 1673.

In the 1650s books written by women on chemistry and medicine were published in English by Alethea Talbot, Elizabeth Grey and Queen Henrietta Maria and there were advances in science and medicine in the 1600s. Katherine herself developed a deep interest in medicine and chemistry around 1648 and practised distillation with Dorothy Moore in 1649, extracting essential oils from herbs.

After the English Civil War, Robert Boyle published his book *The Skeptical Chymist* in 1661. Both Robert and Katherine both used practical experiments instead of accepting traditional beliefs, documenting their results precisely so that others could reproduce them. Katherine and Robert were able to reconcile their strong religious faith with this dilemma of engaging in work which might challenge the Church.

Lady Ranelagh's Achievements

Katherine encouraged Robert to move to Oxford since she realised that this would allow him more freedom away from the puritan forces which could thwart his work. She even went there in 1656 to find him the type of lodgings which would be suitable for his experiments. In Oxford, Boyle worked with Robert Hooke and joined a group called 'The Oxford Circle' which included physicians Thomas Willis and John Wilkins who also favoured practical experiments. Architect Christopher Wren, and clergyman John Beale were also members. Katherine's status raised 'ladies chemistry' to more importance and Beale later wrote to Hartlib about dedicating his book to Katherine.

When Robert later moved to Stalbridge, she sent him equipment to build a laboratory and encouraged him to put his ideas into writing. Diseases such as smallpox and typhus were common and there was an outbreak of plague in 1665. Katherine herself managed to survive smallpox while in Ireland. Physicians were treated sceptically by some as interfering with nature's course. Since it was not yet understood fully how the human body worked or the causes of diseases and since no formal medicines were available, Katherine experimented with chemistry, household science and herbal preparations and wrote *Kitchin-Physick* a book of medical recipes and another book of remedies for common ailments. She sought to develop cures which were effective and discussed their results on patients with eminent doctors. Her 'Receipt Books', show her expertise with chemicals and medicinal herbs with precise measures and ingredients. She sent details of her remedies to Hartlib who included them in his own books noting her as the source.

Captain Thomas Willis also published *My Lady Rennelagh's Choice Receipts* listing remedies such as 'The Great Palsy Water' and 'Lavender Cordial'. Her medical receipts are now stored in the British Library.

Isaac Newton and both Robert and Katherine were alchemists, a common pursuit of the time which tested if metals could be turned into gold. Katherine was also interested in mechanical instruments and John Beale wrote to Hartlib about how small telescopes which he was importing would suit Lady Ranelagh to work with. Anglo-Irish exiles continued to meet at her house when she moved to 83-4 Pall Mall in 1664.

Reputation

Katherine was asked to treat the baby son of the future King James II in 1667, showing how respected she was as a healer. When he died, she also appears to have attended the autopsy. She was also trusted to attend the wife of Edward Hyde,

the Earl of Clarendon, and advisor to the King, as well as the wife of the Lord Chancellor. Clarendon also confided in Katherine about affairs of state. When her sister-in-law was ill, she met with three eminent doctors to agree her treatment. She was often called on when doctors had given up on a patient. In 1656, the mathematician Robert Wood and member of the Oxford Club sent her his proposals for decimal currency including her among elite recipients such as maths professors, Samuel Hartlib and William Petty.

Katherine managed to maintain her reputation despite various political changes showing how skilfully she exercised her influence. Recent research by Dr. Michelle Di Meo suggests that the tone of Boyle's writings often rambling and digressive in some places become clearer and more assertive in others, more like that of his sister. If this is the case, Katherine may have directed some of his writings or may even have been the actual author of some of these works. Robert himself recognised both her importance and influence and often mentioned her in his own letters. His diaries show her constant presence and he confirms that she devised medicines through her own research. The Hartlib Papers refer to her over 200 times and she left over 100 letters herself from which some idea of her importance can be established. Samuel Hartlib often invoked her name to give authority to some of his own conclusions.

Tributes

Robert Boyle had called her 'a great and excellent Lady' and 'a lady remarkable for her uncommon genius and knowledge'. He also wrote how his sister would show results by her actions rather than writing about it, 'she expresses it Exemplarily in her Actions' and would 'confine her Pen to Excellent Letters' rather than in publications and perhaps this is why there is little documentation of her work. The Royal Society, which Robert helped to found, used as its motto *Nullius in Verba* which meant 'nothing in words' (accept only what you can prove). Katherine and Robert's principle of verifying scientific theories by practical experiment was made the cornerstone of the society. Robert lived with his sister for the last twenty-three years of his life. This allowed him to be close to the Royal Society in London and Robert Hooke designed a laboratory at the back of Katherine's house so Boyle could conduct experiments. Hooke was employed by Boyle as his assistant and also worked in her house. It appears that she was very involved with her brother's work as an unaccredited collaborator and helped him write an Irish language version of the Bible. She took an active role in directing his career and reviewing his books and papers before publication. When Robert had a stroke in 1670, Lady Ranelagh attended him closely.

Historian Charles Webster wrote that Katherine influenced Robert's development more than was previously understood. Carol Pal, Lynette Hunter, Ruth Connolly and Sarah Hutton have all written about her high standing in society, her considerable influence on Robert, involvement in circulating his ideas and promoting his theories. Her writings were circulated among her peers; she was highly regarded by her colleagues and became a scholar in her own right. She associated

with poets, scientists, politicians and royalty and was involved in religious correspondence, educational reform, political negotiations, studies of natural philosophy, medical practice and promoted experimental sciences. As part of the 'Hartlib Circle' she was partly responsible for the founding of the Dublin Philosophical Society as well as the Royal Society in London. William Petty was the first President of the Dublin Society and he recommended early schools for children and that education would also be suitable for girls, just as Katherine had wanted.

Perhaps the best evidence of Katherine's influence on Robert is that he had planned to leave her all his manuscripts and diaries but she died before him on December 23rd 1691. Such was his grief for his sister that it sent Robert into convulsions which soon led to his own death a week later on December 31st. They were both buried in the Church of Saint-Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square but there is no memorial in the present church. It could be argued that Katherine was the mother of chemical sciences a century before Marie-Anne Paulze Lavoisier. At Robert's funeral, the Bishop of Salisbury paid tribute to Lady Ranelagh by declaring that 'She made the greatest Figure of all the Revolutions of these Kingdoms for above fifty years, of any Woman of our Age'

On the 27th June 2015, on the 400th anniversary of her birth, a plaque honouring the memory of Lady Ranelagh was unveiled at Lismore Castle during the Robert Boyle Summer School.

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Lady Ranelagh (1615-91)

The Waterford Estates of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland (1703-1906)

Des Cowman

Preface

The vast archives of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland (RCPI) estate were made accessible in 2011 when the mammoth job of cataloguing it was completed by the college archivist Harriet Wheelcock. This estate covered eight townlands, all in Waterford and the documentation on them allows unique insights into the social history of the area. The archive could also be interrogated for instance on estate management or legal issues, but the focus of this article is the responses to changes in society. They form Part II of the college archive, each file of which is prefixed by 4/ which is omitted in the references below.

Background

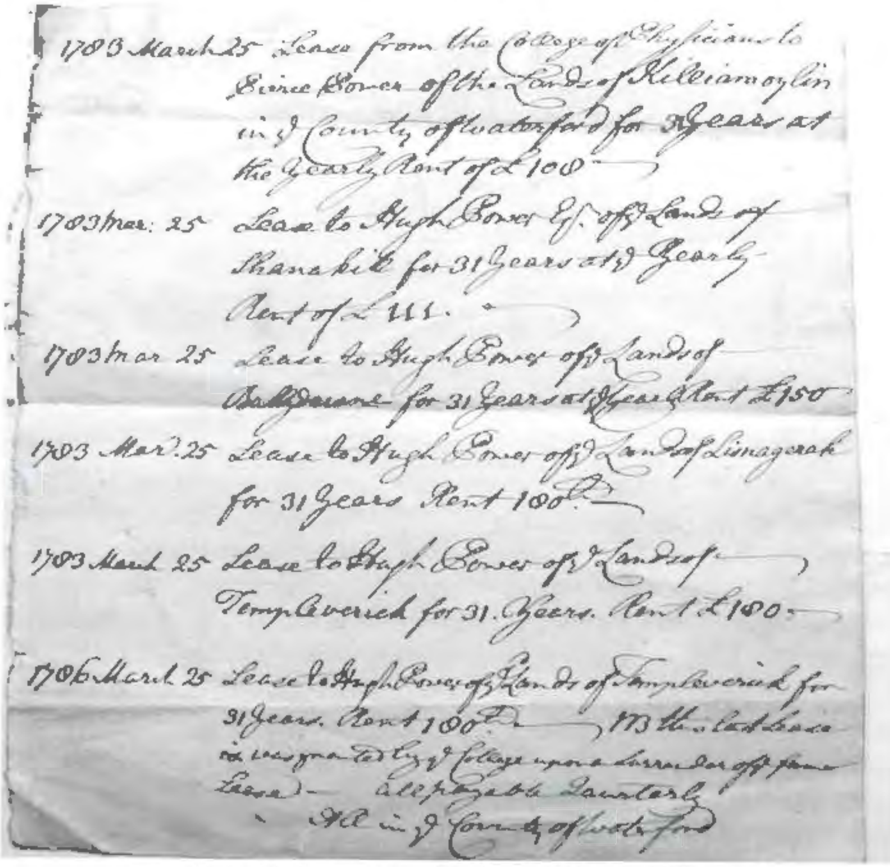
When or how the Butlers got the Waterford townlands is not clear but the first reference to the three southern townlands in the Ormond Deeds is 1542 when they were granted 'to hold to the use of James, Earl of Ormond and his heirs and assigns forever'.[1] There is no mention of the two other townland clusters. However the eight townlands were let to chief tenants who in turn sublet them. In 1699 they were leased to the physician Patrick Dun[2] and in 1703 James Butler, the financially troubled second Duke of Ormond, began the complicated process of selling them to him having first obtained permission through an Act of Parliament.[3] After Dun's death (1713) the trusteeship of the estate passed what is now the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland. Their rent income from leases on the estate was used to support a

Figure 1: Townlands sold in 1702 by James Butler to Patrick Dun.

1 *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. IV (S.O. 1937), p. 221, no 272.

2 RCPI 3/2/2 & /3 dated 19th Feb 1699. Dun was a protégée of James Butler.

3 3/1/2 & /3, 3rd & 4 Sept. 1702; 3/1/4 Deed of Settlement 1703; 3/8/1, two copies of the Act of Parliament.


1703 March 25 Lease from the College of Physicians to Pierce Power of the Lands of Killciarnoglin in ye County of Waterford for 31 years at the Yearly Rent of £100

1703 Mar: 25 Lease to Hugh Power Esq. of ye Lands of Shanakill for 31 years at ye Yearly Rent of £ 111.

1703 Mar 25 Lease to Hugh Power of ye Lands of Ballydwane for 31 years at ye Yearly Rent £150

1703 Mar. 25 Lease to Hugh Power of ye Lands of Linagorah for 31 years Rent 100£

1703 March 25 Lease to Hugh Power of ye Lands of Templevrick for 31 Years. Rent £100

1706 March 25 Lease to Hugh Power of ye Lands of Templevrick for 31 years. Rent 100£ (NB this last Lease was granted by ye College upon a surrender of ye same Lease) — All payable Quarterly

All in ye County of Waterford

Figure 2: Leases issued by Patrick Dun in 1703.

Figure 3: Map accompanying Wyse's lease (3/2/9). His mines at 'Danes Island' are on the peninsula bottom left, but he also mined the adjoining townland, Ballydwan.

professorship (the terms were later changed). Over their first decades as landlords, the good physicians did not seem to be sure what to do with this land although they did perhaps continue tenants-in-chief to provide income for themselves (Fig. 2).

The three northern townlands were isolated from the others (Fig. 1) and had a different timescale of rentals, possibly because Butler's right to sell Portnaboe remained in dispute up to 1777. The two middle townlands appear to have ecclesiastical origin – Moylan's church and old church. Of the southern townlands, Templeyvrick stands unique. The name possibly refers to a church sponsored by the long vanished Decies family of O Brick. From Norman times it had a 'manor' and the right to hold a 'Court Leet', a court which dealt largely with local misdemeanours.[4] Perhaps this was on Islandybrick ('island' along this coast also meant peninsula), otherwise 'Danes Island', now inaccessible, where footings of buildings were detected in the 19th century.[5] While the leet court system died out in the sixteenth century, 'Manor, town and lands' of Islandybrick were referred to in 1569.[6] However, its population ninety years later was recorded as only eight people.[7] Not known then was that there was silver, lead and copper in Templeyvrick and it was the development of these here and in adjacent areas that would lead to the development of a new settlement, Bunmahon. The other two coastal townlands were peripheral to this.

Mismanagement 1703-1824

Fig 2 shows the list of first leases granted by the new owner, Patrick Dun in 1703.[8] Information on what happened over the next eighty years however is sparse. Only nine leases were granted over those years, some for periods under twenty years.[9] Some of the sub-leases, however, have survived and contain unusual additions to the agreed rent: Judith Kent demanded 'Two fat muttons yearly' for two of the southern townlands and for the middle ones 'two fat hogs yearly at Christmas —- and two couple of fat hens out of each cabbyn on ye premises'.[10]

For one of these is collaborative detail readily available – that of Thomas Wyse for Templeyvrick in 1752 for thirty-one years[11] (Fig. 3). The lease contains some curiously archaic references to the college retaining the right to income from the long defunct court-leet and the right to 'minerals and coals, hawks and eyries of

4 Noted in Robert C. Simington, *The Civil Survey 1654 to 1856*, Vol. VI (SO, 1942), p. 118.

5 T.J. Westropp, 'Fortified headlands and castles on the south coast of Munster, Part II', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 32c (1914), p. 200-201.

6 *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, Vol. V (S.O. 1941), p. 180, no. 158, a revealing dispute with James Sherlock.

7 S. Pender (ed.), *Census of Ireland circa 1659* (SO, 1939), p. 342.

8 3/1/4.

9 3/2/5 to /13 from 1705 to '77.

10 3/1/5 dated 1705 & 1707. Cash options were offered – 16 shillings (the muttons) and £1 (the hogs).

11 3/2/9 the annual rent to the college was £118.

hawkes'. That mineral right could have worked in the college favour but they were indifferent so Wyse exploited the copper of Templeyvrick. He also did a private deal with the adjoining leasee of Ballydwan, Peter Anthony, to mine the silver there.[12] The colourful story of Thomas 'Bullocks' Wyse's life and mineral development have been told elsewhere[13] but his operation here may be summarised – half a ton of refined silver produced; 75 tons of lead per annum; an unspecified amount of copper which he somehow also smelted. He also intended to establish 'a colony of foreign artificers for the manufacture of all kinds of metal works', 300 in all but that did not happen.

That the college was indifferent to what exactly was going on in their estate will emerge but in late eighteenth century their principal interest was what tenant in-chief owed them how much rent. The leases in the middle and southern townlands were due to expire in 1783. By then various members of the Power family had established ascendancy over all townlands except Portnaboe (Pierce O'Donnell rent £270). William and Robert Power held the two Curraghs (rent £575) in the late eighteenth century. Since, as explained these three northern townlands had different rent schedules from the others, they are not included in Table 1.

We learn something about fashionable society in Templevrick *c.* 1800. Dorothea Hebert's family threw a dinner there serving sixty-nine courses. Mrs Hayes beat that with seventy courses. There were various soirees and horse racing on the beach.[14] Some years later a race course was added with the Bunmahon Gold Cup being competed for in a three-day event in October 1820 plus a steeple chase over four miles as reported in London, the clerks being Richard Power O'Shee and Lorenzo Power.[15] In 1821 it was described as 'a popular and fashionable bathing place with public rooms and handsome private residences'.[16] This world was to be swamped over the next decade by the mineral discoveries on the other side of the river.

More prosaically, the leases from 1783 were due for renewal in 1814. Meanwhile war with France had changed the agro-economic landscape there being a huge demand for foodstuffs to feed the armies in Europe. While the escalating prices received for agricultural products lead to riches for tenant-farmers, landowners such as the Royal College could not benefit until leases were due for renewal. Their Waterford estates had become very valuable. (Table 1)

12 3/2/9 & /10 both dated 18th May 1752.

13 Des Cowman, 'Thomas "Bullocks" Wyse, A Catholic Industrialist during the Penal Laws', *Decies* 24 (1983).

14 *The Reminiscences of Dorothea Herbert, 1770-1806* (republished Dublin, 1988), p. 310-13.

15 *Morning Post*, 8 November 1820, p. 3.

16 R.H. Ryland, *The History Topography and Antiquities of ... Waterford*, (London, 1824, reprint Kilkenny, 1982), p. 272.

Table 1[17]

TOWNLAND	LEASED BY	RENT 1783	RENT 1814
Kilmoylan	Patrick Power	£100	£558
Shanakill	Joseph Power	£111	£305
Templeyvrick	R. Power-O'Shee	£100	£438
Lisnageragh	Pierce & Hugh Power	£100	£319
Ballydwan	Pierce & Hugh Power	£150	£393
	TOTALS	**£561**	**£6,118**

Thus the 31 years had seen an eleven-fold escalation of rents. It was not then obvious that the war was about over, prices would plummet while they were stuck with unrealistic leases up to 1845 (when of course other problems would kick-in). This should have been a catalyst to reappraisal of estate management which included other problems. For instance, the college had appointed 'Visitors' who never actually visited the estate. There was also a lack of urgency about dealing with the estate as the only money needed by then was £370 (two professors £150 each; librarian £70).[18] The auditor 'for many years', J.D. Latouch, presented accounts only in 1800, 1817 and 1824 (he died 1827). His last account (1823-'24) showed rent income of £3,802; arrears of £3,379-10.[19] Nevertheless there had been an accumulation of capital from rents which had been put into government stock. This was used by the college in 1800 to establish Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital as a charitable and teaching hospital.[20]

Various Reports

Dr Edward Hill[21] 1824

Only one member of the distinguished personnel of the college took such issues serious enough to actually visit the estate sometime in the early 1820s and submitted a report which not alone was ignored, but apparently not even filed. He, Dr. Edward Hill, visited again in 1824 and his trenchant second letter (Fig 4) did seem to stimulate a response. Addressing the president of the College he refers to his previous report which 'has not been regarded'. He states that the College remain 'in absolute ignorance... no one of them having ever seen the estate'. Dr Hill sets out the statutory obligations of the College (Fig 4) which 'without such personal information... can never discharge their duties as Trustees for the public benefit'.[22]

17 Collated from 3/2/14 to /21 of 17th April 1783 and 3/2/20 to /26 May and June 1814. The leases for the northern townlands are 3/2/11 to / of 1757, '58 and '77; 3/2/20 of 1789.

18 2/1/1 accounts 1816. The number of professors was revised from time to time.

19 2/1/1 accounts 1823-'24

20 4/1 & /2 re hospital. Also Parliamentary Papers, *Royal Commission for inquiring into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland: third report*, Appendix C, part II, p. 73.

21 *Stewart's Almanac, 1820*, p. 190 states that he was a fellow of the RCPI and Regius Professor of Physic at TCD.

22 3/6/2, single page letter.

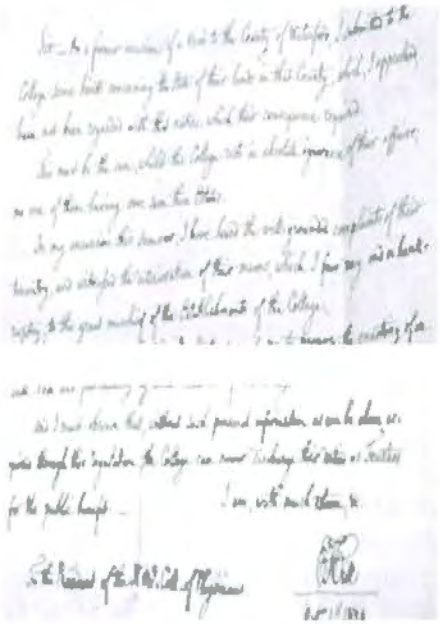


Figure 4: Beginning and end of Dr Hill's letter to the President of RCPI in 1824 urging that the College take their responsibilities seriously (spelled out in missing paragraph here) for the Waterford estate. This provoked the visit by Grattan and Farran.

Figure 5: Dr. Edward Hill portrait. Photo courtesy RCPI.

The context in which the subsequent visits took place was a changing socio-economic Ireland. The local manifestations of the Napoleonic war-boom and subsequent slump have been indicated in the rent issues above. Recovery from the mid-1820s through the '30s allowed population expansion putting pressure on tenant farmers to sub-divide holdings.[23] This, the doctors found a particular difficulty in the three northern townlands. While the fate of the landless labourers was already dire by 1830 some local amelioration was given by the expansion of mining.

Reports Drs. Grattan and Farran[24] 1827

Within two years of Hill's letter two physicians were despatched to Waterford to inspect the entire estate. Their detailed report was then printed (Fig 6) towards informing members of the college about condition of their estate.[25] They are emphatic that farmers cannot prosper without reasonable conditions and security: 'Tenants-at-will cannot be expected to evince the same spirit of improvement... had this been differently managed by the College.' Expanding on this problem, '... the estate... from which the highest rent may be extorted, is much worst managed, and will in the end prove a less profitable estate than one set at a lower rate...'. An example is given at Portnambo where the college's chief tenant had died owing money to one Kirwan who decided that this justified him in taking over as landlord: '... the high rent demanded by Kirwan... the uncertain nature of their tenure... render them both incapable and unwilling to improve...' In brief, 'This process of subletting and sub-dividing we find most objectionable and equally injurious to the tenant and the property...' Kirwan is mentioned again as a 'a former driver and sub-agent' who instead of collecting rents after farmers have threshed and sold their corn, placed 'keepers' on the farm beforehand and charged for this. (The college did get rid of Kirwan in 1828.[26]) That the college, however, had a higher mission than such exploitation is spelled out by the good doctors,


THE REPORT

DOCTORS GRATTAN AND FARRAN

ESTATES

SIR PATRICK DUN

DUBLIN

Figure 6: Printed report 1827.

23 HC 1830, no. 667, *Report of the Select Committee on the State of the Poor, being a summary of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Reports...*, pp. 3-6.

24 *Dublin Almanac 1835*, p 144, Richard Grattan and Charles Farran were Fellows of RCPI.

25 This is not catalogued in RCPI Archive being in print format but is available there as Report 1827.

26 3/7/52 case taken by RCPI against Thomas Kirwan at Waterford Spring Assizes.

'The College of Physicians will not perform their duties to society, if in their anxiety to support a hospital in Dublin for paupers, they should suffer their tenants in the country to be reduced to a state of poverty and wretchedness.'[27]

Such complaints were not unique as they are recurrent themes in contemporary commentary[28]. A local publication of 1824[29] conflates tenant farmers and labourers deeming them 'the most miserable in the world'. Another report of 1827 describes the whole area as 'a most melancholy view of filthy and miserable cabins... and of land in a most wretched state of cultivation'.[30] This certainly was not what the doctors noted and they had many positive things to say.

The tenant in chief of the coastal townlands, Hugh Power (lived Carrick Castle), asked for an abatement of the rent he'd agreed to in 1814 and the doctors agreed that this rent was now unrealistic and granted a 25% reduction.[31] They inspected Power's land and were complimentary about how the tenant farmers coped with coastal conditions, 'The soil is light and poor, the ground in many places rocky... the subsoil is composed of cold yellow clay in which no plant will vegetate'. Unless the land 'be kept in a regular rotation of tillage' furze and ferns, the natural vegetation, will spring up 'spontaneously'. They emphasise the importance of lime, not available locally, to this process; they say the same about Shanakill. Hugh Power had built a kiln for limestone coming in from Kilkenny and Dungarvan. Praising 'the exceedingly industrious' tenant farmers they say of their wives they 'manufacture all the clothing of their families; they convert their flax into strong, coarse linen and their wool into cloth or frize'.[32] While there is no evidence of this last, there is some support for the difficulties of farming locally on the 'poor spindly arable land' which is only made possible through the availability of sea-weed.[33]

The doctors noted anomalies relating to the tenant-in-chief of the two middle townlands. Joseph Power's lease at Shanakill dated to 1814 but by 1827 he had borrowed money from his sub-tenants, Thomas and Maurice Murphy who effectively had taken over the running of the estate there. The doctors greatly disapproved of this unauthorised arrangement but did concede that the Murphys did allow tenants discount of rent the buy the necessary lime for the land.[34] At adjoining Kilmoylan the college itself was at fault. It had got rid of Patrick Power as tenant-in-chief and the RCPI had taken over the role themselves in 1822 but had then failed to issue leases to tenants. They had also failed to monitor that the McGrath farm there had been divided between two brothers.[35]

27 3/6/2 Dr. Hill's second letter.

28 E.g. *Poor Inquiry*, (1830) and *Devon Commission*, (1845).

29 Ryland, R.H. *The History, Topography and Antiquities... of Waterford* (1824, reprint Kilkenny 1982), addendum 'Peasantry' p. 385.

30 *Waterford Mail*, 17 Ocober 1827, p 4, anon headed 'Waterford 1'.

31 Report 1827, p. 5 & 11.

32 Report 1827, p. 7-10 referring to Ballyduane and Lisnageragh.

33 (London) *Morning Post*, 8 May 1837, p. 6; anon headed 'Letter II Waterford 4 May 1837'.

34 Report 1827, p. 17 & 18.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 19 & 20; 23-25.

This report drew an immediate response and an estate committee was established the following year to supervise the management of the estate including complete financial control. It first met in January 1829 and reported quite regularly thereafter.[36] A further strand of governance was added in with the publication annually of accounts and rentals, replacing Dublin-based La Touchet's sporadic reports of previous years.[37] A local agent, one McDoughal, was appointed to present annual accounts

Reports Drs Adams and Farran 1839[38]

However, this was still mainly Dublin-centred activity and assumed that all statements, financial or otherwise, coming from Waterford reflected reality. Something of this and an unspecified 'the unsettled state of the lands' prompted the college registrar, Dr. William Adams accompanied by Dr. Charles Farran (his second visit) to come and see for themselves in 1839 (Fig. 7). Their report, quoting a letter of 1830 from the College to local agent Thomas McDougall, sets out some of the disquiet about how the estate was being run: 'I am directed by the Committee to

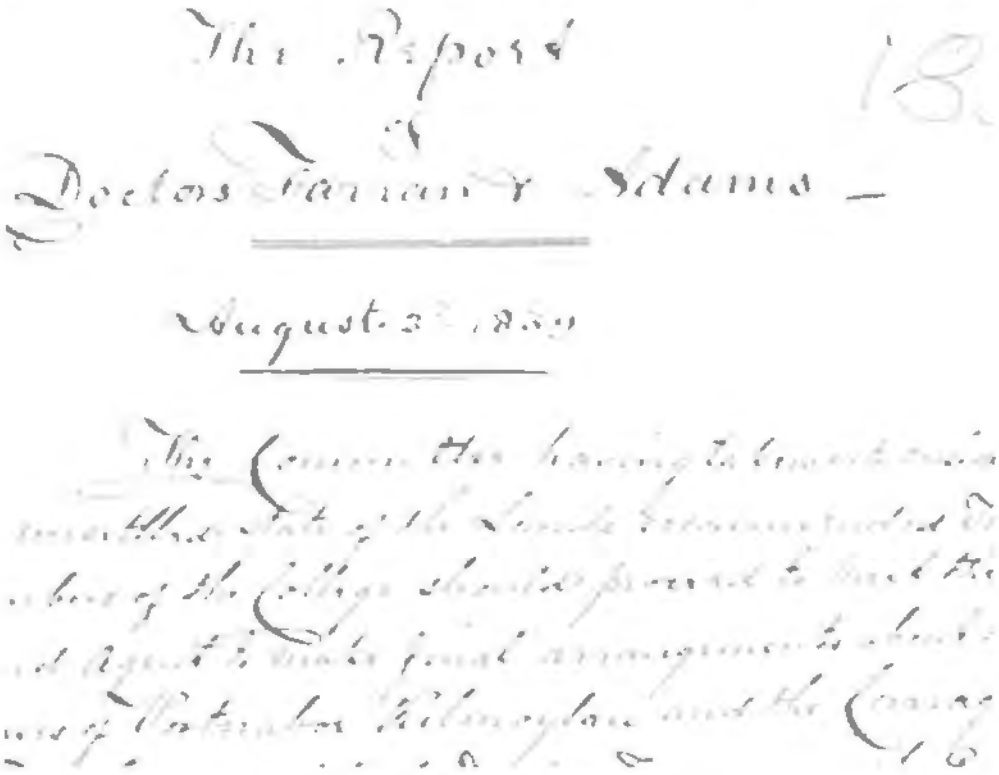


Figure 7: Transcript of start 1839 report.

36 1/3/1 to /7 Reports

37 2/1/2 to /72 Annual accounts

38 3/6/4 Reports Farran and Adams. The original has not survived but was transcribed in 1841 by the then Registrar. In *Dublin Almanac* 1835 William O'Brien Adams is one of four 'Censors' of RCPI.

express to you the astonishment they feel at the defalcation of £661-18-5 which you return to them in your account current of the year 1839'. McDoughal's[39] reply is quoted – he blames low agricultural prices and the weather. Their main task, however, was to sort out the still recurrent legacy of Kirwan from twelve years earlier.

Therefore the two doctors first visited the three northern townlands and found that leases still had not been granted. Worse still, some land had been left untenanted so the college had to pay the tithes - £352. Whatever the administrative difficulties, at Portnaboe they describe all seven tenant farmers as 'comfortable' but were particularly impressed by Thomas Dwyer who is 'punctual —- excellent state of farm —- great industry displayed by himself and family.' Curraghnagarraha was equally prosperous. Betty Power (widow of John) and her son Walter had 'a well slated two storey house'; her sub-letting to a John Phelan seems to have been forgiven as he had a similar house described as 'excellent'. There was disapproval however, of John and Walter Walsh who had divided their father's 36 acres between them. At Curraghballintlea eight of the fourteen farms were sub-divided. One complicated example is given. Ellen Foley's rent was £34-8-4d p.a.; her arrears were £97-9-10d. She had given her three sons-in-law a quarter of the farm each. One had gone to America but had passed his portion on to an Edward Gough.

Perhaps as a result of this report on sub-division, the college decided to take control and issue their own sub-leases in 1841. Thus at Portnaboe RCPI leases were granted to Thomas Dwyer, Michael Burke and Catherine Burke; at Curraghballintlea to William Brown and John Hannan[40]; Curraghnagarraha strangely does not feature in these new leases. Such sub-leases were also granted by the college in Kilmoylan.[41]

Of the tenant farmers of Kilmoylan, the doctors were 'happy —- to report most favourably' and found matters 'highly satisfactory'. No comment was made on the division of the late David Shanahan's 100 acres (fifty-four pigs, twenty-seven cows and five heifers were noted) between his two sons. A John Power 'from negligence and bad habits' had lost the land to an elderly William Power. That he had taken on his son-in-law, Michael Meany, was noted with approval, he being 'a man of most industrious habits'. They did not report on adjoining Shanakill but went south to Lisnageeragh where they found 'progressive improvement'. Hugh Power had been tenant-in-chief of this townland and they noted that he had evicted tenants and installed his brothers, Pierce and William, in their place (see next report of 1845).

They did not provide the same detail for the coastal townlands but visited a 'much improved' Bunmahon. The inhabitants 'dread of inundation' in consequence of the removal of the sand dunes ('banks') by local farmers to fertilise their fields is cited. The welfare of all was the concern of the college. This was to be a recurrent issue over the next fifty years.

39 3/4/2/2 contains Land Agent McDoughal's accounts 1826 to 1840.

40 3/2/32 & /33; 3/2/35; 3/2/37 &/38 all dated 13th November 1841.

41 3/231 & /34 & /36 also dated 13th November 1841.

In brief they found that subletting had increased and that there were in rent arrears totalled £1,810. Clearly here had been maladministration here although their report itself does not specify who was to blame (McDoughal?) or what remedial steps they recommended. There is, however, reference to an 'appended schedule' which has not survived.

That mixed report and the more laudatory one that follows should be put in the context of the normal general condemnations of tenant farmers. Villiers Stuart in west Waterford berates the 'apathy' of his tenants. He says that consequently 860 good acres of his 5,000 acre were left untended. He blames 'want of information and enterprise —- long habit and ignorance' and that this leads to unemployment of labourers.[42] That such examples can be multiplied may be due to landlords' habits of attributing blame for their own inadequacies. The better practice on the long neglected college estates noted by the objective doctors can hardly have been exceptional and may reflect a wider ignored reality.

Report Dr. Brady 1845[43]

Dr. Brady covers the same coastal townlands as the joint report of 1827 and confirms their praise of the tenant farmers there – 'improvement which considering the difficulties these poor people have had to struggle against, is to me, truly astonishing...' He expands on what they said about domestic industry, 'the women make linen, sheeting, blankets and quilts' and have 'good beds (usually feather beds), large supply of blankets, linen, etc.' (However, in the detail on Ballydwan farms below there is no mention of flax being grown nor mills and there are only seventeen sheep in the townland). He comments on 'the neatness and comfort of their and their children's dress...' but contrasts all this to 'the wretched comfortless dwellings they inhabit' which they attribute to 'fear of being turned out'. (This is not what his report on Ballydwan below suggests raising further questions about his inpressionability).

Dr Brady must have made a quick visit to the northern section to adjudicate on two families targeted for eviction. At Portnaboe John Drohan 'a poor indolent man with a wife and ten children' held 32 acres, half of which he had sublet. An even sadder candidate for eviction was the Widow Ryan with eight children on ten acres (half sublet) in Curraghbailintlea. There were 'striking marks of poverty and neglect'; the land 'very neglected'; the widow was 'incapable of managing'.

Dr Brady reports more fully on two other townlands. Some of his reporting on Lisnageeragh is hear-say but he must have been instructed to consider the situation there, Pierce Power having evicted tenants in 1835 to install his two brothers. Brady concludes '[there are] certain controversies between... Pierce and Wm. Power which it might be necessary for the college to put an end to completely'.

42 PP *Royal Commission for inquiring into the conditions of the Poorer Classes in Ireland, 3rd Report*, Appendix C, part II, Addenda 34c, evidence taken 18th January 1834.

43 3/6/3 manuscript report. According to *Thom's Directory* (1845, p. 256), Thomas Brady was a Fellow of the RCPI.

Figure 8: Mining Company map of 1840 showing how Bunmahon, the 'cottages and hovels,' spread north and west but not east which was the flood-plain of the river Mahon.

Rights of way are mentioned as difficulties. He refers to William Lannon a young 'active intelligent' man who had to give up a holding there in 1842. Then there was the complicated case of Garret Organ whose main farm seemed to be elsewhere but the livestock on the college farm there is enumerated. The Power brothers 1811 leases expired in 1842 and the college refused to renew them. Pierce accepted this but William challenged it. A court of inquiry was held in Dungarvan and, not unexpectedly, William lost and had to pay £125 expenses.[44] Thus they were able to grant leases directly to William Lannon (also to a Mary Lannon) and Garret Organ in January 1846.[45]

Nevertheless, when he visited the Power brothers and found them 'excellent farmers and most industrious'. Both also had land in adjoining Seafield and had good slated out-offices. Pierce had built for himself 'a comfortable one storey slated cottage'; William intended spending £400 on a house (but in 1839 he had intended spending £500 on a house!). Both seemed to have been mainly into dairy farming but Pierce also had forty pigs and seemed ahead of his time in having 'some patches of young plantation.'

Dr. Brady gave a detailed report on Ballydwan. Having described the following fifteen farms there, he refers to the sixteen cottages twelve of which pay no rent (i.e. squatters) and the farmers 'suffer the everyday injury produced by children, pigs, goats and fowl on the ground from their cabins.' He identifies the same problem at Shanakill where there are '15 of these cottier cabins. Some of them are

44 3/7/5/1/4 & /5; *Waterford Chronicle*, 19 August 1846, p. 2, Report Board of Inquiry.
45 3/3/40

perfect nuisances to the farmers themselves'. While he would like these removed, he realises this might be 'a cause of discontent'. He concedes that good labourers would be an asset on large farms. While these often represented a majority of the population they were not otherwise considered by the doctors. A picture of their lives emerges from the nearby parish of Dunhill.[46] They get casual pay (8d per day without food) working at planting time and harvest but there is never any work between December and April. They live in thatched two-roomed cabins 'furnished very miserably', general sleeping on rags. They pay the farmers up to £2 p.a. depending on the size of the potato-plot around it. Their stock of potatoes might just last the year. Despite this they are reasonable dressed and peaceful. There is no mention of them having livestock.

His report on the farms on this townland is give below in some detail as it provides a unique insight into mixed farming practice on the very eve of the famine. Ballydwan was divided into East and West: the former comprised 110.5 Irish acres (179 statute acres) with six farms.[47] Prefixed by # are those who had been assessed for tithes in 1824.[48] [In square brackets any changes noted in post-famine Griffiths Valuation, *c*1851]. {Thus bracketed, the four who were in arrears in 1851[49]}

1 #Widow Keon (late husband Roger) and her son John had a 'well managed' 51.5 statute acre (31.75 Irish) farm on the cliff. They had seven cows, two horses, six sheep and twelve pigs with 5 acres of wheat, 6 prepared for potatoes, plus 'some' oats and barley. Their house was 'comfortable' and there were four thatched cottages on the land plus a lime kiln. [John had taken over; one cottage (and garden) left – Eleanor Walsh's. No mention of lime kiln.]
2 #Michael Murray 'an excellent farmer' had 38 acres (23.5 Irish) He lived with wife and seven children in a 'good' house and there were three cottages one let to his sister and two 'wretched cabins' to labourers. He had three horses, three cows, five sheep, 5 acres prepared for potatoes, and 1 of oats. [House and garden noted separate from land]
3 Widow Murray 'a very decent woman' with no children lived in a 'good house' on a 'well managed' 15.4 acres (9.5). She had just one cow, one horse and 'several pigs'. [Mary Murray]

46 PP *First Report of Commissioners for inquiring into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland*, 1836, Vol. 31, evidence J. Flynn PP of Dunhill in Supplement to Appendix D p. 256 (EPPI p. 372) and to Appendix E, p. 98 (EPPI p. 102). No evidence was taken from the College estate.

47 Dr. Brady reflected the local use of Irish acres. These are multiplied by 1.62 to convert them into the Statute Acres used in Griffith's Valuation and currently. The original Irish acres are given in round brackets.

48 www.titheapplotmentbooks.nationalarchives.ie

49 3/4/1/18.

4 James Langan a 'very intelligent man, aged 69 with 3 girls and a boy grown up' on 20.25 acres (12.5) on cliff 'in very good condition'. Had two cows and a heifer, two horses and six pigs. He grew wheat, oats and potatoes and income was supplemented by son's fishing. ['House, office and garden' noted separately]
5 #Martin Curran 'a very intelligent man 60 years of age and seems a most industrious and skilful farmer' had 36.5 acres (22.45) 'in excellent condition'. Had 4 acres of wheat, 6 of potatoes plus oats and barley, with 'a good store of potatoes in the haggard' plus £100 in Bunmahon Savings Bank. His stock was two horses, three cows and seven 'large pigs' He had six grown-up children. Two houses on land let to 'industrious labourers', Michael FitzGerald and Roger McGrath. [The labourers are gone] {arrears £8-15}
6 #John Vale (Veale) 'a weak indolent person... very badly manages' 17 acres (10.5) beside Langan. A forty-six year-old widower with three boys living in a 'very poor' house. The only other detail is that there was a 'wretched hut' on the land. [Veale still there!]. {arrears £35-6/-}

Ballydwane West's 195.3 statute acres (120.55 Irish acres) had nine farms.

1 William Quinn 'a very intelligent industrious man' had 35.6 acres (22) 'in excellent condition, well drained and manured'. He was fifty-six with a wife and 5 daughters in a 'comfortable' home. He had four cows and two calves; two horses and a filly; two sheep; six 'large' pigs plus twenty barrels of barley in his barn. Cottage with garden on land. [Brigid Barry in cottage]
2 #John Keon had 28.5 acres (17.5) 'in good order' on cliff. Aged fifty-five ('does not speak English') with six children in a 'comfortable' house. He had two horses, three cows; '8 pigs, a sow and 6 young'; two stacks of barley and one of oats. There was a forge let on his land. [Land now held jointly with Maurice Keane. Francis Lynch had house and forge]
3 #John Salmon (son of Maurice) 'a very industrious' forty year-old with four small children. 28.8 acres (17.75), mostly along cliff 'but he manages it well'. Had two horses, two cows and two calves, eight pigs, twelve barrels of oats and a stack of barley. {arrears £85-10/-}
4 Maurice Kane & James McGrath, sons of Widow McGrath (Kane her first husband), 'This family seems industrious and rather comfortable'. 28.3 acres (17.5) on cliff: two cows and a heifer, six 'large' pigs and ten young; four large stacks of barley and two acres of wheat sown. James Buck had a house and forge on the land. They had a share in a boat. [McGrath gone and Kane (Keane) had obviously made new arrangement with John Keon]
5 #Michael King 'an intelligent old man' with wife and two sons, one of whom fished. His10.5 acres (6.5) on cliff (near beach) 'in very good condition' He had a horse, a cow, 2.4 acres (1.5) of wheat sown and land prepared for oats.

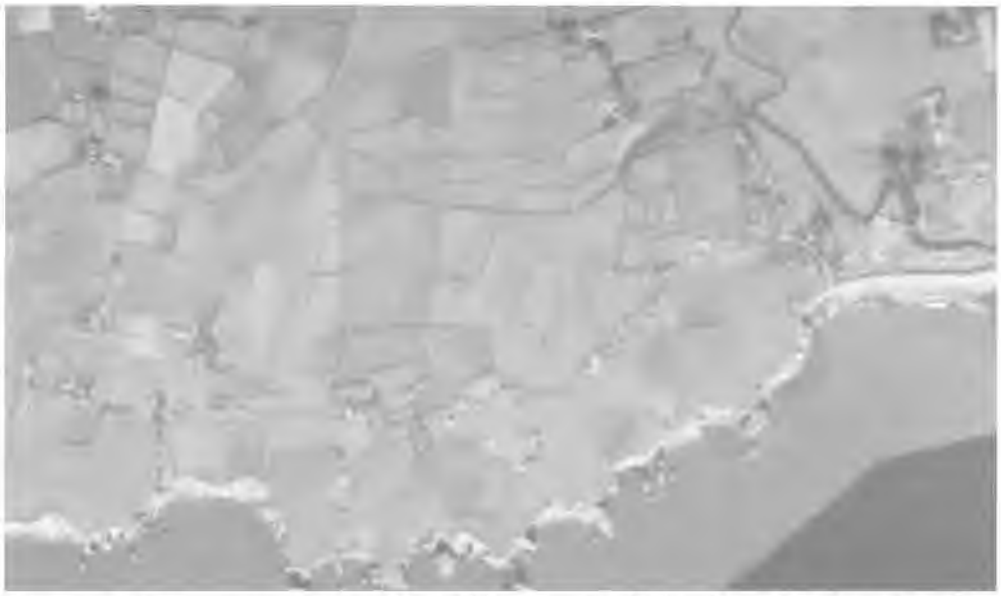


Figure 9: The coastal townlands of the RCPI estate. The Mahon River is on the right with village of Bunmahon, in the townland of Templeyvrick, just west of it. The bay on the left is Ballyduwane, with its east and west townlands. The neat fields here were created with much effort by the tenant farmers.

6 #William Connell 'a most industrious intelligent' thirty-five year old with three small children. He had built a 'good house – very neat, well-furnished and comfortable' as well as a barn, cow house and stable. His 17 acres (10.5) on cliff had 'much barren rock' but was manured and 'admirably managed'. He deserved more land. {arrears £7-14/-}

7 Patrick Drohan 'another good farmer' (but not as good as his neighbour Connell), aged forty with wife and three children. His 17 acres (10.5) have two cows, one horse, four sheep, and 1.5 acres of wheat sown. There were late potatoes and turf in the haggard. [Spelled Droghan]

8 Laurence Vaile (Veale), unmarried, two brothers living with him. 13.8 acres (8.5) on cliff 'totally well managed' with 'abundance of manure' adjoining Salmon's farm. Had two cows, a horse, three barrels of wheat and ten of barley. They had a boat and fished. Two cabins on his land 'a great nuisance to Salmon'.

9 #Patrick Wade (son of Thomas Wade) did not live on land which 'has been neglected'. Suggest it be divided between neighbouring farms of Curran and Quinn. [Still had land but no house on it; cottage of Patrick Power there]

Less than half of these were there and paying tithes in 1824. All the reports suggest a relatively staple generally prosperous society, at least at tenant farmer level. All but two of the Ballydwan farms are between 15 and 50 acres which was the biggest farm grouping in Ireland therefore there was nothing exceptional about them.[50]

50 Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Poverty, population and agriculture 1805-1845', in *New History of Ireland*, Vol. V (OUP, 1989), p. 114. Also S.C. Connolly, *Priests and people in Pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845* (Dublin, 1982), Table 1, p 17.

Social Dimensions

No. 8 above mentions Lawrence Veale and his brothers owning a boat. An experience they had when they were ten years younger, accompanied by William Roynane, got wider publicity.[51] Presumably in a freshening off-shore wind, their boat was swept out to sea and they could not get back. They hailed two ships which ignored them. After two days and nights, presumably without food, water or warmth, a Liverpool merchantman picked them up. How they got back to Ballydwan is not reported but ten years later according to Dr. Brady they were still fishing.

A sequel to a sordid murder at Ballydwan on 12th November 1848 throws much light on the community.[52] The motive given for 'heavy looking' thirty-eight year old John O'Brien's murder of his twenty-eight year-old wife Brigid was that he had got an unnamed girl pregnant. They'd been drinking whiskey and walked across to a cousin's house, Frank Power in Kilduane who shared the whiskey. His wife tried to persuade Brigid to stay the night but Brien forced her to accompany him. Mrs Power, apparently worried, instructed Frank to follow the couple.

He tracked them in the dark across the river to Ballydwan Cove and then up the cliffs west of there and down into a little secluded cove. There Frank saw the body of Brigid, beaten to death with a stone by her husband. He decided to keep quiet about it but the body was seen next morning and John O'Brien duly arrested. He was tried in July 1849 and sentenced to hang. Out of the trial a number of otherwise inaccessible social details emerge.

* John Brien and family spoke Irish together.
* Brigid wore a cloak fastened by a hook and two petticoats. When found her shoes were missing.
* Her body was somehow got up the cliff and brought to Bunmahon school to await examination by Dr. Walker.
* Her burial was strangely in Knockmahon, the only graveyard there being Church of Ireland.
* Witness Biddy Lenehan says she lived in Ballydwan but neither Dr. Brady nor Griffiths Valuation have any Lenehans there.
* Witness Maurice Kane (4 above, Ballydwan West) was digging potatoes when his attention was directed to the body at the foot of the cliffs.
* Sea-weed was collected by cart from Ballydwan Cove after storms to put on the land; it was hauled up the cliff from the small cove to the west (called in trial 'Flower Cove').
* John Brien intended to escape on an ore boat to Swansea.

51 *Dublin Weekly Register*, 13 September 1835, p. 6.

52 *Freeman's Journal*, 21 July 1849, p. 2; *Nenagh Guardian*, 25 July 1849, giving slightly different accounts of the trial at Waterford Assizes.

Pre- and post-Famine

A major change had been taking place in the village of Bunmahon in the townland of Templeyvrick. The story of the discovery and development of huge copper resources from the mid-1820s east of the Mahon river has been told elsewhere[53] but the focus of settlement remained west of the river. The perspective presented to the college by Dr. Farran was: 'persons of all parts flooded into the neighbourhood... extortionate terms imposed on them... cottages and hovels... houses of the worst description. (Local roads) fringed with hovels, presenting a most wretched appearance in a most disgraceful state of neglect', such he says could be inhabited by up to eight families.[54]

This haphazard influx upset normal tenancy agreements and the college agents struggled to cope with who owed what, the rent books having extra columns annotated in red ink.[55] These reveal inexplicable fluctuations of population. A rent list for Bunmahon of September 1840 contains 102 names[56]: about eight months later another list has seventy-nine names[57] but only nineteen of them are replicated and only five of these appear to have continued in the same holding. Dr. Farran himself confessed to 'never being able to unravel the complicated state of sub-division into which the land has fallen'.[58] Probably what was complicating matters was that when houses became vacant either through death or migration, other families moved in, as has been documented for Knockmahon.[59]

Most of these rentals[60] give limited insight as to what was actually happening but sometimes richer material is presented. Taking the example of Richard FitzGerald of Templeyvrick who in 1828 had acquired a lease of 45 acres for annual rent of almost £48. By September 1840 he was £56-15 in arrears and had 'bad' written under his name on the rental which also had a column 'Observations by the Mining Company of Ireland, received 14 Dec. 1840' (they acted as tenants-in-chief for RCPI who still collected the rents);

> Patr. FitzGerald is a bad tenant and has sublet his farm to a number of small tenants retaining about ten acres. The tenants have all paid the September rents... amount[ing] to his year's rent. Therefore he has about 10 acres rent free and ought to be made pay something until the arrear is paid. He objects to the amount of arrears and says there is about £6 due - has no proof.

53 Des Cowman, *The Making and Breaking of a Mining Community: The Copper Coast, County Waterford 1825-1875+*, (2006).

54 3/6/4 Letter Dr Farran 11th May 1848. He had returned for a third time apparently to act as agent 1848-'50. His letters are headed Clonea, Stradbally.

55 3/8 report Doughal.

56 3/4/1/7.

57 3/4/1/13 signed 'Received 3 July 1841 by Patrick Morrisey, bailiff'.

58 3/13/11, Farran to Labatt of RCPI, 8 January 1846.

59 Des Cowman, *The Making and Breaking of a Mining Community: The Copper Coast, County Waterford 1825-1875+*, (2006), p. 68-71.

60 These rental lists are available on www.coppercoastgeopark.com under genealogy.

This is typical of such comments, tenants sub-letting and claiming to owe far less arrears than charged. It is clear that the subtenants were growing potatoes to sell to the mining population. Richard FitzGerald is not in the rental of mid 1841 or subsequently.

The failure of the potato crop from 1845 wiped out people like FitzGerald's subtenants. This was not originally anticipated as it was thought that the use of sea-weed rendered coastal potatoes immune from disease. That such were noted to have rotted by January 1846 led one alarmed observer to head a letter, presciently 'The Impending Famine'.[61] Philanthropy and self-interest prompted the mining company to try to keep the workforce fed. Their and other attempts have been chronologically catalogued.[62] However, on an inquest into two bodies found on the road in February 1847, the following observation was made by the coroner: 'In Bunmahon King Death marches apace... Dead bodies are to be met in every corner... men women and children blown away as fast as leaves in October. It is only one in a hundred on whom an inquest is held'. He adds that no inquests are held on all those who die in their cabins.[63]

The consequences of famine according over two decades varied on the college estate. In the northern part Curraghballinatlea's population was most badly affected going from 232 (1841) to 196 (1851) to 122 (1861) but this was not reflected in the number of houses so that in 1841 each household comprised six to seven people and in 1861 four to five. Portnaboe had a big drop after the famine (eighty-two people to fifty-one) but then remained stable with one new house. For some reason Curraghnagarraha was scarcely affected, 109, 101 and 122 people recorded in each decade. In the middle townlands, Kilmoylan went from 127 to 112 to eighty-eight people with similar decline in numbers of houses. Likewise Shanakill went from 196 to 168 to 108 people. Why this was so is not indicated in the college records.

On the coastal townlands the largest decline was in Ballydowane East and West in the famine decade after which there was stability. Ballinarrid and Lisnageeragh are often taken as one by RCPI although the former was the more highly populated (233 to Lisnageeragh's ninty-six people in 1841). Both showed post-famine decline followed by recovery and this is reflected in the number of houses also. Bunmahon had a much bigger population than the rest of Templeyvrick (1,771 to 417 people in 1841). While the number of both had showed decline in the famine decade, Bunmahon continued to decline (1,771 to 1,142 to 914 people) reflected also in fewer houses. The rest of the townland, however, gained population in 1861 (417 to 321 to 429 people), reflected in increased houses (fifty-nice to fifty to sixty-eight houses). As we have seen the situation was complicated and this may be reflected in difficulties defining Bunmahon where the mining population lived. An exodus from there may have started following a strike and lock-out in 1860.[64]

61 *Cork Examiner*, 2 February 1846, letter, 'A Friend to the Poor', Dunmore East, 28 January stating that he is familiar with the coastal communities around Bunmahon.

62 Des Cowman, *The Making and Breaking of a Mining Community: The Copper Coast, County Waterford 1825-1875+*, (2006), p. 65-7.

63 *Freemans Journal*, 8 March1847 citing *Waterford Chronicle*.

64 Des Cowman, *The Making and Breaking of a Mining Community: The Copper Coast, County Waterford 1825-1875+*, (2006), p. 110-17.

Little of the famine is reflected in college records. No response survives of an appeal from the tenant farmers of Kilmoylan in 1848 to be supplied with seed potatoes to provide a crop with which to feed pigs in order to pay their rent.[65] That year Farran comments on the abandoned cabins - strangely, 'hovels with their [previous?] hordes of inmates' - already decaying, and advocated that they be torn down as the 'disgrace the town' and to avoid paying rates.[66] Reportedly an attempt to evict a tenant was prevented by 'country people assembling in thousands'.[67] A dispensary had been established in Bunmahon in 1837 by the mining company to which the college refused to contribute.[68] An urgent appeal for them to do so in 1849 was likewise turned down with the result that treatment was only available to members of the mining community.[69]

Dr. Farran commented on the end of the Famine locally and healthy potato crop: 'The tenantry will be able to resume the feeding of pigs – the means of paying their rents'. He states, rather oddly, that 'not one good tenant has left the property while the tide of emigration has almost decimated the adjoining properties, those who treated tenantry to a meaningless life on their farms, and those without means occupy their places'. (Not quite so as the census figures have shown). He does add, presciently 'I fear this spirit of emigration in its infancy'.[70]

The drop in population between 1841 and 1851 across the entire Dun estate was about one third.[71] These, as Dr. Farran intimates, were not the tenant farmers although some of them were up to three years behind in their rents.[72] There is no means of knowing how many of the 725 gone from Templeyvrick, for instance, somehow emigrated, died or survived in workhouses. The drop in population on the fifteen farms in the Ballydwans listed above was eighty-one persons (228 to 147). As we've seen all the farmers survived so the death rate was in the nine houses which the census records as missing (a comparison between Brady and Griffith would have twelve cabins missing). That would put the average number in each fatal cabin as between seven and nine people. Of the survivors in Bunmahon by September 1852, eighty-eight tenants were in arrears and only £916 had been collected out of £2,616 due.[73]

A sampling of those who had been behind in rent post famine indicates that famine only exacerbated previous arrears as indicated in Table 2 for Kilmoylan.[74]

65 3/3/11 Farran passing request to Labbat RCPI.

66 3/6/4 Farran report to RCPI 23 October 1850.

67 *Morning Chronicle* 21 September 1848, p. 7 quoting *Waterford Chronicle*.

68 3/3/8 Secretary of the Mining Company of Ireland to A. Kennedy of RCPI.

69 3/3/12 Letters Rev. D.A. Doudney (making it clear he had gone to Dublin to appeal), from Dispensary doctor George Walker and the negative reply from Labbat to Doudney.

70 3/6/4, Farran's letter of 23 October 1850.

71 PP Census 1851. For instance Templeyvrick (including Bunmahon) went from 2,118 people to 1,463.

72 3/4/2/4 & /5 Accounts and reports on them.

73 3/4/1/14 Rents and arrears.

74 3/4/2/3. This is the only cohesive list available.

The five here, no doubt, have stories to tell of desperate attempts to keep arrears under control including the unfortunate Widow Mooney who managed in 1843 but could no longer meet rent demands from 1845. Abatements on arrears of about 10% (it varied) were given in 1851 and it was noted that since 1850 'the college estates have undergone many changes of amalgamation and subdivision'.[75]

Table 2. Sample of rent arrears in Kilmoylan 1842-'49

	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849
Patrick McGrath	£103	£122	£118	£122	?	£141	£181	£190
Michael McGrath	0	0	£11	£11	£19	£29	£30	£57
James Power	0	£17	£15	£15	£37	£41	£58	£72
Widow Mooney	£43	£27	£42	£67	£77	£112	£153	evicted
John Power	£27	£59	£18	£41	£54	£70	£96	£130

Post-Famine fluctuations and change

Bunmahon was, of course a special case. The strange fluctuations of population noted in 1840/'41 were more understandably replicated between 1841 and 1851 – only four household were still there (plus three possibles) and in arrears. Of the fifty-eight households thus listed in 1851[76] compared with the 140 households named in the almost contemporary Griffiths Valuation, only twenty-two of them are the same (plus five possibilities)! What was happening? The same thing happened in the next decade as agent Nolan notes in 1861, 'In Bunmahon, Templeyvrick and Ballinarrid it would be difficult to identify the present holdings with those... in 1850. Therefore I could only make a rough guess in these cases...'[77]

One solution to this was to hand the problem back tenants-in-chief who would pay the college a fixed sum. Such was sought, successfully in 1847 when all Templeyvrick and Ballinarrid were offered on thirty-one-year lease.[78] An attempt

Figure 10: Doudney Lease.

75 3/6/6 Retrospective report of agent James Louis Nolan 6 March 1851.

76 2/1/6 & /7 list of arrears.

77 3/6/6 He states that there was no such problem with the rest of the college estate.

78 *Dublin Evening Packet and Courier*, 5 October 1847, p. 1, thirty-one-year lease Templeyvrick and Ballinarrid, apply to agent Dr. Farran.

to offer the 230 acres of Lisnageragh in 1856 had unknown results.[79] The fact that the most indigent had disappeared with the famine allowed the college to regularise direct leases to some extent. In 1857 twelve new thirty-one-year leases were issued for Bunmahon, some accompanied by useful maps. One to James Coleman included a lime kiln. Another was to Rev. D.A. Doudney who had previously been a sub-tenant. His new thirty-one-year lease was dated December 1857; three months later he abruptly left Bunmahon.[80] There was also provision for him to let land to the Mining Company of Ireland who also obtained a separate lease. Local doctor, George Walker, too got a lease and acted for a time as agent for the college.[81] Others to whom Bunmahon leases were issued in 1857 were John Barron (a shopkeeper), Mattis Walsh, Laurence Vaile (Veale) and James Kavana[gh]; In the townland of Templeyvrick similar leases were given to John Mara and Thomas Beresford.[82] This solved only some problems.

A listing of 'disbursements' of 1853/4[83] gives a good insight into local farming practice then. There was bar iron (for making nails), horse food (Indian corn and salt), guana (Peruvian), seeds (turnip, rape and vetches), 'requisites' (bluestone, oil, turpentine, cart grease and arsenic), livestock (a plough bull and bullock), cart ropes and sea-weed. The guana was the most expensive item. The arsenic was presumably to control vermin. It is difficult to see how a bull could be yoked to a plough! This was in the context of rent abatements which had been granted in 1850. When agent Nolan suggested that in the prosperous 1850s the original rents should be restored. This was ingeniously resisted 'because these estates were left to the poor, to which class many of them say they belong'.[84]

Meanwhile various problems beset the college estates. Did they have the right to the rents or royalties from mining? The representative of Ormond maintained that he had retained the right to 'all such mines, minerals and leats' (=water channels) going back to 1687. Legal counsel's eventual opinion in 1848 was for the college and this was confirmed in 1857.[85] Then there was the on-going question of the college's sand dunes. It was thought that this had been resolved in 1841 when twelve tenant farmers had been brought before Magistrate Uniacke in Stradbally

79 *Waterford Chronicle*, 13 September 1856, p. 1 ad for letting 230 acres Lisnageragh, signed agent James Louis Nolan, Dunhill; Patrick Morrissey, Bunmahon would show interested parties around.

80 3/2/43. For background to Doudney's departure see Des Cowman, *The Making and Breaking of a Mining Community: The Copper Coast, County Waterford 1825-1875+*, (2006), pp. 92-5 and Thomas Power, *Ministers and Miners*, (iUniverse, 2014), p. 238.

81 3/2/43 to /54. Doudney is /43, Mining Co /53, Coleman /48, Walker /50 all 2 December 1857.

82 *Idem*. Some leases state Templeyvrick but the accompanying maps show they are in Bunmahon.

83 3/4/2/6 Headed 'Disbursements... as per Stewart's accounts' implying that RCPI was paying for these items for their tenant.

84 3/6/5. Nolan, 1861.

85 In 3/7/3. A second undated opinion (post 1873) concurs.

Figure 11: Plan of 1869 to protect the sand dunes from being carted away by driving wooden piles into them.

for taking sand and fined.[86] Sand, of course continued to be taken and the consequences became apparent at the end of 1852 when a combination of high spring tides, southerly gales and torrential rain flooded the now unprotected lower part of the town and threatened its survival.[87] The issue was raised again in 1857 when questions were raised whether the cart-drivers should be charged or the farmers.[88] Various ways of fortifying the dunes were considered as shown in Fig. 11, 1869.[89] Eventually in 1878 the college built piers to hang a gate preventing access to the dunes but, acting on unknown instruction, five men from Ballylaneen knocked down the piers.[90] All this was brought to wider local attention through a series of anonymous letters in the *Waterford News*.[91] There were other annoyances also. At the behest of some tenants the newly formed Sanitary Authority issued a summons in May 1876 by registered letter to the College in relation to 'bad roofs' on eight houses, they being 'injurious to health'.[92] Perhaps it was in response to this the college in 1878 decided to demolish ('razing to the ground') all unoccupied houses.[93]

86 In 3/3/7, letters 12 and 19 August 1841 from Purdy (MCI) and agent Dougal. Also 3/4/2/2 account books Dougal showing this cost college £7-2- 7d.

87 *Waterford Mail*, 5 Jan 1853 saying that Bunmahon threatened 26 to 29 December.

88 3/7/3 legal advice October 1857.

89 3/9/11 plan and section 1869.

90 3/7/2/2 J. Watts, 27 December 1878.

91 *Waterford News* ,'Justiciar', 23 August, 6 and 20 September 1878, enclosed in 3/7/2/2.

92 3/7/2/4 naming Mary Crotty, Martin Costin and John McGrath.

93 3/7/2/2 which includes cuttings from the *Waterford News* of 23 August 1878 letter 'Justiciar' and reply from agent C. Uniacke Townshend.

Figure 12: Heading, Sale of north townlands of estate 1895-'6.

The leases of 1857 would have been due for renewal in 1888. However, by then mining had finished fifteen years: Bunmahon was left 'bare and desolate... rows of empty decaying houses... pitiful stories of want and suffering and emigration and loss'.[94] A number of other factors forced the selling of the Dun's estate. Bad weather and cheap imports in the late 1870s left tenant farmers impoverished. Not able to pay rents, many were evicted leading to a 'Land War'. This led to the Land Act of 1881-'82 which set up a Land Commission. Only six of the college tenants appealed to them for reduction of rent.[95] However, writs were taken against eight tenants in January 1882 and on-going litigation continued through the rest of the 1880s.[96] One sensation was the shock eviction in 1883 of Edmund Power of Kilmoylan whose family had been tenants since 1703 and whose father Pierce Power had been greatly praised by Dr. Brady.[97] Two Land Acts (1887 and 1891) then encouraged landowners to sell and tenants to buy.

This led the college to consider the inevitable. In 1895-'96 they sold their three northern townlands to their tenant farmers who availed of low interest loans from Westminster. This sale raised £5,267. Why they waited another ten years to sell the other two portions appears not to be documented. An Act of 1903 (Wyndham's) offered a 12% bonus to the college if they sold their entire remaining estate to the tenant farmers and this they did in 1906 making £20,535.[98] Thus after just over 200 years the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland played no further part in Waterford life.

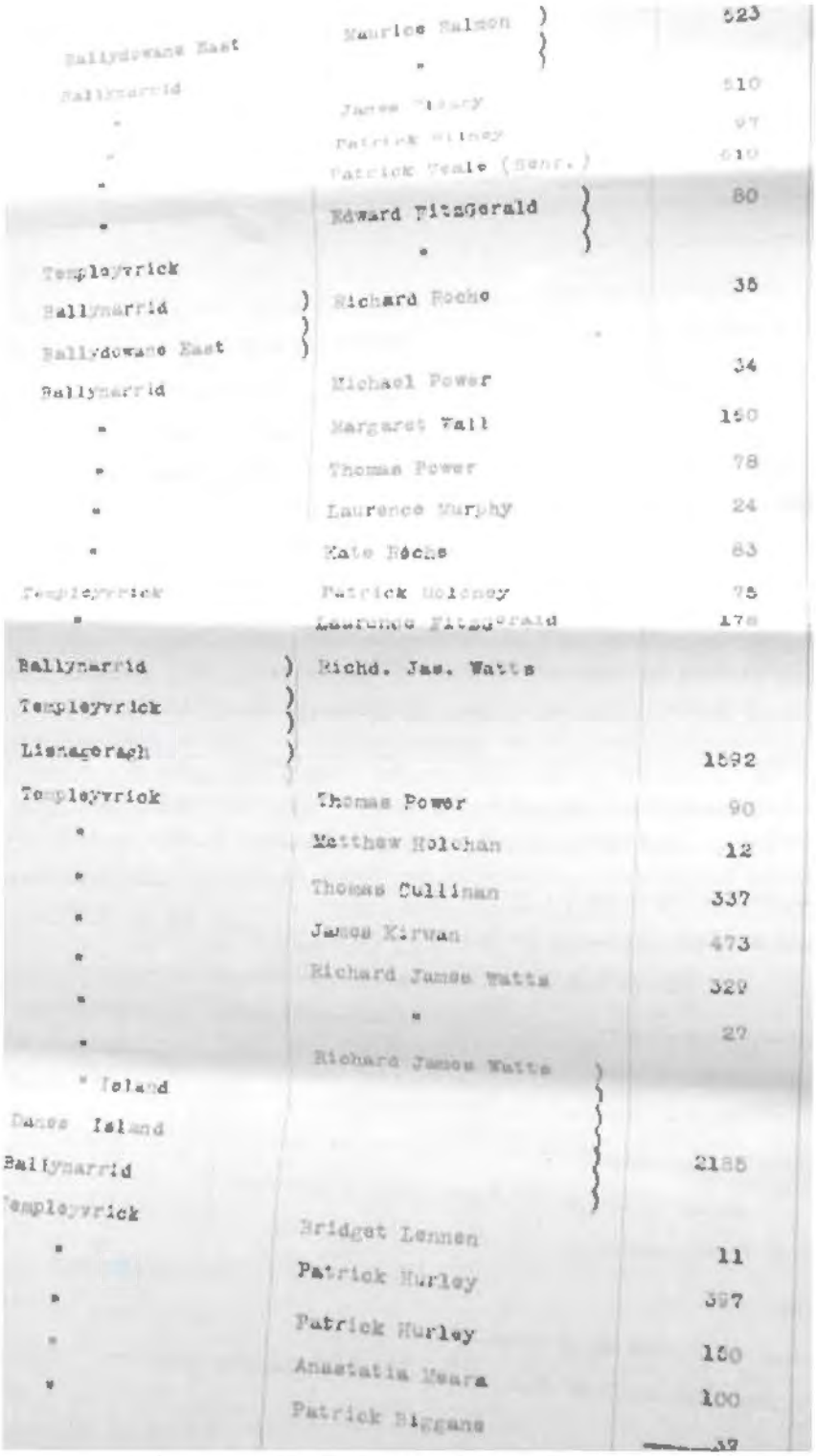
94 *Waterford News Supplement*, 23 July 1892 quoting H.L Harvey in the *Irish American Weekly*.

95 3/7/5/1 to /3.

96 3/7/5/1/6 & /7 and 3/7/5/3/3 for 1882. Other litigation in 1880s, 3/7/5/18 to /10 and 3/7/5/3/6 & /7.

97 *Waterford Mail*, 20 April 1883. The report lists the improvements on the farm including the plantation of trees seen by Dr. Brady.

98 3/4/3/4 contains full details of both sales.



Ballydowane East	Maurice Salmon	523
Ballynarrid	"	510
"	James [illegible]	97
"	Patrick [illegible]	610
"	Patrick Veale (Senr.)	
"	Edward FitzGerald	80
Templeyvrick	"	
Ballynarrid	Richard Roche	38
Ballydowane East		
Ballynarrid	Michael Power	34
"	Margaret Wall	150
"	Thomas Power	78
"	Laurence Murphy	24
"	Kate Roche	83
Templeyvrick	Patrick Moloney	75
"	Laurence Fitzgerald	178
Ballynarrid	Richd. Jas. Watts	
Templeyvrick		
Lismagorach		1892
Templeyvrick	Thomas Power	90
"	Matthew Holohan	12
"	Thomas Cullinan	337
"	James Kirwan	473
"	Richard James Watts	329
"	"	27
"	Richard James Watts	
" Island		
Danes Island		
Ballynarrid		2185
Templeyvrick		
"	Bridget Lennon	11
"	Patrick Hurley	397
"	Patrick Hurley	150
"	Anastatia Meara	100
	Patrick Brogans	37

Figure 13: Sale of rest of estate in 1906. Note the change from manuscript to typescript over ten years.

The Sea Horse 1782-1816

Ivan Fitzgerald

The *Sea Horse* transport, James Gibbs master, together with the *Lord Melville* and *Boadicea* transports were shipwrecked on the south coast of Ireland during a hurricane almost two hundred years ago on 30 and 31 January 1816.[1] Altogether, over 570 people were reported as having lost their lives. There were at least thirty transports, full of troops on the seas bound for Cork when the storm blew up. The *Lord Melville* and the *Sea Horse* sailed from Ramsgate in convoy with the *William Pitt* Transport, while the *Boadicea* and *Fox* sailed from Dover in convoy with several other transports. The *William Pitt* made safe harbour in 'Cove' on 2 February. The *Lord Melville* and the *Boadicea* were wrecked at Garretstown, west of the Old Head of Kinsale, County Cork, while the *Sea Horse* was wrecked about 80 miles up the coast in Tramore Bay, County Waterford. The *Fox* reached the safety of Waterford Harbour after a most dangerous passage on the following day. Two other transports, the *Charlotte* and the *Lady's Adventure* also made safe harbour in Waterford. While much has been written about the circumstances of the shipwrecks, little or nothing has yet been discovered about the provenance of the ships. In order to uncover the history of the *Sea Horse*, it's first necessary to investigate the records of the Transport Office.

Transport Office

The army relied on merchant ships for most of its shipping needs. While senior officers often travelled on naval ships, the great majority of troops were carried on merchant transports, normally at the rate of approximately one man per one and a half tons burden. The hiring of these ships was the responsibility of the Transport Office, re-instituted in July 1794. Its board hired specially designated ships that were permanently fitted out as troop transports. It was the duty of the clerk of the board, to keep account of the appropriation and service of these ships. The board also kept a resident agent at each of the major ports in the British Isles and regularly transmitted notifications of its need to Lloyds before they were made public.

There is only one ship bearing the name *Sea Horse* recorded in the ledgers of the Transport Office during this period. The final entry for the ship includes the name of the master, James Gibbs; the fact that it was wrecked on 30 January 1816,

1 Contrary to popular belief, the *Sea Horse* was not a Royal Navy ship. There were only two *HMS Sea Horse* in service during this period. The first, a 6th rate frigate, 519 tons burden, was launched on 13 August 1748. This ship was sold to Richard Buller for £1,115 on 30 December 1784. She was rebuilt by John Randall, of Rotherhithe, and renamed the *Ravenscroft*. The second was a fifth rate Frigate, 998 tons burden, built in Stalkart's yard in Rotherhithe and launched on 11 June 1794. This ship remained in active service until it was decommissioned in July 1819. J J Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy*, (Newbury, 2004), page 364; Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1714-1792*, (Barnsley, 2007), page 260.

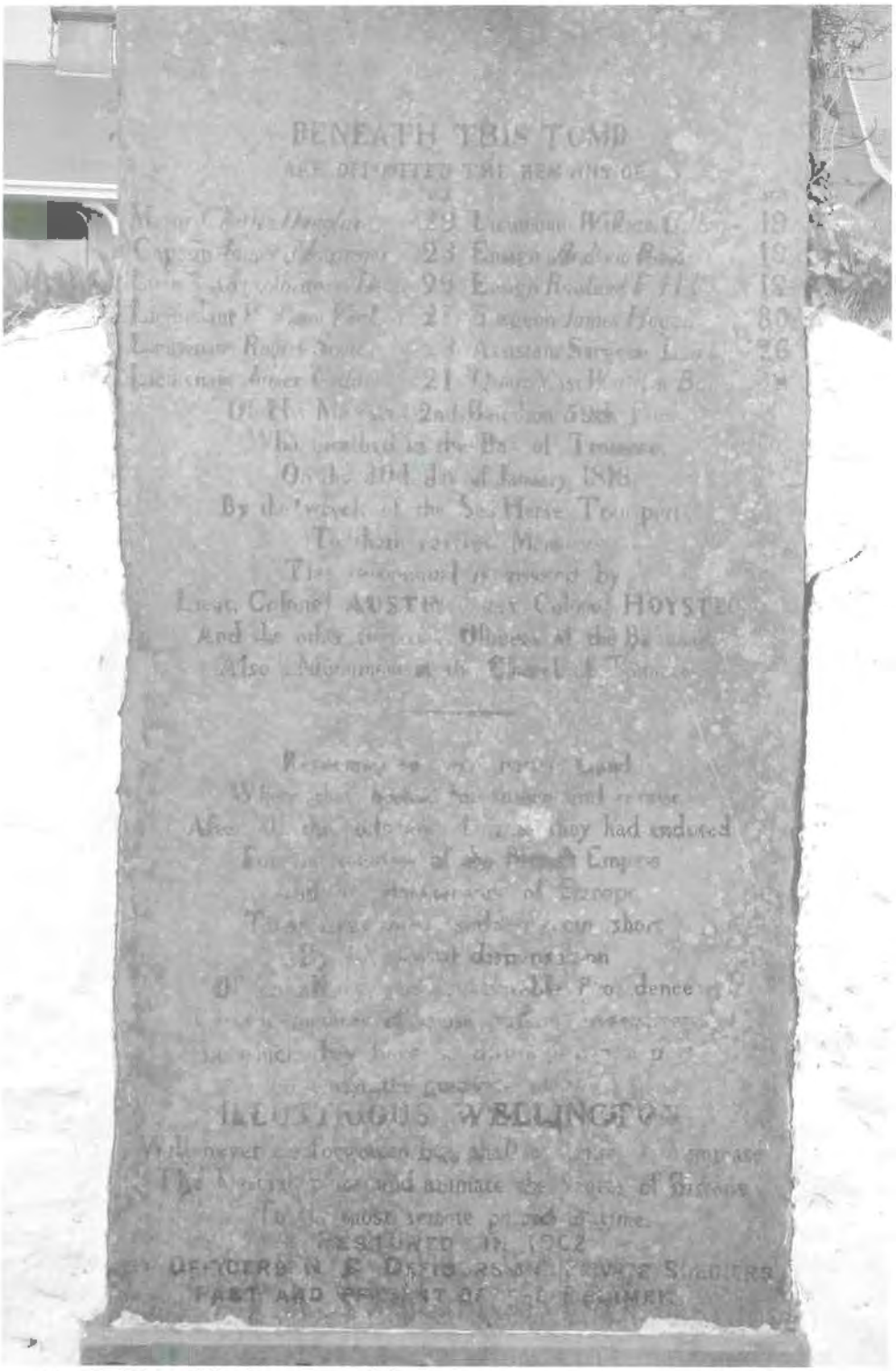


Plate 1: Memorial to the victims of the Seahorse tragedy, Doneraile Walk, Tramore.

the ships burden of 293 tons; the agent, Joseph Lachlan and a reference to previous folios that record Robert Feard as the master and the owner as John Faulder.[2] Similarly, the *Lord Melville* was registered as a ship of 351 tons burden under the command of Thomas Arman, owned by Hogg and Dalby.[3] While the Boadicea was a brig of 285 tons burden, master, J Gibson, and owned by J Scott.

Lloyd's Registers

To further investigate the history of the *Sea Horse*, *Lloyd's Registers* must be consulted; the earliest surviving volume of which dates from 1764. The register is the annual list of merchant ships, compiled by ship-owners and underwriters. There were two separate registers of ships published by Lloyd's from 1800 due to a disagreement between the ship owners and underwriters concerning a change in the grading system used to rate ships. Some vessels were included in only one publication. In all, some 15,638 vessels were included in the ship-owners register, exclusive of supplements for the year 1816. The supplements themselves include well over 800 more vessels. Of all these vessels, only one by the name *Sea Horse* is included. She is among some 421 vessels listed as under the employment of the Transport Office. The *Sea Horse* transport of London was registered in both sets of books for 1815-16, as a ship of 295 tons burden, built in 1782, owned by Faulder or Folder and captained by a J Mackay or Mucklow.[4] However, it must be noted that the registers contain many errors relating to irregular updating, where changes of masters and ownership were not altered for some years after the event and even extending to include shipwrecked vessels years after their demise.[5] The *Sea Horse* was first entered in the registers in 1783.

Hudson Bay Company trader 1782-92

The *Sea Horse* was built in 1782 in Gravesend, on the River Thames by Messrs Randal and Brent for the Hudson Bay Company. She was the third ship of the company that bore the name, the latter one, a ship of 180 tons, built in 1764 commanded by William Christopher, being sold in 1781. The company was set up in 1670 with the responsibility for the exploration, development and trade of the

2 Transport Office Ships.' Ledgers, The National Archives, Kew, ADM108/153, Folios 61 and 74.

3 Transport Office Ships' Ledgers, The National Archives, Kew, ADM108/153, Folio 15.

4 At the time of the wreck, the tonnage of the ship was only mentioned in secondary sources. The *Sea Horse* was referred to as a vessel of 350 tons in the *Waterford Mirror*, 3 February 1816. While, John J McGregor stated that it was a ship of 350 tons 'burthen'. 'The ship's burthen' was the builder's measurement used in England to calculate the cargo capacity of a ship based on the amount of 'tuns of wine' that she could carry and was expressed in 'tons burden'.

5 The *Charlotte* transport, under the command of James Seaton, made port in Waterford on 3 February 1816. Although, the entry for the ship in both the 1816 registers, records the master as N. Pocock and it is not until the 1818 Register that the entry is updated and Seaton's name is included.

Hudson Bay area, trading with the Native Americans and importing deer skins, furs, feathers, whalebone and blubber, and other goods. The company kept three ships in service that journeyed yearly from the bay area to London and back again. In *Lloyd's Registers*, the *Sea Horse* was categorised as a ship, which at that time referred to 'all first rank sailing vessels with a bowsprit and three or more square rigged masts.'[6] She was double boarded, had two decks, a square stern and a burden of 285 tons, with a draught of water of 14 feet when loaded. She was armed with sixteen nine-pounder cannon and two six-pounder carronades. When first surveyed, she was classed as A1, meaning a first class ship built with first class materials.[7] Her dimensions were: 'Length 98 feet 6 inches-Breath 26 feet 5 inches-Height between Decks 5 feet 1 inch-Depth in the Hold 11 feet 6 inches.'[8]

On 3 June 1782, the *Sea Horse* set sail for Hudson Bay on her maiden voyage, under the command of Joseph Richards. She sailed in convoy with two other company ships, the *King George*, Jonathan Fowler master and the *Prince Rupert*, William Christopher master.[9] They sailed with letters of marque, commissioned as privateers to attack enemy shipping:

> Sea Horse The like commission as is entered in folio was granted to Joseph Richards to set forth the Sea Horse of 290 Tons belonging to the port of London where of the said Joseph Richards goeth forth dated the 15th April 1782 and in the 22nd year of our Reign.
> Appeared personally Joseph Richards, Stepney Causeway in the county of Middlesex, mariner and produced a warrant from the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Executing the Offices of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland for the granting of a commission to him the said Joseph Richards and in pursuance of his Majesty's instructions made the following declaration to with that his the said Joseph Richards ship is called the *Sea Horse*, square sterned, figurehead and has 3 masts. That the said ship is employed in trade by the honourable Hudson Bay Company. That the said ship is of the burthen of 290 tons. That the said Joseph Richards goeth Commander of her. That she carries 16 carriage guns carrying shot of nine pounds weight and no swivel guns, 60 men, 60 small arms, 60 cutlasses, 20 barrels of powder, 30 rounds of great shot and about 300 weight of small shot. That the said ship is victualled for 6 months, has 2 suits of sails, 3 anchors, 3 cables and about 1 ton weight of spare cordage. That John Richards goes mate or lieutenant, Wm. Jacobs, gunner; Thos. Merryman, boatswain; Thos. Thompson, carpenter; Jas. Fixon, cook; Alex Cluney, surgeon of the said ship, is belonging to the port

6 Lloyd's Register of Ships Online, www.ir.org

7 *Lloyd's Register of Shipping 1783*, London, accessed online at Hathi Trust Digital Library, catalog.hathitrust .org

8 *The Times*, 11 December 1792.

9 *Lloyd's List*, 4 June 1782, West Germany 1969, accessed online at Hathi Trust Digital Library.

> of London. That she is bound a voyage from the port of London to Hudson's Bay & to return to Great Britain and that the honourable Hudson's Bay Company are the owners and setters out of the said ship.
> On the same day this declaration was made before me,
> Joseph Richards and Coltee Ducarel, Jurrogate.[10]

While the declaration does not contain a description of the ship's figurehead, it is surely noteworthy that the company's previous ship of the same name's figurehead was described as that of a seahorse and that all three company ships were painted black and yellow.[11] A drawing by John Hood of the three Hudson Bay Company ships off Greenwich dated 1769 shows a clearly visible seahorse figurehead on the *Sea Horse's* predecessor.[12]

The ships were escorted on the outward voyage by the *HMS Daphne*, Captain Mathew Fortesque. On 18 June they arrived in the Orkney Islands.[13] From there, they sailed across the North Atlantic to Moose Factory Island, near the mouth of the Moose River at the southern end of James Bay, the second Hudson Bay Company post to be set up. At this time, Britain was engaged in the American Revolutionary War and was also at war with France, the French being allied to the colonists. In the same year, a French squadron consisting of the *Sceptre*, a seventy-four gun ship, the *Astarte*, and the *Engageante*, frigates of thirty-six guns each, and some smaller craft carrying 1,000 troops under the command of Admiral La Perouse raided into Hudson's Bay and destroyed the Prince of Wales and York Factory forts. 'It appears that La Perouse had counted on arriving just in time to secure a handsome prize in the company's ships, for which he had lain in wait in the bay'.[14] However, the three Hudson Bay ships were able to avoid capture by using their superior knowledge of the bay. Frustrated at the escape of the company's ships and cargoes, La Perouse sent a frigate to track them down:

> But Captain Christopher, by the steering of the French frigate, judged rightly that her commander knew nothing of the course, and so resorted to strategy. When night came, he furled his sails, as if about to anchor, a proceeding which the French captain imitated. When he had anchored, the Company's vessel re-set her sails, and was soon many leagues distant by the time the French fleet reached Churchill River.

Another ploy of the company's ships was to tack and make for the shallow waters to the south of the bay in the hope of enticing the Frenchmen into following

10 Registers of Letters of Marque: America 1779-1783, The National Archives, Kew ADM 7/318, pages 71-75, accessed online at www.1812privateers.org
11 Registers of Letters of Marque: America 1777-1783, The National Archives, Kew, ADM 7/317, page 127.
12 Royal Museums Greenwich accessed online at collections.rmg.co.uk
13 *Lloyd's List*, 9 July 1782.
14 Beckles Wilson, *The Great Company, Being a History of The Honourable Company of Merchants Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay*, (New York 1900), page 321.

them, but the French commanders were too wary to follow.[15] All three ships escaped capture and arrived back in Gravesend via the Orkneys on 25 November 1782.[16] On the return voyage they were escorted by the frigate *Mercury*, commanded by Captain Stanhope.

In 1784, the *Sea Horse* travelled from Gravesend to the Orkney Islands, traversed the Atlantic to arrive at York Factory, before returning to London, a route she repeated the following year. In 1786, the destination was Moose Factory. One of the early passengers on the *Sea Horse* was Robert Goodwin, aged twenty-five, surgeon of Fort Albany on his first trip back to England on 5 September 1786. He was listed among the 'Passengers homeward bound', 'Mr. Robert Goodwin, Surgeon, wages £3' Goodwin was discharged from Fort Albany on 5 September. The ship sailed from James Bay on 8 September, and arrived at Deal on 12 October.[17] The ship's log dated from May 1787, records a change of master, Joshua Tunstall, commanded the ship when she travelled on a familiar route; Gravesend, Orkney, Churchill, York Factory, and London. Prior to their sailing in 1788 the captains were entertained with a grand dinner:

> On Tuesday the North-westers weighed anchor, and fell down the River to proceed on their annual voyages. There are but three ships in this trade, the *King George*, Fower; The *Seahorse*, Curtis; and the *Prince Rupert*, Richards; and this day the Hudson's Bay Company entertains the captains with a grand dinner at Gravesend, after which they sail to the Orkneys. From the day these ships leave England, to the day they return there never arrives any intelligence from them.[18]

A similar journey was recorded in 1789. The ship was surveyed in May 1790 and kept its A1 classification. However she now had a new master by the name of Henry Hanwell. From this date until 1794, she was recorded as, a constant trader between London and Hudson Bay. The final ship's log was dated from 25 May 1792 to 22 October 1792, when she voyaged to Gravesend, Orkney, and York Factory before returning to London.[19] She was sold in London to Hadfield & Co in December 1792:

> At New Lloyd's Coffee-house, Cornhill, This Day at half-past Two o'clock precisely, by order of the Hon. Hudson Bay Company,
> The good SHIP SEAHORSE, with her Stores per inventory, River built by Messrs Randal and Brent, for the service of the said company, and pierced for sixteen guns, nine years old, 280 Tons Register Measurement. The Ship and Stores are in excellent condition, being

15 *Ibid.*, Page 323.

16 *Lloyd's List*, 26 November 1782.

17 Tony Goodwin, *A Biography of Robert Goodwin*, (2013), copy online, http://dretful.noip.biz/Dretful_Fluby/Genealogy/References/Robert%20Goodwin%20biography.pdf

18 *The Times*, 29 May 1788, accessed online at The Times Digital Archive 1785-1985, gale.cengage.co.uk

19 Indexes of Ship's Logs, Archives of Manitoba, online at http://www.gov.mb.ca/

sold out of the service for the Draught of water only; is an extraordinary fast sailer, and a most desirable ship for the Streights or African Trades, for a Southern Whaler, or Ship of War: now lying in Greenland Dock, and there to be delivered.
Dimensions. Length 98 feet 6 inches-Breath 26 feet 5 inches-Height between Decks 5 feet 1 inch-Depth in the hold 11 feet 6 inches.
For Inventories and other particulars apply to
Hubbert and Rowcroft
No. 9 Lime Street[20]

However the original bell of the ship remained in the possession of the company and is now to be found in Norway House Fort in Northern Manitoba. On the rim of the bell it reads 'Ship *Sea Horse*, launched March 30th, 1782, Hudson's Bay Company.'[21]

Mediterranean Merchantman 1793-95

Soon afterwards, in 1794, the ship was partially rebuilt and sheathed with copper over boards. Copper sheathing was a technique developed in the 1780s to prevent a mollusc known as 'the worm' or *Teredo Navalis*, from eating into wooden ship hulls. Now armed with fourteen four- pounder cannon, in July, she was downgraded to E1, meaning a second class ship, built with first class materials.[22] Described as a constant trader between London and Leghorn, her new master was Charles Patterson. Indeed, her first voyage under new ownership began on 24 July 1794 when she set sail from Gravesend to Leghorn, modern day Livorno, Italy, which was then used as a supply harbour for the British in the Mediterranean.[23] She sailed with letters of marque, licensed to act as a privateer against French shipping; the warrant dated 8 July 1794, described her as a ship of 280 tons, armed with eighteen four-pounder carriages, four carronades and a crew of twenty men.[24]

However she first sailed to Elsinore, in Denmark, where she arrived in August, and from where she returned to Falmouth, before voyaging to Gibraltar in October. The ship arrived in Leghorn in November.[25] From Leghorn she sailed for Smyrna, on the Aegean coast of Anatolia, arriving in March 1795. From Smyrna, she sailed for Salonica arriving in May.[26] In July she returned to Leghorn from Salonica along with four other ships.[27] In September she sailed to St Fiorenzo on the island of Corsica, before returning to Gibraltar.[28]

20 *The Times*, 11 December 1792.
21 Rev. Kenneth C. McLeod, 'Norway House' in *Manitoba* Pageant, (Manitoba, 1957), accessed online www.mhs.mb.ca
22 *Lloyds Register, 1795*.
23 *Lloyd's List*, 25 July 1794.
24 Registers of Letters of Marque: France 1793-1801, ADM 7/328, transcriptions accessed online at www.1812privateers.org
25 *Lloyd's List*, 8 August 1794; *Ibid*., 25 November 1794.
26 *Lloyd's List*, 5 May 1795.
27 *Ibid*., 4 August 1795.
28 *Ibid*., 6 October 1795.

Following the Treaty of Basel, 22 July 1795, Spain became an ally of France and with their combined naval strength they became a rival to British naval supremacy and an immediate threat to her merchant fleet. Shortly afterwards on 7 October, Patterson's *Sea Horse* was reported to have been taken off Cape Saint Vincent, on the south western coast of Portugal, by a French squadron under the command of 'Le Commandant Joseph De Richery', on board the eighty-six gun *Jupiter* and consisting of five other 'Sail of the Line' and three frigates that came from Toulon, managing to evade the British blockade.[29] The squadron fell in with the Mediterranean fleet, when it was reported that it captured forty-one ships and carried them into Cadiz:

> The Mediterranean merchant ships captured along with the *Censeur* man of war, were all carried into Cadiz, to the number of 41. The *Censeur* lost about nine or ten men killed. The French men of war had no troops on board; only two ships were permitted to enter Cadiz Harbour, the rest rode in the bay. Arrangements were made for the exchange of all the prisoners by the English and French Commissioners; and the cartel ship, the *Constant Trader* of London, with 480 men on board, was permitted to sail to Gibraltar, under condition that she should bring back an equal number of French; but the English sailors, it is alleged, broke the cartel, and carried the vessel into Ilfracomb.[30]

At least one of the ships, the *William*, Master Holmes, from Gibraltar to Portsmouth was retaken by the crew left on board and carried into Lisbon. At this time, the *Sea Horse* disappears from *Lloyd's Registers* for five years. However, it is possible that the she too, may have escaped or was later recaptured by English privateers, as an extract from a letter from Lisbon dated 30 June 1797 stated that:

> A piece of news arrived here yesterday, of a most unpleasant, nay, most alarming nature, an English privateer, the *Sea Horse*, fitted out at Gibraltar, took a small French vessel coming from somewhere near Algiers, which unfortunately had the plague on board; it was, of course, caught by the crew of the English privateer, and both went to Gibraltar, from whence they were soon driven, and proceeded to sea, God knows where; official accounts of it have come to this court, who have sent rigorous orders concerning it to every garrison, fort, and ship, belonging to them.[31]

The authorities were ordered that in coming into contact with the ship, it was to be directed to the areas designated for the quarantine of plague ships. An article

29 *Lloyd's List*, 27 October 1795; O Troude, *Batailles Navales De La France*, (Paris, 1867), pages 436-37, accessed online at googlebooks.ie

30 *The Times*, 30 November 1795.

31 *Gloucester Journal*, 31 July 1797, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive, wwwbritishnewspaperarchive.co.uk, subscription site.

from Copenhagen dated 27 June, stated that during the stay of the *Thetis* frigate in the port of Algiers, upwards of 15,000 persons died of the plague.[32]

Principe Fernando 1797-1800

Nevertheless, the ship eventually ended up in Spanish hands and at Cadiz, was renamed the *Principe Fernando*, 'where she was fitted out in the completest manner by the Spanish South Sea Company on a voyage to Lima'. Under the command of Captain Pinnca, she set sail from Cadiz in convoy with three other ships of at least equal strength to her in early January 1800.[33] The *Principe Fernando* was described as a ship of 400 tons burden, mounting twelve four-pounder cannon and manned with forty-five men. A few days after their departure from Cadiz they were pursued by the *Tartar*, a notorious privateer, captained by 'Le Cocq'. The *Tartar* was built in and sailed out of Guernsey, with slight timbers for fast sailing and a burden of 118 tons. She was armed with fourteen four-pounder guns and had a crew of sixty men. The previous February, she had re-captured the *Britannia*, a ship that had fallen victim to French privateers.[34] The *Tartar* first came up with a brig, which was mounted with sixteen six pounders. She engaged her for an hour and silenced her fire and then made for the next ship, which proved to be the *Principe Fernando*, which did not make any resistance, after receiving a broadside, the crew deserted their quarters, and struck her colours. Captain Le Cocq, after consulting his officers, decided to let the other ships go, as it would have been imprudent to take on board any more prisoners. They had taken possession of a 'prize' and it was necessary to secure the ship against any sudden attack, in case the many prisoners attempted to overwhelm the crew.[35]

Captain Le Cocq arrived with his prize in Guernsey on 23 January. She was said to be laden with bale goods, brandies, &c. and valued at £50,000, which was probably a much exaggerated estimation.[36] The ship was auctioned in Guernsey on 2 April, when she was described thus, 'She was formerly the ship *Sea Horse*, built in the River Thames, near 300 tons, coppered, and pierced for sixteen guns'. The cargo, auctioned on the 17 April, consisted of a very considerable assortment of bale goods, consisting chiefly of velvets, silk stockings, satins, silk handkerchiefs, ribbons, laces, broad cloths, white and printed linens, thread and cotton stockings, hats, drugs, books, paper, powder blue, wax and a great variety of other articles.[37]

32 *Hampshire Chronicle*, 22 July 1797, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.
33 *Lloyd's List*, 17 January 1800.
34 *Idid.*, 22 February 1799.
35 *The Western Flying Post*, 3 February 1800, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.
36 *The Reading Mercury*, 3 February 1800, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.
37 *The Times*, 25 March, 1800.

London Transport 1800-1802

Subsequently, she was bought by John Faulder, a signatory to a letter establishing the Society of Ship-Owners of Great Britain published in the *Naval Chronicle* in 1802.[38] Tellingly, the ship now reappears in the supplement of *Lloyd's Register* in 1801. Robert Feard was now the master. She was now described as a ship of 295 tons, sheathed with copper. Built on the River Thames in 1782, she had a draught of 16 feet and was employed as a transport out of London; classed as E1 when surveyed in April 1800. She was armed with four six-pounder cannon and four twelve-pounder carronades.[39] The ship was now entered into the ledgers of the Transport Office.[40]

Her first employment as a transport, described in the newspapers of the day as 'a secret expedition', was as a part of the fleet transporting Lieutenant General James Pulteney's Army in a joint naval and military expedition under the overall command of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren. It was assembled with the intention of taking both the harbours of Ferrol and Cadiz from the Spanish. The fleet left Portsmouth on 5 August 1800.[41] A letter from Portsmouth dated 6 August mentions:

> The embarkation of three thousand troops in several transports, which were expected to sail this morning, under convoy of the Eurydice and Termagant frigates, on a secret expedition. His majesty's ships, Dictator, Delft and Trusty, full of troops, with the Fury and Tartarus bombs, and several flat-bottomed boats, sailed on the expedition yesterday. These troops, collected from Netley camp &c. amount altogether to about 9000 men The transports are furnished with flat bottomed boats, and having only ten days provisions on board, are certainly intended to act on the coast of France.

The fleet arrived at Ferrol on 25 August and the disembarkation was attempted without opposition, in a small bay near Cape Prior. After a series of skirmishes the army took complete possession of the heights overlooking the town and harbour of Ferrol. However, to much chagrin, Pulteney deemed the assault to be impractical and 'The whole army, artillery, and horses, were re-embarked on board the transports and men of war before daybreak on the 27th.'[42] The fleet then sailed for the Straits of Gibraltar. Letters from Cadiz, in the French newspapers stated that:

> An English Fleet, consisting of about 180 transports, escorted by 16 ships of the line, appeared before that city, and made the necessary preparations for effecting a disembarkation. We can hardly allow ourselves, adds the editor, to believe, that the English will attempt a coup de main against a place, the situation of which is painted in the

38 *Naval Chronicle*, Volume 8, (London 1802), page 250.

39 *Lloyd's Register, Underwriters*, 1801.

40 Transport Office Ship's Ledgers, The National Archives, Kew, ADM 108/149.

41 *Lloyd's List*, 8 August, 1800.

42 Martin Mace, John Grehan, *British Battles of the Napoleonic Wars 1793-1806: Despatched from the Front*, (Barnsley 2013), pages 149-50.

> following words by a letter from Barcelona:- As the malady becomes more alarming at Cadiz it has been thought proper to fumigate all the letters which arrived from hence. We are informed by the last courier that during the last four days 732 persons died and of 110,000 in habitants who were in that beautiful but unfortunate city, 85,000 have quitted it... There was at Cadiz only one Spanish regiment, which was much reduced by sickness, the sole defence therefore of this city against the English, is the contagion, which doubtless, they will not venture to brave.[43]

News of the outbreak reached London, when it was noted that 'the pestilential distemper' which has shown itself at Cadiz, was not Yellow Fever, but the plague, imported from 'Barbary'. Between the years 1797 and 1801, much of North Africa was hit by plague. 'Owing to some very detailed descriptions left behind by French and British observers, it is possible to ascertain that this disease was indeed the bubonic plague.'[44] Upwards of 3,000 people had died in Tangier. The government then sent a frigate with orders to abandon the assault. The fleet arrived at Cadiz in the first week of October and prepared to disembark. A letter from an officer with the fleet describes the circumstances of the intended assault and arrival of the frigate:

> When we left Ferrol, none of us could guess at our father destination, and our perplexity increased, when after having entered the Mediterranean and we were in full expectation of some operation of consequence being intended there, we suddenly returned to Gibraltar, where I understand our sealed orders were opened, and our Generals, for the first time, acquainted with the intention of attacking the port of Cadiz; we prepared for this enterprise with great alacrity, and though we were told of the dangerous plague which ragged in the town, we were confident of success, and anxious for the attack; the boats were out, and the men getting into them, when a frigate arrived, made a signal for us to delay the landing, and delivered dispatches from England. These dispatches, it is said, countermanded the attack of Cadiz; for Government having long after our sailing heard of the plague which raged in the city, and rightly judging that the importation of such a calamity into Great Britain would be dearly purchased by the wealth of the Indies, and sent those counter orders so exactly on time as to meet us at the moment of intended debarkation.[45]

43 *Newcastle Courant*, 25 October 1800, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive. It is plausible that the *Sea Horse* was partially responsible for originally bringing the plague to Cadiz, as mentioned previously a privateer of the same name was reported to be carrying it in 1797.

44 Aparna Nair, *An Egyptian Infection, War, Plague and the Quarantines of the English East India Company at Madras and Bombay, 1802*, page 11.

45 *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 November 1800, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.

Following the failure of the expedition, 4,000 troops were ordered home to preserve order in Britain and Ireland, 'where the failure of the harvest for the second year in succession was causing a disturbance'.[46] On 14 January 1801, The *Sea Horse*, Master Robert Feard arrived at Motherbank, Portsmouth from Gibraltar in convoy with several other transports with troops that formed a part of General Sir James Pulteney's army. On their return, they were immediately put under quarantine.[47] The *Sea Horse* then sailed to Jersey before returning to Portsmouth in convoy with five other ships on 23 February 1801.[48]

The ship was one of seven transports that sailed from Portsmouth for Egypt, on 28 August, stopping first at Gibraltar.[49] She returned in convoy with the *Jane*, Master Preswick arriving in Portsmouth from the Straights in August 1802, when the ships were again put under quarantine.[50] She then sailed for London a few days later. On returning to England, the *Sea Horse* was repaired, when it was noted that she had been sheathed with copper over boards for the second time. Shortly afterwards on 12 October, hostilities between Britain and France ceased, culminating with the signing of the Treaty of Amiens, on 25 March 1802. Feard then bought his own ship, the *Jamaica Planter.*

South Seas Whaler 1803-04

Probably due to lack of employment by the Transport Office during peacetime, the *Sea Horse* now underwent a change of role and was fitted out as a whaling vessel. Sinclair Halcrow, an experienced whaling captain now took command of the ship. Halcrow was born in 1756 in Bressay, in the Shetland Islands. In 1783, he was rewarded two guineas offered as a premium by the Royal Society, for striking a whale with a newly invented harpoon gun:

> I Sinclear Halcrow, Mate and Harpooner of the ship *Marianne*, Captain William Brown, on the twenty-eight day of June last, in latitude seventy nine north, perceived a whale at about three hundred yards distance from the boat, which we immediately pursued. The fish swam about five hundred yards, and had nearly escaped by sinking stern or tail foremost, and was entirely under water, except about four feet of her head, when I fired a harpoon from a swivel gun fixed to the stern of the boat, which struck the fish in the crown-bone of the head, into which it entered about four inches.[51]

46 Mary Ellen Condon, *The Administration of the Transport System during the War against Revolutionary France 1793-1802*, (London, 1968), page 261.

47 *Morning Post*, 16 January 1801, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.

48 *Lloyd's List*, 24 February 1801.

49 *Ibid.*, 28 August 1801,

50 *Hampshire Chronicle*, 16 August 1802, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.

51 Royal Society of Arts, *Transactions*, Volume 3, (London,1785), page 155, accessed online at Google Books.

By 1790, he was master of the whaling ship Alderney, working in the Greenland Fishery. In 1801 he captained *La Fortuna*, voyaging to the South Seas. On 30 January 1803, the *Sea Horse* set sail from Deal for the South Seas in convoy with the *Leviathan*, Clarke; *Backhouse*, Anderson and the *Hannah*, Hollock on a whaling expedition.[52] It is noteworthy, that while the other ships were listed in *Lloyd's Registers* as voyaging to the South Fishery, the *Sea Horse's* destination was the South Seas. It was not uncommon for whalers to transport convicts to Australia on their outward voyage. In fact, Halcrow had done just this in his previous voyage in 1801, while commanding *La Fortuna*. The *Leviathan* was a similar sized ship to the *Sea Horse*, with a burden of 303 tons, she was also copper sheathed and owned by James Mellish a prominent whaling merchant. She was originally French built and owned, but was taken as a prize in 1783. The *Backhouse* was also copper sheathed, bearing 286 tons, built in Hull in 1799, owned by Mather. The *Hannah*, 195 tons, was also copper sheathed, built in Liverpool in 1797 owned by Collins.

Halcrow spoke with the master of the *Resolution* on 25 February at latitude 5 N Longitude 20 when she reported that 'all was well.' Over four months later, on 10 July, the *Sea Horse* was sighted at Delagoa Bay, a popular whaling ground off the south east coast of Africa.[53] The Portuguese had an ineffectual presence in bay at this time, although American and British ships were regularly visiting the bay, whaling and anchoring there.

On 8 April the *Leviathan* arrived in Gravesend in convoy with five other ships from India and the South Seas. Captain Clarke reported that he spoke with an American vessel from the Cape of Good Hope, who informed him, that the *Sea Horse*, Master Halcrow, the *Lively*, and *Mary*, Master Harold Folger, journeying from the South Seas to London, had put into the Cape of not knowing of the war (hostilities were renewed when Britain declared war on 16 May 1803.) At this time, the Cape was a Dutch colony in the possession of the Batavian Republic, an ally of France. The *Mary* was a ship of 302 tons burden, sheathed with copper over boards, built in Harwich in 1776, owned by Humble. Further details emerged stating that the *Mary* went into the Cape on 17 January and was taken possession of by the Dutch authorities.[54] However, she was later 'cut out' and arrived at Portsmouth on 24 April, together with the *Rebecca*, and two prizes, the *Ganges* and the *Cyrus*. Captain Folger stated that the account of the *Sea Horse* and *Lively* Whalers putting into the Cape was unfounded.[55] In fact, the *Lively*, Moores, was sighted at St Helena in March, when 'all was well'.[56] The *Sea Horse* was off Falmouth on 17 May, having arrived from the South Seas in convoy with the Whalers *Africane*, Jones; *Pacific*, Hooper; *Seringapatam*, Day and the *Hero*,

52 *Morning Post*, 1 February 1803, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.
53 *Lloyd's List*, 13 December 1803
54 *Ibid.*, 10 April 1804.
55 *Ibid.*, 27 April, 1804.
56 *Ibid.*, 29 May 1804.

Smith, which was a prize to the *Swallow*.[57] Halcrow returned to Gravesend on 24 May 1804, having being at sea for over fifteen months.[58]

London Transport II 1805-16

Immediately after her return, the ship underwent some major repairs. Again, she was sheathed with copper over boards for the third time and new gunwales, top sides and deck were added. She still had a draught of 16 feet and was described as having a deep waist. Her armament now consisted of eight 18 pounder carronades.[59] The ship was again signed up for employment by the Transport Office; the charter dated 20 April 1805 and entered into pay on 3 May. Robert Feard now took command of the ship for the second time, his ship, the *Jamaica Planter* having been captured by a French privateer in the previous year.

Feard sailed in convoy with a fleet of war for the Cape of Good Hope. The government had decided to seize the colony in order to prevent it coming under French control, due to its strategic location in relation to the sea route to India and the South Seas. A part of the fleet set sail from Cork in August 1805. The *Sea Horse* was among the transports listed by Admiral Sir Home Popham as a part of his fleet transporting the 24th, 38th and 93rd regiments of foot; Royal Artillery and dismounted Dragoons in a list compiled while on board *HMS Diadem*, on the Funchal Roads, dated 8 September 1805.[60] The ship was noted to be still in convoy in another letter from St Salvador, dated 26 November 1805. The army disembarked at the Cape on 6 January 1806, when a drummer and thirty-five rank and file of the 93rd Regiment were drowned.[61] The action on 8 January broke the spirit of the Dutch and forced them to capitulate. Popham then sent the *Sea Horse* home with dispatches:

> Letter from Commodore Sir Home Popham to William Marsden, Esq, from the Cape of Good Hope
> January 25th 1806.
> Sir, — I have judged it expedient to send home the Sea Horse transport as the fastest sailing vessel in this bay, except the Narcissus and Diadem, and that the dispatches containing the important information that this settlement is completely in the possession of His Majesty's Arms may be placed under the charge of an officer of zeal and activity, I have given Lieutenant Daly the first lieutenant of the Diadem an order to command her for the passage home, and as this officer was first lieutenant of the Arrow when she made so gallant a defence, I

57 *Ibid.*, 22 May 1804.

58 *Ibid.*, 25 May 1804.

59 *Lloyd's Register*, 1805.

60 George McCall Theall, *Records of the Cape Colony from February 1803 to July 1806*, Volume 5, (London, 1889), pages 240-44. The 1st battalion 59th Regiment was on board the East Indiamen that took part in the campaign.

61 *Ibid.*, page 259. Captain Alexander MacPherson of the 59th was badly wounded on 8 January.

trust he may be thought worthy of their Lordships' protection. I have &c.
Signed,
Home Popham[62]

There was also a letter to her owner stating that the defence ships had been sent to India, to bring back cargoes of rice to the garrison; and that the remainder of the transports were busily employed in taking on board the prisoners, with whom they were immediately to sail for England.[63] It took the *Sea Horse* about two months to make the voyage as she arrived in Cove with the dispatches for government on 4 April:

> The Sea Horse transport from the Cape of Good Hope has arrived at Cove. She had been put into Westport, and there landed Lieutenant Daly of the Diadem, who was charged with dispatches from Sir D. Baird and Sir Home Popham, announcing the surrender of Jamsens' army, and their being embarked, and on their way to England, on board ten transports under the command of Captain Butterfield, of the Royal Navy.[64]

Feard then sailed for England, having again taken command of the ship, docking in Scilly on 4 May 1806.[65] The ship was surveyed in Cork in June 1806. For the years 1807-12, she was a described as Cork transport, commanded by Feard. However by 1811, she had under gone a change of master.

On 23 November 1809 the *Sea Horse* was part of a convoy of five transports that arrived in Portsmouth from Halifax, Nova Scotia.[66] On 21 April 1811, the *Sea Horse*, Master Mackie, arrived in Portsmouth from Lisbon, along with nineteen other transports, escorted by two warships, the *Impeteox* and *Warrior*.[67] The *Sea Horse* then sailed from Portsmouth to Halifax, Nova Scotia on 28 July 1811.[68] On her way she stopped off at Cork on 3 August 1811.[69] The ship news from Portsmouth on 3 November describes her voyage:

> The Eurydice, captain Bradshaw; and Sea Horse transport, arrived at this port on Thursday 29 October, from Halifax, sailed together on the 13 ult., but parted company two days afterward. All the squadron on that station had sustained some losses by tempestuous weather; and were all lying at Halifax, in consequence, except the Melampus and

62 *Ibid.*, pages 317-18. Home Popham's brother, Edward lived in Tramore and married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Rev John Cooke. Cooke had the unfortunate duty of preforming the burial rites of those lost on the *Sea Horse*.
63 *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 April 1806, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.
64 *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, 12 April 1806, microfilm, National Library of Ireland.
65 *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 10 May 1806, accessed online at British Newspaper Archive.
66 *Lloyd's List*, 28 November 1809.
67 *Ibid.*, 22 April 1811.
68 *Ibid.*, 30 July 1811.
69 *Ibid.*, 9 August 1811.

> Indian. These ships bring no news whatever. As little was known at Halifax of what course the American disputes were likely to take, as in England. Admiral Sawyer was well at Halifax. The Aeolus frigate, Lord James Townsend, would winter there. The other ships of the squadron would resume their stations when refitted. Mr Bunce, Master Builder at Bermuda, came passenger in the Sea Horse.

The 'American disputes' eluded to, were of great interest to British ship-owners as it refers to the coming of the hostilities that broke out on 18 June 1812 when the United States declared war on Great Britain, a conflict that raged on until the Treaty of Ghent was signed on 24th December 1814. The conflict had a significant naval dimension, known in the United States as the 'War of the Privateers'. The ship news from Gravesend on 8 November 1811, reported that the *Sea Horse*, Master Mackie had arrived from Halifax.[70]

Again, Mackie is mentioned as the master when the ship was anchored at Deal with a flect of ships of war and transports, bound for Cadiz in 1812.[71] Also in 1812, it was noted that the ship hadn't been surveyed since 1806 and she was repaired again and sheathed with copper over boards for the fourth time. Her armament also changed to six 10 pounder carronades.[72] The ship is registered as having been surveyed in January 1813, when her carronades were recorded as 12 pounders. From 1812 the ship is registered as a London transport. It is not until 1813 that the change of master is updated in the registers when Mackie is entered as J. Mackay or Macklow. On 23 September 1814, the *Sea Horse* set sail from Deal in convoy with ten other transports bound for Gibraltar, escorted by the *HMS Blossom* ship of war.[73] Interestingly, the first newspaper report on the shipwreck stated erroneously that the *Sea Horse's* master was Thomas Scott.[74] In fact, Scott was master of a ship of the name, in the previous year when he set sail from Saint Helen's, Portsmouth for Gibraltar on the 28 February 1815.[75]

The *Sea Horse* is registered in the ledgers of the Transport Office, as continuously employed from 3 May 1805 until 11 January 1815. She was again re-employed by the Transport Office on 22 March, following Napoleon's escape from Elba and eventual return to Paris two days earlier. On 29 September, the ship was laid off. However, the ship was re-employed under the command of James Gibbs from 26 December 1815 until 30 January 1816, when it was noted that she was wrecked. Gibbs first appears in *Lloyd's List* on 26 January 1816 when 'the *Sea Horse* transport, in proceeding to Ramsgate, grounded near the entrance of Sandwich Harbour but was got off and carried into Ramsgate Harbour on 23 January, without damage'.[76]

70 *Ibid.*, 12 November 1811.
71 *Ibid.*, 3 March 1812.
72 *Lloyd's Register*, 1813.
73 *Lloyd's List*, 27 September 1814.
74 *Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle*, 1 February 1816, microfilm, National Library of Ireland.
75 *Lloyd's List*, 3 March 1815.
76 *Lloyd's List*, 26 January 1816.

Shipwreck

Far worse misfortune was to follow, as the final entry for the *Sea Horse* in *Lloyd's List* attests:

> The ship *Sea Horse* of London from Ramsgate to Cork, with a detachment of the 59th Regt. under the command of Major Douglas was totally lost in Tramore Bay, near Waterford, 30th ult. Only the master and two of the crew, four officers, (viz. Lieutenants Cowper, Hartford and McPherson and Ensign Seward), and 19 private soldiers saved, out of about 300 troops, 16 officers, 30 women and 40 children, who were on board.[77]

Following his fortunate escape, the master, James Gibbs forwarded the following narrative to the editor of the *Waterford Mirror* describing the last voyage of the *Sea Horse* and detailing the circumstances of the wreck:

> The Seahorse took on board at Ramsgate, on the 24th Jan. 16 Officers, 287 men, 33 women, and 38 children- crew 17 in number; she sailed on the 25th, and the evening falling calm, she anchored in the Downs. About 11 o'clock in the morning of the 26th weighed anchor, with the wind at N. N. W. light breeze- about midnight off Dungeness. On the 27th in the morning Beachy-Head bearing about north-about seven in the evening off Dunnose, Isle of Wight- about midnight Portland lights N. E. On Sunday the 28th off the Start in the morning at daylight, with a fine breeze at N. N. E.- about 5 in the afternoon passed the Lizard lights- at 11 passed the Longships 1½ mile distant- at 12 it bore N.N.E., 8 miles distant.
>
> The 29th in the morning a fine strong breeze at S.S.E.; at noon freshening very much- about 4 p.m. saw the land about 12 miles distant; observed that it was Ballycotton Island. The Mate, John Sullivan, going up the forerigging to look at the land fell down on the forecastle, broke both his legs and arms, and never spoke more- died almost three hours afterwards. Hauled our wind for Kinsale light, blowing a strong gale, and coming on very hazy and dark, intending when we saw the light, to run down along the land for the entrance of Cork.; but having run two hours, and not seeing the light, the Captain began to get doubtful to proceed any further, the weather being so thick and hazy, and a most tremendous sea running, so we close reefed our topsails, and hauled close to the wind, lying W.S.W.
>
> About 8 o'clock she fell off- wore around on the other tack- most of the night lying, about S.E.- wind about S.S.W.; but owing to the flood tide setting strong on the shore, and a heavy sea running, she drifted very fast inshore. About 5 in the morning saw the land on our lee

77 *Ibid.*, 6 February 1816. The official report on the survivors, lists only 4 officers, 23 rank and file and 3 crew members saved out of a compliment of 393 souls.

beam, which was Minehead, and which forms the southern part of Dungarvan Bay- drifting very fast to leeward. At six let a reef out of the topsails and set the mainsail- blowing very hard. About half past 10 a.m., the foretopmast went over the side, and a seaman who was in the foretop had his back and thigh broken. About 11, just after the wreck was cleared, the mainsail split all to ribbons- drifting to leeward very fast- saw the Hook light-house under our lee bow, but the sea sending us so fast to leeward we could not weather Brownstown-head. Clewed up the sails, and brought up under the head in seven fathoms, with both anchors, and near 300 fathoms of cable a-head- the sea making breaches right over us from stem to stern.

About 12 the anchors dragged, the wind and sea still increasing.- At ten minutes past 12 she struck; we then cut away the mizzen and main masts; the rudder went off the second strike, the sea breaking most tremendously over us; in one hour the ship parted by the main hatch-way; all the boats had been washed away before. It was a most awful scene- 394 souls on board, all clinging to different parts of the wreck! One Officer's wife and two children in her arms met their fate in the great cabin; a Serjeant's wife, with her three children clasped to her breast, resigned herself to her fate between decks; women were heard encouraging their husbands to die with them! There was not the least disturbance among them, most of them ejaculating prayers! After she parted we were all washed off, but about 30 that were left clinging to the forerigging.

About 60 in all reached the shore, but for the want of assistance only 4 officers, 25 soldiers, (two of whom are since dead) Capt. Gibbs, and two seamen were saved. Mr Hunt, of Tramore, and his man, Mr. Duckett, jun. and two countrymen, one named Kirwan, were the persons who contributed most to save the lives of the unfortunate people. To the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Hunt, in getting us up to the cottage at the Rabbit-burrow, and sending for spirits to his own house, and lighting large fires for our accommodation, we are principally indebted for our lives.[78]

The *Sea Horse* and her two companion ships were described in a letter from Ramsgate dated 25 January, as 'the finest transports we have had is this harbour for a length of time past.'[79] Indeed, the *Lord Melville*, Master Thomas Arman, was a six-year-old ship with a burden of 351 tons and an A1 classification. While the twelve-year-old *William Pitt*, Master G Proctor, the largest vessel of the three, had a burden of 418 tons and an E1 classification. However, the *Sea Horse* was nearly thirty-four years old at this time and hadn't been surveyed in three years.[80] Some

78 *Waterford Mirror*, 5 February 1816.

79 *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, 31 January 1816.

80 *Lloyd's Registers, Underwriters*, 1816.

gentlemen who had seen her timbers in Tramore after the wreck expressed very strong doubts about her sea worthiness.[81]

The *Sea Horse* had been a fine ship with a long and varied history, having voyaged at least 120,000 sea miles made good. She had sailed her last voyage.

Plate 2: Sea Horse Obelisk, Christ Church, Church Road, Tramore.

81 *Waterford Chronicle*, 1 February 1816.

Edward Wellington Boate: the Waterford man who survived the Confederate prison camp at Andersonville in the American Civil War

James Doherty

In 1990 a request was published in *Decies*, seeking information on the Boate family of Waterford city and included the fact that Edward Wellington Boate had fought in the American Civil War and had survived captivity in a prisoner of war camp.[1] Keen to discover new local links to the conflict the author researched the life of Edward Wellington Boate. The following is his story.

Edward Wellington Boate was born in Waterford in 1822; he came from a relatively well to do family. His father worked as a land waiter (a type of customs official) and would later rise to the position of port surveyor.

In his early life, Boate pursued a career as a journalist working for the *Waterford Chronicle* and *Wexford Guardian*. He married Henrietta Bruce O'Neill in Wexford in 1849 and later moved to London to work as the foreign correspondent for the *Wexford Guardian*. His career continued to prosper, working for *The Times* as the parliamentary correspondent and also in the passport office.[2]

Sometime around 1861 Boate and his family (by now he had two children) moved to the United States where he again pursued a career as a journalist. His reasons for joining the army are unknown perhaps; he felt that he wanted to part of the news rather than just reporting on it.

He joined the 42nd New York Volunteers and was captured in one of the first battles he was present at. Interestingly Boate joined the Union army using an alias; he enlisted under the name of Edward W Bates.[3] Soldiers fought under aliases for many reasons, some due to previous desertion from other units or armies. In the case of Boate we can only guess. Perhaps due to his background and unusual surname he wanted to choose a more common name to fit in with the rest of his unit?

Boate first saw action at the Battle of Bristoe Station. Bristoe Station was a one sided affair, a blunder by Confederate General A. P. Hill saw the Southern troops attack a well defended Union position. The Confederacy lost over 1,400 men dead wounded or captured whereas the Union suffered just over 500 casualties.[4]

1 See *Decies* 43 (Spring, 1990).
2 http://www.scoop-database.com/ accessed 23 August 2015.
3 US Army Pension Files.
4 http://www.civilwar.org/ accessed 23 August 2015.

One of the captured men however was Edward Wellington Boate who was initially sent to the Confederate prison camp at Belle Isle and later transferred to Andersonville, Georgia. Camp Sumpter was the official name of the prison although everyone referred to it simply as Andersonville.

Andersonville prison camp was built eighteen months before the end of the war to hold Union Army prisoners. Located deep behind Confederate lines, the 26.5 acre site was designed for a maximum of 10,000 prisoners. At its most crowded, it held more than 32,000 men, many of them wounded and starving, in horrific conditions with rampant disease, contaminated water and only minimal shelter from the elements. In the prison's fourteen months of existence, some 45,000 Union prisoners arrived there; of those, 12,920 died and were buried in the prison cemetery.[5]

The horrendous conditions in the camp and the causes of these conditions would become a central theme in the rest of Edward Wellington Boate's life. Even today the topic is controversial. The conditions suffered in the camp are not disputed but the causes most certainly are. Some believe that the Confederate authorities could and should have done more for the prisoners. On the other hand others argue that the appalling conditions were a direct result of the Union blockade of Southern ports and the guards in camps like Andersonville were little better off than the prisoners.

Edward Wellington Boate fell firmly in the latter camp and argued strongly after the war that the conditions in camp were a direct consequence of the actions of his own Union government. After his release Boate published an article in the *New York News* that was a damning indictment of the government of President Abraham Lincoln.

> But our men were great sufferers, and deaths were alarmingly on the increase. The Confederate doctors were, as I have already said, themselves startled and alarmed at the progress of disease and death. But they seemed powerless to check it. We were often a fortnight without being able to get medicine. They had no quinine for fever and ague; they had no opium for diarrhea and dysentery.
>
> Our government made medicine a contraband of war, and wherever they found medicine on a blockade runner, it was confiscated, a policy which indicated, on the part of our rulers, both ignorance and barbaric cruelty; for, although no amount of medicine would save many of our men who have laid their bones in Georgia, I am as certain as I am of my own existence, that hundreds of men died, who, if we had the right sort and proper quantity of medicine, would have been living today and restored to their families.
>
> Why, the Confederate authorities were suffering many a privation at Andersonville. The surgeons who were in attendance upon the sick had not decent hose or stockings; their shoes and boots being in many

5 http://www.nps.gov/Andersonville accessed 23 August 2015.

> instances so patched, that the original leather out of which they had been manufactured had become invisible.[6]

In addition to blaming the Union government for the conditions in the camp Boate would also defend the character of the camp commandant Henry Wirz who would go on to be charged with war crimes after the American Civil War.

> Let me refer to Captain Wirz, the Commandant of the prison, who was generally regarded as being very harsh. But his position should be considered. He was a mere keeper of prisoners - a work which can never be popular. Between the jailer and the jailed, there could not and never can be any peculiar love; but, under a rough exterior, more often assumed then left, this Captain Wirz was as kind - hearted a man as I ever met.[7]

As if the conditions in the prison were not bad enough a criminal group of prisoners called the 'Andersonville Raiders' terrorised other members of the prison population. They preyed on the weak and new prison entrants. Estimates vary but the strength of the Raiders was probably around one hundred and as they grew bolder and more violent a prison police force was formed (with the permission of Commandant Wirz) which resolved to deal with the Raiders.

Between the 29th of June and July the 1st 1864 the prison police force violently confronted the Raiders. As they seized their leaders they were placed outside the stockade walls for their own protection. Some of the Raiders received summary justice as they were forced to run a gauntlet receiving kicks and blows from their vengeful fellow prisoners. Six of the main leaders of the gang were placed on trial (by their fellow prisoners) and hung for their crimes. They rest today in a separate area of the prison cemetery. The trial of the Raiders was recorded (due to his clerical skills) by Boate.[8]

Shortly after the trial of the 'Andersonville Raiders' was concluded, Boate was chosen by Commandant Wirz to be part of a delegation that would be allowed leave the prison and travel north to meet with President Lincoln. The purpose of this delegation was to appeal for better conditions in the prison and a wholesale prisoner exchange.

Boate was one of twenty-one men allowed to travel north on the 7th of August 1864 that were to be exchanged with a similar number of Confederate troops. Six of this group were to meet the president bearing a petition that appealed for the Union authorities to allow supplies through to Andersonville and also calling for wholesale prisoner exchange.[9] Boate fell ill before reaching Washington and passed the petition to another member of the delegation. The group never got to meet President Lincoln and the circumstances behind this failed envoy mission would be debated hotly after the war.

6 *New York News*, July 1865.

7 *Ibid.*

8 William Marvel, *Andersonville: The last Depot*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

9 *House of Representatives Executive Documents.*

Although his delegation was unsuccessful Boate did not have to wait too long to see the prisoners of Andersonville released. When the Union forces under General Sherman occupied Atlanta in September 1864, it put Union troops within striking range of the camp. The Confederate forces moved the main body of prisoners to different locations out of range of the Union cavalry. The war was in its dying days however Andersonville continued to operate albeit on a smaller scale until the war ended in April 1865.

The Union forces did not waste time on Commandant Wirz, he was arrested in May of 1865 and his trial for the alleged needless deaths of Union prisoners began on the 23 of August 1865. By this stage Edward Wellington Boate had publicly expressed his misgivings on how the government of President Lincoln had handled the issue of the prison camps and he would be called as a witness for the defence in the trial of former commandant Henry Wirz.

The trial of Henry Wirz was recorded in detail and Boate's testimony was hotly contested. Boate testified that the conditions in the camp were nearly as difficult for the guards as they were for the prisoners and also testified to the good character of Henry Wirz. A highly contentious part of Boate's testimony revolved around the failed humanitarian mission and the fact that Union authorities would not meet his delegation.

The original petition had disappeared and the Union authorities denied ever receiving same. Wirz's defence argued that the existence of the delegation and the refusal of the Union authorities to meet them proved that Henry Wirz was not solely responsible for the horrors of Andersonville. This was simply too much for the prosecution Judge advocate and he stated:

> To prove, in this unheard-of way, a fact which can scarcely be believed of a man whose name and fame are so unstained and so unimpeachable as that of President Lincoln. That this committee were refused a conference with the late President upon a subject of this kind is improbable, and I may say preposterous. This court must not allow a slandel [*sic*] of that kind against the memory of so great and good a man as President Lincoln to be repeated by this witness who has no knowledge of the facts.[10]

Boate's testimony was wide ranging and covered incidents of alleged cruelty to prisoners, the issue of the 'Andersonville Raiders, availability of medicine and offers made by Union soldiers to join the Confederate army amongst other topics.

Despite the best efforts of his defence team, Henry Wirz was convicted, the findings of the court ran into pages but a paragraph gives an idea of the mood of the military tribunal where they found Wirz guilty of conspiring to:

> Impair and injure the health and to destroy the lives, by subjecting to torture, and great suffering, by coufining [*sic*] in unhealthy and unwholesome quarters, by exposing, to the inclemency of winter and

10 *Ibid.*

> to the burning suns of summer, by compelling the use of impure water, and by furnishing insufficient and unwholesome food, of large numbers of federal prisoners.[11]

On the 10th of November 1865 Henry Wirz faced his sentence of death by hanging. The event was widely covered by the media. Newspapers like the Washington-based *Evening Star* devoted a copious amount of coverage to the hanging. The paper covered the event in minute detail even publishing copies of Wirz's last letters.[12]

Edward Wellington Boate was scathing in his criticism of the Union authorities he believed that the Naval blockade and the refusal to exchange prisoners were the two main contributory factors that led to the poor conditions in Andersonville.

To a prisoner in Andersonville these issues may have appeared simply remedied, offer a wholesale prisoner exchange and make medical supplies exempt from the naval blockade. However in the interest of balance it is worth noting that a prisoner exchange had operated earlier in the war. In the early days of the conflict exchanges happened on an *ad hoc* basis between opposing commanders. In 1862 the Dix-Hill Cartel (named after the two opposing generals who signed it) agreement came into effect. This agreement went into great detail in relation to the workings of any exchange. The cartel offered a scale of equivalencies such as a captain being equivalent to fifteen privates etc. The deal also agreed two locations for exchange.

By June 1863 the Cartel agreement had all but collapsed. Mutual distrust, in addition to the refusal of the Confederacy to recognise escaped slaves as prisoners-of-war and the disparity in numbers, (the Union held nearly twice as many prisoners as the Confederacy) were all items of contention. However exchanges did occur sporadically throughout the duration of the conflict.

The other key issue that Boate blamed on the Union was the lack of medical supplies getting through the blockade. The naval blockade only existed on paper at the start of the conflict but as the war progressed the Union navy rapidly expanded effectively preventing imports reaching the Confederacy. Allowing blockade runners through with medical supplies would have been difficult if not impossible to police. Edward Wellington Boate may have had a valid reason to blame the Union authorities or he may have failed to understand the complexities around the issue. The allocation of blame for camps such as Andersonville is still hotly debated. Boate however paid a heavy price for his lambasting of the former President Lincoln. His opinion pieces seemed to have been be received readily enough by the media whilst Lincoln lived, however with his death the tolerance of any criticism towards Lincoln ended.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Evening Star*, 10 November 1865.

Boate became a social pariah in New York society after the war. The level of social exclusion he suffered is best typified by his obituary. Upon his death on September the 19th 1871 his wife submitted a glowing obituary to the local paper. The editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* paper published the obituary but not without adding a few thoughts of his own:

> Edward Wellington Boate died yesterday in the County Hospital at Flatbush. He was a man of good abilities and much miscellaneous newspaper experience, but of late years sacrificed self-respect to self-indulgence, and from being a writer of items sank to furnishing police items for his former confreres to record. His wife, who has been alternately the assistant of his literary labours and the victim of his neglect and ill usage, is left un-provided for. She, faithful to the last, as women are all the more apparently, when they have the most provocation not to be sent us the following obituary.[13]

The bravery of the Irish soldiers in the American Civil War is often commented on. One of the bravest surely must be Waterford native Edward Wellington Boate. The merits of his moral stance can be debated but what is certain is that he paid a heavy price for voicing what turned out to be deeply unpopular opinions.

13 *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 21 September 1871.

'Penning the Women': Writing Waterford Nurses into the Great War Frame

Alice Mc Dermott

The very title of the current article makes an ambitious declaration.
Consequently, perhaps it would be helpful at the outset to briefly temper the stated assertion with a series of explanatory qualifications that signal, on the one hand, the inevitable difficulties and obstacles and, on the other, the possibilities and potentials inherent therein.

Essentially, by way of forewarning, caution, and restraint on reader expectations, despite ten years of extensive and ongoing research by the writer of the paper, existing information regarding the nature and extent of Waterford women's input to Great War nursing is, at best, quintessentially 'abridged.' This is because, up until now, and, it should be noted, in absolute reflection of the absence of accounts of Irish Great War nurses, generally, the county's own nurses' war-time narratives have been largely unrecorded, undocumented, firstly, by the women themselves and, secondly, contemporaneously and subsequently, relevant others, and are therefore, unfortunately and inescapably, almost non-existent.

Any attempt to provide a partial or, indeed, comprehensive regional (and, indeed, national) description and analysis of the subject at this point is, therefore, simply not feasible.

Regarding promising and realistically achievable future positive outcomes, however, the foundations being laid by the author, here and elsewhere, on the subject of Waterford Great War nurses will, hopefully, provide a solid basis upon which to further build potentially substantial volumes of work concerning these local women and their provision of healing and corrective care to the wounded, and comfort and support to the dying, and the families and friends of the dead, throughout the four and a quarter years of the appalling conflict.

This, in essence, is the aim of the present account.

With that in mind, it might be both useful and significant, firstly, to provide a theoretical, contextual framework against which the therapeutic, ministering, and support work of a select group of Waterford Great War nurses can be measured within the innumerable dangerous and deadly settings that constituted the global engagement's terrible fifty one month duration. After that, recently collected[1] and considered information on a small number of Waterford Great War nurses will be presented, discussed, and analysed. This, it is intended, and as has been stated, will establish the necessary first principles from which more detailed work can subsequently be fashioned.

1 Material collected by various academics, including the author of the present article, throughout the past ten years.

That this paper is preparing the groundwork for further research and examination of the subject of Waterford women's involvement in Great War nursing care and attention has, therefore, been well established. So, too, has the fact that, for comprehensive and solid foundation purposes, the paper intends to focus as much on the Great War context within which these women worked as on their consequent routine and emergency experiences of and responses to same. It should be re-iterated at this point, however, that individual and collective Waterford 1914 to 1918 nursing narratives are, to date, sparse in both numbers and details.

The narrative's parameters and constraints are, therefore, outlined.

Perhaps the best place to begin an investigation of Waterford nurses' roles in *Great War Medical Care* is with the city and county itself and, specifically, with the fact that its men and women, in disproportionally high numbers when compared with enlistment figures for the war-time army, navy, air-force, and various nursing services[2] elsewhere in Ireland, immediately upon the outbreak of war on 4 August 1914, answered the call of John Redmond for Irish recruits to serve with the British Expeditionary Force and its auxiliary services.[3] This was hardly surprising. Redmond was, after all, for all of the time during which he represented the city in the Westminster parliament, widely regarded as a 'local hero' on his home base.[4]

When Redmond, in his speech at Woodenbridge on 19 September 1914,[5] entreated the men of Ireland to join the British Army, to defend Catholic Belgium and to help bring the recently erupted conflict to a speedy end so that the Home Rule Bill, suspended for the duration of the fighting, could be passed into law, the men of Waterford, from a district, after all, and against the national tide, as steadfastly enthusiastic about dominion status within the construct of the beloved Empire as their locally fiery leader was,[6] enlisted with the colours in their tens of thousands.[7]

2 It should be noted that, to date, general statistics, including enlistment numbers, for Irish Great War nurses are woefully incomplete.

3 For example, all of the voluntary and professional nursing services. For more on these, see Storey, Neil, Housego, Molly, *Women in the First World War* (Shire Publications, 2011). See, also, Cohen, Susan, *Medical Services in the First World War* (Shire Publications, 2014).

4 For further information on the high regard in which John Redmond was held on his home base, see Mc Dermott, Alice 'The Heart of the Matter: An Analysis of the Most Significantly Influential Factor in the Creation and Configuration of Redmondism in Waterford City from 1891 to 1918' (*Decies* 2013). See, also, McEneaney, Eamonn (Ed.), *A History of Waterford and its Mayors from the 12th to the 20th Century* (Waterford Corporation, 1995), pp. 215-219.

5 See Meleady, Dermot, *John Redmond: The National Leader* (Merrion, 2014), p. 307. See, also, McLoughlin, Michael, *Great Irish Speeches of the Twentieth Century* (Poolbeg, 1996), pp. 36-37.

6 See Endnote 4 above. See, also, McEneaney, Eamonn (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 215-219.

7 See Burnell, Tom, *The Waterford War Dead* (The History Press, 2010). See, also, Callan, Patrick, 'Recruiting for the British Army in Ireland during the First World War', *The Irish Sword* (No. 66), pp. 42-56.

The region's women, too, in totals as yet undetermined but sufficiently researched and recorded to suggest that they were substantial, offered their medical assistances in each of the four British nursing services then in operation. Two of those organisations, throughout the entirety of the Great War era and, indeed, before and after, were staffed by professional nurses, the Territorial Forces Nursing Service (TFNS)[8] and Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMNS).[9] The remaining two comprised volunteer nurses, the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD)[10] and the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY).[11]

Within the ranks of the four nursing bodies just named, and, as noted, serviced both by fully trained and much more hastily 'turned out' recruits, Waterford women served at various fronts throughout the war. The article will focus on a select number who undertook to work overseas adjacent to, and, in many cases, on the battle-lines as the conflict relentlessly, indiscriminately, systematically raged and wreaked havoc for an unbelievable total of four and a quarter years.

In the hundred years that have passed since the outbreak of the Great War on 4 August 1914, the appalling event has acquired the status of a gigantic, essentially world-wide, watershed in the popular mind-set.

This was, equally, the general perception throughout both the years of its conduct and in the years immediately following the eventual cessation of hostilities.

Like their global counterparts, many Irish people, either personally, within their families, communities, or, indeed, on a national scale, experienced the war's immediate, directly brutal, and often tragic outcomes. Consequently, and similar to the contemporary general responses of people worldwide, they frequently fixedly adopted and then firmly juxtaposed the horror and mayhem of its conduct with largely collective, and, indeed, selective recollections of a 're-imagined' or idealised, almost golden age, of peace and innocence that preceded it, the reality of which, of course, does not stand up to scrutiny.

And yet, difficult and all as it is to comprehend with the wisdom of hindsight and reflection, the nature and extent of its many and varied potential horrors still widely and fundamentally unrealised at its immediate outset, the 1914 to 1918 war began for many,[12] participants and bystanders alike, in an apparent global mood of high anticipation, optimism, assurance, and excitement.

8 For more information on the service, see scarletfinders.co.uk/TF Nursing Service.

9 For an overview of the organisation, see Piggott, Juliet, *Queen Alexandra's Royal Army Nursing Corps* (Leo Cooper, 1975).

10 See Mortimer, Maud, Dent, Olive, Bowser, Thelka, *The VADs: Accounts of the Voluntary Aid Detachment During the First World War 1914-1918* (2014).

11 See Lee, Janet, *War Girls: The First Aid Nursing Yeomanry in the Great War* (Manchester University Press, 2005).

12 For an in-depth analysis of 'real time' widespread responses to same, see Pennell, Catriona, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First world War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

This is probably best understood and explained as an almost universal response to the potential for chances, changes, and opportunities, albeit never fully owned, articulated, or realised individually, locally, nationally, or internationally, that the conflict might bring in its progress and wake. All of the combatants, from all strands of society, certainly seemed to share, even if they did not vocalise, the largely unexpressed belief, politically and militarily, that their world would be substantially better if and when their 'side' won the war. Tragically, for all whom the war 'touched' directly or indirectly, in other words, virtually everyone in the world, nobody seemed to have contemplated either the relative human and monetary costs of participation and victory or, indeed, the prospect of defeat!

That initial 'great expectation',[13] the early and widely embraced spirit of enthusiasm, possibility, probability, potential, exhilaration, triumph, and adventure, naively and jointly assumed by many amongst the two warring sides, did not endure for long once the war's first shots rang out.

This was because, of course, its early battles resulted in injuries and deaths that were as devastating to both sides in their huge numbers as their fundamentally brutal arrays and diversities. All in all, the level and extent of the horrific and inevitable consequences of the war's opening battles, for participating men and, to a much lesser extent, women from all of the warring sides, was on a scale so far in excess of the calculations, assumptions, experiences, understandings, powers, resources, skills, and abilities of all to cater for as to plunge the same warring factions into varying degrees of national and, of course, affiliated, and therefore, absolutely polarised political, military, and moral madness and mayhem from which they were all unable to extricate themselves until more than four more years of unimaginable, indiscriminate destruction, suffering, injury, and death had elapsed.

With the grim passage of that hideous and calamitous event's opening salvos, early wartime optimism was, quite literally, dashed and systematically scattered in the instant and subsequently constantly unfolding catastrophes on all war-fronts that ensued for both sets of adversaries over the next, seemingly never-ending, at the time and, indeed, in hindsight, four and a quarter years.[14]

Because very soon after its outset, and despite rigorous attempts at censorship[15] of the true state of play for, from, and by the two opposing factions, many of the truly awful realities of the Great War, which, understandably, simply couldn't be hidden, diluted, or suppressed from the plain sight of countless civilians, participants, the media, military, or governments worldwide, made their all-encompassing, gruesome, and heartrending presences felt.

13 Borrowed from the Dickens novel of the same title.

14 For an impressive account of the unimaginable awfulness of the Great War, see Ferguson, Niall, *The Pity of War* (Penguin Books, 1999).

15 For an interesting account of same, see, for example, the *Report on Postal Censorship During the Great War 1914-1919* (published by the General Staff, British War Office, 1921).

In the first instance, and contrary to initial popular expectation, the war was not over by Christmas 1914. It was, in fact, only getting started, although, at the time, no one seemed to recognise or appreciate that fact. In the same way, and as noted, no one foresaw that, globally, it was set to alternatively rampage and stagnate for a further four years.

Inevitably, given the ferocious nature and extent of the Great War campaign, fought, as it ultimately was, and as previously observed, over a considerable percentage of the globe, on, and at times, up to nine distinct fronts, civilian, military, naval, air-force, and, to a lesser extent, nursing injuries and fatalities, likewise stated, began to mount. This second actuality, combined with the conflict's extended time frame mentioned in the last paragraph, was, of course, likely to help in quelling early and widespread enthusiasm for warfare amongst all of the global bystanders and combatants in the fearsome affray.

A brief consideration of the grim catalogue of relentless battles as they played out between 1914 and 1918 will, perhaps, both illustrate and contextualise how the war was exacting an unimaginable cost, on both sides, in terms of human injury, disablement, and death amongst civilians, combatants, and, additionally, in the case of various members of the many medical support teams, nurses included, the horrors of being front-line targets, occasional victims, and witnesses, and misery, anguish, and grief within their families, peer groups, communities, and countries:

- The Battles of the Marne, Mons, and Aisne (August-September 1914);
- The Battle of Tannerburg (August 1914);
- The Battle of the Masurian Lakes (August 1914);
- The Battle of Neuve Chapelle (March 1915);
- The sinking of the Lusitania (May 1915);
- The Gallipoli Campaign (April 1915-January 1916);
- The Battle of Loos (September 1915);
- The Battle of Verdun (February 1916);
- The Battle of Jutland (May 1916);
- The Battle of the Somme (from 1 July 1916);
- The Battle of Arras (April 1917);
- The Battle of Vimy Ridge (April 1917);
- The Battle of Messines Ridge (June 1917);
- The Battle of Passchendale (October 1917);
- The Battle of Cambrai (November 1917);
- The second Battle of the Marne (May 1918);
- The Battle of Amiens (August 1918).[16]

16 For a detailed account of the Great War's many battles, see, for example, firstworldwar.com/battles.

As already documented, women on both sides of the conflict, together with doctors, orderlies, and stretcher-bearers, on and near the front lines as well as the home-front, worked with injured, dying, and dead soldiers as the fighting, in a constant and seemingly never ending stream, offered up its pitiful, helpless targets to the anonymous, seemingly uncaring and unappeased gods of war.

Finally, after fifty one months of alternating stagnating and frenetic fighting, on 11 November 1918, in the space of a single second, when clocks worldwide struck 11am GMT, the Great War ended following the signing of the armistice.

Its shocking cost, in human terms, was as follows:

- Overall injuries and fatalities amongst serving men and women on both sides were estimated at forty million:

These appalling figures broke down in this manner:

- Ten million people were dead. Twenty two million were wounded. Eight million were missing, presumed dead.
- For the Allies, approximately 52% of the men and, to a much lesser extent, women, mobilised were ultimately listed as casualties of war. For the Central Powers, the figure was 49%.

Therefore, just over twenty million Allied personnel and just under twenty million of the Germans and their battle partners suffered varying degrees of physical and psychological wounds, and, even more tragically, loss of life as a result of the Great War.

Two stark and additional sets of figures combined to make the years between 1914 and 1918 even more catastrophic.

Eight and three quarter million civilians lost their lives, directly and indirectly, as an immediate consequence of the war.[17]

In addition to all of those injured and/or killed as a direct or incidental result of the Great War, throughout the single year 1918, as the Spanish influenza pandemic swept throughout a large proportion of the world, as many as another one hundred million people surrendered their lives to the deadly virus.[18]

This, then, was the truly dreadful context within which all of the Great War's serving men and women lived and functioned to the best of their deeply challenged individual and collective abilities.

The Allied system of war-time emergency medical care within and close to the various combat zones, relying on triage, mainly, for operation and guidance,[19] was

17 For more on Great War injuries and deaths, see Ferguson, Niall, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 295-302.

18 For an account of same, see Barry, John M., *The Great Influenza* (Penguin Books, 2004).

19 For more on this, see Hallett, Christine E., *Containing Trauma: Nursing Work in the First World War* (Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 15, 28, 162. See, also, Wikipedia/Triage.

essentially, and quixotically, in the circumstances, designed to better 'feed' the various armies' never-ending demands for a constant supply of fit man-power for combat duty.

Specifically, nurses, as critical constituents of the assorted medical units operating on and near the front lines of the conflict, graded wounded men and, occasionally, women, into three distinct categories prior to offering, where possible, medical intervention and assistance:

- Lightly, usually temporarily injured combatants and other battle front casualties, to facilitate their recovery and subsequent return to duty.
- Permanently wounded combatants and other service personnel, to alleviate their suffering, assist in their rehabilitation, and organise their eventual discharge and return to civilian life.
- Fatally wounded combatants and members of the auxiliary services, if still alive when delivered to assorted medical stations, to attempt to relieve their pain and/or anguish, accompany and ease the process of dying, and, when death occurred, assist with laying out procedures and impending burial arrangements, including, for example, notification of relatives, etc.[20]

In this way, medical care throughout the period of the Great War operated as a kind of bizarre 'mirror-image war machine' accompanying the brutal and genuine object, as it engaged the enemy and defended the Allies by healing the slightly wounded, releasing those permanently unfit for combat, laying the dead to rest, and, thereby, constantly 'weeding and feeding' the ranks.

This fact notwithstanding, it should be noted that, to date, no examination of Allied Great War nursing accounts[21] has suggested, to the writer of the current paper at any rate, anything other than individual and collective desires to assist and comfort to be at the heart of these women's contributions. In other words, their work was certainly not motivated by communal 'institutional' aspirations to send their patients back into the many firing lines that comprised so much of the dreadful belligerent event. On the contrary, all the available information indicates a fairly uniform pattern of dread and reluctance when members of the various medical teams, nurses included, were obliged to discharge recovered soldiers, thereby consigning them back into the war's sundry firing lines.

Of fundamental importance regarding a general understanding of the 'corrective' and restorative context in which professional and volunteer Great War nurses worked is the fact that the years 1914 to 1918 saw numerous medical improvements, innovations, and inventions in the treatment and care of military and supplementary front line personnel wounded in body, mind, and/or spirit by its countless and varied battles. These medical advances were, of course, directly necessitated by the unimaginable human injury and suffering caused by the war.[22]

20 *Ibid.*, pp.64-66.

21 Equally, Central Powers nursing accounts do not suggest that this was a motivating factor in treatments or discharges.

22 For more information, see adoseofhistory.com/Medicine in WW1/Medicine, Health, and History: A Blog by Paul E. Stepansky, PhD.

In so far as it is possible to summarise without omission or over-simplification, the general function of all Great War nurses was to assist, in all instances and varying degrees, in the 'containing'[23] of war-wounds and ancillary front-line traumas. Checking, assessing, treating, and attempting to cure or ease wounded bodies and their numerous physiological and/or psychological processes was, of course, always best operated in the immediate aftermath of receipt of injuries.

Unfortunately, given the chaos, length, rapidity, and ferocity of many of the war's battles, with all the consequent, constant, competing demands on members of the care teams, instant medical intervention was not always possible. This led to two wretched but inevitable consequences. Firstly, wounded personnel were not always promptly tended, in which case their injuries frequently became more serious, permanent, and, in certain circumstances, fatal. Secondly, members of the front-line medical teams worked in conditions that were frantic, gruelling, gruesome, hazardous, pitiful, and often tragic.

In 1898, Sir Clifford Allbutt, the British physician and inventor, commenting on the curiously juxtaposed relationship between medicine and war, summarised the madness, mayhem, and human misery of war-induced injury and death when he said: 'How wide and varied is the experience of the battlefield and how fertile the blood of warriors in raising good surgeons.'[24]

All military conflict similarly 'raises' good nurses. This was certainly the case throughout the extended period of the 1914 to 1918 confrontation where professional and volunteer nurses played vital, often spear-heading, roles within the multi-faceted therapeutic framework.

As briefly previously recorded, British professional nurses tended to belong to one of two extant nursing bodies throughout the Great War. The first of these was Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service (QAIMNS). The second was the Territorial Force Nursing Service (TFNS).

Comparably and as likewise quickly noted, most British volunteer nurses joined one of two nursing outlets during the conflict. Some signed on with the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VADs). Others enlisted with the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY).

Women who joined the Military Nursing Service as qualified nurses from 1914 to 1918 had undergone many years of training and certification prior to the outbreak of war. In direct contrast, women who worked as volunteer nurses throughout the engagement were, essentially, rudimentarily and hastily trained non-professionals. Their nursing 'education' generally comprised basic First Aid and Introductory Medical Assistance to be exercised always under the supervision of professional nurses and doctors.

23 For an interesting perspective on the notion that Great War nursing was a process of 'containing trauma' see Hallett, Christine E., *Op. Cit.*

24 From Scotland, Thomas, Heys, Stephen (Eds.), *War Surgery 1914-1918* (Helion and Company, 2012), p. 17.

Such an assessment of the levels of their preparedness for the often grim realities and complexities of Great War military nursing is not, however, intended to be dismissive or unappreciative.

On the contrary, volunteer nurses, as the following pen-picture asserts, contributed significantly, valiantly, and steadfastly to medical care throughout the entire period of the war:

> If the ghost that haunts the towns of Ypres and Arras and Albert is the statutory British Tommy, slogging with rifle and pack through its ruined streets to his well-documented destiny "up the line", then the ghost of Boulogne and Etaples and Rouen ought to be a girl. She's called... (Mary or Bridget or Peg), her ankles are swollen, her feet are aching, her hands reddened and rough. She has little money, no vote, and has almost forgotten what it feels like to be really warm. She sleeps in a tent...She is twenty three...
>
> She wears the unbecoming outdoor uniform of a VAD or an army nurse. She is on active service, and as much a part of the war as Tommy Atkins...
>
> These girls had to be tough. They worked in flooded operating theatres in Flanders (and elsewhere) where, in a big 'push', there might be four operations going on at one time, and as many as ten amputations an hour. They nursed men with terrible wounds and saw them off to convalescent camp or laid them out when they died. They nursed in wards where the stench of gas-gangrenous wounds was almost overpowering. They nursed men choking to death as the fluid rose in their gassed lungs, men whose faces were mutilated beyond recognition, whose bodies were mangled beyond repair, whose nerves were shattered beyond redemption...
>
> The volunteer nurses rose magnificently to the occasion. In leaking tents and draughty huts they fought another war, a war against agony and death, as men lay suffering and dying from the pain of unimaginable wounds (and the trauma of unbearable psychological "overload.")'[25]

A brief consideration of the many and varied locations in which all categories of these women worked and a more comprehensive list of the appalling injuries and traumas they witnessed, attended to, attempted to alleviate and, where possible, cure, might help to further illuminate the multiple and grim contexts within which they functioned for the duration of the war's equally multi-faceted hostilities.

25 From MacDonald, Lyn, *The Roses of No Man's Land* (Penguin Books, 1980), pp. X1-X11.

Throughout the war, professional and volunteer nurses, individually choosing either the first or a combination of the remainder upon enlistment with the various nursing services, worked:

- In Home Base hospitals in Ireland and Britain;
- In Field Hospitals, including, sometimes, tents;
- On Hospital Ships stationed close to the various front lines of the conflict and, depending on their front-line positions and postings, travelling over and back with injured military personnel to ports like Alexandria, Liverpool, Queenstown, and Dublin;
- On Hospital Trains moving the wounded and dying away from the front lines;
- In Advanced Dressing Stations behind the front lines, and:
- On the front lines, driving ambulances to collect and deliver the wounded and dying, carrying stretchers, tending the suffering, etc.[26]

The typical Great War wounds that combatants and other front line occupiers endured and, in some cases, died from, and that nurses tried to tend, relieve, and, where possible, heal, can be broadly catalogued as follows:

- External physical injury caused by mustard gas;
- Internal injury caused by same;
- Lost/amputated feet, legs, hands, arms, and other body parts;
- Blindness;
- External physical injuries caused by gun shot and machine gun fire;
- Internal damage caused by same;
- Puncture wounds caused by bayonets and swords;
- Psychological damage, 'shell-shock';
- Heat Stroke;
- Frostbite.[27]

Interestingly, considering the challenging, fraught, calamitous environments in which they operated, the vast majority of British Great War military nurses were non-professionals, in other words, hurriedly, rudimentarily trained volunteers. In fact, it is widely agreed amongst historians in the field that volunteer nurses throughout the period made up 80% of the total number serving with the British Armed Forces, at base hospitals 'in Blighty' and on the many front lines of the engagement.

26 From Hallett, Christine E., *Op. Cit.* It is interesting to note that information on same is widely available.

27 For more details, see Reznick, Jeffrey S., *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain During the Great War* (Manchester University Press, 2004). See, also, Cohen, Susan, *Op. Cit.*, Hallett, Christine E., *Op. Cit.*, and Scotland, Thomas, Heys, Stephen (Eds.), *Op. Cit.*

Although the exact numbers of women who contributed to British Forces Medical Care, in both professional and volunteer capacities, during the years 1914 to 1918 has, to date, not been adequately established, due to a combination of factors too detailed and complex to consider in the current article, it is estimated that a total of somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000 nurses served.[28]

Of that substantial number of women from the dominions who supplied aid and assistance to wounded military personnel during the Great War, some 378 British nurses lost their lives while on active duty.[29]

With regard to the Great War involvement and contribution of Irish nurses, in particular, it is reckoned that approximately 4,500 women from the country served at home base and front line hospitals and related medical stations throughout the conflict's four and a quarter years duration.[30]

It has already been established that four out of five British nurses during the war were volunteers. Accepting the statistic as a standard or paradigm, something in the order of 3,600 Irish women provided basic medical assistance to the wounded and dying in an unpaid capacity throughout the years 1914 to 1918. The remaining 900 were trained and paid professionals.

While it is true to say that all of these Irish women, irrespective of the nursing classifications to which they belonged, came from a wide variety of social backgrounds, it is also a reasonable estimate, given the 80%/20% divide between volunteers and professionals, that the majority came from upper class families and the remainder from the middle classes.

A cursory review of existing sources of information regarding Irish women who served[31] indicates that Great War nurses came from each of the thirty two counties in Ireland.

However, as has previously briefly been remarked, no Irish nurse committed to public record, in other words, published an account[32] of her Great War nursing experiences. This was undoubtedly caused by two factors in particular.

Firstly, in a global context, participating women's war-time work was not widely regarded throughout and, indeed, after the catastrophic event, as being equal in significance to that of serving men. The reasons for that viewpoint are entirely understandable, given the numbers of men from both sides, estimated at

28 For more information, see Military women veterans/'WW1: Thirty thousand Women Were There'.

29 For more on Great War British nursing fatalities, see McEwan, Yvonne, *Op. Cit.*

30 From Cleere, Caitriona, 'Fewer Ladies, More Women', Horne, John (Ed.), *'Our War': Ireland and the Great War* (Royal Irish Academy, 2008), p. 162.

31 For example, Tom Burnell's series of almost all of Ireland's Great War dead. See, also, books and websites relating to the four nursing organisations identified in the article.

32 Lady Dorothea Fielding, a volunteer nurse and ambulance driver with Dr. Hector Monro's Ambulance Corps, posted letters home daily throughout the war, many of which were edited and reproduced by Andrew and Nicola Hallam and published by Pen and Sword Publications in 2010 under the title *Lady Under Fire on the Western Front: The Great War Letters of Lady Dorothea Fielding MM.*

approximately ten million,[33] who were killed, and the equal numbers injured, in various actions throughout the conflict.

Secondly, Ireland was largely unreceptive, indeed, sometimes hostile, to Great War-time reminiscences from 1918 right up until the mid-1990s and so almost no returning Irish male participants, certainly in the immediate aftermath, and, indeed, subsequently, issued printed accounts of the events and encounters they lived through. Similarly, no Irish female partaker, then or afterwards, wrote of her military nursing involvements and practices for public perusal.

Perhaps the most significant consequence of the total absence of first hand testimonies from Irish Great War nurses is that, to date, as detailed at the current article's outset, remarkably little research has been done, in Ireland and beyond, on the presence and contribution of these women, at home base and front line hospitals and associated medical facilities, during the conflict.

When Irish Great War nurses and their individual and collective wealth of experiences and observations of and on the defining and dreadful events of 1914 to 1918 remain virtually un-documented, the absence could be regarded as a' shut-down', a 'closed-door' on the subject, rendering further research impossible.

However, in the short-term at the very least,[34] absence of original accounts notwithstanding, basic and additional, in other words, on-going inquiry, examination, and documentation of Irish Great War nurses has been proven to be feasible by the writer of the current paper.

Using the 'Gaelic League model'[35] as a method of operation, to date, a modest number of accounts of Waterford women who served as Great War nurses have been collected from the oral testimonies of descendants of their immediate family members, relatives, friends, neighbours, interested parties within local communities, etc.

These 'resurrected narratives' have been supplemented, as and when possible, by extant privately held written records, including letters, diaries, autograph-books, and scrap-books and official and public documentation such as nursing records, ecclesiastical data, censuses, registers of births, marriages, and deaths, and of course, general war-time histories and archived material, including British Army and ancillary records.

The article concludes with two closing elements.

Firstly, it presents brief chronicles of five of these women, all clearly placed within the Great War context previously outlined as it applied to members of the various medical teams operating in Britain, including Ireland, and overseas, in other words, adjacent to and on the front lines, during those treacherous and momentous years.

33 For more, see Ferguson, Niall, *Op. Cit.*, p. 295.

34 Specifically, while the experiences of those Irish nurses who participated in the Great War effort are still held in individual and collective memories within families, communities, and, indeed, nationwide.

35 For more on the Gaelic League *modus operandi*, see the *Gaelic Journal*, June 1894.

Secondly, and finally, it offers an assessment of the significance and impact of the five Waterford women's contribution to Great War nursing care.

Mary Dawson came to the attention of the writer when the latter purchased the woman's campaign medal, 'The Great War for Civilisation 1914-1919', at an auction in Waterford approximately ten years ago. As was the case with all of the Great War 'expedition' medals issued to nurses in the aftermath of the conflict, Dawson's full name,[36] together with the title 'Nurse,' was inscribed on the decoration.

The next item offered for sale at the auction was an accompanying family medal, for which the writer, unfortunately, was outbid. The purchaser of the associated medal did, however, facilitate a detailed examination of its engraved details that revealed the following information.

The second medal, presented to 'J. Dowson,' was the Indian General Service Medal subsequently issued to participating soldiers to commemorate the individual parts they played in the relief of Chitral in 1895.

Taking the companion medals in unison, certain basic observations can be made regarding the family background, social status, life, and Great War nursing career of Mary Dowson.

Given that both medals were offered for sale in a local auction in Waterford, it is very likely that she and the other family member were from the city or county.

Considering, firstly, that there was a twenty-year interlude between the issuing of both decorations, and, secondly, that they were presented as such in the auction catalogue, it is more likely that J. and Mary Dowson were father and daughter than husband and wife.

Efforts to establish the precise identities of the closely related recipients of the two decorations purchased suggest the following individuals as the most likely candidates.

The 1901 Irish Census lists[37] a Mary Ann Dawson living at 6, John Street, Waterford. She was six at the time so would have been nineteen in 1914. Regarding the likelihood, or otherwise, of this person being the one to whom the 1914 to 1919 medal was awarded, it is interesting to note that the average age of Great War nurses was twenty three[38] so the Mary Ann Dawson of the census inventory is comfortably within the age range outlined.

As identified on the same population count, like her parents, Mary was a Catholic, and classified as a 'scholar' who could 'read and write.' She was the fourth of six children, with brothers and sisters Patrick (13), Cornelius (11), Johanna (9), John (5), and Annastatia (3).

36 Her name is spelled 'Dowson' on the medal. Having searched the 1901 and 1911 Irish censuses, and found the undoubtedly identical Waterford family's name spelled with both variations, Dowson and Dawson, the author is reasonably certain that the two spelling variations apply to the same woman and simply reflect spelling errors on the parts of various census enumerators.

37 See the 1901 census details online. See, also, nationalarchives.ie/Waterford/John Street.

38 See MacDonald, Lyn, *Op. Cit.*, p.

Her father is recorded as 'John,' a name which is compatible with the 'J' on the second medal, the one that was distributed to soldiers who had served in India, as recently observed.

John Dawson, documented aged forty two in 1901 (he would have been thirty six in 1895), was born in Tipperary. He is registered as a 'Pawnbroker,' with a business he shared with his brother, James, operating out of 29 John Street.[39] He records that he could 'read and write' and spoke 'Irish and English.'

As registered in 1901, the age span between John and Mary Dawson also tallies with that implied on the two medals offered for sale at the city auction a decade ago.

According to the census notation, John and his household employed at least one servant.

Taking that and his apparently successful commercial operation into account, it is probably reasonable to assume that he was a man of some considerable means. The property he and his family resided in, the nearby premises from which he ran the family business with his brother, he and his family's literacy, and his employment of domestic helpers all suggest that the Dawsons were comfortable members of the commercial middle class. This corresponds with the 'typical representation' of the Allied Great War nurse previously outlined and extensively held throughout the British Empire.

John's wife, Mary's mother, is registered as Catherine, aged thirty-five, originating from an unidentified location somewhere within the county of Waterford.

The 1911 national Census records John Dawson and his family as having moved their living quarters a few miles from their previous city-centre position to a (then) more pastoral setting at Killure in Ballynakill. It would be reasonable, indeed, probable, to attribute the household transfer, from the city's hub to the hinterland, to increased affluence within the domiciliary unit in the intervening decade, possibly resulting from greater success in business for the two Dawson brothers.

To date, it has been impossible to prove beyond doubt that the Mary and 'J' Dawson of the pair of medals auctioned a decade ago in Keighrey's and the two family members found on the 1901 and 1911 censuses are, in fact, the same people.

However, a consideration of the currently available information, at the very least, and as outlined, allows for the possibility that they could be although, as stated, this has not yet been definitively verified.

Nor has the author managed to find any details of Mary Dawson's nursing service outfit or record throughout the period of the Great War.

At this time, the only fact that is established beyond doubt is that a woman named Mary Dawson, probably from Waterford, was a member of the British Great War medical team for the entire conflict's duration.

39 From lennonwylie.co.uk/1894 Waterford Directory.

Whether she was a volunteer or professional nurse has yet to be determined. So, too, as recently briefly noted, has the nursing organisation to which she was affiliated and the theatre of war in which she served. Her wartime experiences, contributions, and observations are, likewise, entirely unknown.

Nonetheless, for three reasons in particular, the author believes it is important to simply record the fact that Mary Dawson, very likely from the city or county of Waterford, provided nursing care to wounded military personnel during the Great War.

The first basis for doing so is to acknowledge her personal involvement in Great War medical care by documenting and commemorating the fact that 'she was there.'[40] The writer is, after all, committed to 'putting Irish women in their place' at the centre of the Great War canvas.

The second is to add to the existing store of knowledge regarding the Great War nursing contributions of Waterford women.

The third is in the hope that, by publicly presenting the brief facts of her existence and Great War presence, further details regarding her personal disposition, family background, social standing, life before and after the conflict, and, of course, 1914 to 1918 war-time experiences, might be ascertained.

For now, the first objective has been established. It is hoped that the two remaining will follow suit.

The next three women from Waterford who contributed to the Great War medical effort were brought to the attention of the author approximately eight years ago by the late Jack O'Neill, one of the city and county's well-known local historians.[41]

Jack O'Neill had been presenting a long running weekly article for a local newspaper[42] entitled 'Pages from the Past' in which he reproduced pages from the district's broadsheets from years gone by.

In 2007, following a public appeal by the author of the current article on WLRFM for information regarding Waterford Great War nurses, Mr O'Neill responded and made the following material concerning three such Waterford women available. It had been previously reproduced in his column and contained an account of a collection of friends from the west of the county, all of whom were then bound for overseas service to care for variously injured military personnel throughout the course of the engagement.

The bibliographic and contextual details originally presented, and more recently re-presented by Jack O'Neill, in the war-time newspaper account relating to the three women (then) about to embark on Great War front line nursing duties are disappointingly sparse.

40 Adapted from the Great War novel.

41 Jack O'Neill was a regular regional newspaper correspondent and the author of several books on Waterford local history throughout his lifetime. For more information, see jackoneill.weekly.com.

42 *Waterford Today*.

The writer of the present account made an additional public appeal on local radio a number of years ago for supplementary information regarding the three women, their family backgrounds, Great War nursing experiences, and lives before and after the cessation of hostilities in 1918. Unfortunately, the request did not yield any further details on the pre, during, or post Great War lives of the three women who were the subjects of both the original and reproduced newspaper item.

Current absence of evidence notwithstanding, and as was the case with Mary Dowson and formerly noted, it is intended to similarly document all of the available data concerning the three women in the current article, firstly, because, as previously noted, 'they were there', secondly, to form part of the database of Waterford, and Irish, Great War nurses being recorded by the author and, thirdly, by publicly naming and announcing their presence on some of the main stages of the conflict, to facilitate the process of more complete fact-finding[43] regarding them and their Waterford 'carer colleagues' during that portentous fifty one months of truly awful conflict.

Ellen O'Driscoll was the first of the three friends to be introduced in the newspaper account. She was described as a Great War nurse preparing to set sail for foreign service.

Other than her name, the only additional details recorded in the newspaper report were that she was from Dungarvan and that she was leaving within a matter of days to work 'in a field hospital at the front.' The item further stated that she was travelling with two other friends from the region. The writer has been unable, for the present, to locate any additional information on Ellen O'Driscoll. As previously documented, however, work relating to Waterford Great war nurses is ongoing.

The second lady to be mentioned in the write up was simply and incompletely identified as B. Phelan. She was recorded as being a resident of Rinnashark in Tramore. She was similarly described as destined to embark, in company with her two friends previously referred to, for medical service abroad with the British Expeditionary Force. In an attempt to ascertain further details regarding the woman, a review of the 1911 census of Ireland was undertaken.

The research allows for the following speculation. There are two people who very closely resemble the woman under current consideration recorded in 1911.

The first of these, and, it should be noted, the most likely, is listed as Bridget Phelan, then aged seventeen, from Knockeen in Tramore.

Four factors, in particular, determine her eligibility for consideration, the first and third establishing her probability as greater than the second candidate. According to the survey, both of Bridget's parents could read and write. It is much more likely that a young woman whose parents were literate would volunteer for overseas nursing service during the Great War than one whose father and mother were not. Her age at the time the census was undertaken would mean that she was approximately twenty in 1914. This corresponds very closely with the average age, as recorded earlier, of Great War nurses. Her forename, Bridget, is consistent with

43 Information regarding same gratefully received at amcdermottit.ie.

the 'B' on the newspaper article. The 1911 census documented her address as Knockeen in Tramore. A rudimentary examination of place names in the sea-side resort indicates that the postal addresses Rinnashark and Knockeen are very closely connected in terms of distance.

The 'Bridget' on the census was the eldest of six children of Patrick and Bridget Phelan. Her father's occupation is listed as 'farm labourer' on the national tally. Her siblings were Thomas (15), Johanna (13), Catherine (11), Nicholas (9), and John (6).[44]

The second, and perhaps less likely, candidate to be compatible with the woman noted in the local newspaper story is detailed on the 1911 census as Mary Phelan,[45] also aged seventeen, from Drumcannon, a location, like Knockeen, adjoining Rinnashark.

She is recorded as being the daughter of Michael and Bridget Phelan. Her father's employment is described as 'general labourer.' She had two older brothers, John (29), and Thomas (23).

In direct contrast with the seemingly less ambiguous case of Bridget Phelan, while there are two reasons for including Mary in the calculation, namely, her age, twenty at the outbreak of the 1914 to 1918 conflict, and her place of residence, Drumcannon, as noted, bordering Rinnashark, there are two equally strong arguments for removing her from consideration and stating that she is possibly not the woman to whom the published account referred.

The first reason for making the assertion that she is, perhaps, not the woman described in the aforementioned news item is, of course, her forename. It is Mary, not Bridget. However, it should be noted that, in Ireland during the time in question, the second name, Bridget, was commonly given to girls whose first was Mary. It is also worth documenting that Mary's mother's name is recorded as Bridget on the register. Perhaps Mary carried her mother's name after the appellation of her own first name.

On the basis of these first set of facts in isolation, and notwithstanding the possibility of their close, perhaps even inter-related associations, for someone like her, in terms of Irish family and social custom, one has to acquiesce that Mary could be the woman described in the local broad-sheet as journeying overseas on Great War nursing service.

Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that she was referred to as 'B' in same. Consequently, unless her officially registered forename, as it appeared on the census return, was, in everyday usage, normally substituted by 'Bridget,' there is a strong argument for saying that the seventeen year old recorded on the 1911 census and the apparently somewhat older person described in the newspaper account are, in fact, two different women.

44 For more details, see nationalarchives.ie/1911 census/Tramore/Knockeen/ Bridget Phelan.

45 See nationalarchives.ie/1911 census/Tramore/Drumcannon/Mary Phelan.

The second factor adds considerably more weight to the proposition outlined immediately above. It is as follows. The 1911 census specified that neither of Mary's parents, Michael and Bridget, could read. Accordingly, they were probably likewise unschooled in writing.

It is so highly improbable that a young Waterford woman whose parents were illiterate in 1911 would be in a position, educationally, socially, economically, and medical skills-wise to undertake to work as a nurse overseas during the Great War as to render it virtually impossible.

Taking all of this into account, if the 'B' Phelan highlighted in the local news-sheet, together with her two friends, because all three were preparing to board ship for Great War foreign nursing service, is, in fact, either of the only two possibilities uncovered through a detailed examination of the 1901 and 1911 census of Ireland, then she is most likely to be the Bridget Phelan from Knockeen/Rinnashark previously outlined.

The third lady named in the, by now, frequently aforementioned newspaper report, reproduced by Jack O'Neill and announcing the imminent departure for the front of three friends who were nurses, was Lena Queally from Cappoquin.

Searches of the 1901 and 1911 censuses of Ireland, interestingly, reveal only one person from Cappoquin likely to be the woman named Lena Queally who, together with her two friends, was identified in the paper and described as preparing to board ship for Great War overseas nursing support.

In the section of the 1911 census listing the residents of the townland of Ballynoe in East Cappoquin, a girl named Lena Kiely is identified. Three possibilities regarding the spelling of her surname should be outlined before proceeding to consider the possibility that this is the person described, in company with friends, some years later in the local newspaper account. The first is that the enumerator filling in the 1911 census in that location misspelled the name Queally. The second is that the original writer of the news item misspelled the name Kiely. The third is that the Cappoquin girl documented on the census and the Cappoquin woman highlighted in the district broad-sheet are two entirely different people.

According to the 1911 register of Irish citizens, Lena Kiely was then fourteen years old. She lived in the second house in Ballynoe with her parents, Patrick (70) and Mary (53). Her father was a farmer who was unable to read. Her mother, on the other hand, was literate.

Lena Kiely was the second youngest of eight children. Only seven were listed as present in the house on the night that the census was taken. They were Hannah (23), Bridie (21), David (20), Patrick (18), James (16), and Maurice (12).[46]

She would only have been seventeen or eighteen in 1914. While it is possible that she did travel overseas to provide nursing assistance at the front with her older friends, she might even have lied about her age to do so, it is equally likely that the Lena Kiely on the 1911 census is not the woman named in the newspaper item.

46 See nationalarchives.ie/East Cappoquin/Ballynoe/Lena Kiely.

The matter remains unresolved to date because, apart from her friendship with the two women also discussed in the newspaper item and her impending departure for overseas Great War nursing duties, no further details relating to Lena Queally/Kiely have been ascertained to date.

Following the previously mentioned public appeal on local radio for information on women from the region who served as medical care assistants during the Great War, the final Waterford nurse to be presented in the current article was brought to the attention of the writer by her daughter and nephew.

The name of the Waterford woman was Peg Walsh. She was from a parish within the Irish speaking district of County Waterford known as Ring, approximately seven miles south of Dungarvan.

Peg had trained as a professional nurse prior to the outbreak of the 1914-1918 conflict. Details of the nursing corps to which she was affiliated have yet to be verified. However, the theatre of war to which she was dispatched when she initially volunteered for military nursing service strongly suggests that she had joined Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service for India.

The reason for stating this without further corroboration appears to be very clear. When war was declared, Peg clearly ventured to serve overseas. This has been confirmed by her immediate family. Following her undertaking to travel abroad to look after wounded and dying military personnel, she and her unit were posted to India. She must, therefore, have enlisted with QAMNSI, Britain's chief professional nursing faeility operating on the sub-continent throughout the Great War.

The Indian Nursing Service had been inaugurated in 1888.[47] It was, therefore, well established by the time Peg joined its ranks during the war.

The Mesopotamian campaign formed part of the 1914 to 1918 conflict's Middle Eastern centre of operations. Fought mostly between, on the one side, Indian and Australian, and, on the other, Turkish troops, it was inevitable that Indian soldiers were the unfortunate recipients of a sustained, varied, and substantial number of battle wounds during the entire manoeuvre.

The wounded Indian soldiers who were able to return home for medical treatment were looked after by a team of medical personnel, including local doctors and QAMNSI.[48]

British military hospitals in India throughout the Great War included the Delhi Military Hospital, Station Hospital Rhaniket, Station Hospital Bareilly, Mody Khana Military Hospital, Military Hospital Kasauli, and the British Military Hospital Ambala the Punjab.[49]

It is likely that Peg Walsh was based at one of those locations between 1914 and 1918 although precise details concerning her war-time postings have yet to be confirmed.

47 From scarletfinders.co.uk.

48 For more information, see qaranc.co.uk. See, also, Piggott, Juliet, *Op. Cit.*

49 *Ibid.*

Writing, during the conflict, about conditions for British nurses in India, Australian Great War QAMNSI Sister Jessie Tomlins said of the country:

> I believe it to be awful in India. English nurses could not stand the heat and cholera. That is why they have sent Australians' (and the Irish).[50]

It is insightful to consider the challenging circumstances for Great War nurses serving in India in a little more detail. For example, in direct comparison with those to which they were previously and habitually accustomed when working in Ireland or the UK, conditions for British nurses and their medical colleagues in India, ranging from the structure and operation of treatment services to environmental factors and infection control, were, as noted, very harsh and extreme. Amongst those most difficult to cope with, as frequently recorded by the men and women serving there, were the following:

- There was 'no dedicated corps of medical orderlies.' Medical teams had to rely instead on 'native servants' only.
- Medical teams endured 'long and arduous working hours.'
- They suffered in the 'harsh climate' of the country.
- They were exposed to an (over) 'prevalence of disease.'[51]

And still the Indian nursing service continued to remain popular throughout the Great War. This was clearly evidenced by the fact that it never lacked applicants to its ranks during all the years of the political and military discord.[52] This was due, in part, to the fact that, for the duration of the 1914 to 1918 conflict, members of Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service for India were consistently well treated in the country. They enjoyed a good social life and were individually and collectively accorded significant social status.

Peg Walsh undoubtedly alternatively enjoyed and endured her Great War nursing experiences and encounters in India. Both her daughter and nephew[53] attest to her very many happy memories of her engagements with colleagues and the war wounded throughout the years of strife, and her general war-time involvements, endeavours, and happenstances, while not forgetting the long and constant hours of hard work, the exacting living and working environment, and the terrible sufferings of the injured and dying.

Equally recipients of her frequent reminiscences about her many Great War practices, observations, and participations while in India, the recollection they were most familiar with, and the one they, separately, shared with the writer of the article, concerns a war-time love-affair between Peg Walsh and an Indian doctor she met while stationed there. The reason for her family's awareness and knowledge of the relationship between the two is, presumably, because it was regarded,

50 From scarletfinders.co.uk.
51 *Ibid.*
52 *Ibid.*
53 Monica Higgins (nee Walsh) and Jimmy Walsh.

at the time, and consequently and subsequently treasured as meaningful and noteworthy, by Peg herself.

Before recounting the details of Peg's Great War romance, it is important to note that, after the armistice, she returned home and then met and happily wed the man who became her husband.

While posted to India during the war, and probably at some of the social events to which, as previously noted, members of the QAMNSI were so communally welcomed, Peg met a local physician. A relationship subsequently developed. In time, the doctor proposed to Peg and she gladly and favourably responded.

However, the man was not a Catholic. Peg was, and her family was consequently opposed to the planned union between the two. They made their feelings on the important matter known to Peg.

In the event, having taken everything into consideration, she broke off her engagement to the doctor and made plans to journey home at the end of the war. Before she left India, the man to whom she had been espoused presented her with a ceremonial dagger. Peg, upon her departure, in fond memory of the man, took the parade weapon home to Ireland. She kept it amongst her treasured possessions always. The item is still in the ownership of her family.

As was aforementioned, some years after her home-coming at war's end, Peg married a local man. They subsequently had and raised a family. As was also previously noted, it was one of Peg's children, Monica,[54] and her nephews, Jimmy,[55] who gave personal details of her Great War participation to the current article's author.

Peg lived a long and happy married life following her return to Waterford at the end of the Great War.

Finally, the forthcoming assessment of the contribution of the five Waterford Great War nurses to Allied medical care throughout the four and a quarter year conflict is presented as a means of closing the present account.

Both the analysis, and the article that precedes it, are intended to serve as tributes to the humanity, competence, commitment, bravery, strength, skill, and heroism of the five local women who ventured into the various hearts of the numerous battles that, unfortunately and always tragically, for one warring faction or the other, and, far too often, both, defined the appalling conflict that played out over those years of alternating stalemate and apocalypse.

Writing about international Great War nurses in Britain's *Daily Star* on 11 January 2013, Jill Reilly offered the following commentary:

> [They were] inspirational women who overcame fear and prejudice to save thousands
> ['millions' would be a much more accurate calculation] of lives.
> They (challenged) insurmountable odds, endured gender-based (discrimination), and helped a constant barrage of wounded soldiers under enemy fire.

54 Monica's full name immediately above.

55 See Endnote 53 for details of Jimmy's full name.

> Each of these courageous women, though patriots of different countries, were ultimately devoted to the true calling of nursing- saving human life.
> [They] stood firmly at their posts while bombs (and bullets and machine-gun fire) exploded all around them...
> One of them (Nurse Edith Cavell)[56] was even executed by a German firing squad after being caught helping Allied troops (to escape)...'

As correctly identified by the writer of the newspaper item in relation to military nurses world-wide during the 1914 to 1918 war, their individual and collective roles in the 'saving [of] human life,' the universal ultimate objective of medical care in all circumstances, in their case under front-line adverse conditions is, surely, the most significant factor worthy of acknowledgement in relation to the five Waterford Great War nurses being identified, documented, and, thereby, honoured in the present review. It is what accords them the status of war-time heroines.

It is also appropriate to note that there are so many other aspects of their nursing work during the Great War that deserve recognition and commendation as to render the task virtually impossible. Only the five Waterford women who filled those war-time posts could have produced an outline of same with completeness, thoroughness, and accuracy.

In the unfortunate absence of their having done so in published written format, the following observations can be made based on general and fairly comprehensively recorded accounts, frequently by third parties, including patients and other members of their medical teams, regarding the contributions of war-time nurses, in addition to their 'core' life-saving functions.

All five women worked long, arduous, un-predictable, unsafe, and exacting hours in front-line positions, frequently under enemy fire, and almost always under hazardous and rudimentary conditions.

They endlessly eased the suffering, injury, pain, and worry of wounded and dying soldiers in those self-same difficult and dangerous circumstances.

They offered medical treatment and assistance, physical comfort, compassion, reassurance, and countless other kindnesses to combatants needing their care and help in the traumatic moments, hours, days, and weeks immediately following the frequent military operations that characterised the war, all with inevitable and varied, and yet consistent, physical and psychological casualties and outcomes.

For British military personnel in need of more long term medical attention in designated treatment centres, either at hospitals around cities like Calais and Boulogne in France, or on home soil in Ireland and Britain, and, indeed, other parts of the vast Empire,[57] because of temporary or permanent physical or psychological impairment, for example, damage to eyes, limbs, facial features, and mental health (at the time, commonly referred to as shell shock),[58] they formed the

56 For more information, see, for example, biographyonline.net/Edith Cavell.

57 Consider, for example, Peg Walsh's Great War service in India.

58 For further details of physical and psychological Great War wounds, see Reznick, Jeffrey, *Op. Cit.*

'back-bone' of treatment, rehabilitation, and/or adjustment, depending on the nature and extent of individual war wounds and/or injuries.

Professional nurses throughout the war, for example, as has been well documented,[59] regularly contributed to medical research and pioneering procedures to improve and ease the quality of life of those military personnel and associated front-line participants[60] endlessly wounded physically and psychologically by the horrifying nature and extent of the early twentieth century conflict's ongoing carnage.

They further delivered, in addition to standard and innovative nursing care, camaraderie, encouragement, hope, support, entertainment,[61] and all kinds of practical assistances such as bathing, dressing, reading, and letter writing to families and loved ones, to those patients unable to carry out those tasks for a whole variety of reasons, including illiteracy, physical, and/or emotional injury.

They did all of this often cutting-edge, important, caring, life affirming work in all of the tragic, diverse, and unique individual circumstances of impairment that prevailed for all wounded personnel within the remit of their medical attention and devotion. Much of their nursing duties in this regard were captured, recorded in autograph books, poems, and songs, and thereby preserved by appreciative patients at the receiving end of their nursing care, treatment, and consideration.[62]

They also frequently provided additional comfort to relatives and friends of those patients hurting physically and/or mentally, perhaps recovering, and when full or even partial recuperation was not an option, they facilitated and helped to manage rehabilitation and re- adjustment where possible.

Similarly, they often met with parents, siblings, wives, and friends of soldiers killed in action or dead as a result of wounds received in battle. The level and extent of their solace and support to immediate family members of deceased combatants, relatives, and comrades was contemporaneously widely documented.[63] It was also, and on a regular basis, the subject of many poems, songs, paintings, and prints throughout and immediately after the Great War.[64]

59 See the many references in the current article to texts detailing the range and extent of the Great War work of nurses.

60 For an account of a British Great War nurse who lost her leg while driving an ambulance full of wounded soldiers, see Beauchamp, Pat, *Fanny Goes to War* (Last Post Press, 2014).

61 Nurses, for example, frequently organised and performed in hospital concerts for patients. For more information, see *Ibid*. See, also, Lee, Janet, *Op. Cit.*

62 See, for example, *The Everyday of War*, and McGill, Patrick, *Soldier Songs*, in McEwan, Yvonne, *Op. Cit.*, p. V11.

63 See, for example, Brittain, Vera, *Testament of Youth* (Victor Gollancz, 1933). See, also, bing.com/videos/soldiers' testimonies about great war nurses.

64 See, for example, the print entitled *The Spot Where He Fell*. Dated *circa* 1918/1919, the picture depicts a uniformed nurse identifying for his parents the precise location on a Great War battle-field where their soldier son fell.

By way of final tribute to these five Waterford women, all of whom, it is worth reiterating, were nursing professionals, Great War nurses formed a significant portion of the British 'culture of caregiving'[65] that owed its very origin to the truly appalling 1914 to 1918 military and humanitarian catastrophe.

Because it was the trained and fully qualified Great War nurses who oversaw so much of the care and (very often progressive) treatment of wounded and dying soldiers, and, far less frequently, nurses and civilians, on the conflict's many front lines as the war unremittingly 'played out' over the fifty one long months between August and November 1914 to 1918.

And the Great War was, at once unintendedly and unintelligently, an extended period of warfare unparalleled to that date in the horrendous history of same. It was a time when, in the words of Sir Edward Grey, the (then) British Foreign Secretary, 'the lamps are going out all over Europe (and, by virtue of the continent's many, vast, and powerful Empires, most of the rest of the world); we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime'.[66]

Volunteer and professional Great War nurses, together with doctors, ambulance drivers, stretcher bearers, and orderlies formed a significant and select band of war-time defenders and guardians who, through their work with their wounded and dying comrades on the battle-fields, hospital trains and ships, and at front-line and base hospitals, were the sole carriers of tiny, flickering glimmers of hope and salvation to pierce the savage darkness that almost worldwide abounded for the conflict's accursed duration.

Their combined extraordinary war-time gifts to their charges, of healing, restoration, dignity and attention in injury, dying, and death, skill, bravery, sacrifice, determination, commitment, perseverance, and compassion are the measures by which their legacy can be adjudged.

In this regard, concerning the five Waterford Great War professional nurses who form the core of the present article, in summary acknowledgement and tribute to their war-time contributions, a final assessment can be offered as follows:

Like the 'lady with the lamp'[67] in whose footsteps they so assuredly and devotedly followed, Mary Dawson, Ellen O'Driscoll, Bridget Phelan, Lena Queally (Kiely), and Peg Walsh, displaying exceptional levels of bravery, empathy, expertise, and endurance, carried five individual and collective embers of help, hope, rescue, recovery, and redemption the whole way from Waterford to the front lines and all of the men and, to a lesser extent, women in their care throughout the darkness of the never-ending war-torn days of 1914 to 1918.

That was, and will continue to be, their separate and combined residues, their echoes, their permanent presences in the Great War picture.

65 Taken from the title of the book by Reznick, Jeffrey, previously cited.

66 From firstworldwar.com/ Lord Edward Grey.

67 Florence Nightingale.

Waterford Harbour Bill, 1919: A Contentious Issue

Anthony Brophy

Introduction

The Waterford Harbour Commissioners (WHC), established in 1816, will mark a 200th anniversary in July, 2016, although it moved from public trust status to a Port Company in 1999. Prior to 1816 the port had been overseen by the Waterford Corporation but with the growth of trade and shipping this arrangement proved unsatisfactory and separate entities emerged.

Waterford merchants engaged in seaborne business became seriously dissatisfied with the corporation's effort, or lack of it, in providing adequate facilities for shipping. As a result a Body of Merchants was set up in 1787, and this became the Chamber of Commerce in 1815. Immediately they set about promoting a Bill in Parliament which was enacted as the Waterford Harbour Act, 1816.

Born in stress the relationship between the WHC and the Corporation continued in a fractious vein for well over a century. The following document reveals much of that contentious history and particularly flags the state of affairs in 1919. Happily, matters between these two important bodies have sailed, if you will, into calmer waters.

The document is a witness statement by Ernest I. Thornton, solicitor to the Waterford Harbour Commissioners, in support of the Waterford Harbour Bill, 1919. Its main thrust is a rebuttal of claims made by Waterford Corporation in a petition opposing the Bill. The Bill was principally about levying harbour dues on goods passing through the port; a similar Bill in 1893 had been 'killed' by the Corporation.

The Bill was enacted after some concessions made by the Harbour Commissioners which resulted in the Corporation withdrawing their opposition. Even these concessions were disputatious and the amounts involved were eventually settled by arbitration almost a decade later in 1928.

The Minutes of the Harbour Board hailed the passage of the Bill despite opposition from not just the Corporation but the Great Southern and Western Railway and various shipping companies concerned about the imposition of cargo dues. Compliments were extended to Mr. Thornton and Mr. Henry Forde, later Sir Henry, who was noted as doing particularly well in evidence before the House of Lords. The Board expessed itself on the 'happy and successful termination of the matter.'

The lengthy statement also deals inter alia with bridge issues and reaches a climax when the main antagonists to the Bill in the City Hall camp are revealed!

Plans and drawings referred to in the text were not attached to the copy reproduced here.

In Parliament
House of Commons
Session 1919

Waterford Harbour Bill

Witness is a Solicitor practising in the City of Waterford under the style of I. Thornton & Son, and he has acted as Solicitor to the Waterford Harbour Commissioners for the past 30 years.

Petition of the Waterford Corporation Against the Bill

The Corporation of Waterford being the Mayor Alderman and Burgesses of the County Borough of Waterford have petitioned against the Bill. By their Petition they say (paragraph 14) that they do not object to any of the proposals of the Bill which may be of public advantage, but they state that they have expended money on the Harbour (paragraphs 8 and 9) and that they must safeguard the interests of the Municipal Ratepayers (paragraph 14). The Petition further states that the results of the alleged expenditure exist at the present time and are available for the benefit of the Harbour (paragraph 10) and that the Harbour Commissioners should not be given power or raise a new revenue from rates on goods except on the condition that they reimburse the Corporation thereout all the moneys so alleged to have been expanded by the latter (paragraph 12).

The expenditure alleged and claimed by the Corporation is set out in paragraphs 8 and 9 of their Petition and is as follows:

On Constructions and Repair of Quays and Shipping Accommodation & Quay Roadways

With regard to this claim witness states (1) That the Corporation can produce no evidence to prove the alleged expenditure on construction and repair of quay and shipping accommodation (2) That if there was any such expenditure at all it is very ancient, and in any case (except as presently mentioned) has no reference whatever to the present modern Quays of the Port, and (3) That until the occasion of the present Bill no claim in respect of it (the alleged expenditure) was ever made by the Town against the Harbour. Witness also wishes to point out (4) that the locus standi of the Corporation to raise this question (or indeed any of the other money claims presently referred to, on the present occasion is extremely doubtful, and (5) That at the best it is a mere money claim and that if it is capable of being established at all it should be established before one of the legal tribunals appointed for such a purpose, and not before a Parliamentary Committee which is not the proper tribunal to investigate and adjudicate on a claim of that kind.

Apart from such legal questions and on the merits generally of the Corporation claim for quay and shipping accommodation, construction and repair the witness will prove as follows:-

The Port of Waterford was formerly administered by the Corporation of Waterford, such Port having been granted to the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the City by a Royal Charter of King Charles I in the year 1626. The Corporation delegated the management of the Port to an official called the Water Bailiff who seems to have treated the office as a personal one, collected dues or tolls called Water Bailiffs fees from the shipping, and in return therefore supplying certain requisites for ships uses such as planks, spars, beams, scales, etc., the unexpended surplus taking the form of what in course of time became a substantial perquisite or profit to the Water Bailiff.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the traders of the Port gradually became dissatisfied with the neglected state in which it appears to have fallen, and in 1787 they formed themselves into a voluntary association styled "the Body of Merchants" with a Chairman and Managing Committee and late on in 1815 the Body of Merchants obtained a Charter of Incorporation as the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Waterford.

Reiterated complaints were at this time made to the Corporation as to the neglected state of the River and quays but were invariably referred to the Water Bailiff who rendered no accounts either to the Corporation or anyone else and naturally devoted as much of the fees as possible to his own personal profit. The office became in fact so valuable that in course of time the Corporation made the post a dual one thus enabling two of their nominees to share in the profits derived from the Port revenue. No satisfaction being obtainable either from the Water Bailiffs or the Corporation the Port Traders agreed amongst themselves to pay the Body of Merchants voluntary rates on goods imported or exported. This levy took the form of rates on imports and exports together with mast money and fees on ships charters, and these rates which amounted to what, in those times, must have been a substantial sum continued until the passing of the Waterford Harbour Act 1816 and were duly collected and expended on the clearing away of mud from the shipping berth and repairs and maintenance of the quays.

The quays at that time were very different from what they are now and consisted of a series of short pier heads none of which extended further into the river than the line of the present quay walls with between these pier-heads (which except one lay between the Market House and Reginald's Tower) a number of open docks or basins drying out at low tide, and which the small vessels of the day could only enter or leave at high water. Some of these jetties seem to have been private property and some of the intervening basins extended back into what is now the roadway or street thoroughfare of the Quay.

In the course of time as trade increased the loss and inconvenience arising from the defective condition of the Port became increasingly felt and in 1813 the Body of Merchants brought the matter before the Judge of Assize and sought a Mandamus to compel the Corporation to expend the Port fees on the maintenance and improvement of the Port instead of allowing them to be treated as the private emoluments of the Water Bailiffs. After considerable legal controversy it was found that the only solution of the difficulty would be to create a separate

independent Body to administer the affairs of the Port and Harbour and the Chamber of Commeree accordingly promoted a Bill in Parliament in the year 1816 which duly became law as the Act 56 Geo.111 Cap.64, and by which the Harbour Commissioners styled therein the Commissioners for Improving the Port and Harbour of Waterford came into existence.

Immediately on their incorporation the Commissioners appointed a standing committee of their own Body called from that time to the present time the Quay Committee who were charged with the care and administration of matters relating to the Quays. This Committee immediately took the state of the Quays into consideration and commenced the work of improvement which gradually culminated in the construction of a long line of quays extending along the south or city side of the river some mile and a quarter in length which replaced the small pier-heads and intervening docks or mud-flats that witness has already described. No maps or plans exist among the Commissioners' records to show definitely what was done in this respect. However, a very perfect survey of the City is in existence dated 1764 portion of which has been reproduced by the Commissioners with a line in red ink added showing the face line of the quays as they at present exist. In a general way it may be taken that this Plan shows the work of quay extension carried out by the Harbour Commissioners. The total sum expended by the Commissioners from the date of their incorporation in 1816 down to the present time amounts to £44,584 as will be seen on referring to the tabular Statement produced by their Secretary. Witness thinks it may be of assistance to refer to Section 106 of the Commissioners Act of 1846 which enables the Commissioners to make hye-laws for regulating the use of the Quays and wharfs built by the Commissioners.

To show the unreality of the claim of the Corporation with regard to money expended on quays and shipping accommodation, construction and repair witness would like to mention that the Audit Commissioners of Public Accounts disallowed all expenditure on the building and repair of quays for which the Commissioners took credit in their account for the year ended 5th January 1820 as being unauthorised by the Commissioners Act of 1816. The Commissioners then prepared and forwarded to the Audit Commissioners a long statement dated 21st November 1820 in which the following passage occurs:- "The Corporation emphatically deny their liability either to build quays or keep them in repair and it is a well known fact that a very great portion of the present quays of the city previous to the attainment of this Bill has been built and upheld not from the Corporation funds but from various other resources and were in a very imperfect state nor are this Board aware of any liability to compel the Corporation to build quays much less to keep them in repair such as may from time to time be built for the benefit of the trade or accommodation of shipping and if this board be restrained from keeping the quays in repair it must be evident from what has been stated that they will fall into decay and ruin," and on reconsideration the Audit Commissioners admitted that they had taken a too narrow view on the matter and that the quays being an integral and essential part of the Harbour undertaking, the Harbour Board were justified in expending their funds thereon.

The Report annexed to the Harbour accounts for the year ended 5th January 1822 shows that at a Council meeting on the 23rd. February 1821, the Corporation agreed to contribute a sum not exceeding £1500 towards erecting new quays the same to be paid by instalments of £500 per annum. The Commissioners' records show that the Corporation did contribute £1,156 and that it was paid in the year 1828 and was the only sum contributed towards quay construction. There appears also to have been a contribution of £600 from the Corporation for removing mud – I don't know when, but it was previous to 1869. Owing to witness's association with the Commissioners during the 30 years he has been acting as their Solicitor he has become familiar with their papers and records and he gives the foregoing historical evidence from knowledge thus gained.

To enable Counsel to properly understand the claim of the Corporation to be reimbursed money spent by them on the repair of quay roadways witness desires to explain that the quay of Waterford means two perfectly distinct and separate things, namely: (1) The Shipping Quays built and controlled by the Harbour Commissioners, and (2) the Public road or street part of the Quay which is simply the principal thoroughfare of the City of Waterford, and like any other street is under the control of if not vested in the Corporation of Waterford, who are bound to maintain and keep it in repair under the laws relating to Municipal towns. Both (1) and (2) are known as the Quay or the Quays and witness will now refer to No. 1 as the shipping quays and to No. 2 as the public street part of the Quays. The shipping quays comprise a strip of land of varying width and are separated from the public street part of the quays by a paved channel and in some part by an iron railing. The shipping quays are paved partly with large flag stone sets and partly with cobble stones, and the public street part of the quays is the ordinary macadamised road. The Corporation assert that by reason of the proximity of the public street part of the quays to the shipping quays the former is subject to shipping traffic and that the Commissioners should pay them annually such a sum as would represent the annual cost of maintaining the public street part of the quays and the main arteries leading thereto over and above what it would cost annually to maintain them if subject only to normal City traffic. The principle involved in this claim is highly controversial and several elements in connection with it require consideration. For instance the Commissioners assert that probably three-fourths of the shipping traffic does not touch the public street part of the quays at all but is carried across the river in barges to the rail-heads at the north side of the river (see Plan of the River and Quays) and as regards the remainder of the shipping traffic for which no doubt the public street part of the quays is availed of that would be purely local traffic and therefore of advantage to the local traders, who through the medium of the rates levied by the Corporation, would pay for the maintenance of that roadway. All things considered it is a very difficult matter to ascertain with any degree of accuracy what proportion annually of the traffic borne by the public street part of the quays is directly attributable to purely shipping traffic, but if that part could be ascertained witness understands that the Commissioners do not see any objection in principle to its being paid out of Harbour revenue. Witness desires

to refer to the plan of the Quays, etc. produced by the Commissioners' Engineer which shows in distinctive colours the shipping quays and the public street part of the quays.

On the Maintenance and Repair of the Graving Bank

The Graving Bank is a small embrasure in the line of the shipping quays and it forms a half tide dock in which small vessels are repaired (See Plan of the River and Quays produced by the Commissioners' Engineer). The Corporation claims to be the owner of the bed and foreshore of the River under the Charter of Charles I already referred to. The Graving Bank is part of the foreshore. The Corporation maintain this Graving Bank and say that roughly speaking they incur an annual loss on it of from £70 to £100. The Commissioners informed the Corporation that they were quite prepared to undertake the maintenance of the Graving Bank if the Corporation would transfer to them any rights the Corporation claimed therein. The Corporation declined to do this, but at the same time persisted in their demand that the Commissioners should relieve them of the loss. The Commissioners cannot see their way to comply with this demand.

On Maintaining the Public Quay Part of the North Wharf

By Section 4 of the Waterford & Limerick Railway Act 1878 the Limerick Company were authorised to make and afterwards made "the extension railway and an embankment quay or wharf wall below the bridge at Waterford mentioned in that section. This embankment quay or wharf wall is locally known as the north wharf" and is coloured yellow and green on the Plan of the Quays and River produced by the Commissioners' Engineer.

By Section 7 of the said Act of 1878 it was enacted that a certain portion (520 feet or thereabouts in length) of the said embankment quay or wharf wall should used by the Limerick Company and the public jointly, and should be under the jurisdiction and control and management of the Corporation free from payment by them of any toll to the Limerick Company and in the same manner and to the same extent as the other public quays or streets in the City, and the Limerick Company was similarly protected against payment of any toll to the Corporation. In the said Section 7 this portion of the said embankment quay or wharf wall is called "the public quay". By subsection (c) of said Section 7 the Limerick Company are to maintain and keep in repair so much of the roadway or surface of the public quay as lies between the lines of rails laid down thereon, and the Corporation are to maintain and keep in repair all the rest of the public quay and light the same.

There appears to be a misconception as to the status and ownership of the public quay, but it is merely a portion of the embankment quay or wharf wall the whole of which belonged to the Limerick Company and was constructed by it under the power conferred by Section 4 subsection (b) of the Act of 1878, and

Section 6 of the last-mentioned Act provides that "the extension Railway embankment quay or wharf wall" shall be part of "the undertaking railway works and property of the Company". Hence it is clear that it is quite erroneous (as is sometimes done) to refer to the public quay as being vested in or owned by the Corporation of Waterford. The land on which the quay stands (foreshore) was conveyed to the Railway Company by the owners thereof; the Act of 1878 did not vest it in the Corporation. It left it in the Company subject to management, etc., by the Corporation and rights of user by the public jointly with the Railway Company. By the Great Southern and Western & Waterford Limerick and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation Act 1900 (63 and 64 Vic., cap.247) the undertaking of the Limerick Company was amalgamated with the undertaking of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company of Ireland. The last-mentioned railway company is therefore now the owner of the public quay and the remainder of "the embankment quay or wharf wall (coloured yellow and green on the said Plan) and that Railway Company has power to charge wharfage rates for the use thereof, but with respect to the public part such power to charge wharfage rates is limited or curtailed by subsection (D) of Section 7 of the Act of 1878. That sub-section prevents the Railway Company from charging wharfage rates in respect of the public quay on or for any traffic entirely local, but it leaves them free to charge such rates on or for any passengers, animals, goods, wares or merchandise "coming from or destined for the undertaking of the Company or of any Railway Co. lawfully using the same name".

The Corporation claim that the Harbour Commissioners should make a contribution out of Harbour revenue towards the expense of keeping the public quay in repair. That quay no doubt is a Harbour work and as such it is of use to shippers especially with regard to local traffic and the Harbour Commissioners have an open mind as to whether the Harbour revenue should contribute towards the repair of it, but they do not see their way clearly, and it is an unsatisfactory feature that the public quay belongs to and would continue to belong to the Railway Company unless indeed it could be transferred to the Harbour Commissioners, and of that there seems to be no prospect.

On Maintaining the Bridge at Waterford & Opening Span Thereof & Operating The Latter

In 1788 by a Public Act of the Irish Parliament 26 George III Commissioners (called the Bridge Commissioners) for building a bridge over the River Suir at Waterford were incorporated and the Bridge Commissioners were authorised to levy tolls and to exercise Ferry and other rights within a part or area of the River which was fixed by certain limits. The Bridge Commissioners shortly afterwards constructed a wooden bridge across the said River and levied tolls thereon and also carried on (at a point lower down the river than the Bridge) a ferry for which they also levied tolls.

For a great many years prior to 1902 there was from time to time public agitation for the establishment of a toll-free Bridge.

The Bridges (Ireland) Act 1834 (4 and 5 William IV Cap 61) provides for the building of Bridges over a river which is the boundary between two counties. This Act was amended by the Bridges (Ireland) Act 1867 (30 & 31 Vic., Cap.60) and extended to cases where the river is situate wholly within the limits of any one county or county of a city in which case all the provisions of the Acts were to apply in like manner as if the said river were situate between the counties. The last-named Statute provided (inter alia) that the work of building the new Bridge might if the County Councils concerned so resolved be carried out by a joint Committee appointed by them instead of by the Board of Works and for that purpose each Council is to appoint four persons who together form the Committee to contract for and superintend the execution of the work. These Statutes provide that the cost of constructing the new bridge shall be paid by the two counties between which the bridge shall be built and by any such neighbouring counties as ought to be contributory, the contribution of each county to be fixed by reference to the extent to which that county would benefit by the construction of the new Bridge.

The bridge at Waterford is a bridge over the River Suir, which at the site of the said bridge, is situate wholly within the limits of the County Borough of Waterford.

The Corporation of Waterford co-operating with the County Council of the County of Kilkenny presented a Memorial on the 7th of May 1902 to the Lord Lieutenant under the said Bridges (Ireland) Acts praying that the powers by those Acts authorised to be exercised might be applied for the purpose of building a new bridge in lieu of the old toll-bridge. The Lord Lieutenant on receiving the said Memorial issued warrants to certain Commissioners to hold an enquiry into the expedience of complying with the prayer of the said Memorial and those Commissioners although they disapproved of the particular site selected by the Corporation strongly recommended that the provisions of the said Bridges (Ireland). Acts should be put into operation, and that a toll-free bridge should be erected in place of the old toll-bridge.

The Corporation of Waterford afterwards viz. on the 18th of July 1903, presented another Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant under the said Acts requesting sanction for the construction of a Bridge on such site as might be approved by the Commissioners to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to hold an Inquiry as in the case of the first Memorial. The said Inquiry was duly held and the site proposed by the said Commissioners was the same, or practically the same, as the site on which the old toll-bridge stood, and was therefore within the exclusive limit of the owners of the said old toll-bridge, viz:- the Bridge Commissioners. Those Commissioners thereupon took legal proceedings to restrain the Corporation from infringing their rights and succeeded in getting a decision from the Court of Appeal in Ireland declaring their rights and that no person or Corporation could erect a bridge within their limits.

In consequence of the foregoing decision of the Court of Appeal the Corporation found it necessary to purchase the undertaking of the Bridge Commissioners, viz:- the old toll bridge and the Ferry rights. To enable them to do this the Corporation promoted and obtained the Waterford Corporation and Bridge Act 1906 and under that Act they purchased the said undertaking. The purchase-money was £63,000 and was fixed by Arbitration under the Bridges (Ireland) Act 1867. This purchase-money was contributed in the manner hereinafter mentioned, and was paid by the Corporation to the Bridge Commissioners and thereupon the latter conveyed their undertaking to the Corporation by Deed in December 1907. The costs paid by the Corporation to the Bridge Commissioners in respect of the Arbitration to fix the purchase-price amounted to £885:17: 9d.

The said purchase-money of £63,000 was made up as follows:-	
Free Grants from His Majesty's Treasury of about	£38,000
A free grant from the Fishguard & Rosslare Rlys. & Harbours Co. under Sec. 22 of the Waterford Corporation & Bridge Act 1906 amending Sec. 29 (2) of the Fishguard & Rosslare Rlys. and Harbours Act 1903.	£14,000
Amount realised by the Corporation by sale of their reversionary interest in the residuary real and personal estate of Thomas Newenham Harvey (see preamble of the Waterford Corporation & Bridge Act 1906 and Sec. 23 of that Act)	£_____
	£52,000

Leaving a balance of about £11,000

The above balance of the purchase-money, and any other sums required such as costs etc, were provided by the Corporation without any contribution from any other local bodies by borrowing under Section 11 of the said Waterford Corporation and Bridge Act 1908.

The proportions in which the County Borough of Waterford, the County of Kilkenny and neighbouring Counties were to contribute to the cost of constructing the new bridge were ascertained and fixed in the following manner. In pursuance of the said Bridges (Ireland) Act the Lord Lieutenant appointed certain Commissioners to inquire and report, amongst other matters, on the amounts to be contributed by the aforesaid Counties and these Commissioners on the 3rd October 1906 reported to the Lord Lieutenant that such cost of construction should borne by the following proportions:

County Borough of Waterford	25 per cent
County of Kilkenny	22
County of Waterford	15
County of Wexford	15
County of Tipperary South Riding	15
County of Carlow	3
Queen's County	3
County of Tipperary North Riding	2

Several of the areas above-mentioned, being dissatisfied with the said Report as to their several contributions, appealed to the Irish Privy Council, but on the hearing of the appeals in April 1909 the Privy Council confirmed the Report, and accordingly the said several areas have since paid their above mentioned contributions towards the construction of the new Bridge, which cost about £64,000.

The new Bridge was constructed according to Plans & Specifications approved by the Privy Council, and the work was carried out by a Joint Committee appointed by the Councils of all the contributory areas.

The new Bridge having been built and all the contributory areas having paid the contributions for which they were liable, none of them, except the Corporation of Waterford, have now anything to do with that Bridge, or any liability in respect thereof. The Bridge is a public work within the County Borough of Waterford and the Corporation of that Borough are bound to keep it in repair, and to maintain and work the opening span thereof for the passage of vessels through the Bridge. This obligation lies on the Corporation of Waterford alone and without any aid from the contributory areas, because the Bridges (Ireland) Acts deal only with contributions towards the cost of construction and do not refer at all to the cost of maintenance after construction.

It seems to witness absurd to suggest, as apparently the Corporation do suggest, that this Bridge is a Harbour work for the accommodation of shipping. Of course the contrary is the case, because it is in fact an obstruction to shipping. The river is a public highway and the bridge across it is simply a nuisance or interruption of the right-of-way over that highway, but it is a legalised nuisance, otherwise it could not be there at all. To mitigate the nuisance an opening span is provided for the passage of vessels through the Bridge. Without this the Bridge would be an obstruction absolute.

The principle underlying the Bridges (Ireland) Acts is that all counties which would derive a benefit from the construction of a Bridge under those Acts should bear the burden of the cost of construction in proportion to the benefit gained. Having regard to the very large areas over which the cost of building the bridge at Waterford was spread as above set out it is clear that the benefit gained was not confined to the City or Port of Waterford but extended to large inland areas, and all those areas, as well as the City or Port of Waterford, benefit in the like proportion by the maintenance of the Bridge in good repair although they are not liable to make any contribution towards the expense of such maintenance. For this reason,

and also because the Commissioners do not regard the bridge as a benefit, but rather as an obstruction to shipping, they are quite unable to agree that part of the revenue to be derived from shipping should be applied in maintaining either the Bridge or the opening span thereof.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROOF RE. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CORPORATION OF WATERFORD

The following has reference to the negotiations which took place between the Commissioners and the Corporation regarding the claims of the latter and the tentative agreement which was arrived at. The remainder if this proof therefore may be regarded as supplemental, and to be used only in case the Corporation raises the question of these negotiations before the Committee and endeavour to prejudice the Commissioners by accusation of breach of faith etc.

When preparing to promote the present Bill the Commissioners recognised that the imposition of rates on goods would affect local importers and exporters as well as much wider circles and for this reason and also on general grounds of expediency the Commissioners thought it reasonable to inform the Corporation of their intention, and the Commissioners thought it would be of advantage to them to enlist the sympathy and gain the support of that important Body, which is, or ought to be, representative of the entire City from the Municipal point of view. With this object the Commissioners approached the Corporation, the result being that the Corporation formulated the claims already dealt with in this Proof, and intimated that they would support the Bill if the Commissioners undertook to satisfy and liquidate those claims.

Negotiations in reference to those claims ensued between the General Purposes Committee of the Corporation and the Parliamentary Committee of the Commissioners. Witness was present during the whole of the negotiations in his capacity as Solicitor for the Commissioners and from the very first he made it quite clear (1st) that he saw great difficulties in the way of anything being done which would realise the expectations of the Corporation, and (2ndly) that whatever was agreed to not be of such a kind as would wreck or gravely imperil the passage of the Bill but was to be conditional on Parliamentary sanction therefore heing obtained.

The outcome of the negotiations was as follows:

(1) That (subject to the approval of Parliament) the Commissioners should repay to the Corporation out of revenue to be derived from rates on goods all such moneys as the Corporation could SUBSTANTIATE TO THE SATISFACTION of the COMMISSIONERS as having been expended by the Corporation on the construction or repairs of quays for the accommodation use and benefit of shipping or any other structural work intended and used for that purpose PROVIDED that the aggregate amount to be so repaid to the Corporation should not exceed the sum of £34,000.

(2) Such repayment to be made by means of a Sinking Fund.
(3) That (subject to the approval of Parliament) the Commissioners should pay to the Corporation out of the said revenue an annual sum as a contribution towards any future expenditure which the Corporation might make for the purpose of maintaining and repairing the public quay part of the north wharf, such annual contribution to be fixed when and so soon as the aggregate sum to be repaid under No. 1 above had been ascertained.
(4) That the Corporation should actively and unreservedly support and assist the Commissioners in the promotion of the Bill and use their best endeavours to secure the passing of same into law, and that by way of reciprocity the Commissioners on their part should actively support the Corporation in endeavouring to obtain Parliamentary sanction for the objects covered by Nos. 1, 2 and 3 above.
(5) That the Commissioners firmly declined to entertain the claim of the Corporation for payment out of the said revenue of any sums expended by the Corporation on the opening span of Waterford Bridge or to undertake the maintenance and repair of such opening span its machinery and equipment.

THE CORPORATION MADE NO CLAIM WHATEVER DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR ANY PAYMENT IN RESPECT OF THE BRIDGE ITSELF. THEY MADE THIS CLAIM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR PETITION (PARAGRAPH 12).

(6) The Commissioners also firmly declined to entertain the claim of the Corporation to be paid out of the said revenue moneys in respect of the maintenance by the Corporation of the public street part of Waterford Quays or any of the main arteries or streets leading thereto. The Commissioners' Parliamentary Committee gave to the Corporation General Purposes Committee the following reason for its refusal: - "We are aware of the cardinal principle that all revenue raised from shipping should be applied exclusively to shipping purposes, and having regard to this fundamental rule we consider it very doubtful whether Parliament would consent to the appropriation of any part of revenue derived from rates on seaborne commerce to the upkeep on municipal thoroughfares. We are apprehensive that the inclusion of a clause purporting to give any such power might gravely imperil the passage of the proposed Provisional Order or Bill. For these reasons we cannot recommend the Commissioners to pay to the Corporation out of rates on goods any moneys in respect of the maintenance by the Corporation of the public road part of Waterford Quays, or of any of the main arteries or streets leading thereto".
(7) That the Corporation themselves, if they think fit, should be at liberty to propose to Parliament clauses covering the objects involved in Nos. 5 and 6 above and that the Commissioners should be free to oppose the same.
(8) The claim of the Corporation with regard to the Maintenance and repair of the graving bank has been already dealt with in the first part of this proof, and at this place it is only necessary to add that during the negotiations it was agreed that it (the Graving Bank claim) should be dropped by the Corporation. Notwithstanding this the Corporation has now revived it by paragraphs 8 and 12 of their Petition.

With regard to No.1 above (alleged Corporation quay construction etc) the Commissioners so as to keep within some reasonable bounds suggested in reference to the demand of the Corporation "that the Commissioners pay to the Corporation all such sums of money as may have been expended by the Corporation between the year 1816 and the year 1840 both inclusive on the construction or repair of quays for the accommodation use and benefit of shipping and on any other structural work intended and used for that purpose. PROVIDED HOWEVER that proof of such expenditure shall lie on the Corporation who shall also prove that it is included in the existing municipal debt of the City for the redemption of which an annual payment is made by way of Sinking Fund and interest". All to be subjects of course to Parliamentary sanction. The Corporation declined to accept this reasonable suggestion and what was ultimately agreed on provisionally is as set out at No.1 above. The Commissioners desired to limit the period firm 1816 to 1840 because the first mentioned is the year during which they came into existence, and the last mentioned year is the year during which Corporation came into existence under the Municipal Corporation (Ireland) Act 1840, and the present Corporation as reformed under that Act would not be liable for any indebtedness of the old unreformed Corporation except such as was then (1840) ascertained and taken over by the reformed Corporation. The Corporation however would not agree to limit the inquiry as to their alleged expenditure to any definite period and desired to range at large and at will over a period of several centuries.

When the said results of the negotiations between the Commissioners and the Corporation were submitted to the Commissioners' Counsel Mr. Vesey Knox K.C, he advised that what was provisionally agreed on, i.e. subject to Parliamentary sanction) was very unlikely to be sanctioned by a Committee of either House and that if the Commissioners made it part of their proposals they would very gravely endanger their Bill which was not desired by either party. Mr. Vesey Knox then suggested that there should be a Joint Conference between the Commissioners and their advisers and the Corporation and their advisers to consider what, if anything, could be done having due regard to Parliamentary practice. This conference was held on the 21st February last at the chambers of Mr Vesey Knox in the Temple. The following persons were present: -

Mr. Vesey Knox K.C for the Harbour Commissioners
Sir Lynden Macassey K.C for the Corporation
Mr. David McDonald, Mayor of Waterford
Captain William E. Redmond M.P. for Waterford City
Mr. P.A Murphy Law Adviser to the Corporation
Mr. Wakeford (Martin & Co.) Parliamentary agents for the Corporation
Mr. Henry J. Forde a member of the Harbour Board
Mr. Austin A. Farrell secretary to the Harbour Commissioners
Mr. Ernest I. Thornton Solicitor for the Harbour Commissioners
Mr. S.A. Beveridge (Beveridge & Co.) Parliamentary Agents for the Harbour Commissioners

The result of this Joint Conference is sufficiently indicated in a letter of 13th. March last from the Commissioners' Solicitors to the Corporation Law Adviser of which the following is a copy:

13th. March 1919

WITHOUT PREJUDICE
P.A Murphy Esq.
Solicitor
O'Connell Street
Waterford

Dear Sir,
WATERFORD HARBOUR BILL

We have been expecting to receive from you whatever material you have been able to collect on behalf of the Corporation of Waterford for the purpose of endeavouring to substantiate their claims with regard to shipping quay construction, and other matters. You will remember that at the Joint Conference held in London on the 21st Ulto "it appeared that on the present footing there can be no formal agreement between the Corporation and the Harbour Commission and that the best thing to do would be for the Harbour Commissioners to bring in an independent Engineer of high repute and acknowledged authority (Sir John P. Griffith for choice) to advise in reference to the Corporation position and as to what might possibly be done towards satisfying their claim the intention being that such Engineer should make a Report, and that if, on considering same, the parties could accept it, a short agreement based on that Report should be prepared, sealed by the two bodies and scheduled to the Bill. It was also understood that you were to supply us with all relative and available data and material to be submitted by us to the Engineer.

Our clients have been and are very desirous of acting in accordance with the result of the Joint Conference, but we have been quite unable to carry out what was arranged, because you have not put us in a position to place before the Engineer the information and particulars necessary to enable him to form an opinion on the matter to be submitted for consideration, and to advise the Commissioners in reference thereto. The delay which has taken place is all the more harmful in view of the rapid approach of the Committee stage of the Bill, and, therefore, we greatly regret that your clients have not enabled you to do the things necessary to further what is jointly desired, but if, even at this late hour, you will let us have the material and data required, we will

make every effort to carry out what was arranged at the Joint Conference

Yours truly
I. THORNTON & SON

No reply to this letter has been received and the Corporation appear to have abandoned all hope of being able to prove (in the strict legal sense) anything with regard to quay construction etc. expenditure. What their attitude is now with regard to the remainder of their claims remains to be seen.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HARBOUR BOARD

The Petition deposited by the Corporation of Waterford against the Bill contains no reference to the constitution of the Board, and therefore (apart from other reasons) it should not be possible for them to go into that question at all before the Committee, but it is not improbable that they may endeavour to do so, and to persuade the Committee that it would not be proper or safe to entrust a Board constituted as the present Harbour Board is constituted with the new rating powers sought by the Bill. For this reason the following evidence has been added to the proof of this witness so that that Counsel may be in a position to deal with the situation if it should arise.

Witness therefore will, if necessary, prove that the Harbour Board as constituted by the Waterford Harbour Act, 1816, consisted of the Directors General of Inland Navigation in Ireland who never took any part in the Board's affairs and have been for many years no longer in existence, and of 24 members, 12 selected by the Chamber of Commerce as representing the mercantile and trading community, 7 by the Corporation of Waterford, and 5 by the merchants and traders of Clonmel. The river traffic of Clonmel was then of great importance and that town still retains a seaborne commerce of a substantial volume. Of the 12 Chamber of Commerce members 4 were voted off by the Chamber in General Meeting every third year and 4 members of the Chamber were voted on in their place. The same 4 might be voted off and then re-elected again, but of course not necessarily so. The 7 Corporation members continue to be members of the Harbour Board as long as they retain their seats in the Corporation, and a vacancy by death or resignation among the Clonmel members is filled by co-option by the remaining Clonmel members. The qualification for a member of the Harbour Board is possession of real or personal property to the value of £800, or occupation of premises rated to the Relief of the Poor at an annual valuation of not less that £25.

In 1846 the Harbour Board obtained a new General Act which entirely repealed and superseded the Act of 1816, but the constitutor of the Board as originally settled was continued unchanged under the new Act and so remains to the present time.

When the Harbour Board was first established in 1816 the Chamber of Commerce was a numerous and representative body comprising some 80 or 90 merchants and traders of Waterford, but in course of time it was found that the conditions of membership was too onerous as the Charter of Incorporation provided that each member should pay an entrance fee of £25 and an annual subscription of £3:3:0, and the membership therefore gradually dwindled away until in 1906 it comprised no more that 26 members, and although these included many of the most important mercantile firms of the City still the Chamber could not be said to be fully representative of the commercial interests of Waterford in the same way and to the same extent as during its earlier history. It was accordingly felt that steps should be taken to extend and popularise the Chamber by re-organising it on the same lines as those of similar Bodies elsewhere, and at the General Meeting of the Chamber held on the 29th August 1906 it was unanimously resolved "That the Directors be requested to consider and report as to what steps are desirable to amend the Chamber's Charter so as to enlarge the membership and thereby augment the utility of our Body to the mercantile community. The matter was then placed in the hands of the Chamber's Solicitors and Counsel's opinion having been taken it was found that an amending or supplemental Charter would have to be obtained in order to dispense with, or rather to reduce, the exorbitant entrance fee and annual subscription fees. After considerable legal formalities and delays the Supplemental Charter was obtained in July 1908, and the entrance and annual subscription were fixed to £1: 1: 0 each. Large numbers of merchants and traders speedily came forward to join the Chamber so that at the present time has it has a membership of 137 and now fully and adequately represents the commercial interests of Waterford.

The present Harbour Board therefore nominally consists of 24 members but virtually it consists of 19 members only because the Clonmel members attend the meetings of the Board so very rarely and at such long intervals that they are, and for many years have been, merely nominal members. The present Harbour Board is truly representative; it consists, as already explained, virtually of 19 members elected or co-opted from amongst themselves by the following Corporations, and in the following proportions, that is to say, 12 by the Chamber of Commerce and 7 by the Corporation of Waterford. Having regard to the broad and representative basis on which the Chamber of Commerce now stands, and the large number (137) of members on its roll, it would be scarcely possible to select or devise a constituency more suitable or more thoroughly, truly and completely, representative of the shipping, trading and mercantile interests of the Port than that body, and having regard to the fact that the members of the Corporation of Waterford are elected on a very low and popular franchise, the 7 Harbour members elected by the Corporation are, and of necessity must be, thoroughly representative of the general body of the citizens of Waterford. In the year 1893, however, (for the reasons already explained the Chamber of Commerce did not fully represent the commercial interests of Waterford, and in that year the Harbour Commissioners promoted a Bill having for its objects, amongst other things, the reform of its own

constitution. If there is to be a reconstitution at all the Commissioners were then of opinion, and are still of opinion, that payment of rates on goods is the true criterion for estimating the extent and substance of a traders interest in a Port and that a franchise based on the amount of such rates paid by a trader is the most satisfactory kind of franchise which could be adopted, but in 1893 no rates on goods were levied in the Port, nor are any such rates levied now, and therefore in 1893 the Commissioners adopted the device of giving a franchise to port traders based on the annual amount of freight charges paid by them.

This Bill of 1893 as lodged provided for a Board of 15 members of whom 2 were to be ex-officio and 13 elective. The ex-officio members were to be the Mayor of Waterford and the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Waterford, both for the time being. The 13 elected members were divided into two groups, namely 6 traders' members and 7 shipping members, with a separate constituency for each group. There being no rates on goods and the Harbour Board being at the time desirous of continuing the Port as a free port, it was not possible to frame an electorate of the Port traders on the basis on goods, and accordingly it was proposed to classify the traders in respect of freight charges paid by them on their commodities on imports and export.

Importers and Exporters of goods by sea the freight charges on which were not less than £300 per annum were qualified to be traders' members. Payers of freight charges of not less than £100 per annum were qualified to vote for the election of traders members with one additional vote (up to a maximum of 15) for each additional £200 of freight charges. The registered owner of 250 tons net register and the Agent of a Steamship Company aggregating 500 tons net register were qualified to be shipping members. Owners of 50 tons net register were qualified to vote for the election of shipping members with one additional vote (up to a maximum of 15) for each additional 100 tons net register. Agents of Steamship Companies were also qualified to vote for shipping members as follows: - They were to have one vote for the first 100 tons of their owners net register tonnage with an additional vote (up to a maximum of 10) for each additional 200 tons.

The Hon. J.D. Fitzgerald K.C. was Counsel for the Harbour Board in the promotion of the Bill of 1893 and on his advice the constitution proposed by that Bill as lodged was considerably altered and broadened by reducing the qualification for members and voters and by giving the Poor Law ratepayers of the City of Waterford direct representation as such by enabling them to qualify both as traders and voters.

The filled up Bill was prepared but never lodged and the constitution proposed thereby as thus altered provided for a Board consisting of 20 members, 2 being ex-officio, the same as in the Bill of 1893 as lodged, and 18 elective. The 18 elective members were divided into three groups, viz: 6 traders' members, 6 shipping members and 6 ratepayers' members, with a separate constituency for each group.

The annual amount of freight charges necessary to qualify a traders' member was cut down from £300 to £50. The annual amount of freight charges necessary to qualify a voter for a traders' member was out down from £100 to £25 with an

additional vote for each additional £50 instead of £200 annual freight charges, and the cumulative voting was reduced form 15 to 10.

The amount of tonnage necessary to qualify a shipping member was in the case of the owners cut down from 250 tons net register to 50 tons net register, but in the case of Agents of Steamship Companies the qualification was not altered. The amount of tonnage necessary to qualify a voter for a shipping member was in the case of owners cut down from ownership of 50 tons net register to 25 tons net register with an additional vote for the owner of each additional 50 tons instead of 100 tons net register, and the cumulative voting was reduced from 15 to 10. The voting qualification of agents of Steamship Companies was out down from 100 tons net register to 50 tons net register with an additional vote for each additional 100 tons instead of 200 tons net register, and the cumulative voting was reduced from 15 to 10.

Every Poor Law Ratepayer on a valuation of not less than £40 per annum was qualified to act as a ratepayers' member and every Poor Law ratepayer rated on a valuation of not less than £20 per annum qualified to vote for the election of a ratepayers' member.

The Corporation themselves brought about the killing of the Bill of 1893 and thus deliberately prevented the Commissioners from effecting a reform of their constitution. In addition to petitioning against the Bill the Corporation resorted to the device of an Injunction action. This action was instituted in the Court of Chancery in Ireland against the Harbour Commissioners by a discontented Harbour ratepayer Mr. Samuel Morris at the instance of the Corporation, or at any rate of the then Town Clerk Mr. James J. Feely, and was successful, because, although the order of the Master of the Rolls made in that action on the 24th January 1893 did not restrain the Harbour Commissioners from promoting the Bill of 1893, it did restrain them from expending the Harbour revenue in the promotion of it, and therefore the Bill was withdrawn. The said Town Clerk James J. Feely acted as solicitor for the said Samuel Morris in the said action although when a short time before that, Viz: in the Autumn of 1892, Mr. Feely was appointed Town Clerk, he was so appointed on the understanding that he was not to continue his practice as a Solicitor, but was to devote his whole time to the business of the Corporation. The fact that the occasion of the said action was the first time Mr. Feely ever acted as Solicitor for Mr. Morris is also suggestive.

In the year of 1903 a Vice-Regal Commission sat at Waterford in connection with certain proceedings to make the old Toll Bridge at Waterford toll-free. Mr. Feely was examined before this Commission and during his cross-examination he admitted that he himself stopped the Bill of 1893, or at least that his Corporation stopped it, and that he was acting for them.

Soon after the appointment of Mr. Feely as Town Clerk Viz: in the Autumn of 1892 the Corporation contemplated an attack on the Harbour Board, and in the month of October of that year the Corporation notified their intention of promoting a Bill, Viz: "The Waterford Improvement Bill" taking powers (inter alia) to abolish the Harbour Board and reconstruct it to levy rates on goods for the purpose of sup-

plementing the Borough Fund which is devoted to purposes purely municipal. In other words the Corporation proposed to tax the trade of the Port for purposes not connected exclusively with that trade or with shipping or Harbour matters. This was one of the reasons why the Harbour Commissioners promoted their own Bill of 1893 which was killed by the Corporation in the manner above mentioned.

In the Session of 1909 the Corporation, or more correctly a cabal or faction of the Corporation, promoted a Bill for the purpose of reconstituting the Harbour Board. The new Board proposed by that Bill as deposited in the Parliament Office was to consist of 15 members as follows: 3 ex-officio members, namely: the Mayor of Waterford, the High Sheriff of Waterford and the President of the Chamber of Commerce, 3 members to be nominated by the Corporation of Waterford and 9 traders and ship-owners members to be elected by the payers of Harbour dues and freight.

This 1909 Bill of the Corporation therefore proposed the establishment of a Board on the same principle exactly as that on which the constitution proposed by the Harbour Commissioners Bill of 1893 as lodged was based, that is to say: representation is only given to those (ship owners and traders) who are directly interested in the Port as distinguished from the City. Yet the Corporation procured the wrecking of the Commissioners Bill of 1893: Witness desires to emphasise the fact that the Corporation Bill of 1909 entirely omitted the very liberal element introduced in the Commissioners' filled-up Bill of 1893 whereby direct representation was given to the Poor Law Ratepayers as such by enabling them to qualify both as members and voters.

The Bill of 1909 was not proceeded with. Witness has stated that it was promoted by the Corporation of Waterford, or by a cabal or faction of that body. Witness is well aware that the persons who actually signed the Petition for that Bill were (1) Alderman Thomas Whittle the then Mayor of Waterford (2) David Hyland the then Ex-High Sheriff of Waterford, and (3) Samuel Morris Coal Merchant and timber exporter. Those persons no doubt were the ostensible promoters, but witness knows quite well that the real promoters were as above stated. Witness is aware of this from his knowledge of local affairs at the time and of the hostile feelings towards the Harbour Board then entertained by the Town Clerk and certain members of the Corporation.

Book Reviews

David Toms, *Soccer in Munster: A Social History, 1877-1937*, (Cork University Press, Cork, 2015), pp. 288.

David Toms social history of soccer in the province of Munster covers numerous facets that encompass the development of leisure and recreational pursuits from the Victorian era up until the 1930s. Nonetheless the book doesn't solely concern itself with soccer but also looks at issues such as the impact of the First World War on communities as well as unemployment, an issue which is very much prevalent and relevant to our own times. The growth in sports history studies leads Toms to suggest that 'Plenty of other sports, we are about to see contributed significantly to local life, in city, town and village across Munster' (p. 50).

Much of the scholarly studies concerning sports history have focused on the role of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), while Toms study presents an alternative sporting culture which owed its existence to British influence and indeed presence in Ireland. Moreover so, that these sports whether they be soccer or rugby were a 'part of a complex interaction between shared British and Irish culture at that time' (p. 2). The central thesis of the book is exploring the idea of soccer as being more than just the 'garrison game' that developed from being practiced by an elite group to being the game of the working classes. In nothing only contributing to the historiography Toms also achieves his own desire of bringing his subject into a 'more general literature on Irish popular culture or social histories in general' (p. 3).

In relation to the Waterford section of the book we see not only the growth of the playing of soccer, or the trials and tribulations of Waterford FC in the Free State league but also learn stories about the Waterford Boat Club, rugby in the city and as noted early on in the book the development of the Sportsfield (now known as Walsh Park) in the city as a mainly GAA domain contrary to its initial objective to cater as a 'SPORTS' field. It does much to enlighten on the East/West divide in Waterford GAA and of the figure of Dan Fraher (for whom the GAA stadium in Dungarvan is named after). Even certain perceived truths are addressed such as Mount Sion Christian Brother school having 'a considerable flirtation with the game' in 1926. Of course the GAA club and 'schooling nursery' was established shortly after in 1932.

Though soccer is the main concern of the book, primarily in Cork, Waterford and Limerick (the substantial urban areas in the province) topics such as the development of commercial gambling, the creation of a retail market in relation to sports equipment, the roles of bands in areas and as alluded sports grounds and even the sporting press are all covered thoroughly. The book is filled with analysis and anecdote from the annals of soccer, whether it be the story of Fordsons Free State Cup success, or Tramore Rookies and their train carriage dressing room to Cahir Park and its patron a Church of Ireland rector whose members were primarily Catholic.

The author David Toms, educated at St. Paul's Community College before pursuing a BA in English and History and subsequently a PhD in University College Cork, the research for which is continued in this publication. In fact, his own family is steeped in the subject which his interests concerns, his grand-uncle Willie Toms was a member of the FAI junior committee and President of the League of Ireland. Also, a contributor to 'The Dustbin of History' website with pieces concerning local Waterford history to the subject and pursuit of history itself, as well as being a member of a *History Ireland* Hedge School panel concerning soccer and Irish history staged in Dalymount Park in 2012. Now based in Prague, a man of many talents (also a published poet) we eagerly await David Toms follow up.

Soccer in Munster is a highly engaging work that not only enlightens but also entertains. A must read for all soccer fans as well as social history enthusiasts. It is a valuable addition to the scholarship of sport history which has not only given a voice to the sadly neglect aspect of provincial soccer (just like debates over Munster representatives in the Republic of Ireland soccer team over the years). In managing to combine the role of historian with *seanchaí* David Toms has written a fine work that will undoubtedly carry interest for many readers.

Cian Manning

Pat McCarthy, *The Irish Revolution 1912-1923. Waterford*, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2015), ISBN 978-1-84682-410-4. Pp xii, 180, 16 pp of plates, 7 maps.

We are now well launched into the decade commemorating the events which shaped modern Ireland. This tumultuous period affected the lives of all classes and in many ways. It opened with industrial strife and the campaign to achieve Home Rule; both these were soon overtaken by the outbreak of the Great War and all that it entailed; the Easter Rising and its aftermath set off a new train of events; the victory of Sinn Féin at the polls and the declaration of a republic led perhaps inevitably to guerrilla warfare between the IRA and the British forces of occupation; the Treaty split and resulting civil war took place against a background of further social unrest; and the decade ended with the establishment of a new Irish state but a pervasive feeling of bitterness, disappointment and continuing poverty.

Waterford to some extent conforms to the national stereotype, and to some extent differs from it. As elsewhere, there were vast differences in social conditions, from the landed gentry of the county and prosperous merchants of the city to the farm labourers, industrial workers, and unemployed poor. Waterford city, passionately loyal to John Redmond, maintained this devotion long after his death and was the only constituency outside Ulster to return a Home Rule candidate in the general election of December 1918; at the same time, the Unionist opponents of Home Rule, though far fewer in number, were powerful and vigorous. Both sides went off to fight for Britain in the Great War. The Redmondite loyalty of the city, and the longstanding British military presence there, tempered reaction to the events of 1919 and beyond. The same, however, was not true of the county where republican activity was stronger, and there was also a considerable diversity between events in the eastern part and those in the west.

Recent years have seen the opening up of a rich variety of sources on the history of Ireland during this period, in particular the witness statements amassed by the Bureau of Military History and the papers of significant individuals located in different archives. There have also been major publications reviewing events of the period at national level, including biographies of several of the leaders. Moreover, several important books and articles in historical journals have been published dealing with various aspects of the period as it unfolded in Waterford – the industrial and agrarian unrest, the Great War as experienced by participants and those at home, the guerrilla struggle and its aftermath.

The sheer wealth of material available is bewildering to the general reader; a brief, carefully researched, perceptive and readable synthesis was badly needed. This Dr McCarthy has triumphantly achieved in a mere 138 pages of text. Each of his nine chapters takes us through a different phase of the period - setting the scene, outlining the events and their political and social impact, and summarising the situation thus far. Every statement is backed by reference to sources, and the bibliography is impressive – no stone has been left unturned.

Dr McCarthy is uniquely fitted to this daunting task. A native of Waterford, he has a passion for military history and has been a frequent contributor of articles to *The Irish Sword* and our own journal. His many lectures to local groups have been characterised by their liveliness and erudition. In this book he has achieved the virtually impossible, condensing a complex story and presenting it with clarity and above all with fairness to all. The twenty-nine photographs add significantly to the narrative and have obviously been selected with care from a large menu of options.

The Irish Revolution 1912-23 is the title of a series published by the Four Courts Press in which local historians review the events of the period within their own counties. In addition to Waterford, volumes have also appeared for Mayo, Sligo and Tyrone; more will follow.

How great was the urge towards revolution in 1912? And at the end of all the upheavals, were we better off or not? One way or another, we have been shaped by this decade. Dr McCarthy's book needs to be read by all Déise people who have an interest in our past, and there should be copies in every post-primary school and college in the county.

Julian C. Walton

CONSTITUTION OF THE WATERFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1. ***Name:***
The Society shall be called - "The Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society" (formerly The Old Waterford Society).

2. ***Objects:***
The objects of the Society shall be:
(a) to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general but with particular reference to Waterford and adjoining Counties;
(b) to promote research into same;
(c) to arrange for the further informing of members of the Society by way of lectures on appropriate subjects and visits to places of historical and archaeological association;
(d) to issue a periodical publication; and
(e) to engage in such other activities as the Committee may consider desirable.

3. ***Membership:***
The Society shall be composed of all persons who are members at the date of the adoption of these Rules together with those who may subsequently be admitted to membership by the Committee. Honorary Members may be elected at any Annual General Meeting.

4. ***Government:***
The Society shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer together with not less than six nor more than eight other members, one of whom may be elected as Hon. Outings Organiser. In addition to those members elected as provided above each officer, on relinquishing office, shall become an ex-officio member of the Committee and shall remain such for one year.

5. ***Election of Officers and Committee:***
The election of the Officers and Committee of the Society shall take place each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Editor and Hon. Press Officer shall first be elected individually and in that order, following which the additional members shall be elected beginning with the Hon. Outings Organiser.
In the event of there being more than one nomination for any office or more nominations for the Committee than there are vacancies, as provided by these Rules, then the election shall be carried out by secret ballot.

No member of the Society who is absent from the General Meeting shall be eligible for nomination as a prospective member of the Committee unless he or she shall have previously intimated in writing to the Honorary Secretary his or her willingness to accept nomination.

The Committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members. Such co-options shall be effective only up to the date of the next ensuing Annual General Meeting.

A Chairman who has held office for three consecutive years shall not be eligible to seek re-election as chairman or vice-chairman until a period of two years have elapsed after his relinquishing office. For the purpose of this Rule the word "year" shall mean the period clapsing 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 2015

(Up to September 30th 2015)

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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Stewart, Mr J., Tivoli, Marian Park, Waterford.
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