

# DECIES

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(Note: This brings the membership list up to date for early January 1980.  
However, those who normally pay by bankers' order have not been asterisked  
as having paid for 1980. Other subscriptions will be separately  
acknowledged.)

MEMBERSHIP OF THE OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY IS OPEN TO ALL.  
THE SUBSCRIPTION FOR 1980 IS £2.50.



About seven hundred years ago a civil administration in Ireland had begun to emerge and, despite the breakdown of social structures in the 14th and 15th centuries, this administration was to form the basis of our present forms of local government. In continuation of our medieval series these two articles look at the development of an administrative system in Waterford city and county from the 13th century. Rev. Dr. Empey examines the application of the feudal system to the county with particular reference to the individual cantreds; Mr. McEneaney discusses the origin and development of the main municipal offices within the city.

### III. COUNTY WATERFORD IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

by C. A. Empey

Although the Anglo-Normans were comparatively late arrivals in the Waterford area, the task of welding the older Norse and Celtic territorial fragments into a unit of systematic regional administration, the origin of the modern county, fell to them. In spite of the inroads made by the revival of Gaelic culture in the later middle ages, and the upheavals of the Tudor and Stuart period, the fact remains that the county has remained substantially unchanged since the thirteenth century. Thus any attempt to understand the internal and external boundaries of the present county must take into account the original divisions of the county into the fiefs of the Norman period. In a sense it is true to say that the history of modern Ireland began with the Anglo-Norman settlement: nothing demonstrates this essential continuity more effectively than an examination of the origins of our county boundaries.

Without the aid of maps the Anglo-Normans had no alternative but to use or modify existing Celtic and Norse divisions. The county boundaries appear at first to have corresponded to the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. That Lismore north of the Suir was originally included in Co. Waterford is suggested by the fact that in the pipe roll of 14 John (1211-1212) the heriff of Waterford was charged on his account with the issues of the manors of Tibberaghny and Kilsheelan<sup>1</sup>. It is also noticeable that the parishes of Inishlounaght, Clonmel, Killaloe, and Kilsheelan lie astride the Suir, indicating that the river did not constitute a boundary when the parishes were created in the wake of the Norman settlement. Just when Lismore north of the Suir was detached from Waterford is not evident, but it must have occurred sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century. Thersafter Waterford remained virtually unchanged with the exception of a small area between the Blackwater and Bride rivers, which formed part of the medieval county of Cork.<sup>2</sup>

The ultimate origin of the internal boundaries lies shrouded in the mists of Celtic and Norse settlements. The fact that the names of the eight cantreds into which the county was divided after the Norman conquest are of Gaelic derivation suggests that they must represent the territories of the O'Faolains and their client septa. Except for the area around Waterford city - the cantred of Offath - the Norse settlement had not penetrated deeply into the interior, being more in the nature of the Greek poleis founded on the shores of the Mediterranean and Black seas in the dawn of the classical period. Norse Waterford was a city-state, nota territorial kingdom. The enduring achievement of the

Anglo-Norman settlement was the welding of these scattered territories into a cohesive unit through the imposition of the English system of shire government at the beginning of the thirteenth century, if not slightly earlier<sup>3</sup>. The invaders introduced into Ireland a culture which was Norman-French, but chose to organise their colony by importing systems of law and administration which were characteristically English. Thus it is well always to speak of an Anglo-Norman settlement, because it had features which were simultaneously Norman and English.

#### The Character of the Anglo-Norman Settlement:

A century of unprecedented European expansion occurred in the period intervening between the battle of Hastings and the arrival of Henry II in Waterford, and this expansion was destined to continue almost uninterruptedly until almost the middle of the fourteenth century. This was an age of unprecedented economic, institutional, intellectual, and political enterprise. To the south the Muslims were forced back by a combination of crusading armies and Italian naval power. East of the Elbe there emerged a constellation of new states extending almost up to the Urals, while the Baltic became the northern counterpart of the Mediterranean<sup>an</sup> under the impact of German colonization and its attendant urban development. Spain, Portugal, and the "Celtic fringe" represented the western extreme of this centrifugal movement of European trade and colonization. Thus it is highly significant that the conquest of Ireland occurred when it did because the new military aristocracy provided the necessary political stability to enable large areas of Ireland to participate in this wider development. The aristocracy provided the initial mainstay of the colony, but what gave it permanence was the subsidiary influx of tenants and townsmen who responded - as they did elsewhere in Europe - to the opportunities of the frontier. Without them the widespread network of manors, towns, and villages - so characteristic of the new Europe - could never have been established.

#### The Feudal Aristocracy:

As we might expect, the most purely French element in the new colonial society was the feudal aristocracy and their military retainers, the knights. These men obtained large tracts of land called fiefs, partly as payment for services rendered, and partly in order to provide for future military requirements. Although few of the original grants have survived, we can gain a fairly general picture of the process of subinfeudation by working backwards from thirteenth century sources.

At first sight, the total knight service due to the crown in Co. Waterford -  $10\frac{1}{4}$  services in all<sup>4</sup> - seems surprisingly low when compared with the amount due from other counties, but this may be explained by the fact that a large part of the county was reserved to the royal demesne in the form of the honor of Dungarvan (comprising six of the eight cantreds and corresponding roughly to the modern baronies of Decies)<sup>5</sup>. With the exception of Dunhill and Stradbally, the military fiefs seem to have been concentrated in the remaining cantreds of Offath and Tarmun. Chief among the military tenants were the le Poers of Dunhill (whose lordship extended to Tramore and parts of Islandikane and Ballylaneen<sup>6</sup>) who owed 4 services; le Fleming,  $\frac{1}{2}$  service (presumably for the manor of Dunmore<sup>7</sup>); the heirs of Thomas Fitzanthony  $\frac{1}{2}$  service (for Stradbally<sup>8</sup>?) de Pembroke  $\frac{1}{2}$  service (for Lisnaskill<sup>9</sup>?). Other lordships were held directly of the crown by services unknown. These include Faithlegg (Aylward), Rathmoylan (de Stapleton), Kilmeadan (d'Ufford and later le Poer), Kilmoleran (le Bret), and Killoteran (de Weyland)<sup>10</sup>. The barony of Athmethan (Affane), originally a tenement of the honor of Dungarvan, was held of the crown by a money rent in 1299<sup>11</sup>. The lordship of Outertyr (Uachtar-tire) may have been held of Dunhill: the lands of John FitzBenedict le Poer in Outertyr were certainly regarded by the eschaetor as belonging to Dunhill early in the reign of Edward II. The precise extent of Outertyr is uncertain, but it probably corresponded to the eastern parishes in the barony of Upperthird, belonging to the abbey of Mothell (founded by the le Poers)<sup>12</sup> at the Dissolution<sup>13</sup>. Fenoagh was probably another tenement of this lordship<sup>14</sup>. Finally, the episcopal manors of Bishop's Court,



Lismore, Ardmore, and Kilbarrymeadan,<sup>15</sup> while owing neither rent nor military service, were taken into the king's hand sede vacante just like the manors of secular tenants-in-chief. The bishops were just as much part of the feudal hierarchy as other tenants of the crown.

### The Manor:

The significance of the manorial system which the Anglo-Normans introduced into Ireland can hardly be overstressed. It was the fief-holding aristocracy who created a political, social, and economic framework favourable to the development of the town and manor. They provided three essential elements; military security, legal security, and - above all - an abundance of land. But their efforts to develop and exploit the potential of the new frontier would have come to nothing had it not been for the fact that they were able to attract a substantial immigration of land-hungry tenants and townsmen. The chief instrument of this colonising activity was the manor, the focal point of the new social and economic order.

The manor was the tenurial expression of Anglo-Norman lordship: all classes of men - free and unfree - existing within its confines were bound to their lord by obligations determined by their tenurial status. For freemen this generally meant military service or rent, coupled with suit at the lord's court, while for the unfree it usually meant the performance of labour services (often commuted to rent) together with various seignorial rights over his person and property. Every class was therefore placed under the jurisdiction of the lord of the manor in varying degrees according to its tenurial status as defined by charter and custom. Thus the manor was not merely an estate in the modern sense of the word: it was also "a local police authority and ... a local agency for the enforcement of criminal law"<sup>16</sup> which, unlike the authority of the state, touched the lives of the population at large. In effect the manor was an institution in private hands which discharged many of the duties which would now fall to local government authorities and the lesser courts. The arrival of the European manor brought to Ireland not only an agricultural revolution but a social revolution as well.

If the manor was the social and economic cornerstone of colonial society binding all classes together by the ties of lordship and tenure, it was also an important element in the provision of local military security in an age when there was no such thing as a standing army. Even today the surviving notes and castles give us a clear indication of its military character, but we must not forget the existence of the far more numerous fortified homesteads - what we now call moated sites,<sup>17</sup> which housed and protected the lesser tenants on the perimeters of the manor. Apart from the military tenants who were obliged to assist their lord in time of war, the lords of the greater manors usually supplemented their forces with levies from their Irish tenants. When warfare became more or less endemic in the conditions of the fourteenth century, these local forces were stiffened by bands of professional soldiers (kerns) who were billeted on the tenantry. In the long term it was the tenacity of these seignorial armies rather than the occasional fits of military activity on the part of the central government which preserved the colony from extinction in the later middle ages.

The only Waterford manor for which we possess any detailed information is Dungarvan,<sup>18</sup> leased by the crown to the Fitzgeralds of Desmond in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In extent it corresponded approximately to the two baronies of Decies, comprising in all about 200,000 acres. The nerve centre of this great manorial complex was the castle with its attendant town and demesne, and beyond that the broad hinterland comprised of subordinate lordships and tenements. The demesne itself consisted in 1299 of 100 arable acres, together with 231 arable acres in an out-farm near Kensale, in all perhaps 800 statute acres by modern reckoning.<sup>20</sup> This emphasis on arable farming stands in marked contrast to the preponderantly pastoral character of pre-Norman agriculture, and shows clearly that Anglo-Norman agriculture was geared towards production on a scale similar to other European countries at the height of the thirteenth century boom in agriculture.

The rest of the manor was divided among various kinds of tenants, not least among them the burgesses of Dungarvan who held twelve ploughlands - about 3,600 statute acres - in burgage tenure. Some twenty-five hereditary free tenants held what in many cases were very large tenements by service of an annual rent and suit at the seignorial court at Dungarvan. Many of these tenements were large enough to be organised as manors with their own demesne and tenements. Some 30 holdings were held by what appear to be farmers (leaseholders), including gavillers (tenants-at-will who usually owed labour service as well as rent), and Irishmen whose holdings were often larger than those held by hereditary tenants.

An unusual aspect of this tenurial arrangement is the surprising absence of military tenants, normally the preponderant element in a manor of this size. Their absence must be due to the fact from the beginning it was a royal manor: the crown must have been more interested in rents than in military service. The fact that Irishmen held an appreciable number of holdings indicates that some of them were left in undisturbed possession of their lands after the conquest, and we must not forget that many more Irishmen were undoubtedly tenants of the Anglo-Norman tenants already mentioned. The fact that the surviving manor surveys do not say much about Irish tenants is not surprising: such surveys were concerned only to record rents and services due to the lord of the manor which naturally tended to be in the hands of Anglo-Norman tenants. These surveys certainly indicate the presence of a fairly substantial immigration of colonial tenants and townsmen sufficient to transform the social and economic structure of the region, but hardly enough to displace the mass of the native population. No doubt the native aristocracy suffered worst, but the crown actively sought to encourage - indeed even to compel - the native population to remain on its lands. This much is clear when King John sanctioned an agreement between Donald O'Rolain and Meiler FitzHenry in 1204, whereby Donald agreed to surrender one of the three cantreds to the crown in return for a secure title for the other two. John further specified that Meiler should compel the Irish peasantry to return to the surrendered cantred: "et omnes natives et fugitivos de cantredo illo reverti faciatis cum omnibus catallis et tota sequela sua"<sup>21</sup>. The Anglo-Normans were anxious to retain the services of the indigenous population whose labour was essential to the operation of the newly-founded manors. There is no reason to suppose that Irishmen found the manorial regime particularly oppressive. Their new lords at least afforded them effective protection in a violent age.

The size of manor varied according to the importance of the original grantee. Some, like Dungarvan, could embrace an area as extensive as a cantred (or combination of cantreds); others, like Dunhill, might incorporate several parishes. But manors on this scale were always subdivided into smaller manorial units (tenements) which usually corresponded to the parish. Most manors, therefore, whether they were held in chief of the crown or as sub-tenancies, fell into this category. The relationship of the manor to the parish is not accidental. In the areas of Anglo-Norman settlement, the parish was normally endowed with the tithes of the tenants of the local lord, and since there were no parishes before the conquest, the newly formed tithing area was directly related to the territory of the manor. This explains why so many parishes are fragmented<sup>22</sup>. A glance at a parish map of Co. Waterford quickly reveals examples of such fragmentation. Consider, for example, the parishes of the barony of Decies within Drum: Clashmore, Ardmore, and Ballymacart have each two outlying parts in surrounding parishes: Kensalebeg and Lisgenan have one; only Aglish and Ringagonagh form unpartitioned units. This means that in this region the tenants of these manors often held lands territorially isolated from the "home" manor. Thus a parish map frequently provides a good index to the original pattern of subinfeudation. The church, of course, has maintained these boundaries long after the disappearance of the manor: the community of the rural parish - still a living reality in Irish society today - has a continuous, living tradition extending back to the time of the conquest.

Even as the parish has outlived its original manorial context, so too have many of the towns and villages of the county. Manorial lords were naturally anxious to increase their revenues by every available means. Intensive cultivation

of their demesne lands was one way of achieving this, especially in the thirteenth century. The foundation of manorial towns was another possibility. In order to attract urban settlers they endowed their foundations with burgage land (owing rent but no labour service) and bestowed additional advantages in the form of a charter, which in essence offered self-government and protection of trade. That some of these towns achieved a modest level of success is apparent from the scale of the contributions which they made to the Scottish campaign of Edward I in 1300: Kilmeadan (100/-), Athmethan (100/-), Stradbally (100/-), and Dungarvan (£15)<sup>23</sup>. It is impossible to give a modern equivalent to these sums, but we can gain some idea of their relative significance from the fact that other towns in certain instances offered less than 50/-. Dungarvan's prosperity seems to have been based primarily on fishing. No doubt other Waterford villages owe their existence to similar foundations - Dunmore, for example - but documentary evidence is lacking. Bishops were prominent town-builders: the existence of a hundred court in Lismore in 1279 provides positive evidence of the existence of a chartered town there<sup>24</sup>, and we may suspect the existence of another at Ardmore. In general it may be said that most lords of any consequence attempted to found towns on their demesnes, some of which enjoyed a modest prosperity in the thirteenth century but were later deserted. Their existence could still be revealed by a systematic programme of aerial photography. A search for the deserted villages of Co. Waterford should reveal a site at Faithlegg, which was described as a town by a jury in 1312.<sup>25</sup> It must have been the manor town of the Aylwards.

### The Old Norse.

Although the Old Norse were grafted into the new social order with the status of freemen (which meant they could plead in the royal courts), they retained something of their distinctiveness in the thirteenth century. The existence of a Norse settlement in the area of Dungarvan is indicated by a reference to the "receipts of the Ostmen" in the 1260-1261 account of the manor.<sup>26</sup> The payment of a collective fine by the Ostmen of Waterford in 1301 points to the continued existence of the Norse suburb there.<sup>27</sup> Members of the prominent Old Norse MacGillamaire clan occur both in the records of Dungarvan and in the Justiciary Rolls.<sup>28</sup> We also hear of a certain Philip MacGothmund of Waterford who in 1290 appealed to the king, claiming that he and "400 others of his race are English and Ostmen".<sup>29</sup> By "English" he meant they were entitled to the benefits of common law as befitted their free status which was at issue. We should not take this reference to mean that there were only about 400 surviving Norse; the term "race" in this context almost certainly means "clan". We hear it used of the le Poers in this sense by Waterford jury in 1305.<sup>30</sup> The distinctiveness of the Old Norse in this period probably did not extend to their cultural or linguistic inheritance. The fact that their legal status was so often at issue in the courts<sup>31</sup> suggests their manner of life may well have contributed to their repeated confusion with the hibernici, who did not enjoy "English" legal status. The use of the Gaelic 'Mac' instead of the Scandinavian 'son' must indicate Irish speech, while the use of the term "race" in the sense of "kinsmen" or "clan" certainly suggests patterns of Irish kinship. If the le Poers showed unmistakable signs of similar acculturation barely a century after their arrival in the Waterford region, we may reasonably conclude that the Norse travelled the same road somewhat earlier.

The social composition of Co. Waterford in the thirteenth century appears bewilderingly complicated to the modern eye with its varying degrees of personal and tenorial status, the coexistence of common law (used only by colonists of free status and the Old Norse) and brehon law, which governed relationships between Irishmen and Norman lords, as well as between Irishman and Irishman, the proliferation of courts (royal, seignorial, urban, ecclesiastical, maritime), to say nothing of the mixture of races (Irish, Old Norse, French, Flemish, English, and Welsh). Yet to contemporaries, accustomed as they were to think in terms of lordship and personal allegiance, it seemed just as natural as national sovereignty and citizenship seem to us. But no matter how many lords a man might have, he still owed a prior allegiance to the king by reason of his oath of fealty. The one element therefore which conferred order and system to this society was the ultimate lordship of the king which found its

effective expression in the administration of shire government.

#### The Administration of the County.

In considering the structure of the royal administration in the county we must not forget that it formed part of a widely diffused administrative network known to historians as the Angevin Empire. Thus the effect of the conquest was to bring Ireland into a closer relationship, not only with England, but with France as well - a matter of particular consequence in the case of Waterford. The ties of trade and culture with France persisted long after the Empire was dissolved. The importance of "the French connection" emerged clearly in the period of the Counter Reformation, and this association was further strengthened by the political emigres in the seventeenth century. The origin of this relationship with France stems from the fact that in the late twelfth century Ireland became an integral part of the Angevin world, and not just an extension of England (one of the more misleading and impoverishing notions of the nationalist school of Irish history).

Strictly speaking, this "Empire" was a federation of feudal lordships owing allegiance to a common lord who exercised varying degrees of control over an area extending from Antrim to <sup>the</sup> Pyrenees. Thus, for example, John governed England as king, Normandy as duke, Anjou as count, Ireland as Dominus Hiberniae, and so forth. Even within the lordship of Ireland the degree of his jurisdiction varied from place to place: some counties - like the Leinster counties - were governed indirectly through the medium of the lords of the liberties, whereas others - like Waterford - were administered directly by the crown through the medium of the king's viceroy, the sheriff.

As head of the county administration, the sheriff was responsible for maintaining the king's interests in his bailiwick. In a word, he was the royal watchdog. He presided over the county court (held every month), made arrests, summoned juries to appear before the royal justices, ensured the appearance of defendants in court, exacted fines, and in general put judicial and administrative orders into effect. In the absence of any permanent garrison or police force such duties were never easy to enforce, which is one reason why sheriffs were usually recruited from the ranks of the larger landholders. He had to be tough, not only on account of the nature of his duties, but because he was always hard-pressed by his "bosses" in the exchequer in Dublin who held him personally responsible for full payment of all items on his account when he appeared before them at Easter and Michaelmas.<sup>32</sup> If he failed repeatedly to discharge his account his own estates were liable to seizure until the default was made good. Thus the sheriff often found himself squeezed between an implacable <sup>exchequer</sup> and hostile opposition in his own bailiwick. Yet in spite of these difficulties the office was expected to bring profit to an enterprising sheriff: towards the close of the thirteenth century he could be expected to pay £20 a year, ("the profit of the county") to the exchequer over and above his regular account.<sup>33</sup> These circumstances not infrequently encouraged sheriffs to adopt rather high-handed methods, though they were normally more discreet than Robert de Stapleton, sheriff of Waterford 1285-1290,<sup>34</sup> if the charges brought against him in his last year of office by some prominent landholders are to be believed.<sup>35</sup> The import of these charges was that Robert had used his position to extort both money and land by fraud, imprisonment, and the selective suppression of writs that were directed against him. Reginald le Brun, for instance, claimed that Robert had forced him to lease to him land at a fifth of its actual value, and that when he tried to get even this derisory rent from Robert, he was re-arrested and a trumped-up charge of homicide was brought against him for good measure. Although an official inquiry into these allegations was ordered in June, 1290, it probably<sup>36</sup> never got off the ground because Robert died some time before 18th January, 1291. His actions may well have been prompted by desperation: he was heavily indebted to the exchequer as sheriff of Waterford and as sheriff of Cork,<sup>37</sup> and for this reason his goods and chattels were ordered to be seized by the escheator after his death.<sup>38</sup> Under this sort of pressure Robert could have been forced to cross the delicate line which divided the strict enforcement of duty from outright extortion. But if Robert erred on the tough side, the fact remains that a weak sheriff did not

necessarily bring happiness and tranquillity. Maurice Russel was ordered to surrender the office of sheriff in 1305 because his health was such that he could not cope with "the many evils done in this county by divers malefactors running up and down through the county, of whom some are of the race of the Poers, and others under their avowson, whom neither the present sheriff nor the people dare resist". It was therefore decided that John fitzPeter le Poer, baron of Dunhill, "who is able to chastise to the full all such malefactors of his race and their accomplices, be made sheriff"<sup>39</sup>. Perhaps there were some present on this occasion who recalled wistfully the good old days when Robert de Stapleton was sheriff.

There is no need to dwell on the subject of the organisation of Irish county administration which has been well described by A.J.Otway-Ruthven.<sup>40</sup> Waterford, in common with other counties, was divided into administrative areas called cantreds, which closely resemble the English hundred on which they are plainly modelled. In every cantred there was a sergeant subject to the chief sergeant of the county, whose duty was to assist the sheriff in the execution of his office. Similarly there was a coroner in every cantred to record all pleas belonging to royal jurisdiction (i.e. which were not justiciable in private jurisdictions or ecclesiastical courts), and to present his record for scrutiny by the king's justices. The sheriff, too, held a minor court (called the tourn) in each cantred twice a year in which he conducted a strict and methodical inquiry into all breaches of the king's peace, all infringements of royal rights, obstructions of roads or waterways, and any misconduct committed by the sergeant. In this way the sheriff, coroners, and royal justices watched over the interests of the crown in every corner of the county with almost microscopic precision, and, in theory at least, acted as independent checks on each other. The chief weakness of such a carefully designed system of local administration lay in the relative ineffectiveness of its executive arm which might function well enough in the more settled conditions of England, but which could not cope with the conditions of the "march" that existed in all Irish counties by the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier. In Waterford, as elsewhere, efforts were made to shore up the creaking structure of the county administration by the appointment of two or more keepers of the peace in each cantred,<sup>41</sup> but ultimately only the great lords could provide effective security in a situation of deteriorating order, as we have seen in the appointment of the baron of Dunhill as sheriff in 1305.

The Eight Cantreds of Waterford.

For administrative purposes Co. Waterford was divided into eight cantreds:

- Offath
- Obride
- Ohynws (alias Ohenius, Ohenegus, Ottynwys)
- Slefgo (alias Slesko)
- Dungarvan
- Owath (alias Oneagh, Oveagh, Oueagh)
- Athmethan (alias Athmean)
- Tarmun (alias Tarmod, Tarum, Tarum)<sup>42</sup>

Unfortunately, given the fragmentary nature of the surviving records, we cannot trace their boundaries with any degree of certainty, although we can identify places which lay within seven of the eight cantreds. What we can say with complete certainty is that they bear little resemblance to the modern baronies, which must derive from that twilight period between medieval and modern Ireland, the sixteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

Without the aid of a comprehensive survey like the great Domesday Book, the Anglo-Normans no doubt established their cantreds on the basis of existing tribal territories. The manor of Dungarvan was probably fashioned from the territories of O'Faolain and his client septs. The three cantreds mentioned in the agreement of 1204 may be identical with the three which appear in the 1299 survey of the manor: Slesto (=Slefgo)<sup>45</sup>, Oveagh (=Owath), and Obryde.<sup>44</sup> The same survey enables us to locate Slefgo in the region of Seskinan, Obride in the region of Fews and Rosnire, and Owath in the region of Ardsallagh and Lisgenan.

The cantred of Athmethan (= Affane) presumably corresponded to the barony of Athmethan, which in 1320 included Gallys, Annagh, Athferne, Keppagh, and Glasmore.<sup>46</sup> If we take Keppagh to be Cappagh in the parish of Whitechurch and Glasmore to be Clashmore, then the cantred must have extended along the Blackwater to include the parishes of Clashmore, Aglish (= Gallys?), Whitechurch, and Affane. Since none of our lists indicate the existence of more than eight cantreds, we may surmise that Coshmore and Coshbride north of the Bride river, consisting largely of the episcopal manor of Lisnore, lay within the confines of the cantred of Athmethan. The cantred of Dungarvan must have included the parish of Dungarvan and its outlying portion, stretching eastwards perhaps as far as the western boundary of Stradbally parish. Ohyngws certainly incorporated the area around Stradbally: in 1275-1276 Jordan deKantyn-ton's lands in Kilstroan (= parish of Kilrossanty?) and Dromlouan (now Dromlohan, parish of Stradbally) were held of Thomas de Dene, lord of Stradbally, and were stated to be in "Ohenegus".<sup>48</sup> Thomas was one of the heirs of Thomas fitzAnthony, who almost certainly gave the town its first charter.<sup>49</sup> The manor of Stradbally must originally have been the caput (chief manor) of fitzAnthony's lordship of Ohyngws ("tenementum meum de Hanegus")<sup>50</sup> which presumably occupied the same area as the cantred.

The six cantreds under discussion seem to have corresponded approximately to the two baronies of Decies and that part of Coshmore and Coshbride which was contained within the medieval county of Waterford. Precisely at what point they met the eastern cantred of Offath is a matter of some uncertainty. The parish of Killure certainly lay in this cantred,<sup>51</sup> but beyond this we have no definite information. Two of the keepers of the peace named in connection with Offath in 1300 include William Butler, who held lands in Dunmore, and Robert fitzJohn Aylward, who probably held lands in Faithlegg.<sup>52</sup> All of these places, however, lie within the modern barony of Gaultiere, leaving as a geographical no-man's land the modern barony of Middlethird. If we are correct in assuming that the six cantreds once represented the territories of O'Faolain and his client sept, we may suspect that Offath represented the territory of the Norse. This hypothesis receives some slight support from a verdict delivered in 1282, which stated that "John fitzThomas died seised of 3½ cantreds in Decies (i.e. the manor of Dungarvan)...excepting the barony of Donnol and other lands in the said cantreds"<sup>53</sup>. This suggests that Dunhill was originally part of the territory of O'Faolain from which the manor of Dungarvan was formed. The fact that Dunhill and the adjoining parish of Newcastle lie in the diocese of Lisnore seems to confirm this suspicion, if we are correct in assuming that Lisnore Diocese represents the region under Irish control in the twelfth century. According to this equation the border between Ohyngws and Obride, on the one hand, and Offath on the other, should be traced along the diocesan boundary.

We are left finally with the cantred of Tarnun, concerning which - on the basis of the documentary sources employed for this study - we have no evidence to show where it was located. If, as we have good reason to suppose, the extant lists of cantreds are complete, it seems likely that Tarnun was located north of the mountains in what are now the baronies of Glenshiry and Upperthird.

It may be said, by way of conclusion, that taken as a whole the volume of printed sources relating to Co. Waterford (as opposed to the city) is disappointingly small. Ecclesiastical sources - monastic and episcopal - are almost non-existent. Compared with the neighbouring counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Wexford, surprisingly little information about manors has survived, with the notable exception of Dungarvan. Even the Irish annals are conspicuous by their silence. Having said this, however, it should be noted that this study is not based on a thorough examination of all available printed sources, and, what is probably more important, does not take into consideration a large body of Irish exchequer manuscript records<sup>54</sup> which would almost certainly yield more information.

SOURCES:

The biographical abbreviations and short titles which follow may be found in T.W. Moody, Rules for contributors to Irish Historical Studies (rev.ed.,Dubli,1968).

In order to condense numerous references to Reports of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland I have cited only the number of the report and the page reference.

1. O. Davies and D.B. Quinn (ed.), 'The Irish pipe roll of 14 John' in Ulster Journal of Archaeology, 3rd series, IV (supplement, 1941), p.46. Tibberaghny was part of Co. Tipperary in the middle ages (see C.A. Enpey, 'The contreds of medieval Tipperary' in North Munster Antiquarian Journal, XIII (1970), p.29). Significantly, this parish lies in the diocese of Lismore.
2. Lian O'Buachalla, 'An early fourteenth century placename list for Anglo-Norman Cork' in Dinnseanchas, II (1966), p.45
3. Waterford may have been organised as a shire before the end of the thirteenth century. See J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century' in I.H.S., V, (1946), p.1
4. Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-284, no. 2329. See also the list of Waterford services in P.R.I. rep. D.K.42, p. 68.
5. The extent of the honor of Dungarvan can be deduced from the evidence of the inquisition post mortem of 1299 (Cal. doc. Ire., 1293-1301, no.551). It included tenements as far apart as Ardsallagh and Kensalebeg in the south-west to Rossmire in the east, an area corresponding to the cantreds of Owath, Athmethan, Dungarvan, Slefgo, Obridge, and ohynws.
6. P.R.I. rep. D.K.42, p.68; ibid.45, p.40; Cal. justic. rolls Ire, 1305-1307 p.112 ff
7. P.R.I. rep. D.K. 42, p.68. The le Fleming family held Dummore (ibid.37, p.42; 38, p.78.)
8. P.R.I. rep. D.K.42, p.68. The Denes, coheirs of Thomas fitzanthony, held Stradbally (ibid.44, p.59).
9. Ibid.42, p.68. The Penbrooke family hold Lisnakill (ibid.39, p. 39).
10. Ibid.42, pp 16,25; 38, pp 39,78-9; 38, p.78; 38, pp 40, 79 and 43, p.30; 38, pp 95-6; 43, p.61. 11. Cal.doc.Ire., 1293-1301, no.551
12. P.R.I. rep. D.K. 44, p.33. 13. H.B. White (ed.), Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541 (Dublin 1943), pp.348-9. These included Mothell and Rathcornuck. See also P.F.I. rep. D.K. 7, p.48, no.165.
14. Early in the fourteenth century 'Fymnauth' was held by Eustace le Poer, formerly lord of Uachtar-tire (P.R.I. rep. D.K.39, p.42; ibid.44, pp.27,60; see also Cal.doc.Ire., 1293-1301, no.347.)
15. For the episcopal manors see Joshua Boyle's list in P. Power, Waterford and Lismore (Longmans, 1937), pp 347-50. 16. See H.M. Postan, The medieval economy and society (Pelican Books, 1975), p.82. This book provides an excellent introduction to the subject of the medieval manor.
17. For a careful study of these sites see T.B. Barry, Medieval moated sites of south-eastern Ireland. (British Archaeological Reports 35, 1977). See also listing of County Waterford sites, Decies 10 p p. 32-36.
18. Three thirteenth century accounts for the manor of Dungarvan have survived: the account of William le Erceadeane and Robert fitzWarin, 1261-2 (P.R.I. rep. D.K. 35, p.39); account of William de Rupelle, sheriff of Waterford, 1262-3 (printed in E. Curtis, 'Sheriffs' accounts of the honor of Dungarvan in R.I.A. Proc., XXXIX, Section C, pp 1-4); and the account of the eschaetor, Walter de la Haye, 1298-9 (P.R.I. rep. D.K.38, p.40). The most detailed sources, however, are the inquisitions post mortem in 1282 (Cal.doc.Ire., 1252-1284, no.1912) and 1299 (ibid.1293-1301, no.551, pp 261-3).
19. The manor of Dungarvan was granted to John fitzThomas in 1259 by Edward, Lord of Ireland, in return for an annual rent of 500 marks (Cal.doc.Ire., 1252-1284, no.629)
20. Inquisition post mortem 1299 (ibid., 1293-1301, no.551). 21. Rot. pat. Hib., p.6b.
22. See J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development in the rural deanery of Skreen' in R.S.A.I. Jn, XCIV (1964), 111-22.
23. Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1295-1303, p.304. 24. P.R.I. rep. D.K.36, p.60.
25. Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1308-1311, p.249. 26. P.R.I. rep. D.K. 35, p.39.
27. Account of the City of Waterford 30 Edward I (ibid.38, p.58).
28. See E. Curtis, op.cit., pp 3,14; Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1308-1311, pp 8-11.
29. Cal.doc.Ire., 1285-1292, no.622. 30. Cal. justic. rolls Ire., 1305-1307, p.119
31. Ibid. The MacGo<sup>th</sup>mund case; see also ibid., 1308-1311, pp 8-11.

32. For the accounts of the sheriffs of Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see P.R.I. rep.D.K. 35, pp 35-6,78; 36, pp.24, 27, 38, 65; 37, pp 37-8, 43, 51; 38, pp 49, 63-5, 102-3; 39, pp 26, 68-9; 42, pp 27-28, 67-68; 44, pp 23-7, 49-50; 45, pp 67-8.
33. Robert de Stapleton was charged with £20 profit of the county for 1290 (ibid., 37, p.44).
34. In 1285 the king granted Robert the offices of sheriff of Cork and Waterford for ten years (Cal.doc.Ire., 1285-1292 Nos. 18 & 19). His accounts for Waterford survive for the period 1287 to Jan. 1290 (P.R.I. rep.D.K. 37, pp 37, 43-4)
35. Petition of Ireland delivered in Parliament at Westminster in April 1290 (Cal.doc.Ire., 1285-1292, no.622, pp 311-4) 36. Ibid., nos.696,845.
37. In Jan. 1290 he owed £90 on his Waterford account (P.R.I.rep.D.K.37, p.44), while in 1288 he owed no less than £132 on his Cork account (ibid., p.37).
38. Cal.doc.Ire., 1285-1292, no.845. 39. Pleas at Waterford 9 Aug.1305 (Cal.just.rolls Ire., 1305-1307, p.119)
40. See J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century' in I.H.S., V (1946), pp 1-28. 41. See P.R.I.rep.D.K. 38, p. 64; Rot.pat. Hib., p. 72, no. 15; p. 74, nos. 83, 84. For a detailed discussion of the functions of the keeper of the peace see R. Frame, 'The judicial powers of the medieval Irish Keepers of the peace' in The Irish Jurist, II (new series), part 2, pp 308-26. 42. Three apparently complete lists of these cantreds have survived: the account of the sheriff of Waterford, 1300-02 (P.R.I.rep.D.K. 38, p.64); a list of the collectors of the subsidy, 1358 (Rot.pat.Hib., p.72); and a list of collectors, 1375 (Richardson and Sayles, Parl. & councils med. Ire., i, pp 59-60). 43. See my articles on the cantreds of Tipperary and Kilkenny in North Munster Antiquarian Journal, XIII (1970), pp 22-9, and in R.S.A.I. Jn., 101 (1971), pp.128-134, respectively.
44. Cal.doc.Ire., 1293-1301, pp 261-2. 45. I am indebted to Mr. Julian Walton for the suggestion that Slefgo, usually misread as 'Slesko' in transcription, represents 'Sliabh Cua'. His view is shared by J.T.Gilbert (ed.), Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, II, p.207, where a charter of Thomas fitzAnthony refers to 'una carucata terre iuxta montem de Slefgo'. Sliabh Cua was the ancient name for Cnoc Maeldomhnaig.
46. Eschaetor's account, 1317-20 (P.R.I.rep.D.K.42, pp 16,25). 47. See footnote 2.
48. P.R.I.rep.D.K.36, p.32. 49. Like Thomastown, Co.Kilkenny, also founded by fitzAnthony, Stradbally sometimes bore the suffix 'Mhic Andain'. See (ibid. 44, p.59). 50. See fitzAnthony's charter in Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, II, p. 193. 51. The coroner of Offath recorded the abjuration of a felon from the church of Killure in or before 1311 (Cal.justic. rolls Ire., 1308-1314, p.177). 52. P.R.I.rep.D.K. 38, p.64: 38 p.68
53. Cal. doc. Ire., 1252-1284, no. 1912, p.425.
54. Chiefly the transcripts of the Memoranda rolls of the Irish exchequer in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and the Irish Issue and Receipt rolls in the Public Record Office, London.

#### Post Script.

Mr. K.W. Nicholls kindly read this article for me after I had submitted it to the editor. Amongst his valuable suggestions he proposed that the name Tarmun must be derived from Tearmond, indicating termon land. He suggests Lismore as a strong possibility. I think it is also worth noting that there was a Celtic foundation in Mothell too. He also listed some of the Irish forms of the names of the cantreds as follows:  
Ui Fothaidh, Ui Brighdi, Ui hAonghusa, Sliabh gCua, Ui(bh) Eachach.

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## IV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF  
WATERFORD IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

By Eamonn McEneaney.

ORIGINS.

The Anglo-Normans who conquered and settled about two-thirds of Ireland during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century were responsible for effecting an agricultural revolution in that country. Although these laymen were instrumental in bringing Ireland into line with methods of farming as practised on the continent, credit must also be given to the religious orders who came here during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most conspicuous among these were the Cistercians,<sup>1</sup> a frontier order, who developed sheep rearing to a high degree in Ireland. This agricultural revolution, brought about by the combined efforts of those who fought, worked and prayed was to have a dramatic effect upon the establishment of a new merchant class. This new class had begun to establish itself as an integral part of society in twelfth century Europe; because of the new agricultural methodology imported into Ireland it found a place here also. The greater utilization of land resulted in the production of a surplus which could be exchanged in the towns and cities of Ireland for either home produced goods or imported luxuries and necessities. Consequently the more sophisticated Irish agriculture became, the more sophisticated the towns and cities became also.

The development of the Irish towns and cities under the Anglo Normans was further aided by the population growth in Europe during this period. This boom ensured that enough merchants, traders and craftsmen of continental and English origin could be encouraged to settle here. We can appreciate the great influx of foreigners to the towns and cities in the post-invasion period when we note that as early as 1212 Waterford city had to be enlarged from its original 19 acres by a further 33. We can better comprehend how phenomenal this influx of people was when we remember that the original Ostman inhabitants had, with the exception of one family, been expelled from the city when it fell to the Anglo-Normans in 1170.<sup>2</sup> The new city dwellers differed greatly from their Ostmen predecessors in that they were skilled in international trade. Many of these new inhabitants had themselves come from the newly developing centres of trade in Northern France, Flanders and England. It was only natural that these immigrants would find little difficulty in maintaining trading links with their towns of origin. Later in the thirteenth century because of the English monarchs' need of Italian bankers,<sup>3</sup> Italian merchants were also encouraged to come and settle in Ireland. They too brought with them the trading experience from what were then the most advanced trading centres in the known world. Indeed it is interesting to note that both Waterford and Limerick had areas close to the old medieval town called "Lombards March", placenames which probably owe their origin to the Italian merchants who may have settled there during the middle ages. As the English monarchy became more firmly established in Gascony in the second half of the 13th century, merchants from that part of the king's dominions also began to build new homes for themselves in Ireland. We have a very interesting case of one Eymer de Godar who is described in a government document of 1295 as "a merchant of Gascony" and only 10 years later he is described as "mayor of Waterford"<sup>4</sup>. Clearly, the Irish towns and cities of the thirteenth century had, within their walls, merchants who were well versed in international trade and within close proximity to the Ostmen who were well acquainted with Irish conditions.

With the advance of the Anglo-Norman influence, trading conditions changed dramatically within the major towns and cities of Ireland; so also did the method of regulating the internal government of the settlement. The Ostmen seem to have been governed by a king whose jurisdiction was confined to the city. He had no control over the surrounding countryside which was governed in the Irish fashion.<sup>5</sup> Under the new Anglo-Norman regime the Irish towns and cities received little direct attention from Henry II. Dublin was in 1171-2 given to the men of Bristol in the hope that they would inhabit it.<sup>6</sup> Waterford on the other hand, together with the surrounding provinces as far as Lismore was given in 1179 to the custody of Robert le Poer, the marshal.<sup>7</sup> Although both Dublin and Waterford were made royal towns under Henry II, it was not until 1215 that Waterford received a charter of incorporation from King John which made it a separate entity from the county.<sup>8</sup> This change in the legal status of Waterford city did not bring with it a new system of urban self-government. The system already employed in the administration of the county by officials of the Dublin government was retained for the purpose of administering the city. Government officials after 1215 continued to collect rents and aid and dispense justice as they did in the county. The reason for this continuity lies in the fact that the Anglo-Normans had not, until after their invasion of Ireland, developed a unique system of urban government distinct from the shire or county system which could cater specifically for the needs of an urban population. It was not until the early 1190s that the freemen of London received the right to elect a mayor.<sup>9</sup> The establishment of this office can be seen as the corner stone which completed the legal and administrative independence of the city, independence which manifested itself in the exclusion of all government officials from the affairs of the city, transferring to the mayor the task of carrying out the city's obligations to the king. This administrative refinement was not adopted as a means of streamlining the Anglo-Norman medieval system of Government, it was a concession granted to the citizens of London by Richard I who made the grant in order to raise money. The crucial factor in the evolution of medieval municipal government is that it involved more than a transfer of the responsibilities for collecting money and duties and dispensing justice to the natives of the city. Much more important, it conferred upon the inhabitants of the city the right to form its own government which could regulate its internal affairs and make representations on the citizens' behalf when dealing with the king, his ministers or officials. The development of municipal government in Ireland was slow during the 13th century, probably because Henry III feared the creation of a new political force within his dominions. This fear was not however totally unfounded, for in 1285 the major Irish royal towns and cities, including Waterford city, sent representatives to Kilkenny to endorse an agreement whereby they all agreed to protect each other's rights against encroachment.<sup>10</sup>

Gradually during the 13th century the English Monarchy became aware of the economic benefits which might accrue by granting self-governing rights to a city. For example, foreign merchants would be encouraged to do business in a city which was capable of enforcing its own judgement on legal matters, without having to await the arrival of government officials. Once the citizens of Waterford received the right to administer justice it was not long until a system for dealing with debts owed to foreign merchants was perfected. By the end of the thirteenth century a foreign merchant who wished to return home quickly had no need to delay until a royal official or a city judge was available to hear his case against a citizen who failed to pay his debts. The foreigner had simply to wait three tides and then go, with proof of the debt,<sup>10</sup> the city authorities and without further delay he would receive payment of the debt out of city funds. The city authorities would recover the debt at their leisure from the local trader.<sup>11</sup> This standard of efficiency which could not come from a government official was needed in a place where financial transactions were a common preoccupation

and non-payment of debt a common cause of complaint. Another economic factor which favoured the granting of self-governing rights to the city was the saving both in time and money by the king, who no longer had to send officials to collect what was due to him from the citizens. Under this new system operations became much more efficient and thus more economical because complaints by citizens against royal officials would be non-existent. The men who operated within the city under this new self-governing system were locally elected and thus of no concern to the king. Finally, in times of need the king could raise money by granting governing privileges to cities. In order to secure money for one of his campaigns Henry III allowed some 20 English towns the privilege of returning writs, a responsibility normally entrusted to the Sheriff.<sup>12</sup> This right was not extended to the Irish towns until the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Again in 1232 Henry III received 50 marks from the citizens of Waterford for the privilege of collecting within the city the rents due to him and paying instead a fixed sum (which was called "farm") twice annually to his exchequer in Dublin.<sup>14</sup>

Although the struggle between monarchy and municipality has been emphasised it would be incorrect to see the relationship between the two as one of constant hostilities. Naturally disputes arose on occasions for it was only natural that people, then as today, disliked paying taxes and rents. However, just as today, most people realised that they had to be paid and objections were usually raised so that compromise might be reached.

Living in a royal city had many advantages which the citizens cherished greatly. Among the many privileges enumerated in the royal charters granted to Waterford during the middle ages was the right of its citizens to be free from tolls, lastage, passage, pontage and all other customs throughout the king's realm. This international passport to free trade within the king's dominions was first granted to the city by King John in 1215 and confirmed in the 1232 charter granted by Henry III.<sup>15</sup> Under the terms of these charters the citizens of Waterford became part of a mini common market which extended from Ireland to England, through parts of Scotland, Wales, Northern France and down as far as Gascony. In addition to this the citizens also enjoyed a trading monopoly which legally obliged all ships entering the harbour, with the exception of those of the lands of William Marshal, to unload at Waterford.<sup>16</sup> From this it is clear that the citizens of Waterford had to wait patiently for the privilege of self-government to be conferred on them, for to provoke the king's displeasure was something they could ill afford to do.

#### MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS:

When we turn to trace the evolution of urban self-government in Waterford our task is hindered by the absence of documents relating to the origin of the posts of Jurate, Provost and Mayor. As early as 1215 King John allowed the citizens of Waterford the right to administer justice within the bounds of the city.<sup>17</sup> In this charter of 1215 the city was also given permission to elect a further 12 good and faithful men; along with the 12 already elected by right of a charter from Henry II. The charter gives no indication concerning the responsibilities of these twenty-four men, although it is probable that their task was to administer justice. These 24 'good and faithful men' may have been Jurates, an office which is mentioned in early thirteenth century English documents<sup>18</sup> and also in documents relating to the early history of Anglo-Norman Dublin.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately however we only know of their existence in the Waterford City administration from a late thirteenth century copy of the borough customs.<sup>20</sup> As the office of Jurate is very obscure in both England and Ireland it would be idle speculation to continue to discuss the matter here.

Having regained the right to administer justice within the city, the citizens of Waterford could now exclude the government appointed itinerant justices and justices of assize from operating within the city. The second step which the city made towards self-government was to gain permission to collect the rents due to the king from the city. This task was usually performed by the sheriff of the county and the conferring and the collection rights upon the city usually implied that the office of provost would be created to collect the money and that a fixed sum would be paid. In the case of the Burgesses of Drogheda in Louth, who in 1229 received the right to hold the town in fee farm (i.e. to collect the rents from the townspeople and pay a fixed sum twice annually to the exchequer), the office of provost was simultaneously created.<sup>21</sup> In 1232, when the citizens of Waterford received the right to collect the rents themselves and pay the farm directly to the exchequer, no mention was made concerning the creation of the office of provost.<sup>22</sup> The 1232 charter did however grant to the provost the authority to represent the city should any of its citizens be unjustly charged to pay tolls in any one of the king's cities. The implication is that the office of provost existed prior to 1232 and although we have no direct evidence until the last third of the thirteenth century, the suggestion is that the provost of Waterford paid the city's farm at the exchequer in Dublin from 1232 onwards.<sup>23</sup> The exclusion of the sheriff from this task did not imply that the provosts incorporated in their persons the legal representation of an administratively independent and self-governing community. Unlike the election of a mayor, their appointment did not herald the exclusion of government officials from every sphere of the city's activities. For example, the murage grants made to the city in 1234<sup>24</sup> and 1247<sup>25</sup> contain the provision that the customs be applied to the enclosing of the city within walls, by view of two lawful men whom the justiciar shall appoint. The murage grant of 1291<sup>26</sup> contains no such restrictive provision simply because by that date the city had a mayor whose responsibility it was to ensure that the custom was properly applied. Clearly government officials could exercise jurisdiction within the city, even in matters which concerned the city alone prior to the election of a mayor.

The origin of the office of mayor is as obscure as that of jurate or provost. A poem written by the Waterford Town Clerk during the reign of Henry VIII claims that Edward I granted to the freemen of Waterford the right to elect a mayor.<sup>27</sup> The first mention of a Waterford mayor is in a government document of 1272,<sup>28</sup> the first year of Edward I's reign, and it states that "the mayor and community of Waterford owe £100 for trespass". As Edward was not in England when his father died in 1272 it is highly unlikely that the grant was made by him in that year. The fact that Dublin, Cork, Drogheda and Limerick elected mayors prior to 1270<sup>29</sup> suggests that Waterford, the second most important town in the colony,<sup>30</sup> also had this important office by that date. The sixteenth century poet may still in fact be correct although perhaps a little inaccurate in his claims. Henry III, Edward I's father, refused during the last 20 years of his reign, to sanction any new requests from English towns and cities for the right to elect a mayor. If Henry III was so prudent about this type of grant in England, it is highly unlikely that he threw caution to the wind when dealing with Ireland. The suggestion is that the "Lord Edward" granted the mayoralty to Limerick, Cork and Waterford prior to his becoming king of England on the death of his father in 1272. Edward had a special relationship with Ireland from 1254 onwards by right of a charter granted to him by his father.<sup>31</sup> Historians are still not certain as to the nature of his powers in Ireland under the terms of the 1254 grant, beyond the rather extensive rights relating to the revenue he could draw from the colony. It is not beyond belief that Edward's position in Ireland after 1254 allowed him to confer upon the cities the right to elect a mayor. The absence of the mayoralty grants for the cities of Limerick, Cork and Waterford from the records of Henry III's administration is unusual and suggests that the

grants may never have been issued from Henry's chancery but from that of the Lord Edwards, many of the records of which are now lost. Although this issue cannot be categorically proven unless new evidence comes to light, at the moment the facts tend to suggest that Edward, through the provisions of the 1254 grant, was in fact the benefactor.

Once the city elected a Mayor the central government in Dublin considered him and the Provosts, or Bailiffs as they were later called, as servants of the Crown and regarded them as a link between central administration and that of the city. The central administration began to look upon the city as a unit for military, judicial and fiscal purposes. The mayor had the responsibility to ensure that the money collected for the upkeep of the city walls was properly used.<sup>32</sup> The Borough Customs gave him the further responsibility of ensuring that the city's defences were not weakened by the granting of lands and rents to religious houses or others who could not help the city in time of need.<sup>33</sup> Indeed as late as 1375, the mayor and bailiffs of the city were slain when attempting to save the city from attacks of the Anglo-Irish and Irish of the county.<sup>34</sup>

Very little is known about the type of men who were elected mayors and provosts of the city during the 13th century. It is safe to say however that they were men of substance as most of them are recorded as customs collectors, tax collectors and purveyors. In order to be elected to such a position the government demanded that those elected had some property so that they would be insured against an individual absconding with the revenues they were spending or collecting on the king's behalf. The government of the city, while it was elected by the city's freemen, was in many respects a typical oligarchy in so far that a very small number of individuals held all the important posts. During Edward's reign the documents contain the names of some ten citizens of Waterford, names which are constantly recurring either as mayor, provost, customs collector, tax collector or purveyor. This suggests that these posts were beneficial to hold when the system was working smoothly and that a certain small minority had the power to keep them within their select group.

#### JUDICIAL POWERS OF MAYOR AND OFFICIALS

In the judicial sphere the mayor administered justice in the court "en la Tounderie". This was a relatively powerful position as the mayor could demand that a suspect who was apprehended with stolen goods on his person should nonetheless be given a hearing in court. If the mayor failed to make this demand the unfortunate could be executed immediately without a trial. The mayor's position as a link between the city and the Dublin government can be seen very clearly in the sphere of justice where he acted as arbitrator in cases which involved a conflict of jurisdictions. A conflict of jurisdictions arose when a citizen had to appear in court with non-citizen; such cases were left for the justiciar to judge. In these cases the justiciar summoned the citizen to appear before him by sending a writ to the mayor and bailiffs instructing them to have the person named at his court.<sup>34</sup> If the mayor and bailiffs did not carry out the orders contained in the writ they were amerced (fined). This was the result in 1305 when the mayor and bailiffs returned that a citizen who was to answer a plea of debt at the justiciar's court was ill.<sup>35</sup> It was the task of the mayor and bailiffs to levy from the goods and property of the citizen the sum in which he was amerced in the justiciar's court. If they failed to do so the sheriff could be asked to enter the city and carry out the justiciar's commands.<sup>36</sup> In 1302 the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford refused to levy a debt because the individual concerned had nothing except that which had been taken into the king's hands prior to the arrival of the writ. However the excuse was not accepted, for the sheriff of Waterford was ordered "that he fail not on account of the liberty of the city to levy of this

debtor's lands and chattels and deliver to the creditor" the sum agreed upon in his court.

As the justiciar was not always available to hear cases as soon as a charge was brought, it became the responsibility of the mayor and bailiffs to keep in custody those suspected of criminal acts until the justiciar should come to deliver the gaol. In 1311 the mayor and bailiffs were charged with allowing the escape of two citizens who had been committed to gaol on the suspicion that they had stolen goods from a house in the town of the Ostmen in the suburbs.<sup>37</sup> Indeed such negligence could be expensive, for the pipe roll of 1299 records that the mayor and bailiffs and commonality owe 100/- for the escape of Henry Russell.<sup>38</sup> The system of administering justice appears to have been very efficient. In cases involving a non-citizen the mayor represented the city and ensured that the victim received that which the citizen owed him (or so it was intended). Within the city the mayor and bailiffs organised a quick and efficient means of obtaining justice. The citizen who brought an action against another citizen did not have to wait for itinerant justices to come to the city before his case would be heard.

#### FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH DUBLIN:

In the fiscal sphere the mayor and bailiffs also acted as a link between the city and the Dublin government. In 1292 when the king asked the Irish parliament for a grant of a fifteenth (a tax so called since it was levied at the rate of  $\frac{1}{15}$ th of the value of all movables) the mayors of the cities seem to have represented the citizens at the parliament. Thomas Cantock, who was sent to Ireland to negotiate the tax, in a letter to the English Chancellor tells us that the mayors agreed to the tax.<sup>39</sup> Indeed the mayor's responsibility did not end here as he had to ensure that suitable persons were locally elected to collect the tax.<sup>40</sup> Again in 1300 it was probably with the mayor that John Wogan, the justiciar, negotiated the grant by the city of 100 marks to the king to help finance his war in Scotland.<sup>41</sup> Here again there is little doubt that the collection of the money from the individuals within the city was left up to the mayor and the city administration.

In the collection of import and export duties the central government also used the machinery of local government to carry out this task. The city's obligations to provide the officials needed to collect the various customs was extremely valuable to the king. The election of officials from within the city to collect these customs gave rise to a very efficient system of local administration, thereby preventing the loss to the central government of valuable time. Unfortunately we do not know when the system of electing local customs collectors started, but it is clear from the Memoranda Rolls that at the beginning of the fourteenth century these officials were, in fact, citizens who had been locally elected. Writs were sent to the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford ordering them to cause two 'good and faithful men' to be elected who would be responsible for the collection of the custom on wool and hides<sup>42</sup> Similarly when the small custom was imposed by Edward I in 1303, the officials responsible for its collection were, in all probability, locally elected.<sup>43</sup> The reason we have for suggesting this is that Jordan of Bristol paid the issues of the custom at Waterford into the exchequer in 1304. As Jordan was relieved from the office of controller of the custom on wool and hides in 1304, a position he had been elected to fill, we can assume that he was also elected to collect the small custom.

Nothing is known concerning the method adopted for the collection of the prise of wine during the early part of Edward I's reign. During Henry III's reign, the prise was collected by the king's bailiff in the presence of the city provost.<sup>44</sup> In 1303 a change occurred when the king, Edward I, substituted for the prise a money payment of two shillings on every tun of wine unloaded at the port. This charge may have been followed by a change in the system of collecting the prise for in 1305 Eymer de Godor was elected custos of the prise of wine in Waterford.<sup>45</sup>

The advantage of this system of local government was that fraud by the individual collectors was, as far as possible, ensured against. This insurance was achieved by the fact that those elected had to be 'good and honest men'. This term probably implied in Ireland, as it did in England, that the collectors were to have sufficient means and enough spare time to perform this task.<sup>45</sup> Obviously it was much easier to get redress from a wealthy citizen than it was from a poor one. Secondly, the writs ordering the mayor and bailiffs to have these men elected contained the provision that the mayor and community should be accountable for those whom they elect.<sup>47</sup> This surely must have encouraged the election of trustworthy men, and even if they proved not to be, the central administration could still claim satisfaction from the mayor and community of the city. Although those elected did on occasion take an oath at the exchequer concerning the office they administered, the responsibility for their actions seems to have been completely in the hands of the mayor and bailiffs. For example even though the mayor and bailiffs sent the names of those elected as collectors of the custom to the Treasurer, the exchequer did not send writs directly to the collectors. Instead it employed the more general tactic of addressing the writs to the mayor and bailiffs to cause the collectors to come to the exchequer, together with their rolls of receipts, to present their account.<sup>48</sup> Even when the custom on wool and hides was farmed out to the Italian bankers and merchants the city officials still kept an account of the customs paid.<sup>49</sup> Edward was therefore armed with a cheap and efficient method of checking the amount of revenue the Italians received. The third individual who was involved on a local level with the collection of the custom was the controller, and his task, as his title suggests, was to act as a control on the two collectors. During the early fourteenth century the controller was also elected locally. Jordan of Bristol a controller, sought special permission to be relieved of the duty in 1304.<sup>50</sup> The same year the king ordered the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford to elect another suitable person in his place.<sup>51</sup> This development was in complete contradiction to the original plan which specified that the controller should be a government appointee.<sup>52</sup> One could argue that, because all three officials were now locally elected, there was a greater scope for conspiracy and fraud among them, and this might possibly have weakened the system. Indeed, the practice of allowing the controller to be elected locally illustrates just how dependent on locally elected officials the central administration had become. A similar system of local elections operated when it came to appointing the individuals responsible for the collection of the provisions necessary for the king's army.<sup>53</sup> For example Jordan of Bristol and Robert the clerk were elected purveyors at Waterford in 1306. Like those appointed to collect the custom on wool and hides, they had to keep a record of money received and spent and on occasion account at the exchequer. In 1310 a writ was sent to the mayor and bailiffs of Cork commending them to cause to come to the exchequer the purveyors of victuals there, so that they might render account for the time of King Edward I and of Edward II.<sup>54</sup>

The administrative obligations owed by the city to the king did not end with the local election of the officials needed to collect the supplies. Indeed this was only the first stage in a long process which involved many individuals and an assortment of skills before the goods reached their destination. The city authorities had the task of arresting merchant ships so that they could be employed in the transport of the supplies to the king's army. When the ships had been arrested the mayor and bailiffs had to take security from the masters of the ships to ensure that they would not escape. Having done this they had to certify to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer concerning the tonnage of those ships arrested.<sup>55</sup> Clearly much of the work of purveyance could be transferred to the governing officials of the city. This had great advantages for the king in an age when the appointment of individuals to administer local duties was not an easy task for the central government. Fraud by purveyors could be easily insured against by transferring the responsibility of electing the purveyors to the local communities. The fact that in 1310 the mayor and bailiffs of Cork were ordered to cause the purveyors to come to the exchequer suggests that, like those elected to collect the customs on wool and hides, the actions of the purveyors were also the responsibility of the city.<sup>56</sup>

Apart from the administrative advantages offered by the city the king could also exploit the services of the great trading centres in his quest for supplies. Once the goods were collected they had to be prepared for the journey to either Gascony, Wales or Scotland. Wine casks often had to be repaired, so also had suitable containers for flour and wheat. Ships had to be adapted to carry goods which they may not have been designed to carry. The goods also had to be weighed to ensure that, while on board ship, the supplies were not depleted before they reached the king's army. Clearly there was a whole range of skills needed and the individuals possessing these skills were easily found in the city. Another point to be considered, in an age when communications were slow and the transport of money a precarious task, was the fact that money was available locally to finance the purchase of supplies. John le Taylor mayor of Waterford who was elected purveyor in 1297 received sums of money from the collectors of the fifteenth in the counties of Kerry, Tipperary and Waterford.<sup>57</sup> The city of Waterford was allowed £217-9-7 on its account in 1293 and part of this money went towards buying provisions for the king's army.<sup>58</sup> In 1307 John Lucas and the sheriff of Cork received £40 from Bartholomew Malizardi late collector of the custom on wool and hides.<sup>59</sup> They also received all the money that had been collected by Jordan of Bristol, keeper of the custom of wool and hides at Waterford.<sup>60</sup> This money was used to pay the wages of divers mariners who were bringing supplies to Scotland. Similarly money which was not spent by the purveyors could, without having to be sent back to Dublin, be transferred to the purveyors in another area. In 1301, for example, the purveyors at New Ross delivered to the purveyors at Waterford £46. There can be little doubt as to the efficiency of this system for obtaining supplies for the king's army.<sup>61</sup>

Along with all these responsibilities it also became the task of the mayor and bailiffs by the end of the 13th century to account at the exchequer for the farm of the city. It is also evident from our sources that the bailiffs, the traditional payers of the farm, held a subordinate, rather than coordinate, position to the mayor when accounting.<sup>62</sup> This is illustrated by the fact that if the mayor could not attend the exchequer but sent his bailiffs instead, his presence was still demanded in Dublin before the account was closed.<sup>63</sup> In 1307 when the records are much more complete we find an account of three citizens of Waterford presenting the mayor at the exchequer to take the oath of office.<sup>64</sup> By the end of Edward's reign the exchequer had succeeded in transferring from the bailiffs



or provosts the responsibility for the farm. The proffering for the farm by the mayor and the taking of the oath was a symbolic acceptance of his personal responsibility for the city's debt. In 1304 for example the mayor of Dublin was committed to the custody of the marshal because; "the exchequer had received little or no payment." Due to the outbreak of fire in Dublin the mayor was released but on the third of August he was again committed to the marshal's custody because, "he came (to the exchequer) making excuses to defer payment."<sup>65</sup> The burden on the Mayor of Dublin was so great in 1304 that in the following year a new regulation had to be made by the municipal government". The regulation forbade the refusal of any citizen to accept the office of mayor if elected. Those who refused to take the office had to pay £10 towards the repair of the Guildhall.

Clearly something was going wrong with the system. By the end of Edward I's reign Waterford city owed six times its annual farm to the exchequer. The city's incapacity to pay was in all probability due to an economic recession which was accelerated by the king's exploitation of the colony in order to pay for his Scottish wars.<sup>67</sup>

It is ironic that just as the system of local government was reaching perfection other forces were at work ensuring its collapse. In many ways this development is very understandable for the advanced system of both urban and rural administration had made Edward's exploitation of the colony an easy task. This exploitation left the country defenceless against the growing power of the Irish who gradually took advantage of the king's lack of interest and began to regain territories within the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence. By 1307, the year in which Edward died, the mayor and bailiffs of the city of Waterford were pardoned by the treasurer because, "they did not venture to come to proffer for the farm because of the hazards of the seas and the divers wars which were taking place in Ireland".<sup>67</sup> This indeed was the first sign of the collapse of the system which had developed during Edward's reign. By 1331 the city received a charter which excused the mayor from taking the oath of office at the exchequer.<sup>68</sup> Fifty years had not passed since the death of Edward when in 1356 the city received another charter which allowed for the payment of the farm by an attorney.<sup>69</sup> The links which had been established between the city and the Dublin government were gradually being broken down. The Dublin administration began to concentrate on defending the area which was to be called the pale. Though Waterford was very much outside the 'Pale' it in many ways created its own 'Pale' and remained loyal to the English monarchy throughout the middle ages. This loyalty was rewarded in 1497 by Henry VII, the last of the medieval kings of England when he conferred upon the city among other honours, the motto, *Intacta Manet Waterfordia*.<sup>70</sup>

Sources:

1. M. D. O'Sullivan, Italian Merchant Bankers in Ireland in the Thirteenth Century, p.III.
2. Calendar of Justiciary Rolls, Ireland. Vol III, p p.185-8.
3. M. D. O'Sullivan, op. cit., p. 21.
4. Eymar de Godar appears frequently in the records of the time so that it is possible to construct a short profile of his career. This I have set out in the table below.
5. Charles Smith, The Ancient and Present State of the City of Waterford (1746) p. 114 - 5 .
6. A. J. Otway - Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland. p. 50
7. G. H. Orpen, Ireland Under the Normans, Vol. I, p. 371
8. Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates, pp. 13-14.

9. J. Tait, The Medieval English Borough, p. 191 & N.3
10. J. T. Gilbert, Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, p.196.
11. G. Mac Niocaill, 'Borough Customs of Waterford' Na Buirgeisi, Vol.I, P.39 and T. Plucknett, Legislation of Edward I, p. 137
12. J. Tait, op. cit., p. 346
13. Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol.V., pp.184-185-219.
14. G. Mac Niocaill, Na Buirgeisi, pp. 251 - 55
15. ibid. p. 251 - 55
16. Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1171 - 1251. No. 1552.
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68. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1330 - 1334, p. 43.
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Table of References to Eymur de Godar.

Date	Event	Sources
1295	"Merchant of Gascony"	Plea Rolls, 23 Ed.I, Rec.Com. Calendar, Vol. III, p.248
1298	The Sheriff of the County of Waterford pays a fine for him.	Cal. of Docs. Rel.to Ireland 1293-1301, no.550.
1304	Paid the farm at the Exchequer as Mayor of Waterford.	Mem.Roll 31-35 Ed.I, P.R.O.I. Cal., p. 124.
1305	Still mayor of Waterford.	Cal. Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, Vol.II, p.121.
1306	Acted as pledge for the sheriff of the county who failed to pay the queen's gold.	<i>ibid.</i> , p.178
1307.	"Custos" of the prise of wine. Elected collector of the custom on wool and hides. Paid custom on wool and hides. Paid the farm of Waterford.	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 166. Memoranda Roll, 1 Ed.I, P.R.O.I.; Cal., p. 249. Receipt Roll, 35 Ed.I, E. 101/234/16. <i>idem.</i>
1311	Mayor of Waterford.	Receipt Roll, 4 Ed. II, E. 101/236/1.

The Social and Economic Evolution of South Kilkenny in  
the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

by L. M. Cullen

As a region Kilkenny is particularly interesting. First, it has had a more marked continuity than most regions in Ireland with its inhabitants and their material and non-material culture less disturbed by an abrupt transition than other regions. Secondly, it was, to start with, more densely populated than many other regions, its central districts being probably the economically most developed part of late medieval and early modern Ireland. Thirdly, Kilkenny itself can be subdivided into three distinct sub-regions, thus repeating within itself some of the contrasts still more sharply evident at national level. Politically, it was part of the Ormonde palatinate, dominated by its ruling Butler family. As late as the 1620's, one third of the landed revenues of the county seem to have been in the hands of the Butler family and the Desmonds;<sup>(1)</sup> the Butler lands stretched across the county from Kilcash to Knocktopher, Kells and Callan to Kilkenny town and Dunmore and to Ballyragget and Urlingford in the north. In acres and strategic location they dominated the county. Loyal to the king, the Butlers lost some of their lands in the 1650's, but also thanks to the Restoration, they continued to hold a dominant position. Loyalty to the Jacobite cause later had its price:

the Duke was attainted, the family losing its title and purchasing back its lands. The family's landholdings were thus reduced by the early eighteenth century, but they were still the largest landed family in the county, and were related by blood to other branches of the family, also large landowners, in the neighbouring county of Tipperary, much of which had been within the palatinate. Under the power of the Butler family, the palatinate had been relatively peaceful in medieval times in contrast to neighbouring Carlow which was intensely disturbed by intermittent warfare. The absence of warfare may account in part for the relative economic prosperity of the palatinate. But only in part. Economic prosperity was also sustained by the strong town life of the region, which, while it may have reflected the political power of the Butlers, was long-established and had become an independent factor in accounting for the region's economic vitality.

In fact, next to its long-standing political stability, its strong town life was its outstanding feature. Its network of towns was by far the most extensive and most successful in Ireland: the Ormonde palatinate was the only region in Ireland whose hinterland was characterised by a strong town life. Its seaport outlet, Waterford, was the second largest port in Ireland into the seventeenth century; even as late as 1680 its customs revenue was comparable to that of Cork. Kilkenny, thirty miles inland from Waterford, main urban seat of the Butlers, was the only large inland town in Ireland. The Butler interest was evident in all three towns upstream from Waterford on the river Suir: Carrick,

seat of the most magnificent late Tudor and perhaps first non-militarised house built in Ireland; Clonmel, centre of the Palatinate court, and Cahir, a powerful frontier port for the palatinate in the south-west of the Butler lands. On the King's River between Kilkenny and Waterford, the two towns of Callan and Kells were dominated by Butler castles, and with the towns of Thomastown and Inistioge on the Nore, completed a chain of four towns within a stretch of fifteen miles, a unique feature in Ireland. The strong economic and town life of this compact region was carried through a gap in the hills beyond Callan to an almost equally rich district in Tipperary dominated by the walled town of Fethard and the neighbouring ecclesiastical centre of Cashel whose archbishopric was controlled by the Butlers. Thus, a region no more than thirty miles long and as many miles wide, had no less than ten towns.

Such a developed comparatively well-populated region was not readily open to foreign settlement and external influences. The tenant class remained catholic, and even new families of English origin were successful in introducing a significant number of protestants only into the bleak limestone plateau in the north-east of the county and onto the Slieveardagh hills along the western frontier of the county. The Butler family itself retained much of its land, and two branches of the family, those at Ballyragget in the north and Cahir in the south-west of the palatinate, remained Catholic throughout the period. Political and social continuity meant cultural continuity as well. An almost medieval-life style survived

in the southern half of the county well into the eighteenth century; abductions, family feuds, and banditry were all in evidence. Intermarriage was very marked in the southern districts especially. These districts also retained a typical pattern of farm houses clustering together which is almost certainly Anglo-Norman in origin, thus affording a contrast with the more dispersed settlement of mid- and north Kilkenny. It was in fact in the southern districts, tightly-knit by marriage with families still living even in the lowlands in house clusters into the nineteenth century (or to the present day), that continuity was most marked and that the decline in the Irish language came latest. Irish was the language of a third of the inhabitants of the two baronies adjoining the port of Waterford as late as 1851. They were, along with adjoining Knocktopher and Kells, the most literate baronies of Kilkenny. The coincidence in mid-century of a high proportion of Irish speakers with the highest literacy rates in the county illustrates the exceptional character of the south, and is consonant with their complex social organisation and evolution.

Kilkenny constituted a relatively self-contained region. Few external influences pervaded it from east Waterford, which showed the same culture, and in addition to the south and the east the wide waters of the Suir and Barrow acted as a barrier. New influences could reach the county only from the north-west or north-east or in mid-Kilkenny through the grain corridor which ran from Cashel-Fethard on to Callan and the King's River.

In the east, even when the Barrow narrowed above New Ross, outside influences were greatly reduced by the fact that south Carlow remained in the hands of the Kavanaghs, still Catholic, married into the Butlers and culturally not much different. North Carlow was however already highly anglicised before 1641, and it is not surprising that in 1660 the most widespread outside settlement was evident in the north-east around Gowran, and in the north-west, in the barony in Galmoy.

It was a highly commercialised county. The alliance between trade and land was long established in its landed class not only in the port of Waterford but even as far afield as the city of Kilkenny itself, there being a rivalry between Kilkenny men and Waterford men in the overseas trade of the port. It had long been a tillage region for the urban markets of the south-east; it was also a centre of production of wool for export, the wool coming in the main from the north of the county. This helped to account for the county's traditions in woollen manufacture and late in the eighteenth century when Waterford's export trade in wool and yarn was small, Kilkenny city was still a market through which wool was directed towards the growing woollen manufacture of the south of the county.

The central region of the county between the Nore and the King's River had been the most densely populated part of the county. The south was less densely populated, except on the lower lands bordering the Suir and Barrow. But close to the city of Waterford, the upland region was probably as densely populated as its upland character would admit. The relative population density of the



southern baronies at the outset can be measured crudely in a comparison with conditions in the Slieveardagh hills north of the corridor from Callan to Cashel. In this region, in contrast to the south, there was heavy immigration, reflected for instance in the variety of surnames, protestant settlement, and isolated as opposed to clustered farms, a sure sign of extensive reshaping of landholding. There was much tillage in the southern region before the increase in dairying in the 1750s and 1760s.<sup>(2)</sup> In both the southern and central regions there was remarkably little variety in surnames, emphasising the dense settlement on the King's river, and the relatively closed and intermarried society of the uplands further south which limited immigration. By contrast there was a much greater variety of surnames in the parishes of the north of the county, emphasising that they had been underpopulated and that low population combined with proximity to the centres of heavy English settlement pre- and post 1641 in the midlands and in north Carlow accounted for a movement into them that had no parallel in the rest of the county.

Kilkenny was the richest agricultural region in Ireland, characterised in particular by **two major grain-growing** regions, one along the Suir valley in the south, the other running from the King's River into Tipperary. Kilkenny had very many mills even ahead of modernisation of milling, although the civil survey does not survive to admit of their enumeration. The richest district in this region, the land between the King's River and the Nore, was the main cradle of the revolution in Irish

flour milling in the 1760's.<sup>(3)</sup>

Three clear-cut regions can be distinguished in County Kilkenny. The first was the north of the county, relatively marshy pasture land in the north-west, limestone plateau in the north-east in the barony of Fassidinan. The region bore all the marks of relative underpopulation to start with. In contrast to the region further south, there were no medieval towns in the region, and medieval castles and monastic settlements were fewer and less impressive. English immigration was marked in the seventeenth century, even abortively in the Butler stronghold of Ballyragget: the village was reshaped with an English triangular green.<sup>(4)</sup>

Johnstown, Freshford and Castlecomer represented typical landlord initiative in shaping or re-shaping other village settlements. The upper reaches of the Nore reached into an intense region of English settlement around Mountrath, Castletown and Durrow (the latter ever being at one stage within County Kilkenny). In the north-east, on the limestone plateau, Castlecomer waxed before 1641 on iron, and mainly after 1731 on coal.

The central lowlands of Kilkenny, the second region of the county, include the land between the Nore and the Barrow and to the west the lands bordering the Nore and its tributary the King's River. It included the city of Kilkenny, the seventeenth-century town of Gowran near its eastern border, four substantial medieval towns or villages and the more modern settlements of Kilmoganny and Stoneyford. As it was densely populated

and contained prosperous tillage farms, there was little scope for outside settlers on the land. But the region was attractive to outsiders with commercial interests who settled in the towns and to landowners and gentlemen tenants from the outside - as opposed to occupying tenants - who held much of its land. At a later date this was the region in the county in which landlord demesnes and estates were most numerous. The barony of Kells in the main to the south of King's River was the most dramatic illustration of all of resistance to outside influences. Significant small communities of protestants grew in Kells, and in the villages of Kilmoganny and of Stoneyford (the latter within the barony of Knocktopher) which were close to several demesnes, but there was no significant non-Irish settlement on the land at all. Strikingly, too, reflecting the existing town life along the river, Kilmoganny and Stoneyford were the only two village creations which could be regarded as new. Even the Irish language was slow to give ground in the barony, and in 1851 almost one quarter of the population still spoke Irish. Along both sides of the river the contrast between on the one hand the numerous demesnes and the largely anglicised towns and on the other hand the unchanging farm population is a good illustration of the inability of landlords either to change the population or to attract settlers. To the east of the Nore in the barony of Gowran the pattern was not dissimilar, except that more subject to outside influences, the Irish language was less spoken than in the baronies of Shillogher, Crannagh and Kells.

The third region was essentially upland, embracing the two southern baronies of Iverk and Ida, the southern half of the barony of Knocktopher and a small portion of Gowran. Its northern frontier reached from Inistioge to Ninemilehouse just across the border in Tipperary. At both points the frontier is quite dramatic: Mount Alto falling steeply into the Nore below Inistioge, and the sudden vista from Ninemilebridge of the Callan plain to the north. The frontier runs south of a line joining the villages of Windgap, Kilmoganny, Knocktopher and Inistioge. The Rower, south-east of Inistioge on the north side of the Nore, included in the administrative barony of Ida, was also part of the southern region culturally, reproducing exactly the same characteristics of settlement patterns, way of life and culture. This upland is intersected by a valley from north to south, which helps to make Mullinavat in the shadow of Tory Hill, the nearest approach the region has to a focal point. But the archaic character of the region is reflected in the fact that Mullinavat is largely post-1800, and the absence of seats and of estate villages within the uplands illustrates the lack of residential appeal of the region and helps to explain how it preserved its cultural ethos with very little change well into the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries. To the north the region falls to the great central plain of mid-Kilkenny. To the south it slopes southwards to the Suir and eastwards to the Barrow. The riverine stretches were the most prosperous agricultural districts of the region, and embrace in the great meander of the Suir above Waterford, by far the

greatest single extent of lowland within the region. Isolated by the wide barrier of the Suir and Nore, and consisting largely of the uplands, the region is quite distinct from the south-east at large. The variety of surnames was smaller than elsewhere, intermarriage intense, and the general pattern of its life more inbred, archaic and unchanging. The contrast is especially dramatic if the region is seen as ringed round by small medieval towns and as reaching quite literally into the suburbs of Waterford. It had no medieval towns and no wealth of medieval buildings, apart from the castles or fortified houses of the gentry dotted across the landscape, bespeaking originally a stronger gentry implantation than in the backward north. There were no towns either except for villages like Mullinavat, Slieverue and Glenmore, all post-1800 following the line of existing roads. It had only two estate villages Piltown and Fiddown side by side on the Bessborough estate; even the Fiddown parish union was predominantly catholic, and protestant settlement outside Piltown had virtually disappeared with the consequence that the lands immediately verging on Waterford city, the richest tillage lands in this region, were among the mostly monolithically catholic parishes in the entire county. However, because the entire region was close to the city it was both highly populated in relation to its resources and highly commercialised. Its gentry families had traditionally an active role in trade and in the overseas business life of the city of Waterford: no less than nine Kilkenny families were represented in the merchant community of Waterford in 1660.<sup>(5)</sup> Some of its families

like the Walshes or Aylewards continued to hold large farms on advantageous leases. In the eighteenth century the region developed a textile industry, in part in the hands of the larger farmers who employed labourers to weave for them. Its lower classes too from a comparatively early date migrated seasonably to the Newfoundland fishery. The continuity of this region, its remarkably stable social structure and the inter-marriage which supported it, ensured also that it remained the most Irish-speaking part of the county, and that the western barony of Iverk where these features were more marked was more Irish-speaking than the eastern barony of Ida. Until the 1750s tillage had been widespread in this region, when it began to give way to dairying. Tighe commented in 1802 on the traces of village communities that had disappeared 40 or 50 years previously.<sup>(6)</sup> But the character of the region was still very resilient. Tighe noted that the farms in Ida which combined dairying and tillage as the most comfortable in the county, and also commented on comfortable farms on the borders of Iverk and Knocktopher.<sup>(7)</sup> Significantly, while village communities may long have been becoming fewer in the uplands, they were still very numerous in the 1830s. They survived best of all in the lowlands adjoining the Suir where the advantages of tillage were greater than on the higher ground and gave the district a striking continuity. In contrast to the uplands, clusters of farm houses were still the dominant form of settlement in the 1830s whereas in the uplands villages and isolated farm houses shared the landscape between them. The region threw up one industrial village,

Kilmacow, where the upland fell down to low land and which became the major centre of milling in the south of the county, because of its transport advantages and good water power.

The closed character of the region is reflected also in the absence of protestant settlement, despite the fact that in 1660 this region, with its rich soil and access to transport had attracted a number of gentry families. Their long-term impact was very limited. The protestant population of the parishes of Dunkitt and Gaulskill declined continuously from a sizeable 39 families in 1731, which made them the largest rural community after the Fiddown parish union in south Kilkenny, to 24 in 1766, 14 in 1800 and 55 individuals or about 11 families in 1831. The parishes of Poleroan, Portnascully, Ulid and Clonmore exhibited a similar tendency, the 24 families of 1731 falling to 55 individuals in 1766 and 66 in 1831. Even Kilmacow, despite its belated commercialisation did not acquire a Protestant community, its 7 families of 1731 rising only to 44 individuals or about 9 families by 1831. (8)

The changes in landowners did of course lead to a widespread appearance of outsiders: in the 1659-60 poll-tax returns, the named "gentlemen" and "esquires" have almost all English names right across the county, but the small number of poll-tax payers in most locations suggests that the new landowners and large gentlemen tenants had been able to introduce remarkably few tenants or labourers to displace the existing population. This was most dramatically evident on the Ponsonby (or

Bessborough) estate in the south. The Ponsonbys were among the great whig magnates of the eighteenth century, but their estates had few protestants except in the vicinity of the demesne. The Protestant parish of Fiddown had 300 Protestants in 1731, 483 in 1800, but the number had increased only to 551 in 1831. This was in absolute numbers the largest community outside the north of county Kilkenny at every date between 1731 and 1831. But even here the farmers were mixed, with many Catholics among the largest, and many of the Protestants among the smallholders suggesting that they were estate employees.<sup>(9)</sup> In addition no less than 139 of a population of 2141 above 14 years in 1800 were returned as manufacturers.<sup>(10)</sup> The Bessborough family had long encouraged the linen industry, although with limited success as the woollen industry overshadowed it, and it is likely that protestant artisans accounted for a high proportion of the protestant community. Moreover, on the fringes of the parish, communal landholding structures were evident, suggesting that the landowner was compelled to respect existing institutions. The estate agent was Peter Walsh, a member of the dominant old family of the region. In the townland of Turkstown,<sup>(11)</sup> Walsh, rehousing small farmers, was constrained to respect the communal structures, thus not reshaping the farms as was common in landlord improvements but building the farms together as a compact village at the centre of an unaltered field structure. The neighbouring Bessborough parish



of Poleroan with its tight clusters of farm houses on richer soil had almost no outside names. (12) Significantly, with the minor exceptions of Kilmoganny and Stoneyford and the major one of Inistioge, the only villages in the county which reflect firm direction or planning by the landlord were in the north. Pilltown and Fiddown themselves were poorly laid out villages, formed by the landscape and the road line rather than shaped by central direction as in Johnstown, Freshford and Castlecomer, the three most formal villages in the county, or in Ballyragget.

On balance even at the end of the decade of most decisive upheaval in Irish history (the 1650s), the changes in Kilkenny did not reach beyond landownership and trade. At the level of the countryside, the social structure remained based on an indigenous farming class. In fact, given the strong traditions of commercialised agriculture and the general **commercialisation** evident in the close links between country gentry and merchant classes, life in the countryside was dominated by the stronger farmers. Even in the sixteenth century, a **strong** yeoman class may have existed below the level of the gentry. This seems to explain the contrast between Kilkenny and the south-west of Ireland, where dispossessed landed families saw their sons set up as very large gentlemen farmers taking large tracts of land at low rents and subletting them at high rents to small occupying tenants in the **eighteenth**

century. In Kilkenny by contrast there was a relative absence of families who were characterised by large holdings which they did not farm directly and by distinct aristocratic aspirations. Large holdings in Kilkenny, which were by no means unknown, involved direct management; their occupiers do not seem to have been aristocratic in their pretensions. Kilkenny because of its medieval character was still characterised by many signs of medieval violence: family feuds, abductions, and banditry. For instance an examination of eighteenth-century cases of outlawry shows a higher number of individuals outlawed in Kilkenny than in any county except Cork. Yet despite such evidence of a violent society, there is no record of the existence of the social aggressiveness of gentleman-farmers of the type represented by the O'Sullivans or the celebrated outlaw, Arthur O'Leary, of Co. Cork. The social values of the rural upper classes seem to have been different in the two counties. This is in part a consequence of the century-long active involvement of the county's minor gentry in agriculture but the different social values of the two regions may be equally a consequence of upward social mobility by lesser families in an agriculturally rich and relatively advanced region. As they rose, they brought with them the attitudes and social values they held originally. In consequence the rural upper class may have come to a large extent from its farming community. In county Cork, much more backward to start with and with no tradition of a

highly evolved agriculture, there was no intermediate class or yeomanry between the gentry and the small occupiers. The large gentlemen farmers of the eighteenth century in west Cork were very clearly a consequence of downward social mobility. As they sank, they retained their aspirations to a gentry life-style: they also resented the new landowners of English ancestry who had supplanted them, and a sense of social rivalry based on racial differences was in evidence which had no parallel in county Kilkenny. In Kilkenny, there is also evidence of the direct migration of younger sons of farmers as opposed to gentleman farmers into trade.<sup>(13)</sup> The Rice family of Callan had no great social standing among the old families of Kilkenny; yet one of the Rices from Callan was a merchant in overseas trade in Waterford city at the end of the eighteenth century. The farm from which Rice came can still be identified in the hands of a member of the family in the 1820s: some 60 acres (90 statute acres) making its occupier third largest occupier in the parish of Callan.<sup>(14)</sup> This instance suggests a background infinitely more modest than that typical for recruits into foreign trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and seems to illustrate a path from modest farming into trade which can be paralleled neither in the south nor west of Ireland.

Popular agrarian unrest was not sectarian. In fact the agrarian unrest in 1761 which once it spread to Clogheen acquired a sectarian dimension had actually

originated on the estates of the Cahir Butlers, and in 1775 the most violent clash between the agrarian rebels and property owners took place in Ballyragget in the north of the county where the inhabitants of the town organized by the Butler family, especially the archbishop, repulsed the Whiteboys, in a virtual military conflict. The rapid growth of foreign trade in the third quarter of the eighteenth century had a dramatic impact on the agricultural organisation of the county. The impact was of course less on the wheat lands of the middle of the county where commercialisation of long standing had produced an individual as opposed to communal organisation of farming and where the boom in wheat growing in the 1750s and 1760s prevented the advance of pastoral farms. The impact was more serious in the north of the county which was more suitable for livestock and in the uplands of the south where tillage gave way in the third quarter of the century to dairying. Some of the farms which emerged were very large, one of the Welsh family at Earlsrath having according to Tighe no less than 2,000 acres.<sup>(15)</sup> The structure of the area remained singular of course. In this closed region intermarriage was universal among the propertied families. Families as they moved into dairying and livestock did not chose to house themselves in the fields, but remained in small communities of several dwellings. The Aylward family for instance was one of the successful families who pioneered the movement into dairying:

some five families at Knockmeilan and Ballybrishan living side by side in a tiny community.<sup>(16)</sup> Such communities were scattered across the southern baronies. They are to be distinguished sharply from the small communities of tillage farmers which they replaced: they were large propertied families, akin to the other families in the pattern of intermarriage and community living, but otherwise quite different. A number of these villages of propertied farmers were built around a green: a sure indication of the role livestock played in their economy. No less than four of these communities around a green can be identified of which Boolyglass is the most remarkable.<sup>(17)</sup>

It is possible to hypothesise that in this region, which was without towns before 1800, small livestock fairs grew up in proximity to the stronger farmers and that some farmers built their communities around the green which served a commercial purpose. It should be added that these villages are quite different from the clachan the concept of which has been popularised by geographers in the study of settlement in parts of the north and west of Ireland. Anglo-Norman farmers often chose to live in tiny communities of several farmers rather than in isolation and the Kilkenny village or community pattern is derived from this pattern.

Changes were bound to be resented, especially as they displaced the smaller or weaker landholders. There was also pressure in finding an outlet for younger sons. The seasonal migration from Waterford

to Newfoundland which took up to 5,000 passengers each year grew to large proportions in the same period (the third quarter of the century), and south Kilkenny was the main region from which the passengers were drawn. The south was particularly vulnerable in time of change, both because of strong communal characteristics in its social organisation and also because it was on balance poorer than the other regions. The re-organisation based on dairying combined with the evidence of emigration points to very acute social pressure from the middle of the century. The widespread diffusion of textile employment is another measure, and the fact that Carrick becomes more important than Kilkenny as a centre of the industry seems to hint at the role the industry was now acquiring among the smallholders and poor of the valleys and hills of Iverk. Both in Iverk and Ida were to be found the only cases in the county of the letting of dairy cattle by **middlemen** to smallholders too poor to provide their own livestock. In the case of Iverk, Tighe qualified the number taking dairy cattle as few. Within Ida a contrast has to be drawn between its many prosperous districts and a district such as Slieverue where the dairy system (i.e. letting of cattle to dairy.e.) seems to have been widespread. Re-organisation was not disastrous for all the community. In the uplands, access to rough grazing combined with income from woollens often left smallholders much better off than on the lower ground. In the case of the

latter, if the land was poor and if as was the case at Slieverue (civil parish of Rathpatrick) the parish was remote from the textile centres of Carrick and Kilkenny, the change was accompanied by growing social problems. As late as 1834 much of the land in Rathpatrick was held by large middlemen sub-letting to undertenants. (18) Rathpatrick had a ratio of labourers to farms employing labourers almost as high as the high ratios of a semi-urban parish like Callan or a great pastoral parish like Ballyragget. (19) By contrast in Fiddown or Dunkit, or in the hills there was a significant number of smallholders owning their livestock and not beholden to intermediaries within the parish. Away from tillage areas, the balance was of course delicate because smallholders were vulnerable to competition from larger dairy farmers anxious to take more land into their own management, and sources of conflict between smallholders and farmers who both pushed rents up and took smallholdings over, multiplied. As large farmers also emerged as intermittent employers of labour, another source of conflict opened up in regard to wage rates and the price of conacre plots which often constituted a payment in kind.

Given a conflict of interest occasioned by accelerated economic change in the rural community, it is hardly surprising that there should be evidence of a virtual class war in the countryside. The Aylwards, for instance, whose community of five houses has

been mentioned, replaced thatch with slate for fear of malicious attack.<sup>(20)</sup> In the Whiteboy unrest of the 1770s daughters of farmers were abducted and put through a form of forced marriage by their captors: Young in 1776 referred to four instances in the space of a fortnight.<sup>(21)</sup> The attack on Ballyragget was an attack by less well-off rural inhabitants on a prosperous village: it is likely that the very large middlemen farmers lived in the village. In Castlecomer, for instance, they certainly did so.<sup>(22)</sup> Castlecomer, Callan and Ballyragget had the largest ratios of labourers to farms employing labour of any parishes in county Kilkenny in 1831. Rathpatrick, Dunkit and Fiddown, and Knocktopher were not dissimilar, although in Fiddown and Dunkit the social contrast was softened by the very large number of smallholders or farmers not employing labour<sup>(23)</sup> and by the known prosperity of textiles in both parishes till after 1800. It is very clear that in such circumstances labourer-farmer conflict could easily arise and in fact well into the nineteenth century such conflict was characteristic of county Kilkenny. An intriguing feature of south Kilkenny was the traditional mores of the people at large with, for southern Ireland, the high degree of mobility at the lowest social level evident in the migration to Newfoundland. The population pressure such mobility implied combined with knowledge of the outside world can only have added to the combativity of the population. Kilkenny



was the county which first petitioned parliament against tithes in 1787. The tithe was also resented by the ordinary people, especially as the tithe was levied on the potato in Kilkenny alone of Leinster counties thus ensuring that it would be resented by the poor as well as by the well-off. Popular resentment against the tithes made Kilkenny the main centre of the resistance to tithes in the 1820s and 1830s.

The most astonishing feature of all in the case of county Kilkenny, especially as Wexford which became a sectarian bloodbath in 1798 was close at hand, is that the county, while it did not altogether avoid the witchhunt of propertied catholics in the 1760s (largely in fact because the catholic Butlers owned land in Tipperary as well as in Kilkenny), escaped the popular sectarian tensions evident in the 1790s. In the 1798 rebellion, no outbreak took place in Co. Kilkenny. When a rebel army entered the north of the county through Goresbridge, they found themselves eyed with suspicion and were refused information about the movement of the enemy. The only group to join them was a group of miners in Castlecomer. Castlecomer, as has already been pointed out, was the only part of the county with a protestant population, at once large and expansive, but which was more evident among smallholders and landless people than among the farmers. This flicker of support was the sole one in Kilkenny in 1798, and to this day in county Wexford,

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the tradition of betrayal by the Kilkennymen is a strong one. Significantly too the white terror which followed 1798 did not overflow into Kilkenny. Some forty catholic churches were burned in Wexford and Wicklow over the next two years by protestant extremists. Despite the extensive common border which Kilkenny shared with Wexford and the county of Carlow which was like Wexford affected with the religious tensions of the year, only four churches were burned in county Kilkenny. Nothing more than the contrast between the calm behaviour of the intensely catholic county of Kilkenny and its immunity to the Vendée-type religious fervour of Wexford catholics in 1798 underlines the special character of Kilkenny. The county's continuity was marked, and the tensions which characterised it sprang less from the great religious and landed upheaval in Ireland in the seventeenth century and more from purely secular currents of tradition versus modernisation and of social conflict between the county's farming class, whose very prosperity derived from continuity, and its smallholders adversely affected in a relatively densely populated region both by accelerated population growth and increased commercialisation. To a degree rare in Ireland it is possible in the case of Kilkenny to look at social problems without the complicating intervening factors of race and religion.

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(Editorial Note: Due to pressure of time we have not been able to afford Professor Cullen the opportunity of inspecting the final proofs of this article. Decies therefore accepts responsibility for any errors in script).

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ABOVE. Ballinagoul pier, built 1847, with the village which "grew in piecemeal fashion" - as they were in 1890. (Lawrence Collection, N.L.I., 9574 W.L.)

BELOW. The butter and potato market, Dungarvan in 1890. It seems to have improved since 1850 when had only "empty shops, roofless houses, filthy broken and neglected streets" according to A.G. Stark. )Lawrence Collection, N.L.I., 3580 W.L.)



THE SQUARE, DUNGARVAN 3580

LIFE IN RING IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

By Sylvester Murray.

The parish of Ringagoona or Rinn o gCuanach is part of the ancient Deisi Kingdom of East Munster; it is a small parish less than five miles long and about two miles wide. The Drum hills form the high western part while the eastern part stretches into Dungarvan Bay towards Helvick Head. This small area has a nationwide reputation because the Irish language still continues to be used as an everyday means of communication by some of the inhabitants; in fact Ring is remarkable in so far as it was the most easterly Gaeltacht to survive.

This area of the Deisi was one of the first parts of Ireland to be converted to Christianity early in the 5th century<sup>1</sup>. St. Declan had a monastery in Ardmore about this time and more than likely it was from there that the people of Ring received Christianity because the ancient parishes of Ballamacart and Ardmore once formed part of the present day parish of Ring<sup>2</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Later in the 10th century Helvick is named as a Norse trading station<sup>3</sup> although no archaeological evidence has come to light to substantiate this and it seems more likely that this trading station was further west in Ballinagoul (Baile na nGall -- the town of the foreigners) which would afford the Norsemen shelter for their ships. Here the Irish carried on a barter trade with them -- hides and food for salt and other articles from the Continent. It seems reasonable to presume that this Norse community had close connections with Gaultier and Waterford. The O'Faolains were Lords of the Deisi at this time and Donal O'Faolain "quit rented" Dungarvan to King John in 1204<sup>4</sup>. The King granted certain privileges to the town afterwards and it is named as a small trading town in the 13th century - importing salt and wine from Bordeaux and Northern Spain and exporting hides, linen, coarse woollens and friezes.<sup>5</sup> The Geraldines of Dromana were the lords of this part of the Decies in the later Middle Ages and it was Garret Mor Fitzgerald who built Dromana Castle in 1488.<sup>6</sup> The Fitzgeralds held this land in the Cromwellian Confiscations in the mid 17th century. At that time Sir Richard Osborne<sup>7</sup> of Knockmaun and the Earl of Cork were the other owners of land in Ring. A census taken during the Protectorate of Cromwell puts the population of the parish at 200.<sup>8</sup> At the end of the 17th century an English gentleman called Villiers married the heiress Elizabeth Fitzgerald thus becoming owner of the estates. The Villiers held the titles Earls of Grandison in the 18th century. By the end of the century they in turn were left without a male heir. In 1802 Lady Gertrude Villiers married Lord Henry Stuart of Bute and from then the family were known as Villiers Stuart.

The Development of Ring.

During the nineteenth century the Villiers Stuart family had a good reputation among their tenants and many stories are told among the people of Ring of their leniency and kindness. On more than one occasion in the late 19th century they were said to have reprimanded an over zealous agent for being severe on the fishing community in Ballinagoul.<sup>10</sup> They built a summer house in Helvick and brought tenants such as Bateman and Graves into the parish. They also helped the fishing industry in the locality, building houses for fishermen and a small harbour in 1828.<sup>11</sup> They had plans too for the development of Ballinagoul but these never came to fruition. The famous Scottish engineer Alexander Nimmo drew up plans for a village and

pier there in 1815.<sup>12</sup> This pier was not built until 1847 and the village of Ballinagoul grew in piecemeal fashion along the side of the river in a maze of laneways, bothans and potato patches. To this day the legal ownership of many of these plots remains confused.

This village was the heart and soul of the Ring Gaeltacht and its way of life more than any other factor helped to preserve the language. The people were very much a group apart; the men spent most of their time fishing and rarely travelled outside the parish. Not many of them sought higher education and those that emigrated rarely returned. Intermarriage was quite common; names like Walsh, Whealan, Hally, Terry and Drummeay were so numerous that it often was necessary to differentiate by using the paternal grandmother's name such as *Meana Thomeis Chait*. In many respects this was a matriarchal society, much of the work and decision making being done by the womenfolk. The fact that they were less susceptible to outside influences and had such authority within the community may also help to explain the survival of the language here. This survival is all the more remarkable in that Ring was under far more outside influence than the Gaeltachts of the west coast - Helvic had a coastguard station; there was an R. I. C. barracks in Ballinagoul; and the Villiers Stuarts had brought in a number of English-speaking tenants.

Apart from the fishing, the majority of the population were small farmers. Most of them held less than an acre; 21% had holdings between 1 and 5 acres; 5% had 5 to 10 acres;<sup>13</sup> and only twelve farmers had over 50 acres; by mid nineteenth century. In the second half of the century pig fattening, dairying and barley growing proved to be the most profitable enterprises. The pigs were often walked to Cappoquin and the barley was carted to Youghal. Butter was brought to Dungarvan for sale on Saturday mornings.<sup>14</sup> The phrases "thall" (over) and "ag dull anonn" (going over) are still used referring to Dungarvan, possibly as a surviving reference to the older route taken at low tide along "Seana Bhotar an Phoinnte".

Potatoes were an important source of food especially for the small holders and fishermen. Tending these was largely the task of the women while the men were out fishing - their "trichuram" (three tasks) were, "paisti, pratai agus truscar" (children, potatoes and sea-weed). This last was gathered by them in baskets for the potatoes. It was sometimes mixed with sand and stored in a pit in the "macha" (front yard).<sup>15</sup> This was enriched with household refuse and effluent for use as manure. These pits however were something of a health hazard and in 1875 Dr. Graves, the sanitary officer for the district, ordered them to be filled with lime and clay to prevent the spread of disease.<sup>16</sup>

Although dried hake and ling were a reliable source of food, especially during the winter months, nevertheless, the failure of the potato in 1845/46 affected the people of Ballinagoul. Many of the fishermen were forced to sell their gear to obtain food.<sup>17</sup> Rev. James Alcock, the local vicar, obtained help however from the Society of Friends in Waterford and the fishermen were able to buy new gear.<sup>18</sup> An outbreak of fever in the village claimed eight people; they were buried in a field near the village - to this day the grave remains unmarked. Many more were forced to seek refuge in Dungarvan Workhouse where the conditions were deplorable. It had been built to house 600 but it had more than 800 inmates in January 1847.<sup>19</sup> An average of 15 to 20 people died each week here during January, February and March 1847, a high proportion of them children under 15.<sup>20</sup> This tragedy is remembered in the moving lines of the local poetess Maire Ni Dhroma:

"Na pratai dubha a dhein ar gcomharsana a scaipeadh usinn  
A chuir sa poorhouse iad is anonn thar farrage"<sup>21</sup>

The number of people that died from hunger and disease in Ring was small as compared with other areas because the population was higher in 1851 than it had been before the famine.<sup>22</sup>

### Fishing at Ballinagoul and Ring.

Before Ballinagoul pier was built the fishermen had small rowing boats fishing trammels in the harbour and cutting seaweed on the Gainers and in Ballinclamper which they sold on Dungarvan Quay. A boatload of seaweed was sold for 15/-: "Iarraigi punt dibh sin cuigdeag in bhur<sup>23</sup> lamha / Is mo shlan chughaibh a Ghaibhne beidh me anonn chughaibh amarach".

In the 18th century and up to the thirties of the last century, Dungarvan had dominated the fishing in the locality. The Dungarvan men had a proud tradition stretching back to Tudor times as deep sea hake fishermen. Thomas Hacket of Dungarvan had been fishing off the Old Head of Kinsale<sup>24</sup> on 18th June 1631 when he was forced to steer the Algerine to Baltimore. Dried cod and hake from Dungarvan were exported to Bilbao in Spain during the 18th century.<sup>25</sup> Dungarvan grew in importance as a result "which from a miserable wretched village is grown into a place of very considerable importance chiefly from fisheries" was how J. R. Barry the Fishery Inspector for the South of Ireland described the town in 1830.<sup>26</sup> The withdrawal of the bounties on fisheries in that year proved disastrous for Dungarvan and the Duke of Devonshire<sup>27</sup> felt it necessary to give charitable payments to the destitute fishermen. This however is not entirely the reason for the decline of Dungarvan fishing, the failure of the fishermen to adopt new methods such as trawling which had been introduced towards the end of the 18th century possibly contributed as much as the withdrawal of the bounties. They still continued the old method of hand lines whereas the Ringmen had begun to use the new methods by the middle of the last century. The introduction of the Poor Law proved an easy way out of their difficulties for the Dungarvan fishermen. The newspapers often refer to the fact that they pawned their fishing gear and entered the workhouse during the winter months. A stigma was attached to the Workhouse in the eyes of the Ringmen. They still continued to fish during the winter months as the new pier at Ballinagoul gave good shelter to their hookers. In February 1868 they were landing 60 - 120 ling and cod per boat each day on Dungarvan Quay, the ling making 1/6 each and the cod 7d. The fresh fish was carted to Tipperary while the cured hake were sent to Wales and the Liverpool market.<sup>28</sup>

The decline of its fisheries undoubtedly had a drastic effect on Dungarvan as its trade and business seems to have fallen away possibly due in part also to a drop in the agricultural population in the surrounding area after the famine: "Desolation seemed to reign everywhere. Its sway was proclaimed in the empty shops, the roofless houses, the filthy broken and neglected streets and the woebegone<sup>29</sup> faces of the tradespeople" was how a traveller described the town in 1850.

On the other hand these were the years which saw the development of the fishing industry in Ring. In 1866 there were 24 hookers and 20 smaller trammel boats in Ballinagoul. Paid Mor of "Erins Hope" fame and James Kelly of Helvick both gave evidence before a Royal Commission on Fisheries in 1866. September to Christmas was the herring season while the Spring was the long line season and the rest of the year was spent trawling and fishing trammels for pollock and hake. The long lines were set about 15 - 20 miles south of Mine Head<sup>30</sup> - usually in the evening and hauled

the following morning when the hookers set sail for Dungarvan with their catch. The mark for this area among the old Ballinagoul fishermen was "Mionard san uisce" - Mine Head going down.<sup>31</sup>

### Aspects of Gaeltacht Life.

A number of other items peculiar to Ring are also worth mentioning. There was, for instance, its small Protestant community<sup>32</sup> who seem to have integrated well with the native stock. Amongst them were Henry A. Fitzgerald of Seaview<sup>33</sup>, Daniel Hegarty of Ballinagoul, Michael Bateman of Helvic and the Anthony family of Shanakill. By 1826 they had their own church,<sup>34</sup> but 5 years earlier an Endowed School had been built for them which was also attended by local (i.e. Catholic) children.<sup>35</sup> Lewis says there were two such schools here in the 1830s catering for 70 pupils, many of whom must have been local. Meanwhile societies such as the Kildare Place Society were busily patronising and helping the Irish Language in places such as Ring<sup>36</sup> (such of course, was not their only priority!). The attitude of some of the Church of Ireland clergymen may have lent further support to the language. The sympathy, for instance, of Rev. James Alcoche during the famine is still remembered locally with gratitude. When the G. A. A. was founded in Ring in 1890 the Rev. E. D. Cleavel became its patron. He gave them £5 exhorting them to speak Irish and play according to the rules.<sup>37</sup>

From newspaper reports it appears the G. A. A. was founded in Ring in 1890; T. Harty (Gortnadiha), T. White and P. McKenna being the first officers of the Club. One writer claims however that the club took part in the Waterford Championships of 1889.<sup>38</sup> The name of the Ring Club does not appear, however among the list of those that took part in the County Championships that year.<sup>39</sup> Also it seems strange too that there is no record of Ring participating in the Championship until 1892 when they met Ballinacourty in the Gaelic Field in Dungarvan on May 21st. Apparently this was a very unsporting encounter according to press reports: "In this match both parties were conspicuous for the offensive manner in which they played and their anxiety to raise scuffles and indulge in pugilistic encounters". Ballinacourty were first to score and had the better of the exchanges in the first half and led at half time by 2 points. In the second half Ring equalised with a goal "Then the Ring team after the 'Kick off' was given with that wild fury so characteristic of their play ran the ball up the field while in their track they left men struggling to their feet and drove the ball over the enemies goal bar thus securing a goal and equalising the score". Ballinacourty eventually scored a further point to win.<sup>40</sup> It is worth mentioning that there were four goal posts in those days like in Australian rules at the moment; two big ones with a crossbar like we have to-day and a small post at either side. 21 players appeared on each side and a point was scored by getting the ball over the end line between the large posts and the small ones. A goal which counted two points was scored by kicking the ball over the bar in the centre posts. As the rules were not clearly defined play like that described in this match often occurred. It is also interesting to note that that particular match was refereed by the famous Dan Fraher. Ring however did not win their first Championship until 1924 when the team was captained by the late Joe Harty, a son of one of the founders.



Most of the emigrants from Ring went to Boston, a great number settling in Charlestown. At one stage Irish was widely spoken by the people of that area. Many worked on the docks and in factories and some like the Powers from Helvick went to sea in the dory schooners on the Grand Banks to fish for halibut.<sup>41</sup> A descendant of the Whealan family from Helvick became Mayor of Gloster. This emigration slowly decreased after the founding of the state in 1922 and almost stopped altogether after the recession in America at the beginning of the thirties.

The story of Ring College has been well recorded elsewhere as well as the connection people like Cathal Brugha, Tod Andrews, Sean Moylan, etc. had with Ring. When the College began in 1909 the village of Ballinagoul was still a thriving fishing community. The building of a new Quay in Helvick in 1912 as well as the introduction of motor power and larger boats in the late twenties and early thirties led to a decline in the once busy fishing pier at Ballinagoul. The war years and the early fifties were good years for the Helvick fishermen as fish was plentiful and prices were good. Today, though boats are better equipped and use the most modern methods, the fish are not as plentiful and competition from our E.E.C. partners does not auger well for an industry with a long and proud tradition.

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VETERINARY INSPECTION AT WATERFORD PORT, 1876-1900.

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by M. H. Cassidy.

Preserved in the records of the District Veterinary Office, Waterford is an interesting letterbook labelled "Portal Inspection, Waterford. While most of the correspondence is routine, some letters throw an interesting sidelight on exports of livestock here in the last quarter of the 19th century. Animals leaving the harbour had to be inspected and branded under the supervision of the "Portal Supervisor". Up to 1890 this was always a member of the R. I. C. with the rank of Sub-inspector but that year a veterinary surgeon named Blee was appointed. Ships Inspectors seem to have usually been constables of the R. I. C. Most correspondence here was with the Veterinary Office of the Irish Privy Council whose director was Professor H. Ferguson.

A lot of incidental information comes to light in the letters. By 1876, it seems there were three qualified vets. in Waterford - Messrs. Blee, Johnston and Dobbyn. They were joined by Mr. Kaye and Mr. Logan in 1889 and '93. Four shipping companies had regular sailings carrying livestock from Waterford - Clyde Shipping Co. (7 ships); Great Western Railway Company (5 ships); Waterford Steam Shipping Co. (3 ships); Bristol Steam Navigation Company (1 ship). Some detail of inspection of animals travelling on these lines is revealed in a report of Mr. M. Hedley, Travelling Inspector for the Veterinary Dept., in a report dated Dec. 11th 1878:-

1. I hereby report that I have visited the port of Waterford and find that the inspection of cattle is attended with danger and difficulty. These animals going by the Great Western Railway of England steam ships are inspected in the company's own private yard, a place well fitted up with office and every requisite. The branding is done by the company's men.

The other animals are inspected at the Quay. The very reverse of that above described, being very dangerous having no protection to hinder animals falling into the river and is flagged, making the foothold very unsafe, and there is a large cargo traffic thereon. There have been many complaints made by the shop tenants, householders and those whose place of business are in that immediate vicinity.

2. The great shipping days are Tuesdays and Fridays.
3. No branding has been done to sheep and swine and there are no brands for that purpose.
4. The office accommodation is very much too small.
5. Upon visiting the several shipping companies they agree to brand sheep and cattle as well as swine.
6. That the Waterford Steamship Co. have a yard which is at present partly unoccupied and would require many additions to it before it could be used for inspection.
7. The Waterford Steam Shipping Co. & the Clyde Steam Shipping Co. have no place for inspection.

I beg to suggest that 1st brands be forwarded to the constables for branding and informed that it is desirable that such should be attended to.

8. Unless the Privy Council have the power (or exercise it) that the inspectors shall not perform their duties on the Quay because such is impeding cargo traffic. Then I do not think that the Shipping Co. (Waterford Steam Shipping) will put the yard into proper order, altho' it is almost unused. They either can't or won't see the advantage.

I am myself satisfied the yard could be attended at little expense and would answer the purpose well. I shall feel very much obliged for your opinion on this last matter.

I have the honour sir to remain your obt servant,

Matt Hedley

New brands were received 3 days later and immediate action was taken locally to get a larger office which comprised a room fifteen feet square at a rent of £15 per annum. While this may seem rather small and expensive, its attractions to the portal officers emerge from a rebuke to the supervisor

His Grace concurs with Professor Ferguson in thinking that it is not desirable to take a room in a house where liquor is sold retail, for the use of Portal Officers. Can you find any other suitable place.?

Two other rooms were found but neither were suitable, one being too far from the place of shipment and the other being damp. Tenders were invited for the construction of a wooden "BOX OFFICE" and the Harbour Commissioners' permission obtained to have it erected on the Quay. The new office was supplied at the cost of £45.

Messrs. Blew and Johnston were appointed 2nd and 3rd class Portal Veterinary Inspectors respectively on the 1st April, 1880.

Constable Halligan was acting as Licencing Officer and as his family were quarantined, he was relieved of duty. Sub-Constable Murphy was appointed Temporary Licencing Officer.

Permission was frequently granted to import animals. Small numbers of cattle, sheep and pigs, both male and female were imported by the larger landowners. I suspect that these were pedigree stock to improve the native stock, though in 1887 a Mr. Fitzgerald imported 24 bullocks. One of the more unusual animals coming into the country through Waterford was a goat, the mascot of the Royal Welsh Fusileers, stationed at Fermoy. More exotic animals were, one Zebu (Brahmin) bull for Mr. Ginnett, one deer for P. J. Power Esq. of Faithleg, 2 angora goats, one gazelle for Marquis of Ormond, deer for Lord Castlerosse, 3 Japanese deer for the Marquis of Landsdowne, 1 Peruvian deer for Hon. J. M. Chichester and deer from Winsor Park for Muckcross Park, Killarney. Six asses arrived on board the S.S. Comeragh June 19th, 1895. They had travelled from the Mediterranean via Liverpool. Were these imported to improve the breed?

Expenses for tolls paid was claimed by Mr. Lavelle, Ship Inspector in 1899. The claim was returned to Waterford for the Portal Supervisor's observations.

Waterford,  
6th Dec. 1899.

I beg to state that by an Act of Parliament, every person has to pay on crossing the Waterford Bridge except the Police and Military, who are free from toll.

Every evening a Ship Inspector has to cross this bridge to his duty at the Milford Boat and as Ship Inspector Lavelle is a pensioner he has to pay toll each time on crossing.

R. S. Blee.

Veterinary Dept.,  
Dublin.

Dear Mr. Blee,

If possible it would be better to employ a Ship Inspector who is not a pensioner on this duty in future to avoid the necessity for claims of his description.

R. Cantwell  
Chief Clerk.

Mr. Blee was asked for his comments on the following extract from the Freemans' Journal dated 17-11-1896:-

**BACON TRADE DISPUTE.**

Our Waterford correspondent writes:-

Respecting reductions made in the price of pigs by the merchants, as an additional proof of the pig buyers determination to assert the rights and obtain an equitable market for the farmers, they have chartered a special vessel to dispatch about 1,000 pigs tomorrow to Bristol and Wiltshire bacon curers.

At the fairs of Clogheen, Fethard and Abbeyleix today (Monday) they purchased over fifteen hundred pigs, and at Fethard a meeting was held at which the pig buyers were cordially greeted and received from the farmers hearty promise of loyal support. This is gratifying evidence that the farmers recognise bold and generous friends

18th. Nov. 1896.

Sir,

I beg to state that yesterday (Tuesday) was the usual weekly sailing to Bristol and there being more animals than one vessel could carry, a second one (Comeragh) was loaded and dispatched to that port. All the swine with the exception of two viz. 813 were shipped on this extra boat. A second vessel is frequently sent on Tuesdays from here to Bristol, the last being 3 weeks since Oct 27th.

The shipment of swine was very large, the greater portion, I believe were consigned to Homnis & Co., Calne, Wiltshire, with, by commission, the remainder to Bristol and Birmingham, but I have known much larger shipments of swine in one day than this.

R. S. Blee.

WATERFORD NOTES.

The Bacon Curing Industry.

The many changes taking place in the working hours and days for pig-killing in the local bacon curing establishments argues badly for their prosperity. Killing days are now restricted to Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at Messrs. Dennys Cellar and to Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at Richardsons. A further amalgamation to that already existing between Dennys and Richardsons is in the air in order to more perfectly narrow down competition. The pig-buyers have opened an export trade with France. Last week Mr. M. Caulfield shipped some hundreds of hogs to Paris. It is to be feared somebody is killing the goose of the golden eggs.

Waterford. 12th April, 1899.

Nicholas Caulfield shipped 70 swine to France via Southampton on the 1st inst. Swine have been shipped from this Port to France by the same route since 1894 through the following shippers.

L. Slattery	30 in 1894; 994 in 1895; 70 in 1899.
M. Caulfield	556 in 1895; 31 in 1898.
Paul Caulfield	146 in 1895.

I am not aware of any swine<sup>e</sup> shipped to France other than the above.

J.M. Logan.

The war in South Africa was more than likely the reason for the shipment of 1450 asses on 25th June and 2550 on 15th July 1897. There are still stories told of the trickery involved in the buying and selling of these asses, particularly in Ferrybank.

The average length of voyages from Waterford to ports in England are given in the following table dated 31st August 1895:-

Milford	8 hours	Bristol	17 hours
Liverpool	17 hours	Glasgow	28-31 hours
Greenock	24 hours	Southampton	30 hours
Plymouth	20 hours	Dover	63-68 hours
Newhaven	48-50 hours	Manchester	23 hours

I am indebted to Mr. Edmond Weir for arranging access to the Dept. of Agriculture Records.

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 57 - SOURCES.

36. This process is described for Callan, County Kilkenny in Cinn Lae Amharibh O'Suillebhain, ed. de Bhaldraithe. p. 9.
37. Waterford News, 24/5/1890.
38. Butler M., Fifty Golden Years (1944), p. 90.
39. Files of Waterford News, 1889.
40. ibid, 26/5/1892.
41. Folklore from Batt O'Faolain, Helvic (died 1964)

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

Spring Programme 1980.

- Feb. 22nd: Illustrated lecture by Mr. Julian C. Walton (Member), in Teachers' Centre, 31, The Mall, at 8.00 p.m. Tombstones in East Waterford as Geneological Records and Vernacular Art.
- March 14th: Lecture by Mr. Emmet O'Connor, (Member) in Teachers' Centre, The Mall at 8.00 p.m. Agrarian unrest in Waterford, 1917-'23.
- Annual General Meeting of Old Waterford Society.  
(Separate notice of this will be sent to members).
- April 18th: Lecture by Mr. David Newman Johnson in Teachers' Centre at 8.00 p.m. Earlier Castles in South Eastern Ireland.
- Mid-May: Publication of Decies 14 which will be sent post free to paid-up members of the Old Waterford Society.
- May 18th: Outing to Clonea-Power/Mothel/Rathgormack area. Cars depart City Hall at 2.30 to rendezvous at Clonea-Power for 3.00 p.m. Mr. Frank Heylin and other members of the society will speak at the sites of historical interest in this area.
- June 15th: Outing by coach to Castletown House, Celbridge, County Kildare and various historical sites en route. Details of this along with application form will be enclosed with notice of A.G.M.

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Those who have not yet paid their 1980 subscription may do so at any of the three next lectures of the Society. Intending members are welcome to these meetings, the sub. for 1980 being £2.50. This may instead be sent to the Hon. Treasurer of the O. W. S. :-

Mrs. R. Lamey, 28, Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

Correspondence re DECIES should be sent to:-

Mr. Noel Cassidy, Lisacul, Marian Park, Waterford.

and editorial matter to:-

Mr. Des Cowman, "Knockane", Annestown, Co. Waterford.