

DECIES

Number 14

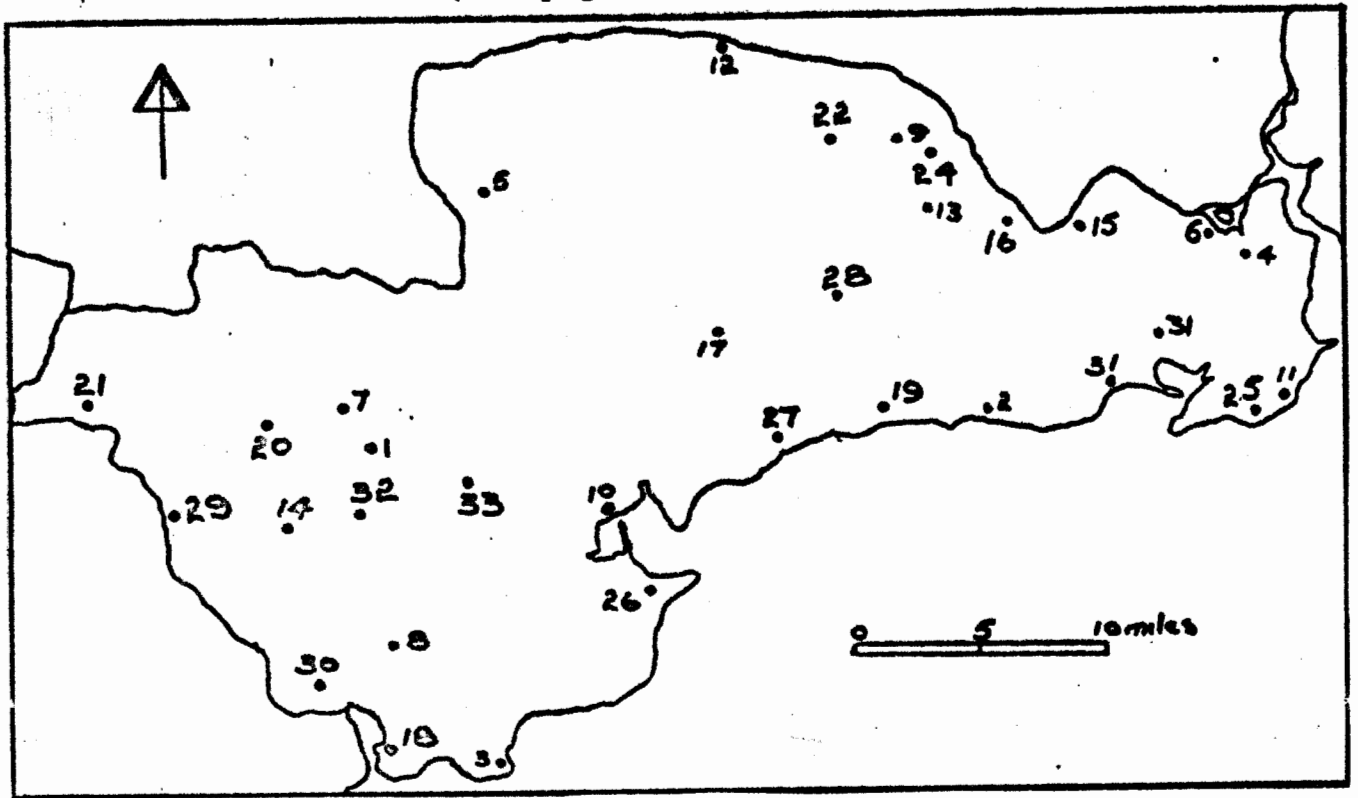
May 1980

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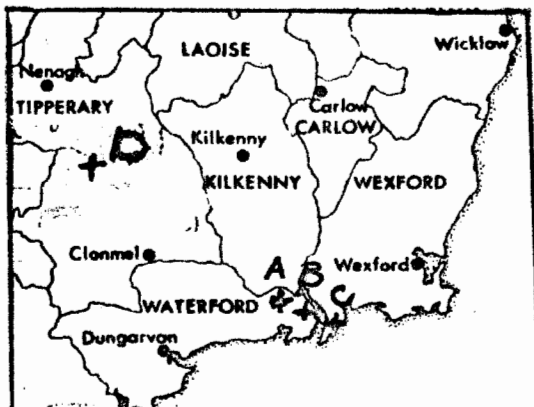
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CHURCH OF IRELAND PLACES OF WORSHIP IN COUNTY WATERFORD.

(see pages 43-49)

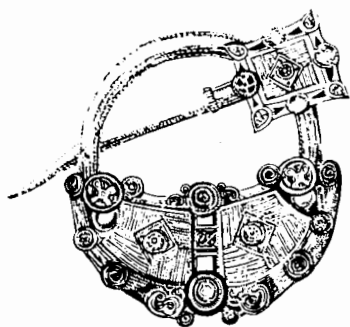


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|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Affane | 18. Kilsalebeg |
| 2. Annestown (or Dunhill) | 19. Knockmahon (Monksland) |
| 3. Ardmore | 20. Lismore |
| 4. Ballygunner (or Ballygunnertemple) | 21. Mocollop |
| 5. Ballymacarbry (or Kilronan) | 22. Mothel |
| 6. Ballynakill | 23. Passage East (Kill St. Nicholas) |
| 7. Cappoquin | 24. Portlaw |
| 8. Clashmore | 25. Rathmoylan |
| 9. Clonegam | 26. Ringagonagh (or Ring) |
| 10. Dungarvan | 27. Stradbally |
| 11. Dunmore East (or Killea) | 28. Rossmire (or Kilcool) |
| 12. Dysart (or Churchtown) | 29. Tallow |
| 13. Guilcagh | 30. Templemichael |
| 14. Headborough (or Kilwatermoy, or Fountain) | 31. Tramore (Drumcannon) |
| 15. Killoteran | 32. Villierstown |
| 16. Kilmeadon | 33. Whitechurch |
| 17. Kilrossanty (or "Comeragh", or "Brisca") | |



Knights Templars Preceptories in S.E. Ireland
(see pages 52-61)

- A. Kilbarry
- B. Crook
- C. Templetown
- D. Clonaulty



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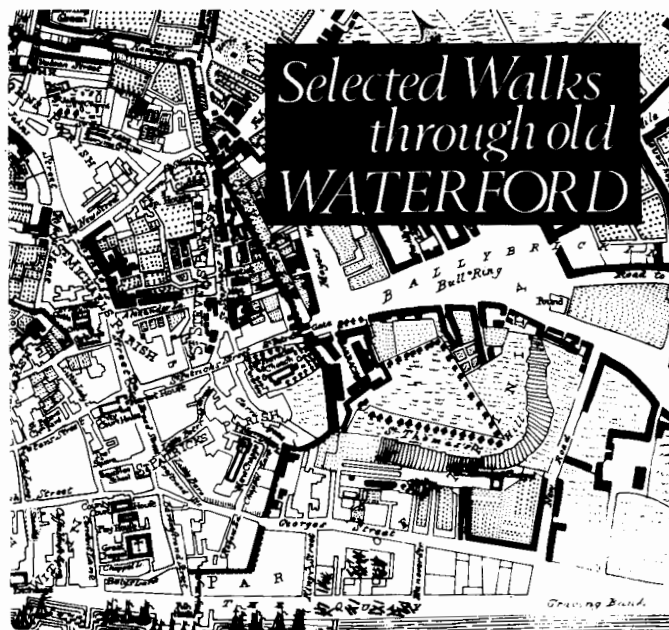


Waterford Arms, Colbeck Street



Figures from the Charter Roll of Richard II. L to R: A Knight in his Robes of Peace; A Waterford Merchant; A Chancellor of Waterford; (all 14th century).

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OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

REPORT OF A. G. M. 1980.

The Annual General Meeting of the O. W. S. was held on 28th March, 1980. The following officers and committee were elected:-

- CHAIRMAN : Mr. Jim O'Meara
- VICE-CHAIRMAN : Mr. Noel Cassidy
- HON. SECRETARY : Mrs. N. Croke
- HON. TREASURER : Mrs. R. Lumley
- PRESS OFFICER : Mrs. S. Brophy.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Mr. J. S. Carroll, Mr. L. Eachthigheirn, Mrs. L. Gallagher, Mr. F. Heylin, Mr. John Hodge, Mr. Tom Nolan, Miss E. O'Reilly, Mr. M. Wigham.

EDITORIAL SUB-COMMITTEE, DECIES: Messrs. John Mulholland, Julian Walton and Thomas Power with Mr. Des Cowman as ex-officio member after the publication of Decies 15.

SUBSCRIPTION: For the calendar year 1981 the subscription shall be £3.00.

DECIES 14 - EDITORIAL

Since this will be the last issue edited by me (Decies 15 will be solely an index to the previous 14 issues), the self-indulgence of these reflections on the experiences of five years of Decies will, I hope, be forgiven. We started in September 1975 with a "Pilot Issue" - five sheets of paper stapled together. Our basic format hasn't changed, nor is it likely to without massive (by our standards) and long-term subvention from commercial or other sources. What has changed, however, is the quantity and, we think, the quality. Of this latter, some comments follow.

The publication of a local history society such as ours can serve several functions. (i) It can provide information for members about the social or other activities of fellow members. We have deliberately confined ourselves to merely listing members and committee. (ii) It can reproduce articles that have already appeared in print elsewhere. This would possibly be a useful function were it not that such articles can now be made readily available through the cheapness of photocopying. (iii) It can publish new research on written sources. This we have concentrated on as very little such research had been published for this area since the Old Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society Journal ceased to appear with the outbreak of the first world war. (iv) It can serve as a guide to members and a future record, of the location and state of local antiquities. We have not set out systematically to do this, but as pressure on farmland increases it may become important that Decies should - ahead of the J.C.B.s. This would have to be a collective effort involving many members of the O.W.S.

There are other possible functions as well (oral history, national history, etc.) but decisions on this for 1981 will be in the hands of new editors. Next January's issue will be edited by Mr. John Mulholland and, subject to the approval of the 1981 A. G. M., the May and September issues will be in the hands of Mr. Julian Walton and Mr. Thomas Power respectively. Four other individuals have indicated willingness to edit the subsequent issues of Decies, assuring its future up to 1983.

However, editing Decies is only one aspect of its production. The contributors, obviously, are another and we have been singularly fortunate in having the goodwill of so many who have been prepared to give us the benefit of their experience (very considerable in some cases) and time (a single page of Decies represents between two and ten hours in basic research, drafting and annotating, plus countless hours spent in familiarisation and in locating sources). In thanking them I would like to make special mention of those contributors who remained cheerfully benevolent to Decies even after their articles (particularly in the early issues) had been most scarred by the twin hazards of editor and gremlins.

Most of this work, however, would never reach members of the O. W. S. were it not for the production "team" - one Noel Cassidy. If each issue were merely a question of rolling stencils off an ever-reliable machine, Decies would still be his production. However, it was a simple issue indeed that had only one major difficulty to overcome, and some were the product of a series of crises successfully surmounted by a succession of stratagems, none of which were actually illegal (I think!). Indeed the hazards of a non-professional production such as Decies would probably over-tax even the resourcefulness of Noel were it not for the goodwill and active help of a variety of people. Those within the O. W. S. who have been turning up to lend help whenever asked will not, I'm sure, be offended if not thanked individually here. There are others, however whose personal contributions do need special mention. A particular thanks to Mrs. Nancy Dunphy and Miss Eileen Murphy who did more than just type the stencils; the oral and practical expression of their goodwill has been a constant assurance to us. Likewise, the support we've received from Waterford Corporation from the start has been crucial to us and a further thanks to the following individuals and institutions who have been prepared to give unstinting help whenever asked:

Mr. Luke Meyers, and members of the staff of S. E. R. T. O..
Mr. Tom Power of the Regional College.
Mr. K. O'Ceadaagain of the News and Star.
To Mr. Donal Murphy, Head of the Engraving Department of the
Cork Examiner for special help with this issue.
Mr. John Riordan, and Ms. Mary Dunne of C.T.I..

"Decie" (Des Cowman).

MEMBERSHIP.

The list of subscribed members published in DECIES 13 was up to date to mid-January, 1980. Time did not permit the inclusion of those who joined after mid-January (thirty in all) and their names will appear in the January issue of 1981. One name was inadvertently omitted - Mr. Sylvester Murray, Helvic, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.

Those who have not yet paid their 1980 subscription may give it to the Hon. Treasurer or to a committee member at any of the outings listed on the back page.

AGRARIAN UNREST AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN COUNTY WATERFORD 1917 - 1923

By Emmet O'Connor

INTRODUCTION:

The growth of trade unionism among agricultural workers was one of the most interesting aspects of the rise of the Labour Movement in the years immediately following the Great War. The farm labourers were to play a significant part in the expansion of Labour and rapidly became one of its most militant and politically committed sections. The activism of the labourers also contributed to the radicalization of the Labour Party, and lent credence to the belief that Labour could, and should, become a national, rather than a sectionalist movement. Yet, despite their key position, both politically and economically, the organised farm workers suffered a series of defeats between 1921 and 1923. The plight of the labourers was an acid test of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress political strategy. The failure of the Labour leadership to appreciate the crucial importance of maintaining trade union organisation among rural workers, is evidence of the essentially conservative nature of its policy.

The growth and collapse of the I.T.G.W.U. in Co. Waterford 1917-1923, provides a particularly sharp insight into the potential of the labourers, and the conflicting conceptions of the Labour movement's role, that were developing between the rank and file and their leaders. In Waterford, the agricultural workers were better organised than in other counties, and defeated attempts to reduce their living standards after the War of Independence. But, with the end of the Civil War, the Irish Farmers' Union, backed by the Government, made a determined effort to curb their power. That effort sparked off outright class warfare, creating a situation that made the 1913 lock-out in Dublin seem tame by comparison.

The Growth of Conflict 1917-1922:

Agricultural workers first began to organise during the later War years. The shortage of manpower, combined with the growing demand for foodstuffs, placed the labourer in an especially strong position to improve his conditions. Government orders were passed making it compulsory to turn a certain amount of land over from pasture to tillage - which was labour intensive. Compulsory tillage orders affected 10% of all agricultural land in 1917, and 15% on 1918.¹ The impact of these changes was felt mainly in the South and East. Three types of rural economy operated in Southern Ireland at this time. The West was devoted largely to stock breeding, the East to stock raising, and the South to dairying. Land purchase was least advanced in the West, where holdings tended to be small and family run. In Munster and Leinster, the social structure was already based on wage labour and could be adapted to the demand for tillage much more easily, as unlike Connacht, these provinces had a reserve labour force. Accordingly, it was in the south and east that a large rural proletariat was created. In Connacht, the graziers who had not the labour to bring land under the plough, preferred to leave it uncultivated, than rent it out to others.²

The Waterford Labourers had begun to organise in 1917, when a Land and Labour Union was founded at Clonea-Power.³ As was usually the case with local associations of this type, it was quickly absorbed into the I.T.G.W.U.⁴ By 1919 the labourers were well organised and active in pursuit of their demands. Incentives for the raising of tillage were abolished in January of that year, but the Union went from strength to strength. Throughout 1919, it campaigned vigorously and successfully against non-union labour. At a large meeting in

Dungarvan Town Hall in late June, one speaker asserted that "99% of past disputes were caused by workers who refused to join the Union."⁵ This was the cause of a major dispute on the Devonshire Estate, then in progress. Sometimes, farmers replied to attempts to establish all-union shops by auctioning stock and crops. The I.T.G.W.U. was attempting to prevent these auctions.⁶ On the 9th August a notice appeared in the local newspapers which read :

" The Committee of the Union has decided that after August 10th, Union members will refuse to work with non-union labour. All members will have the right to refuse to work for supervisors that employ non-union labour. In the event of a dispute, goods coming to and from the concern will not be handled by the union. Signed: N.F.Phelan. County Sec. I.T.G.W.U. " ⁷

By 1920, the overwhelming majority of labourers were union members.

Up to May 1921, the labourers were involved in a number of local disputes with individual farmers. The weakness of farmers' organisation precluded any country-wide confrontations. One of the most serious of the local strikes occurred during late 1919 in the Fenor-Ballymascanlon area. The source of the conflict was a disagreement over the harvest bonus. On Monday 24th November, an incident arose which has since gone down in history as the "Battle of Fenor". The details illustrate the characteristics of many of the agricultural disputes that were taking place in Ireland at this time. In an article headed "Pitched Battle on Roadside", the Munster Express reported:

"Exciting scenes took place in the Fenor district about 3 miles from Tramore and 12 miles from Waterford city on Monday last. A pitched battle was fought on the roadside between the police and farm labourers, in which revolver shots, batons, and bayonets, were freely used. Five policemen were injured and there were several casualties among the farm labourers. Farm produce on the farm of Mr. Joe Widger, Ballydermody was set on fire and damage was estimated at between £3,000 and £4,000. Another fire, also said to be malicious, took place that night on the farm of Mr. Hally of Dunabrattin. For some months past there has been considerable friction between the labourers and the farmers in the Fenor district, which culminated on Saturday in a general lock-out of the workers. The farmers arranged to thrash their own corn without outside help and this incurred the wrath and resentment of the labourers ending in Monday's wild scenes." ⁸

Following the battle, the R.I.C. arrested Nicholas Phelan (the union County Secretary) and two others who were detained in Waterford barracks and later tried by special court.⁹

There was also a growing political consciousness among the workers. Whereas in Waterford City, union power by no means inferred political influence, a stronger correlation between the two operated in the county. In December 1919, a meeting of Dungarvan Trades Council and Labour Party, called to select the "Workers' candidates" for the Urban District Council elections, passed a resolution calling on all workers to support the Labour candidates and to join trade unions. One speaker appealed to the party " not to lose interest in the trade unions as by that means they had gained their benefits." ¹⁰ Another noted that only by a strong union could workers improve their wages. " The treatment of Russia by the Allies shows that the strong can re-arrange things in their favour, " he said.¹¹ Labour fielded 6 candidates in Dungarvan, two in each ward, and won 3 of the 15 seats on the Council. Labour also secured two of the nine seats on Lismore Urban Council.¹² Throughout the next three years, the I.T.G.W.U. continued to dictate the pace of advance in the county. By 1921 the workers had created a powerful Labour movement in Waterford, syndicalist in structure, socialist in ideology. On Monday 24th April, 1922, congratulating trade unionists for their support of the General Strike against militarism, John Butler, President of the Dungarvan Trades Council, summed it all up when he declared :

Similar sliding scales were worked out for boys of 16-18 years, and 18-20 years. Rates for the former varied from 22/- per week, to 8/6 per week, and for the latter from 32/6 per week to 14/6 per week. Female wages varied from 25/- per week (6 days, outdoor) for women to 8/- per week for milkmaids. The day was a standard 9 hours. These rates were applicable during the summer; reductions of between one and two shillings were usually introduced for the winter seasons. Bonus schemes for harvesting and threshing were also worked out.¹⁹ These wage levels placed Waterford in the middle bracket, as far as farm labourers pay was concerned generally. The top rates in the richest areas, the farms adjacent to Dublin and Cork cities, were between 40/- and 43/- per week - compared with the Waterford equivalent of 38/6 per week. The lowest rates, found wherever the I.T.G.W.U. was weak, varied from 30/- to 34/- per week.²⁰

From May 1921 onwards, W.F.A. policy was to whittle down the 1920 rates; an objective which the labourers stoutly resisted, believing that whilst wage increases were unrealistic, reductions would threaten their status and standard of living. The W.F.A.'s first challenge to the 1920 agreement, in May of the following year was a very disorganised effort. Only in the mid-county area did farmers make a determined attempt at securing a reduction. The labourers struck and succeeded in maintaining the 1920 rates after a short struggle. The W.F.A.'s failure to secure I.R.A. backing against the workers was an important factor in hastening the collapse of the farmers' resolve. Efforts by the Republicans to draft thirty I.R.A. men into the district were foiled when two members of the Republican Police protested against intervening on behalf of the I. F.U. (one made the point that if there was any shooting to be done, it would be the farmers he'd shoot at).²¹

Following this reverse, the W.F.A. redoubled its efforts, and if anything became more militant. The press reports of the 1921 A.G.M., held in January of 1922, illustrate the mood. According to the secretary's annual report:

"There had been widespread unrest and political convulsions in Ireland, but Waterford was fortunate....there was a steady growth in I.F.U. membership. The past year had been free of labour unrest and this was due to the generous terms given by the farmers in May.... But Labour was raising the red flag of revolution again. Illegal Labour doctrines had been countered in the parishes of Rathgormack and Ballinameela ... £100,000 had been collected for farmers' organisation in Waterford and Kilkennynow we must work to get all farmers into the organisation. The hour of action is at hand. The time of resolution is past".²²

Just four months later, on the 22nd May, conflict again broke out. This time the union had to contend with a county-wide strike. It had been clear for many months that a dispute was inevitable. Relations between the W.F.A. and the I.T.G.W.U. were becoming very acrimonious. In January and February, both sides swapped charge and counter-charge of breeches in the county agreement - like the diplomats of warring nations might do over infringements of a truce. As the date of expiry of the county agreement neared, the protagonists began to overhaul their organisation. Confident of victory, the W. F. A. had declined to participate in the usual conference to revise the agreement. Aware of the implications of the Voice of Labour (April 29th) announced that the "County Waterford farm labourers face it in a fortnight". The union was well prepared however. At a delegate conference in early May, it was reported that throughout the county there were 2,352 labourers in the union, and only 68 outside.. Organisation was said to be in good shape, and plans were made to use other workers as auxiliaries, if need be, during the strike. Unemployed workers in each branch area had been organised into 'flying columns', which could be mobilised in case of violence.²³

From the outset, the strike went badly for the farmers. Local I.T.G.W.U. officials had correctly assessed that I.F.U. organisation was weak, and that the truculence of the county executive, was not representative of farmers generally. Twenty three parishes in the county were affected. Even before the dispute had begun, however, some farmers, in a few cases entire parishes, had signed the county agreement. By the second day of the strike, farmers in the areas adjacent to the city (Gracedieu, Kilbarry, Ballyhoo, Knockhouse, Ballinavilla, Butlerstown), and in the Fenor and Tramore areas, had signed. In other districts individual agreements were concluded, sometimes under the auspices of the parish priest. Elsewhere, picketing took place and farmers had their goods blacked. In Dungarvan, farmers without union permits had their stock boycotted, and were not allowed to obtain provisions in the town, as a result of sympathetic action by shop and store-workers. One farmer who managed to purchase a separator had it confiscated by pickets who returned it to the merchant.²⁴ On the 27th of May, the Voice of Labour declared:

"Waterford will win - first stages of farm fight are heartening. Dungarvan already settled..... excellent reports from all other areas".

By the following week, the paper could be justifiably more optimistic, and flamboyantly announced in its usual alliterative style :

"Waterford winning all the way. Farmers flogged in five day fight - 60% surrenders already - sultry times in the country - clashes with the I.R.A." ²⁵

Victory in the dispute - for either side - hinged on the control of transport movements. Through the use of flying pickets, the labourers quickly captured control of the supply lines, thereby enforcing an economic blockade on the farmers. In some cases goods were got through the lines with the aid of revolvers and shotguns,²⁶ but isolated action of this type could not loosen the Union's grip on the county. The W.F.A. was severely handicapped by its inability to call in the military. At this time the entire county was in the hands of the I.R.A., who, distracted by the approaching Civil War, were unable to offer effective assistance. There was intermittent I.R.A. interference with the pickets near the Cork border, where the labourers also had to contend with "Farmers Freedom Force" activists. The only direct confrontation occurred in Kilmacthomas, where the I.R.A. attempted to control all traffic movements. A Labour "Flying Column" from Stradbally was immediately despatched to force a withdrawal. After a parley, the I.R.A. agreed to pull out. As the number of settlements increased, Labour pressure on those areas still in dispute intensified. In Clonea, domestic servants formed a "Womens' Battalion" and refused to work for strike-bound farmers. In other districts similar sympathetic action was made more effective.²⁷ By late June, only the large estates in West Waterford, together with farmers in Clashmore and district were holding out.²⁸ The outcome of these disputes however, generally went against the labourers. Accordingly, whilst the strike had been over 80% successful, the victory of the big landowners, and the more determined farmers, set an example which was to influence the thinking of hardliners in the W.F.A. the following year.

The major consequence of the workers' success was the reinforcement of the syndicalist nature of trade unionism in the county. By syndicalism, I do not mean anti-parliamentarianism or advocacy of the myth of the General Strike, but Larkinism-Connollyism, i.e. the Irish variant on syndicalism, which was characterised by militant trade unionism, the use of direct action and the sympathetic strike, the fostering of a distinct working class culture and the pursuit of the One Big Union, (the O.B.U.). Implicit in the O.B.U. idea was the belief that here was the weapon that would win for Labour its rightful place in society. In pursuit of this aim, Labour was prepared to take political action, and support for Labour electorally was an indication of the extent to which workers placed an ideological interpretation on their trade unionism. The

results of the 1922 General Election showed that a strong political awareness existed among the workers and most especially, the farm labourers.

The May Day demonstrations that year illustrated the developing consciousness. Parades were held through the county, but in East Waterford the labourers declared the day a holiday and ceased work. Rallies were held at various points, one of the biggest being at Kill. This parade featured two bands headed by a red flag. After the speeches were made the afternoon was devoted to workers' sports, and the day was rounded off with the singing of the "Red Flag". A local I.T.G.W.U. organiser commented that "the movement seems to have got new life since it became known that Labour was entering the elections". He added that, "the demand for the stoppage came from the rank and file and took the union officials by surprise".²⁹ The fact that the general Election campaign occurred during the farm strike was also to work in Labour's favour, as it made both the industrial and political contests appear to be one and the same struggle.

Waterford East-Tipperary, which was a five seat constituency, incorporated all of the county plus the southern fifth of Co. Tipperary. All political groupings took the campaign very seriously, anxious to do well in these, the first Free State elections. There was widespread intimidation during hustings, particularly in Tipperary where the Republicans tried hard to turn the election into a straight fight between themselves and the Treatyites, by pressuring the non-Sinn Fein factions to stand down.³⁰ The Labour Party nominated two candidates, Nicholas Phelan of KilmacThomas, and John Butler of Dungarvan; the fact that both were Transport Union officials from the county, was a reflection of the fact that political muscle lay with the county I.T.G.W.U., rather than the city trades council. Also nominated were two treatyites, Dr. Vincent White (Mayor of Waterford), and Seamus Robinson; two anti-Treatyites, Cathal Brugha and Eamonn Dee; two farmers' candidates, Nicholas Fitzgerald from Bunmahon and D.J. O'Byrne from Mullinahone (Co. Tipperary). There were also two non-party contestants, John Parnell Mandeville, and Dan Breen, Commandant of the Third Tipp. Brigade I.R.A., who was nominated by both Sinn Fein wings and stood on a "panel" platform. The Labour Party's campaign emphasised Labour's contribution to the independence struggle and argued that the working class should now obtain its just rewards. The need for working class representation was stressed and Labour rejected the Sinn Fein panel's claim that it was representative of all classes. The Munster Express noted that Labour was particularly active in East Waterford, but that given the mood of the county, it would probably be crushed between the Sinn Fein factions.³¹ The party vote was as follows: -

PARTY	VOTE	% OF VALID POLL
Labour	10,658	31.3
Pro-Treaty	8,214	24.1
Farmers	5,872	17.3
Anti-Treaty	5,603	16.4
Sinn Fein Panel	3,148	9.2
Independent	583	1.7

The results of the election came as a major surprise. White, Butler, Brugha, O'Byrne, and Phelan were returned in that order. Three points can be made about the outcome of the poll. Firstly, despite the fact that the election was fought on the issue of the Treaty, the non-Sinn Fein parties did well. Indeed, had Captain Redmond stood it is likely that he would have taken a seat at Dr. White's expense (this is what happened in the 1923 General Election), giving the non-Sinn Fein groups four of the five seats. The combined Sinn Fein vote was 16,965, against

17,113 for Labour, - the farmers, and J.P.Mandeville.³² Secondly, Labour had done spectacularly well, outpolling every other party.³³ June 1922 was therefore the high water mark of Labour achievement in both the industrial and political fields. It was also the time of greatest unity between the two wings of the Labour movement. Thirdly, the Farmers had not done too badly, but their performance left cause for concern, especially when judged within the context of its implications for future industrial conflict. The size of the Labour vote, almost twice that of the Farmers did not augur well. Even more disquieting was the fact that it was O'Byrne, the Tipperary man who got elected, with the Waterford candidate, Fitzgerald, polling only 2,466 votes.³⁴ Furthermore, in marked contrast to Labour, which appeared to have secured a solid party vote - five sixths of Butlers surplus had transferred to Phelan - no such solidarity was evident in the Farmers voting pattern. On the elimination of Fitzgerald, a minority of his votes went to O'Byrne.

The W.F.A. was not slow to draw the conclusions from the election. Labour appeared to be hale and hearty, but the farmers, in Waterford at least, had yet to learn the meaning of collective action. The W.F.A. had less than a year to teach them before going another round with the labourers. However, although the position looked grim that summer, there were grounds for optimism. Firstly, the big landowners of West Waterford were steadily chipping away at the roots of trade unionism in their areas. Secondly, once the government had firmly established its authority over the country, the resources of the State could be brought to bear against the workers. Thirdly, it was unlikely that the Labour movement nationally, had either the will or the capacity to take on the State, and win.

The Farn Strike: East Waterford, 1923:

The third and final conflict between the I.F.U. and the I.T.G.W.U. began on Thursday, 17th May 1923. This time, the strike lasted for seven months and was probably one of the most bitter industrial disputes ever to occur in Ireland. The course of the strike throws an insight on what might be called the "hidden Ireland" of these times, and is worth recording in some detail. It illustrates many of the characteristics of social conflict at this time; its intensity, the militancy of the protagonists, the balance of power in society, the weapons and tactics resorted to, and the strategic options available. The significance of the conflict should not be underestimated. Although the strike was defensive by nature, in that it was the farmers who wished to alter the monetary status quo, the labourers were acting on a premise that did have a radical - even a revolutionary - import; namely that in a time of economic depression it was Capital that should subsidise Labour, not the other way round. The farm workers were not out to seek a revolution, either in the short or the long term, though they sometimes spoke in such terms. They were out to demand a place in society for themselves and their class commensurate with their economic contribution. This had been the theme of Larkinite trade unionism since 1907. It should be appreciated that in historical terms, the Farn Strike was not merely another violent industrial dispute of the post-Great War vintage, but the swansong of Larkinism in Ireland - the end of an era that had begun with the Belfast dock strike in 1907. The Dublin lock-out of 1913/'14 had marked the culmination of phase 1 of the new unionism. After a wartime hiatus, phase 2 was ushered in with a vengeance. Now in 1923, it was to be decided whether Larkinism would continue into the new Ireland of the Free State.

The W.F.A. was in no doubt about the implications of the Labourers demands. The wartime boom in agriculture, 1914-1920, had inflated the necessity and strength of farm workers. Were they to retain their pre-1920 position through the decade, this would represent a de facto improvement in their wages. More importantly, it would mean the permanent presence of trade unionism in the farmyard and a shift in the balance of forces. The expansion of Labour into agriculture, entailing the encampment of hostile ideology on the farm, could conceivably impose serious restrictions on the farmers' freedom of decision

making, and on the development of the industry generally. This question of economic control and entrepreneurial freedom, was far more central to the 1923 struggle that had been the case in 1921 and 1922. The reason for this was the clarification of the political situation. Up to 1922, it was the farmers who had been on the defensive; militant certainly, but unable to outflank Labour by calling to their aid the resources of the State. The proposed "Farmers Freedom Force" was envisaged as a means of compensating for this deficiency. It was anticipated that the Force would be "capable of meeting force by force, where the action of the existing governments is either undesirable, unavailable or unexercised".³⁶ No such difficulties existed in 1923. The Civil War did not formally end until May, but by the New Year, the Free State government was firmly in control of most of the country, and determined to quash any challenge to its authority. It was now possible to ascribe to the dispute, its broader political implications. In fact this was imperative if the W.F.A. was to enlist the aid of the State.

Fortunately, the government did not need much convincing of this. In November 1922 the Cabinet established a Commission on Agriculture to enquire into the causes of the depression in the industry and to examine ways in which its future expansion and prosperity might be assured. The Commission published two sharply dissenting reports in April 1924. The majority report, which was signed among others by Sir John Keane Bt., a big landowner in the Cappoquin area and a hardliner on the W.F.A., was accepted by the Minister, Patrick Hogan, and became the basis of the Free State policy, not only on agriculture, but on economic and social development generally. The principles of this policy have been succinctly articulated by George O'Brien, (also a member of the Commission) in an obituary article on Hogan:

"Hogan started from the assumption that agriculture was, and would remain by far the most important industry in the Free State, and the touchstone by which every economic measure should be judged was its effect on the prosperity of the farmers. He believed that economic policy should be directed to maximise the farmers income, because, the farmers being the most important section of the population, everything that raised their income raised the national income of the country. Prosperity among the farmers would provide the purchasing power necessary to sustain the demand for non-agricultural goods and services, and it was useless to encourage secondary industries unless the primary industry was in a position to purchase their products. The principle aim of agricultural policy in the Free State should therefore be the maximisation of farmers' income, and not, as in certain other countries differently situated, the provision of food for the urban population or the solution of the unemployment problem".³⁷

The minority report, which was signed by Tom Johnson T.D. (Leader of the Labour Party), and Michael Duffy, took a directly opposite view, holding that,

"in the utilisation of the national resources, including land, individual self-interest must be subordinated to the national welfare".³⁸

In other words, agriculture should be geared not towards exporting whatever the farmers could produce most profitably, but towards providing food and employment for the home population.

Three points can be deduced from all this. Firstly, agriculture had assumed a new strategic importance, and had become the central determinant of public policy. Secondly, the conflict in Waterford represented in miniature, the clash of opinions cited above. For hardline government supporters like Sir John Keane Bt., the Labour movement in his own county was an obstacle to a national economic

policy of which he was a staunch advocate. Accordingly, it had to be crushed at all costs. Very obviously, the government too had a vested interest in this. Thirdly, 1923 was the year to do it. The successful implementation of the Government's policy depended on Labour's acquiescence - which would not be voluntary. If the cabinet was to be convinced of the feasibility of such a dazzlingly favourable policy, then Labour opposition would first have to be rendered ineffective, Keane had, in Waterford, the opportunity to make a major contribution in this respect.

The preliminaries to the 1923 strike followed the pattern of previous years. If anything the organisational preparations were more intense. At the W.F.A.'s A.G.M. in February, the Secretary reported that although some branches remained inactive, the organisation was now in good shape, and membership stood at 289. Sir John Keane was re-elected Chairman, and Alex Heskin, also from West Waterford, was elected vice-chairman.³⁹ More than likely there were tactical considerations behind Heskin's nomination. He was also chairman of the Waterford section of the All Ireland Unpurchased Tenants Association. The Unpurchased Tenants Association was set up to pressure the government to introduce a new land purchase scheme enabling tenants of the big landowners to buy out their holdings. Many of these landlords, the majority of them Unionists or absentees were prepared to sell out rather than take their chances in the Free State. The I.F.U. was anxious to win the support of the tenant farmers but there were complications, as the I.F.U. also contained a number of prominent landowners. Furthermore those landowners who had joined the I.F.U. were precisely those who wished to remain in Ireland and retain their estates. The W.F.A. was concerned to enlist the aid of the tenants but in doing so it had to cope with the suspicion of the big landowners, and the indifference of the owner-farmers. However, in 1923 promised government support for the tenant-farmers brought their interests considerably closer to the farmers and landowners.

Labour began to prepare in earnest in April and May. The I.T.G.W.U. assumed that as in 1922, the W.F.A. would not agree to negotiations on the county agreement, but would proceed directly towards a dispute.⁴⁰ Because of the buffeting it received in West Waterford the previous year, the Union's organisation was in a weaker position than at any time since 1920. In an attempt to redress this situation area conferences were held throughout the county in April and in May, a "big branch" scheme was introduced to forge a greater cohesion between the Parish Committees. Three "big branches" were established, one for East and Mid Waterford, and two for the West.⁴¹ The Union's greatest strength lay in the parish committees, whose officers were the back bone of the organisation. It was the capable leadership of these "shop stewards" that steeled the rank and file. However, it was a measure of the Union's decline that 1,500 labourers struck in 1923,⁴² compared with 2,352 in 1922.

Contrary to the Union's expectations, the W.F.A. did agree to a wages conference, which took place during the second week of May under the chairmanship of Mr. McAuliffe of the Ministry of Agriculture. The farmers' final offer was a basic rate, i.e. for a six day week, of

30/-	per week	For outdoor workers	in Summer	time.
28/-	"	"	"	" Winter "
19/-	"	"	indoor	" Summer "
17/-	"	"	"	" Winter "

plus the abolition of all bonuses. The labourers opposed any reduction in their wages and held out for the retention of the 1920 rates.⁴³ Sir John Keane summed up the W.F.A.'s attitude to their offer as follows:

" We admit that it is not a generous wage, but it is as much as the industry can stand".⁴⁴

No agreement being reached, the strike began on Thursday 17th May. A tough contest was expected, but neither side realised just how tough it was going to be.

The course of the strike may be segmented into three stages: phase one, from the 17th May to early June; phase two, from early June to mid-September; phase three, from mid-September to December.

The first phase of the strike was a time of union aggression and confidence, when the full force of the strike was directed against the farmers, whose resolve very nearly broke, but ultimately held firm. I. T. G. W. U. activity during the first week came close to achieving a speedy victory. The press reported effective picketing all over the affected area preventing the movement of goods to the city and to the Creameries. The strike quickly spread through the use of sympathetic action. Following appeals from the union, dockers, railwaymen, shop assistants, carters, creamery workers, domestic servants, and factory workers refused to assist the farmers in any way. Even the boatmen of Bonmahon and Boatstrand, though non-union themselves, supported the labourers. In some companies, such as Phelans of Portlaw, and Hills of Kilmacthomas workers were locked out for refusing to handle farmers' goods. There were very few sectors where the labourers were denied assistance, but they were, nevertheless, prepared to adopt tough tactics in pursuit of their objectives. In Kilmeaden, where the creamery workers passed union pickets, production was subsequently halted when a raid on the plant sabotaged the machinery.⁴⁵

The effect of the employers response to sympathetic action was to galvanize rather than sap the workers morale. Dismissals and lock-outs were counter productive weapons because they united the men against the employers and forged a greater cohesion between different unions. For example on the first day of the dispute, a consignment of butter from strikebound farmers was taken to the Great Western jetty in Waterford to be loaded on to the Fishguard ferry. After the dockers refused to touch the goods, carriers were called in who unloaded the butter under the protection of troops with fixed bayonets. The crew then refused to operate the vessel while the black cargo was in the hold. The Captain who had his schedule and his passengers to consider, ordered the goods to be discharged, and they were returned to the creamery. Arising out of this occurrence, the managers of Clyde Shipping and the Great Western Railway Company refused to accept such consignments; and the unions representing the men involved, the I.T.G.W.U., the Transport and General Workers Union, and the National Union of Seamen and Firemen, together with the trades council set up a Joint Council, which was 'ready to take whatever action was necessary to end the strike successfully'⁴⁶

However, if the W. F. A. was less than skillful in its handling of its opponents, it showed itself to be surprisingly adept at marshalling its own supporters. From the beginning, it was able to rely on the aid of the Army. During the first few days, soldiers intervened against the flying pickets to keep the main routes open to farmers' traffic.⁴⁷ It was impossible to guarantee complete free movement however, and by the second week the farmers had resorted to the more effective stratagem of transporting their supplies in convoy under military protection. On Tuesday, 29th May, one of these columns was sniped at. According to a press report:

"a convoy of carts went into Hall's stores, Hannover St., (Waterford) to obtain grain. Almost every second cart was guarded by a soldier with a rifle. At Hall's, the storemen walked out and have since been locked out. Farmers acted as their own porters. Guards kept the large crowd in check. On returning, the convoy was ambushed at the Sweep by rifle and revolver fire from a distance. Some sacks were holed. The military returned fire and gave chase: The officer in command being slightly wounded".⁴⁸

The following day, another convoy left Gaultier for Halls.⁴⁹

The intervention of the military created an entirely different situation to that operating in 1922, and was a vital factor in bolstering the farmers' morale. The W. F. A.'s own determination was equally significant. Within a few days of the outbreak it was becoming clear that the farmers had at last created the old bogey of lack of solidarity. Whereas previously, unity had been irreparably undermined within a matter of days, this time the W.F.A. made ruthless efforts to maintain a united front. It was not an easy task. The I.T.G.W.U. claimed that many farmers had been intimidated into opposing the labourers. Certainly, there is undeniable evidence that 'pressure' was exerted on those who were reluctant to support the W.F.A. position. On the 26th May, the Munster Express reported that "many farmers had signed the agreement at first but now reneged and supported the I.F.U.", and also that in Croke "there was now total opposition to going back to last years agreement", and in Killea and Corbally "agreements signed with the I.T.G.W.U. were now repudiated". The same paper noted on 2nd June that an East Waterford I.F.U. meeting had been told:

"Farmers who had obtained I.T.G.W.U. permits had now returned them."

The W.F.A. strike committee reported the situation to be satisfactory. There was "no wavering and none should be allowed".⁵⁰ Problems remained however, and on the 16th June the Voice of Labour reported that farmers who had recently settled with the union had had their property damaged in a series of reprisals.

During the first week of June, the nature of the dispute began to change, as the balance of forces was pitted heavily in the farmers favour. In its second phase, the confrontation became less and less recognisable as an industrial dispute, evolving instead into outright class conflict. The key to this change was the extension of full military backing to the farmers. On the first of June, in fulfilment of an undertaking given to the I.F.U. by the Minister for Home Affairs, 250 troops arrived in Waterford from Dublin.⁵¹ They were members of a unit known as the Special Infantry Corps, which was specifically raised to maintain order during the strike. The Specials immediately began to relieve the regulars. They manned a chain of outposts throughout the affected area, guarded farmers' property from attack by arsonists and saboteurs, protected "scabs" from Union vengeance, provided escorts for all convoys (intermittent sniping was continuing), and conducted arms and ammunition searches. By the end of June the Corps was 600 strong, and had taken a firm grip on the county.⁵² The authorities now sought to consolidate their control.

On the 4th July, by order of Major-General Prout, O/C Waterford Command, a curfew was imposed on all of East Waterford, bar the city, and martial law declared in the curfew zone.⁵³ Anyone out of doors between 11.00 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. without a permit was to be arrested. Those who were detained, were liable to be interned by the Special Infantry who had set up their Headquarters in Waterford City Courthouse and used the grounds as a makeshift prison camp. Despite these measures, the labourers continued to mount illegal operations. The special replied with raids on Union rooms, confiscation of flags and emblems (usually red in colour), and impounding of records and documentation. Direct confrontation with the strikers was also a frequent occurrence. On the 30th June, Deputy John Butler and six others were arrested and detained in Dungarvan Barracks for half an hour for refusing to disperse large crowds of workers who had assembled for a Union meeting in Grattan Square.⁵⁴ Butler was again arrested three weeks later. In July, Cathall O'Shannon, T.D. questioned the Minister for Defense regarding intimidation of union officials distributing strike pay at Newtown. O'Shannon alleged that the military had threatened to shoot the officials.⁵⁵ In Fenor, nine pickets were arrested and tried by special court, when the Special Infantry claimed to have found a shotgun in a nearby labourer's cottage.⁵⁶ On the 19th July, Civic Guards

baton charged a crowd in Ballybricken who were protesting against the movement of pigs into the city for slaughter. The Guards were backed up by the Specials who were escorting the pigs.⁵⁷ As the strike wore on the conflict intensified, eventually escalating into a miniature civil war. There was never any doubt as to the Special Infantry's partisan deployment. As the Manchester Guardian put it: "The posts of the S.I.C. are scattered all over East Waterford, wherever the Farmers' organisation considers its members to be in danger"⁵⁸

The committed government backing, implicit in the intervention of the Special Infantry Corps, was the signal to other employers to join in the conflict. Shortly after the arrival of the Specials, farmers in the Dunhill/Kill districts had demonstrated the feasibility of employer co-operation, when they arranged convoys to transport coal from a vessel at Boatstrand to Messrs. Hills of Kilmacthomas, a firm that had locked out its employees for refusing to handle farmers' goods.⁵⁹ The advantages in such collaboration were quickly seized on by the merchants and manufacturers in Dungarvan. On June 5th, the employers of the town formed a Protection Association, pledging support for the W. F. A. and issuing a warning that all employees who refused to handle 'tainted' goods would be immediately dismissed.⁶⁰ Some days later the farmers and employers issued a direct challenge to the Dungarvan workers. The "Lady Belle" carrying eighty tons of cargo for strike-bound farmers was brought into Dungarvan harbour. (This ship was owned by a local merchant. Previously she had been diverted to Boatstrand when conveying 'tainted' goods). The dockers refused to touch the consignment unless assured it was not intended for strike bound farmers. Receiving no such assurance, they stopped work and were dismissed. The goods were then off-loaded by traders and farmers under military guard. Within days, similar tactics had resulted in what amounted to a general sympathetic strike in Dungarvan.⁶¹ By mid-June, employers throughout the county were co-ordinating their efforts and supplying labour to each other whenever required for essential purposes. They re-opened and operated the creameries, organised transport convoys, and undertook some industrial and agricultural work - all of course, with military protection.

The deployment of the Special Infantry, together with the cementing of an alliance between the employers, brought Liberty Hall to the conclusion that some compromise would have to be made, and the labourers would have to accept a reduction in their wages. At a ballot on the 10th June, a majority of the strikers agreed to put their case to arbitration. The decision was reluctantly taken, and heavily influenced by the demoralisation that the recent split between Jim Larkin and William O'Brien was causing.⁶² This friction was a serious handicap to the labourers' position and did much to prevent the Labour and Trade Union movement from marshalling its strength in defence of the strike. Larkin and Tom Johnson T.D. had both been to Waterford in late May addressing political and workers' rallies. However, neither offered much more than rhetoric. Johnson received a stormy reception at an election meeting in the City Hall, and was criticised for not doing more for gas workers and farm labourers. The Munster Express reported that there was widespread mistrust of Johnson among the workers who regarded him as a moderate and too much of a 'salaried parliamentarian'.⁶³ Larkin had spoken at meetings the previous week in Waterford and Dungarvan. His speeches were rambling and confused and gave no evidence that he had grasped the significance of the farm strike, or that he saw any means of ending it successfully.⁶⁴ Although the Labour Leaders, Larkin excepted, had little stomach for direct action, it is possible that the intensity of the class struggle in Waterford might have prompted them to offer effective assistance. However, the internal I.T.G.W.U. friction distracted the movement and left it divided and embittered at a time of very grave social conflict, not just in Waterford, but nationally. Moreover, the Larkin-O'Brien split had a profound psychological impact on Liberty Hall, contributing towards the more defensive, organisation-orientated mentality that made the termination of the farm strike possible.

The W.F.A. immediately rejected the I.T.G.W.U.'s offer to go to arbitration under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture. The Association's executive pointed to a speech made on June 7th, by Jimmy Baird, a union organiser, in which it was stated that the land belonged to the descendants of all the dispossed Irish and not just the lucky ones who had been able to recover their homesteads; the W.F.A. would refuse to negotiate as long as the union questioned their members right of ownership to their land. Baird then withdrew his remarks, but the W. F. A persisted in their opposition.⁶⁵ In late June, the W.F.A. reiterated its uncompromising stand at one of the largest farmers' meetings ever held to date; over 200 delegates attended along with representatives of the employers' Protection Association. The meeting unanimously rejected an offer of arbitration which had come from the Ministry of Agriculture, and issued the following statement:

- "1. We reject arbitration due to the aggressive attitude of the I.T.G.W.U. and its pernicious teaching.
2. We are prepared to accept a conference of farmers and labourers (not I.T.G.W.U. representatives) under the Presidency of the Minister for Agriculture provided the I.T.G.W.U. repudiates the claim that farmers do not own their own land (which the I.T.G.W.U. has made to further its claims on the basis of Connolly's teaching that the land belongs to the people), and provided the I.T.G.W.U. condemns and disclaims all violent outrages.
3. The I.F.U. views with alarm the withdrawal of some military posts as violence is increasing".⁶⁶

On behalf of the I.T.G.W.U., Thomas Foran replied to this statement pointing out that the union condemned all outrages and was prepared to reassure the farmers with regard to the question of land-ownership provided they met the union in conference and agreed to arbitration.⁶⁷ The W. F. A. was not impressed. At a large meeting in Waterford on the 11th July, the county executive declared that the letter from Foran changed nothing. The initial statement was valid. The position remained the same. This meeting made it quite clear that wages and conditions were no longer the bone of contention.⁶⁸ The W.F.A. was now totally opposed to trade unionism itself, and all that it implied.⁶⁹ This was the logical outcome of developments during the first month of the strike. The alliance with the merchants and manufacturers was not concluded to reduce wages. The urban employers had sided with the farmers precisely because of the opportunities afforded to crush trade unionism in the towns. There could be no going back now, particularly when the presence of the Special Infantry Corps created such a uniquely favourable situation.

The farmers attached great importance to the assistance of the military which they saw as a bulwark against Bolshevism. On 9th June, Sir John Keane told the Freeman's Journal:

"Only for the law is functioning now, there is do doubt that they (the labourers) would have availed of the strike trouble to take over the land of some of the farmers".⁷⁰

As evidence of this revolutionary inclination, Keane cited an incident during the 1922 dispute when labourers in his area impounded a number of his prize dairy cows for four weeks, milking them for the benefit of the workers. At the end of the strike the cows were returned along with £3.10/- in payment. An accompanying explanation pointed out that "the Cappoquin Soviet did not run the cows for profit".⁷¹ Accordingly, whilst the farmers undoubtedly exaggerated the threat to their land, they were correct in detecting a rebellious, independent spirit among the labourers, and rightly assumed, that only by inflicting a severe defeat, could they bring about the major shift in attitudes, needed to permanently alter the balance of power in the farmers'

favour. For the Special Infantry Corps would not always be in Waterford; only now was there a real opportunity to break the power of the I.T.G.W.U. indefinitely, and re-establish the pre-1917 relationship between farm worker and farmer.

Throughout the summer, the protagonists remained locked in conflict. The initial labour offensive had been effectively checked by the intervention of the military, and during the second and third phases of the strike the initiative lay with the farmers and employers. Despite their superiority in material however, the W.F.A. and their allies were unable to break the strike, and after the early manoeuvrings, the struggle took the form of a war of attrition. The weapons used on both sides were fairly crude, and more than likely counter-productive. The Special Infantry did most of the fighting for the farmers, who, between June and September left the physical warfare very much up to the military. On the Labour side, the violence was both illegal and unofficial - outrages being frequently condemned by the I.T.G.W.U. Nevertheless, this did not prevent regular raids on farms to destroy haggards, damage machinery, spike meadows, break down gates and gateposts, maim or drive off cattle etc. etc. In addition there were sporadic rifle attacks on convoys, farmhouses, or outposts of the Specials. Even the threat of attack could place intense strain on farmers,

The General Election for the fourth Dail provided a brief distraction from these events. The election had been long awaited, and both Labour and the Farmers had been electioneering since May. The Munster Express reported the Farmers' party to be particularly well organised, very active, and financially strong.⁷² Two farmers candidates were put forward, Nicholas Wall and Garret Flavin. They declared themselves to be 'friends of honest workers but opposed to Bolshevism'. Labour also fielded two candidates, Jimmy Baird, and John Butler, T.D. They stood on the same platform as in 1922, claiming that only Labour men could represent the interests of labouring men, and that they were out for a workers' republic. The farm strike of course was a major issue, and Labour's electoral performance was very much related to its progress on the industrial front. The Waterford correspondent of the London Times reported to his newspaper that "the General Election in Waterford takes place under the shadow of intense class conflict".⁷³ The results were as follows:

PARTY	VOTE	% OF VALID POLL
Sinn Fein	8,265	25.4
Labour	5,896	17.8
Farmers	5,422	16.7
Cumann na nGaedhael	4,793	14.7
Independents	8,182	25.4

The constituency was now a four seater, no longer incorporation East Tipperary, and returned Mrs. Cathal Brugha, Capt. Redmond, John Butler and Nicholas Wall in that order. Both Labour and the Farmers dropped votes, but whereas the Farmers decline was marginal, the Labour vote slumped. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, Capt. Redmond, fighting his first election since 1918, had done outstandingly well, capturing almost 20% of the

poll. Redmond would have certainly taken many Labour votes in the city, and possibly took as many as 2,500 from Labour overall. Secondly, Labour was considerably weaker in West Waterford in August 1923, than it had been in June 1922. About 800 farm labourers had left the union as a result of defeats suffered in June-July 1922 at the hands of the West Waterford land-owners. Thirdly, the workers may have been dissatisfied with the leadership provided by the I.T.G.W.U. during the industrial disputes that were taking place that year. Deputy Butler for example, saw his personal vote decline from 6,283 first preferences in 1922 to 2,710 in 1923. It is not possible to comment on the type of leadership he offered at this time, but his commitment to the Labour Movement is questionable as he later became a Cumann na nGaedhael Senator. Baird, on the other hand, who was well known for his militant views, polled 3,186 votes, despite the fact that unlike Butler he was not a local, having worked as a boilermaker in Belfast up to recently.⁷⁴

After the election, the struggle was resumed in earnest. The most outstanding feature of the third phase of the conflict was its bitterness. For if the farmers could hold out until the harvest was in, then they were in a fairly strong position until the spring of 1924. Accordingly, as the harvesting approached, the protagonists steeled themselves for a climactic effort.

Already in August, it was clear that the mood was beginning to change. During the final days of the election campaign the rhetoric of Labour speakers took on very aggressive tones. One I.T.G.W.U. official at least advocated the use of violence if the strike looked like being defeated.⁷⁵ Once the election was over, the farmers began to take the law into their own hands and supplement the work of the military. A group of vigilantes, styling themselves the White Guards, initiated a systematic campaign of terror against labourers and branch secretaries. During the second week of September union activists in Dunhill, Holycross, Butlerstown and Ballyduff had their cottages raided and burned by masked and armed men.⁷⁶ Throughout the month, carloads of vigilantes toured the countryside, waylaying strikers, and pistol whipping them. By this stage the strikers must have felt sorely tried, as in addition to the White Guards, they had to put up with a battery of legitimate forces: the Special Infantry, the C.I.D., the Cycle Corps, the regular Army and the Civic Guards.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, the labourers were determined to carry on. Defeat was by no means inevitable. The union had fought long strikes before, and the strikers knew that sooner or later the farmers would have to settle with them. As late as November, the Munster Express carried a report of a major reprisal against a farmer in Lacken who had recently signed an agreement with the union.⁷⁸ However, the I.T.G.W.U. executive took a different view of things. Although the Voice of Labour continued to talk in terms of 'a fight to the finish', the union was desperately searching for an end to the dispute. In October, its last hope of a compromise settlement was dashed when the W.F.A. rejected an offer that had been made by the Minister for Agriculture on behalf of the I.T.G.W.U. The W.F.A. repeated its opposition to the union saying that it would only negotiate with the men directly.⁷⁹ In November the farmers prepared for the strike to enter its second six months. Sir John Keane assured the farmers that if the dispute was to continue into 1924, support would be forthcoming from an All-Ireland strike fund.⁸⁰ If the determined opposition of the farmers was to be broken the I.T.G.W.U. had two courses of action open to it. It could resort to direct action, such as the occupation of the farms and factories - an alternative advocated by Jimmy Baird and some of the branch secretaries - or a general strike, or it could continue to support the strike in its present form until such time as the farmers finally agreed to negotiate. Neither option was acceptable to Liberty Hall. The former was contrary to Union policy, whilst the latter was equally unpalatable because of the expense involved - the dispute was costing the I.T.G.W.U. over £1,500 per week.⁸¹ Consequently there was nothing to do but call off the strike

as quickly as possible.

William O'Brien outlined his opinions on the farm strike and his reason **for** ending it in Forth the Banners Go:

"It looked as if it was going to wreck the whole union and we had a consultation with the executive about it and they said that it was all over now and we will have to end it. We decided we would stop the strike on a certain date, but we could not afford to give any notice of it because that would give trouble in a variety of ways. Foran and I went down and we saw the representative body and we told them that was the last week they could be paid. You can imagine how they took that. Our boilermaker (Baird) was there and he got up and said that was very harsh. He said his own union - the Boilermakers - had unsuccessful strikes and they went so far as to mortgage their head office premises to pay their members. I told him that was alright for a Boilermakers' Society, but that only a small number of our members were agricultural workers. We had to take a different view of it. That ended that and we did not try to organise the agricultural labourers afterwards".⁸²

The strike ended on Saturday the 8th December. The Voice of Labour attempted to put a brave face on things and reported:

"In order to save the organisation locally, it was decided that all should return to work forthwith and await a favourable opportunity to recover lost ground".⁸³

It also declared that all were determined to stand by the Union.⁸⁴ This was nonsense. With the collapse of the strike the Transport Union in County Waterford ceased to exist. It was well over a decade before trade unionism began to re-establish itself in the county, and it was never to be as powerful a force there again. The defeat of the labourers had disastrous consequences for the Labour Movement in Waterford. The repercussions on the political and industrial fronts were profound and lasting. All of the workers involved in the dispute - labourers and those out in sympathy - were taken back at their employers' discretion, and on their employers' terms. There was no longer any question of bargaining or negotiation on wages or conditions. The more militant workers were in many instances victimised.⁸⁵ The extensive electoral structure which the labourers' organisation gave to the Labour Party also disappeared, along with the most able and vigorous support base the Party has ever had in Waterford.

Most importantly, the defeat of the strike produced a permanent shift in attitudes, marking the end not just of the expression of Larkin-style trade unionism but of the mentality that gave rise to it. Trade unionism of the 1923 vintage, was rooted in a working class ethic which accorded top priority to solidarity and class allegiances. Things were understood not merely in relation to traditional trade union principles, but within the conceptual framework of class consciousness. All of this was to disappear, being replaced by new values and a new way of looking at things, which made the conflict of 1923 an embarrassment, a stupid futility that was to be regretted, and should now be forgotten about as it bore no relation to the present.

Conclusion:

The post war militancy - and more specifically the events in Waterford - is of relevance to our interpretation of Labour history in three ways. Firstly, it suggests that radicalism was far more widespread at this time than has been hitherto appreciated. Revolutionary rhetoric, symbols, and acts were quite common in Waterford during these years and found all over the South East,

and Central Munster in varying quantities. Yet historians have either underestimated or trivialised them.⁸⁶ The inspiration for direct action has also been misunderstood. A common explanation has been that the exploits of the I.R.A. and the achievements of Sinn Fein provided the stimulus. Undoubtedly, the near anarchy which prevailed in the south of Ireland, particularly, in the martial law area, between 1920 and 1923, had a big influence on the workers. However, the effect of this was not to provoke, but to enable workers to take action. More likely, the real inspiration was provided by contemporary events in Europe; the Russian revolution, the Factory occupations in Italy, the industrial unrest in Britain and Germany, and most of all by the way the victorious allies turned the old world upside down in 1919, shaping a new Europe simply because they had the will and the power to do so.

Secondly, the events of 1922/23, clearly indicate that, in Waterford at least, the activities of the parliamentary Labour Party were very remote from the real issues that confronted the workers during those years. At the same time, it should be noted that political action was in itself regarded as being of paramount importance. The workers had a Larkinite conception of politics. Political agitation was something rooted in the same ethic that spawned industrial militancy; it took its bearings from economic reality. There was little sympathy with the parliamentarianism of Tom Johnson T.D. It was felt that the party should not divorce itself from the mood of trade unionism. Yet, from the third Dail onwards, this is precisely what happened. Many political analysts have taken Labour's official syndicalism at its face value, and treated Labour as a syndicalist party between 1912 and 1930. There has also been a tendency to ascribe Labour's weakness to its narrow electoral base, i.e. trade unionists. More generally, it has been argued that the Party's inability to win greater electoral support was due to its failure to integrate itself into parliamentary political culture. The events of 1923 imply precisely the opposite. After 1916 labour was syndicalist in organisation certainly, but pragmatic and fabian in ideology - at least as far as the leadership was concerned. Up to 1922 therefore, Labour was a parliamentarist party without a parliament, an anomalous situation, but one which had the advantage of camouflaging Labour's true ideology. Undoubtedly, Labour was unfortunate in commencing its parliamentary career at a time when the democratic institutions it wished to maintain were engaged in open conflict with the working class. Nevertheless, very little consideration was given to how this contradictory situation might be resolved. As a consequence, an immediate dualism was created between the two wings of the movement, and Labour lost the confidence of its natural electorate before it even had time to consider winning non-trade union votes. The evidence suggests that Labour made a serious mistake in renegeing on its syndicalism in 1922/23. Quite possibly it was the commitment of its leaders to parliamentary socialism at a time of widespread industrial rebelliousness that crippled the party.

Finally, it could be contended, that a central reason for the neglect and misunderstanding of the events of 1917/23 by historians and political scientists, is due to the failure to detect a distinct chronology for Labour history during this period. For some time now, the myth of the political revolution being a united national effort has been effectively debunked. However, in addition to the question 'whose revolution?' we should also ask 'which revolution?' and attempt to disentangle the social dynamic of the Labour Movement from the political development of Sinn Fein. That is not to say that they did not influence each other but that different time scales and terms of reference apply - the nationalist revolution occurring between 1916 and 1921, and working class agitation coinciding with the rise and fall of Larkinism 1907-1923.

1. Greaves, C.D. (1971) Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution, London: Lawrence and Wishart, p.109.
2. Ibid, pp.109-110.
3. Recalled by Paddy Haine and Dick Browne I.T.G.W.U. members during these years. Interview Waterford 12.7.1978.
4. A very few labourers' unions did operate for a few years but by 1920 had been incorporated into the I.T.G.W.U. One such example was the Irish Agricultural and General Workers Union which catered for industrial, agricultural, and domestic service workers in Wicklow and North Wexford. Cf. Liberty, January 1968. pp.21-22.
5. Munster Express, 28.6.1919.
6. Idem.
7. Ibid. 9.8.1919.
8. Ibid. 29.11.1919. For the ballad celebrating the "battle" see Decies 7, pages 25 - 26 on "The Fenor Melee".
9. Ibid. 6.12.1919.
10. Ibid. 21.12.1919
11. Idem.
12. Watchword of Labour, 31.1.1920
13. Munster Express, 29.4.1922.
14. Fitzpatrick, David. (1971) Politics and Irish Life 1913-1921: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, pp.269-270
15. Quoted in Fitzpatrick, David, op.cit. pp.271-272.
16. Fitzpatrick, David, op.cit. p.273.
17. Idem.
18. "Irish agriculture has survived many vicissitudes, but it can seldom have been in so unpromising a condition as it was in 1922. It had not yet begun to recover from the slump in prices which occurred in 1920. The agricultural price index had risen from 100 in 1911-13 to 288 in 1920; by 1924 it had fallen to 160. In the years of war-time prosperity many farmers had borrowed extensively from the banks; they now found themselves committed to repay out of shrunken earnings. During the war Irish agricultural products had been given the windfall of a near-monopoly of the British market, but this magnificent opportunity to acquire lasting goodwill was thrown away. When the war was over and supplies from Denmark and overseas were again available, the British consumer had only too clear a memory of bad eggs and worse butter from Ireland. To restore the good name of Irish produce was obviously the first move towards recovery: it was not one that could have immediate results". (Meenan, James, (1977) The Irish Economy Since 1922, Liverpool University Press, pp.91-92.
19. Watchword of Labour, 22.5.20, also Munster Express, 4.9.20.
20. Watchword of Labour, May-June 1920
21. Recollections of Dick Browne about Volunteer Francis O'Connor. Interview Waterford, 12.7.78.
22. Munster Express, 28.1.78
23. Ibid. 20.5.22
24. Munster Express, 27.5.22.
25. Voice of Labour, 3.6.22
26. Munster Express, 27.5.22
27. Voice of Labour, 3.6.22. 10.6.22.
28. Ibid. 17.5.22. 24.6.22
29. Ibid. 20.5.22
30. Breen, Dan. (1973) My Fight for Irish Freedom. Tralee, Anvil Books, p. 168. Also Freemans Journal 7.6.22. Munster Express 10.6.22
31. Munster Express 10.6.22
32. Voice of Labour. 1.7.22.
33. Idem. 34. Idem. 35. Munster Express, 24.6.22.
36. Irish Farmer, 29.5.20 quoted in Fitzpatrick, David. op.cit. p.273

37. Quoted in Meenan, James, 1972. The Irish Economy Since 1922.
Liverpool University Press. p. 303.
38. Quoted ibid. p.95. 39. Munster Express 10.2.23.
40. Voice of Labour, 28.4.23. 41. Ibid. 5.5.23. 42. Ibid. 2.6.23.
43. Munster Express, 19.5.23. 44. Freeman's Journal, 10.6.23.
45. Munster Express, 2.6.23. 46. Munster Express, 26.5.23.
Freeman's Journal, 1.6.23.
47. Munster Express, 26.5.23. 48. Ibid. 2.6.23
49. Idem. 50. Idem. 51. Freeman's Journal 2.6.23.
52. Munster Express, 30.6.23 53. Idem. 54. Ibid. 7.7.23.
55. Ibid. 28.7.23 56. Ibid. 7.7.23. 57. Ibid. 21.7.23.
58. Quoted in the Voice of Labour, 8.8.23.
59. Freeman's Journal, 5.6.23. 60. Ibid. 7.6.23
61. Munster Express, 16.6.23. 62. Freeman's Journal, 13.6.23.
63. Munster Express, 2.6.23. 64. Idem.
65. Freeman's Journal, 8.6.23. 19.6.23.
66. Munster Express, 30.6.23. 67. Munster Express, 14.7.23
68. Idem.
69. This was a more truculent stance than either the I.F.U. or the government would have preferred. The Minister for Agriculture was prepared to reach a settlement by arbitration, whilst the I.F.U. was suggesting that the labourers should have the right to select their own representatives in negotiations, provided these were not I. T.G.W.U. officials. Throughout late June and July, R.A.Kelly, the I.F.U. secretary issued a number of 'conciliatory statements' advocating that the farmers should try to detach the 'honest workers' from the union rather than meet them head on in confrontation. (Munster Express.16.6.23). Neither the government or the I.F.U. exerted any pressure on the W.F.A. to modify its position however. On the contrary, the government promised to maintain its commitments in Waterford, and the I.F.U. and the Farmers Party in the Dail pledged full support for the W.F.A. Other County Farmers Associations also rallied round the W.F.A. offering financial and other assistance. (Munster Express. 16.6.23. 14.7.23).
70. Op.cit. 10.6.23. 71. Idem. 72. Op.cit. 11.8.23.
73. The Times article was reprinted in the Munster Express 25.8.23.
74. Freeman's Journal 3.9.23. Munster Express 1.9.23.
75. Munster Express 25.8.23. 76. Ibid. 15.9.23.
77. Voice of Labour, 20.10.23. contains a letter from Tommy Dunne Secretary of the Strike Committee, outlining instances of intimidation and brutality by these organisations.
78. Op.cit. 3.11.23. 79. Voice of Labour. 6.10.23.
80. Munster Express, 10.11.23. 81. Ibid. 30.6.23.
82. Forth the Banners Go, reminiscences of William O'Brien as told to Edward MacLysaght. (1969. Dublin, The Three Candles, pp.113-114.
83. Op.cit. 8.12.23. 84. Idem.
85. Voice of Labour 22.12.23. This is also borne out by all veterans of of the strike whom I have spoken to.
86. of Fitzpatrick, David (op.cit. p.347) and Clarkson J.D. (1970) Labour and Nationalism in Ireland New York. AMS Press, p.445

AN INTRODUCTION TO AN IRISH/PROVENCAL POET:

WILLIAM CHARLES BONAPARTE-WYSE.

by Eileen Holt.

William Charles Bonaparte-Wyse was born in Waterford on 21st February, 1826, ⁽¹⁾ the second son of the former Princess Letitia Bonaparte, a niece of the Emperor Napoleon, and Thomas (later Sir Thomas) Wyse, whom she had married in Italy in 1821. His parents separated in 1828, and the two brothers were left in the custody of their father, and brought up by their aunt, Mrs. George Wyse, along with her own children. They were sent to school in England, and William Charles entered Prior Park College, near Bath. Following the destruction of this College by fire, and after a period spent abroad with Mrs. George Wyse and her family, the boy arrived in November 1837, at the age of eleven years, to join his elder brother Napoleon, at Oscott College, near Birmingham.

Life at Oscott College was not without incident for the two brothers. Napoleon ran away on more than one occasion, and for his part, William Charles also found himself in trouble. The escapade in question is interesting if we consider it in the light of his later connections with Provence. It appears that he and another boy drove some of the sheep which used to graze in the grounds of the College up a steep staircase in the school on to the roof of the building. There the unfortunate animals were made to peer over the parapet, and then had great difficulty in descending the twisting and narrow stairs. It has been suggested ⁽²⁾ that William Charles told Alphonse Daudet many years later of this escapade, and that Daudet used it in his story 'La Mule du Pape' which appears in his collection of short stories entitled Lettres de mon Moulin. ⁽³⁾ In this story a mule is made to climb the steep winding staircase in the Palais des Papes at Avignon, and to stand on a platform overlooking the town. It may be that William Charles did tell the French writer of the incident at Oscott, and that Daudet adapted it and used it in one of his most famous short stories. The Irishman did become acquainted with Daudet, but as there is no record of his actually relating the episode to him, the suggested link must remain a conjecture, if an interesting one.

During his period at Oscott William Charles was a member of the College Debating Society, and on 19th February 1843 he took part in a debate on "Whether England was justified in condemning Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena." The records of the Debating Society tell us that "Mr. Wyse made some remarks on the treatment of Napoleon during his residence at St. Helena, among others that the house was tenanted by rats, which, with the cruel treatment of the English Government caused his premature death." ⁽⁴⁾ Thus did the boy register his disapproval of the treatment he felt his great-uncle had received from the British.

On Speech Day, June 20th 1843, William Charles took part in the school play Orestes in Argos, and he also recited two poems of his own composition, one of which was entitled "On the Death of Byron." Many years later he was to add a note to a fragment of the poem he had preserved "N.B. I was then Byron mad!" ⁽⁵⁾ In 1843 also Lady Byron visited the College, and William Charles in a letter to his cousin Winifrede told her of his impressions of the visitor "she is exactly what I expected, melancholy and careworn, but yet there is reigning in her countenance at times a placid smile which her very lady-like and majestic carriage set off to perfection. She seemed as she walked through the refectory with Dr. Wiseman while we were at dinner to know too well what a share she has in the immortality of her unhappy husband." ⁽⁶⁾

Thus during his schooldays at Oscott, we find William Charles already writing

poetry and meeting the widow of a great poet. He was to continue to write poetry all his life, and he was to have many friends and acquaintances in the literary circles of Provence, Paris and London. We also see that he was not averse to speaking in public, and in later years he was to address large audiences in Provence.

He left Oscott in 1844 and spent the next fifteen years travelling in the British Isles and on the Continent, returning to the family home in Ireland between his travels. He was also writing poetry, much of which was later published privately, and which it must be said is on the whole very mediocre in quality. He did however always show an aptitude for languages, and had a good knowledge of French and German. Some of his work was published in periodicals in Ireland. As early as 1847 a translation of a poem by the German poet Heine appeared in The Catholic Instructor,⁽⁷⁾ and two poems of his were published in The Nation.⁽⁸⁾

It was in 1859 that he visited Provence for the first time, a visit which was to have a great influence on his life. Earlier that year, Frederic Mistral, the Provençal poet, had become famous with the publication of his long poem Mirèio. Mistral was the leader of the Felibrige, a literary movement founded in 1854, whose aims were the preservation and purification of the Provençal language, and the renaissance of Provençal literature. Provençal, the language of the Troubadours of the Middle Ages, had degenerated into what was regarded by many as 'patois', and deemed to be unsuitable for serious literary works, but Mistral and his fellow poets chose to write in Provençal, the language despised by so many educated people and banned from the schools. Although others before Mistral had written poetry in Provençal in the 19th century, none of their work had been acclaimed as Mistral's now was. His Mirèio was praised by Lamartine in Paris, and by other French men of letters, and his work was to receive international recognition and be translated into many languages.

The story of William Charles's arrival in Avignon, his reading of Mistral's poem, and his meeting with the poet at the latter's home in the village of Maillane on Christmas Day 1859 has been told many times,⁽⁹⁾ the source being Mistral's own account of the meeting. Many additional details about this first visit to Avignon can however be found in William Charles's own journal, details which have to date not been published. For example, very soon after his arrival in the town he recorded on 24th November 1859 "Translated the fine description of 'Horses of the Camargue' in Canto IV of Provençal poem Mireille....as fine as anything of its kind in any literature, ancient or modern".⁽¹⁰⁾ At this stage William Charles could not have read the poem in the original Provençal, he made his translation from the **French version** which accompanied the Provençal text, and he does in fact refer to the poem in his journal by the French title of Mireille. Later William Charles's English translation of the relevant stanzas of Canto IV of Mistral's poem was published in his collection of poems entitled Scattered Leaves.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1861 William Charles was to meet George Meredith, the English novelist and poet, and he introduced Meredith to Mistral's poetry. Meredith himself then adapted the same stanzas of Mirèio, and later published them under the title of "Mares of the Camargue".⁽¹²⁾ Although Meredith acknowledged his source as "from the Mirèio of Mistral," he did not mention that it was Bonaparte-Wyse who had introduced him to the poem in Provençal, and who had first translated these stanzas into English. In the twentieth century, Roy Campbell adapted these same stanzas, and he entitled his poem "Horses on the Camargue"⁽¹³⁾, and a comparison of the three versions of Mistral's description of the horses of the Camargue is extremely interesting.

The published accounts of William Charles's first visit to Provence tell of his immediate affection for the place and the people. This is on the whole a true reflection of his feelings, but he did not find everything to his liking.

For instance, on a visit to the neighbouring town of Cavailon, where he stayed in the house of a brewer, he recorded in his journal on the second day of the visit "Beginning to be tired of this house. Grub too salte (salty) wine bad and new - quince preserve however good, and to crown all - no bog.....(14)

There is however no doubt that he was already absorbed in a study of the Provençal language. "Dreaming Provençal" he wrote in his journal, and he was also captivated by the personality of Mistral and getting to know very well other members of the Felibrige including Roumanille and Aubanel.

During the following years he returned frequently to Provence, and his friendship with the Provençal poets deepened. He also met one of the greatest French poets of the 19th century, Stéphane Mallarmé, who for a time taught English in the lycēe at Avignon, and a correspondence was begun between the two men. He visited Spain, and became a friend of Victor Balaguer, the Catalan poet and patriot. In 1864 he married, and Mistral became godfather to his eldest son who was born in 1868. Three other sons were to be born later of the marriage.

By 1868 he had a thorough command of the Provençal language, and in that year was published a collection of his Provençal poems entitled Li Parpaïoun Blu (15) (The Blue Butterflies). These poems were widely acclaimed in Provence itself and praised by eminent French poets such as Coppée and Banville. The question which arises is how did William Charles who wrote verse of such mediocre quality in English,* write poetry which was infinitely superior in Provençal? The problem is a complex one, and is discussed by Professor E. J. Arnould in his article 'William Charles Bonaparte-Wyse "La Cigalo d'Irlando"' (16) who claims that it was indeed Provence that made a poet of a "laborieux versificateur". This is undoubtedly true, and a close study of the texts and hitherto unpublished documents should enable further light to be shed upon the problem.

In any event William Charles became a Felibre himself, and participated in the gatherings of the Felibrige, on occasions acting as a generous host. He also made speeches which brought him renown in Provence, and we can look back to the schoolboy who took an active part in debates at Oscott and in Speech Day activities there.

In addition however to his periods of residence in Provence, and to his residence in Ireland, he also spent some time in England, particularly in the West Country. He lived for example in Bath, and then at Woolley Hill House, Bradford-on Avon, in Wiltshire. It was here in 1871, that the French poet Mallarmé whom he had met in Avignon some years before, came to stay as his guest, and Mallarmé's poem 'Dans le Jardin' is dated "Woolley Hill House, about 1871." In this poem there are specific references to William Charles's wife Ellen, and indeed it ends with her name. (17)

Many years later in 1890, William Charles, accompanied by one of his sons, attended one of Mallarmé's famous 'Tuesdays' at the home of the poet in the Rue de Rome, Paris. He left in his journal, this somewhat unflattering description of the visit:

We found him (Mallarmé) chez lui, in the midst of a lot of obscure young poets, his friends and disciples, grave-looking, and black-moustached, drinking 'ponche' and discussing Art and Poetry...Mallarmé standing up the whole time, recalling old times, but seemingly forgetful of all the kindness I had shown him, all the unreturned money I had lent him. The fellow now has a certain notoriety as a Chef of the literary sect of the Dēcadents and has his admirers more or less. (18)

* Examples of his poetry will be found in the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society Journals, Vols. I, p.191; II, p.129; X, pp 255-257.

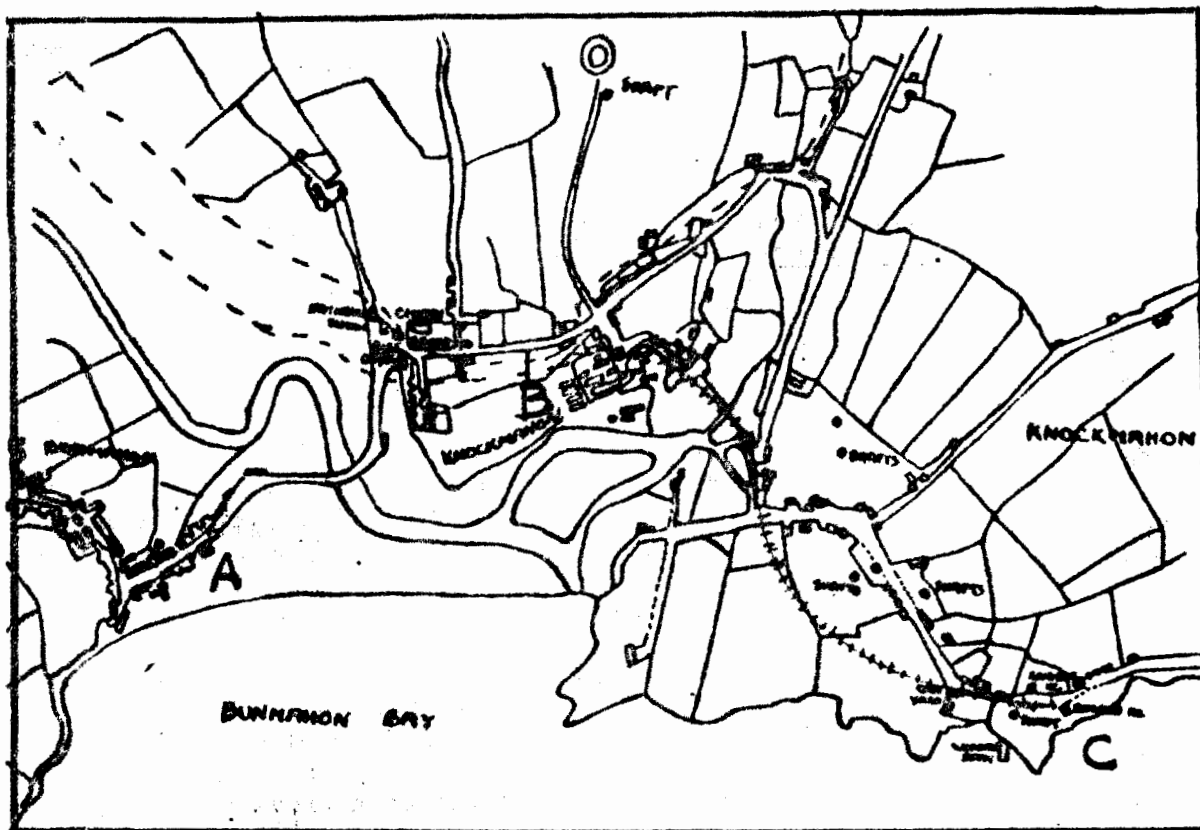
We can detect here a note of bitterness, and envy of his friend, and the respectful admiration of a great poet which we might have expected is alas, absent.

William Charles's second collection of Provençal poems was published in 1882, and it was entitled Li Piado de la Princesso⁽¹⁹⁾ [The steps of the Princess], and many of his other Provençal poems were published separately. He died in Cannes on 3rd December 1892, and is buried there. He is remembered in Provence as "Le Felibre Irlandais", and references to his native land do in fact appear in his Provençal poems.

In this brief introduction to his life and work, much of importance has had to be omitted, and indeed only a few aspects of his career as a Provençal poet have been touched upon, whilst any discussion of his attitude to his native Ireland has been totally omitted, and deliberately so, as it is a subject which must be discussed at length if it is to be understood. A number of articles have been written about him, and there is also a full-length work in French,⁽²⁰⁾ but there is little available which is readily accessible. Even the full-length work in French contains inaccuracies, and important problems remain unsolved, whilst certain aspects of his career remain unexplored. It is hoped in a comprehensive study, to discuss in detail his relationships with his contemporaries in Ireland, in England and on the Continent of Europe, and to treat in depth the literary work of this 19th century Waterfordman who became a Provençal poet.

NOTES:

1. See: Holt Eileen, 'The Marriage of Thomas Wyse and Letitia Bonaparte' Decies 11, (1979) 5-12 (p.8). The correct date of birth has been established as February 21st.
2. Donnadiou F., William Charles Bonaparte-Wyse, Les Poètes de la langue d'oc, Montpellier, Imprimerie centrale du Midi-Hamelin Freres, 1884, p.13.
3. Daudet Alphonse, Lettres de Mon Moulin, éd. définitive, Paris, Charpentier, 1895, pp 73-93. 4. Reproduced by kind permission of Oscott College.
5. Wyse MSS. Extracts from the Wyse family papers are reproduced by kind permission of Mr. William Bonaparte-Wyse.
6. Wyse MSS. 7. Vol IV, Spring 1847, 'The Pilgrimage to Kevlaar' translated from the German of H. Heine.
8. The Nation, August 28th 1847 and September 4th 1847. It should be noted that Bonaparte-Wyse used the pseudonym 'Reginald' on occasions.
9. For example Charles-Roux J, Un Felibre irlandais, William Bonaparte-Wyse, sa correspondance avec Mistral, Paris, Lemerre, 1917, p.40
10. Wyse Collection, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, MS 58. Extracts from the papers of this collection are reproduced by kind permission of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I also wish to acknowledge the support given to me by The British Academy to enable me to visit The University and consult the Wyse papers there.
11. Scattered Leaves, Plymouth, n.d. pp.246-248. The poem is entitled 'The Mares of the Camargue'.
12. The Poems of George Meredith, ed. by Phyllis B. Bartlett, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1978, Vol.I., pp.705-707. See also editor's note on p. 705.
13. Campbell Roy, Collected Poems, London, The Bodley Head, 1949, pp.47-48.
14. U. of Illinois. MS. 58.
15. Li Parpaioun blu, Avignon, Gros Frères, Barcelona, Manero, Paris, Tardieu, 1863.
16. In Actes et Mémoires du 1^{er} Congrès International de langue et littérature du midi de la France, Avignon, Palais du Roure, 1957, pp.146-161.
17. See: Holt Eileen and Austin L.J., 'Stephane Mallarmé : "Dans le Jardin"', French Studies, Vol XXIX, No. 4, October 1975, pp.411-419.
18. U. of Illinois, MS 158.
19. Li Piado de la Princesso, Plymouth, Barcelona, Avignon, Bucarest, 1882.
20. Charles-Roux J. see note 9.



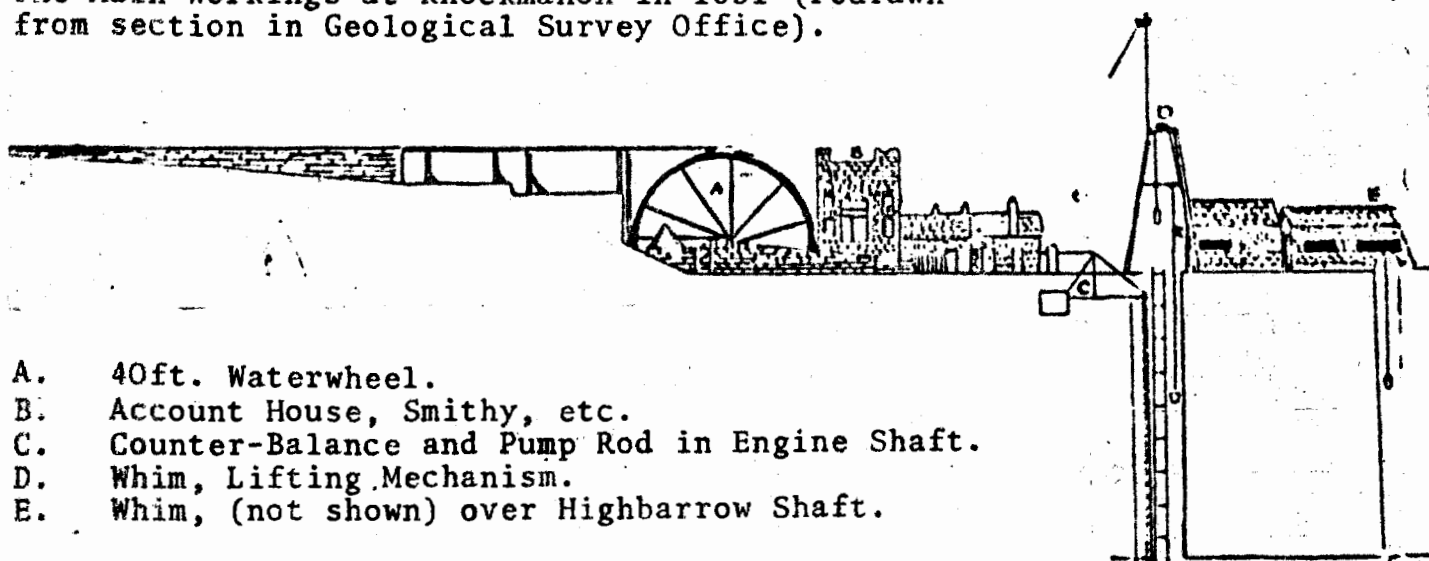
THE MINING AREA, 1841 (redrawn from sheet 25, 6" O.S. map of Waterford).

- A. The approximate location of the shanty town (not all the cabins seem to have been marked on the original map).
- B. The dressing floors where the waterwheels crushed the ore. The rectangular buildings are the wooden sheds under which the women and children worked.
- C. Note how the shafts are in a line along the vein running north-west from the coast where the engine houses are located.

+++++ Approximate line of railway from shaft heads to dressing floors. This line also brought the ore back to the cliff-top where it was stored to await the Swansea schooner.

Channels bringing the water to the wheel.

The Main Workings at Knockmahon in 1831 (redrawn from section in Geological Survey Office).



- A. 40ft. Waterwheel.
- B. Account House, Smithy, etc.
- C. Counter-Balance and Pump Rod in Engine Shaft.
- D. Whim, Lifting Mechanism.
- E. Whim, (not shown) over Highbarrow Shaft.

LIFE AND WORK IN AN IRISH MINING CAMP c.1840:

KNOCKMAHON COPPER MINES, CO. WATERFORD.

by "Decie".

Introduction:

The seaside resort of Bunmahon¹ was visited in 1824 by "practical men" whose code was "Industry; Economy; Perseverance".² These were from the Mining Company of Ireland, newly formed with offices in Dublin and about 1,000 shareholders, mostly Irish.³ Five different companies had attempted to work the copper veins here since 1730⁴ but their workings seem to have been largely superficial as they lacked capital and technology for full exploration of the major vein and for developing it below sea-level.⁵ The Mining Company of Ireland started with a capital of almost £10,000 and the option of calling for further money from their shareholders.⁶ They also seem to have been able to⁷ draw on a fund of technical expertise not available to earlier companies. By the early 1830s the M.C.I. had established that the vein of copper which appeared on the cliffs at Knockmahon ran inland for a mile, had various branches with associated subveins and remained rich at depth (unlike many other Irish copper showings, especially those investigated by them in West Cork).

The M. C. I. maintained production from these mines for over half a century.⁹ By 1840 they could boast, however ingenuously, that in Knockmahon they had, "one of the most important of the extensive mining districts of the empire".¹⁰ In the 1860s however, ore from newly discovered surface deposits in America and Africa began to undersell the ore from mines being worked at ever-increasing depths and cost in these islands. Knockmahon has been closed since the mid 1870s except for sporadic shortlived attempts at revival.¹² However, it is not the purpose of this article to trace the fortunes of the mine over this latter period; instead I intend to use the wide range of material available for the 1830s and '40s to attempt to outline the impact of a highly organised and somewhat specialized industrial activity on a fairly typical agricultural community. These aims cannot always be realised. For instance I would like to have been able to show the extent to which agricultural labourers adapted themselves to underground work;¹³ some presumably did, but there is now no way of knowing in what capacities. I therefore describe underground work in general to convey some idea of the conditions they would have faced. Likewise I would like to have been able to have shown the impact of outsiders on a local community but can only note the difficulties of establishing their presence.

Finally - nomenclature. The mines are known as "Knockmahon" after the townland on which they were first worked. In fact they spread north-west from the cliff there through the townlands of Kilduane, Ballynagigla and Ballynasissala where the vein petered out in a series of faults.¹⁵ The most visually spectacular aspect of the mines, the dressing floors, was in Ballynagigla (where the present children's playground stands) although the company always refer to this as Ballynasissala! Most of the workers lived across the Mahon river in a subdenomination of Templebrick townland called Bunmahon (or Bonmahon). These were in the parish of Ballylaneen separated by the river from Kill parish where the works stood. Thus "Knockmahon" refers to all mining activity, regardless of townland while "Bunmahon" refers to the area where many of the miners lived.

Life (i) - People and Houses:

There are a number of apparent riddles about the statistics for Bunmahon-Knockmahon around 1840. There is, for instance, clear evidence of about 1,100 people being employed here,¹⁴ yet the census records only 371 miners.¹⁵ Again, accepting 1,100 employees, one would expect about 1,100 families (say 6,000 people) living in the area adjacent to the mines.¹⁶ In fact there were only 379 families (2,036 people) there.¹⁶ Maybe the vast majority of these families had several members at the mines - but no. A third of them were dependent on agriculture.¹⁷ Perhaps they were peripherally involved in servicing the mines - but again no. Of the 615 people rendering services, the vast majority (532) "ministered to" food or lodging.¹⁸

The first and last of these "riddles" can be answered without speculation. Only an elite of the 1,100 employees were entitled to the appellation "miner": the rest were "labourers". But where did they all come from if they didn't live in Bunmahon? The only hypothesis that answers all other questions is that they were mainly of local agricultural labouring stock walking from home to the mines and that Bunmahon was composed mainly of those who would have had too far to travel daily. This is at least partly corroborated by the evidence.

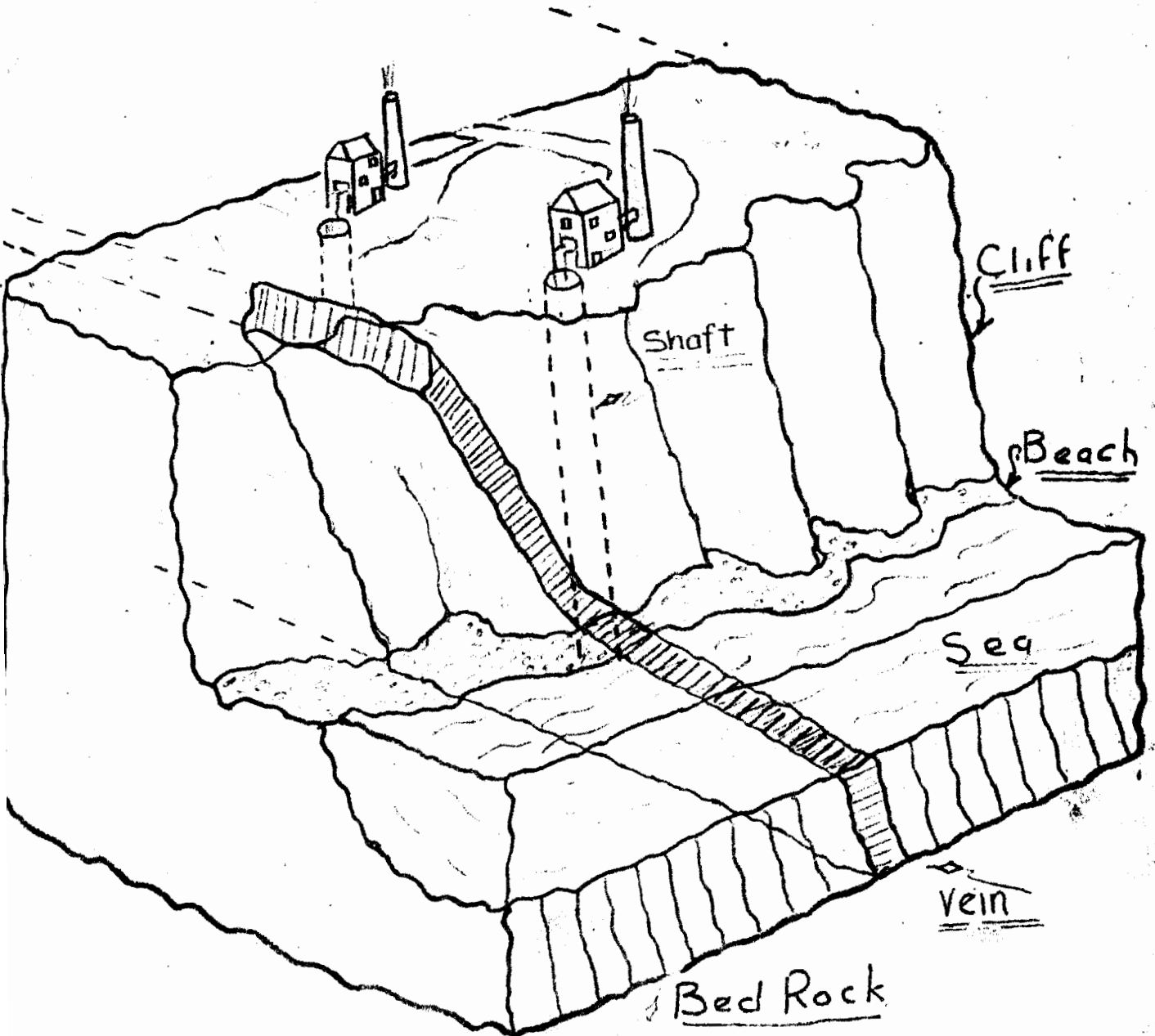
A report of 1847 says that the countryside around Bunhamon, "has always been notorious for its wretchedness".¹⁹ Conditions among small tenant farmers here were described in 1844 as "very poor"; the conditions of labourers was "very bad" and "getting worse".²⁰ One local observer gave it as his opinion that the farming community in the county then was "the most ignorant and worst fed in the world".²¹ By the 1830s the M.C.I. had an ever-increasing number of jobs to offer to such people with wages about twice what they would have got from farm work (i.e. 1/2d per day as against 4d per day with food or 8d without)²² with far greater regularity. They may have been slow to respond at first but certainly by 1841 great numbers of them would appear to have been trudging perhaps quite long distances to begin work at 6.00 a.m. However, when harvest time came, and their services were in demand and paying almost as well as the mines,²³ they abandoned work there²⁴ and returned to what they must have felt as their primary occupation, farming. Even those whom distance or circumstance forced to live in Bunmahon remained at heart agriculturists. They sought desperately for plots to rent around there on conacre, almost doubling the rent of such fields - i.e. from £6 to £7 per acre to £10 to £12.²⁵ Those who produced a surplus of food probably had a ready market for it and surely account for many of the 313 people who described themselves as ministering to food in 1841,²⁶ the remainder of this group presumably retailing it.

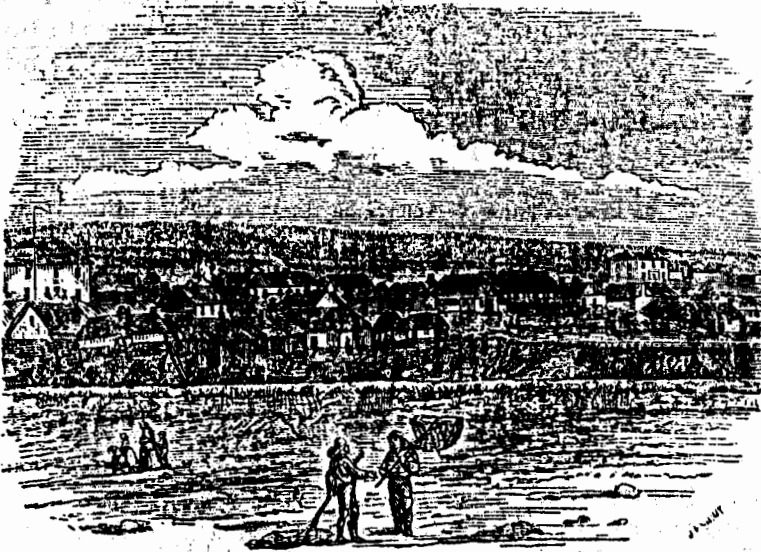
The final "riddle", however, requires a different solution. Why, out of the 407 families in both Bunmahon and Knockmahon, did 260 people record themselves as "ministering to" lodging?²⁷ One answer could be that Bunmahon had expanded as a holiday resort. However, the local parish priest paints a different picture. He describes the "very high rent for the houses (there)...owing to the unwillingness of the landlord to have houses built by his tenantry to accommodate the labouring class.... The rents are so high they stow themselves away in these houses (i.e. two-roomed cottages) and we have two or three families living in these rooms".²⁸ He worries that this may be "productive of the worst evils as regards morality". The M. C. I. too were concerned about the "want of suitable accommodation for agents and workmen" in 1842 and add that they have been "disappointed in expectation of ground for building".²⁹ They had in fact built 16 houses for miners in 1836³⁰ and an undisclosed number of others about 1841³¹ but this was only scratching at the surface



Contemporary sketch of Knockmahon Cliffs in the 1840s showing two of the engine houses. (Redrawn by Mrs. S. Brophy from Leaves from My Notebook by D.A. Doudney, London 1849, p.65).

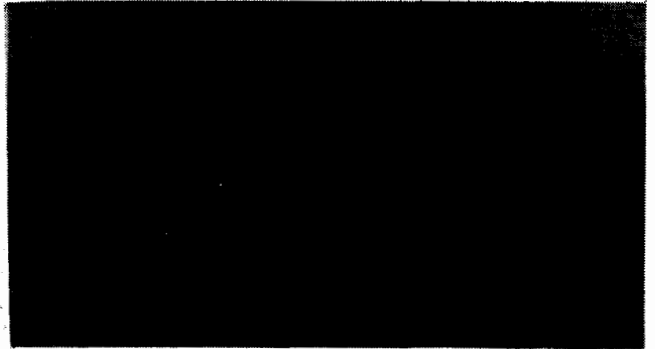
An isometric view of the same scene (prepared for Decies by Mr. Tom Goulding). Note the angle of the copper-bearing vein. Much of the outcropping on surface and cliff-face would have been worked away in the eighteenth century and this would have been further modified by infall and erosion.





View of Bunmahon c. 1855.
The village had been
drastically changed by the
famine.

Looking east to Knockmahon c. 1855.
While accurate in some details,
the artist seems to have omitted
all signs of mining activities
and the topography is incorrect.



(The two sketches above were published in Decies 11, p. 26, to accompany part II of Mr. Tom Power's article on the Rev. Doudney's schools in Bunmahon but the standard of reproduction on that occasion made them unintelligible. We publish them here to illustrate Mr. Power's article retrospectively as well as for their current relevance).



Cornish Engine House, such
as the three at Knockmahon
by 1842 (Redrawn from
illustration in Cornwall's
Old Mines by H.V. Williams
Truro (n.d.).

of the problem. That year 78 families were sharing 44 two roomed houses.³² Presumably those who had been lucky enough to get private houses or company houses at £5-10/- and £4-10/- per annum respectively for two rooms plus possibly a garret took in lodgers to help pay the rent.³³ These were relatively well off, however, in comparison with the inhabitants of the bothans.

Nestling on waste ground on the landward side of the sand dunes was another community who seem to have been ignored by all commentators. Here stood ninety one-roomed bothans, a squalid collection scattered along the road from Knockmahon,³⁴ comprising about 700 people. Thirty nine of these habitations housed more than one family.³⁵ There is no means now of establishing whether most of them had employment in the mines and had simply failed to get more congenial accommodation, or whether they were a semi-itinerant people simply attracted by the prospect of employment. Some idea of the physical condition of this place may be formed from a report written thirty years later when the area had been considerably improved. It describes how "a considerable stream of dirty water --(of)-- very foul smell" flows down Bonmahon hill towards the site adjacent to the shanty town, how the sand from the dunes is blown into the gutters choking them, so that the sewage "accumulates in ponds and becoming stagnant is most offensive and dangerous to the health".³⁶ Indeed almost the entire population of this slum disappeared with the famine.³⁷

Just as contemporaries apparently averted their eyes from this scene, perhaps we should now do so and consider what was actually involved in a mining operation such as Knockmahon's.

Work (1) - Underground:³⁸

"At a comparatively early age the miners almost invariably exhibit in their features and persons the unmistakable signs of debilitated constitutions. Their faces are sallow, they have an anxious expression on countenance and their bodies are thin". This was written in the early 1860s in a Parliamentary Report about Cornish miners, but there is no reason to assume that superior conditions existed in Knockmahon or that the miners there were somehow more robust circa 1840. The report continues, "At the border of middle-age, or soon after, their health begins to fail, the maturity and confirmed strength of that time of life seems to be denied to them, they rapidly acquire the feebleness of declining years ---. A person of fifty is old for a miner"³⁹

The conditions which produced such "debilitated constitutions" were in fact not nearly so severe as in coal or lead mining. The later was poisonous; coal miners frequently had to lie all day in water working the seam horizontally. With coal also there was the frequent danger of collapse and explosion. By comparison, working a near vertical vein of non-toxic, non-gaseous copper was comparatively easy. There seem to have been very few accidents at Knockmahon, the problems there being associated with ventilation and depth.

By 1845 Knockmahon was being worked at depths of up to 800 feet below the surface.⁴⁰ There would have been at least seventy⁴¹ work-faces at different levels down to this depth, each worked by a team of about six men. These teams were in effect groups of independent subcontractors who usually would have made a "bargain" with the company for a month, agreeing to raise so many tons at a fixed price with a bonus for extra, or being paid an agreed sum per quality and quantity of ore raised. The company in effect, auctioned these ore-faces to the mining teams. A number of these teams would also be involved in sinking shafts and other development work. These would have bid for the work, fixing a price per volume of rock removed.

These miners would have been summoned by bell to begin the descent into the mines at 6.00 a.m. down the laddered shafts nearest their work-faces. For those heading to the deepest levels in the mid 1840s the climb was 800 feet (-imagine starting down the pitch dark liftshaft of an eighty storey skyscraper by ladder). They then pick their way through levels and worked-out areas to their own faces. There the labourers load yesterday's ore onto barrows and trundle them back along the levels to where the ore is transferred into hoppers which are winched upwards by the surface winding gear. While the labourers go backwards and forwards at this task, the "miners" are preparing for blasting.

One of them is continuously rotating a crowbar (sharpened at charge in the company's forge) which the other strikes with a sledge until a series of holes are made in the roof ("overhead stoping") or on the floor ("underhand stoping") of the level. (A series of blastings was so arranged to produce a stepped - "stoped"- effect which was easiest for working and removal of material). Each hole is then carefully packed with gunpowder which is sealed with a clay through which a straw fuse is inserted.

Other members of the team may meanwhile have been preparing timbers to build platforms ("stulls") either to raise their colleagues to the roof for overhead stoping or to bridge across the worked out areas to give access to the levels through which the ore has to be carried. All this is being done in the flickering half-light of foul-smelling tallow candles bought from the company. As long as these flicker, of course, there is enough oxygen, but when they gutter new air pipes have to be led to the work face or new internal vent shafts opened. Fortunately, despite the depth, the mines never grow too hot.⁴² All the while, of course, water drips from the rock overhead, oozes in rivulets down the walls and forms a stream on the floor which is then lead away to a deep sump under the engine house. The regular plop plop echoing through the workings assures the miners that the great pumping beams are continuing to drive this water to the surface. If they ever stopped ----.

Meanwhile, however, the charges are ready, the fuses lit and the entire team retreat well beyond blast range. A crack (sound travels faster through rock), a roar (the sound travelling slower through the air), a rumble and a cascade of falling rocks echo through the levels. This is followed immediately by another blast and perhaps another as the miners listen to make sure all their blasts have gone off. Then silence, and the head of the team returns. An account of 1871 describes the scene (i.e. before the use of dynamite): "The smoke is so dense he cannot see a single object more than six inches from the flame of his candle". He attempts to fan it away with his jacket until "he has sufficient light to begin to work again; the remainder of the smoke is (inhaled) by himself and his comrades".⁴³

And so the arduous routine begins again and continues thus for about twelve hours (there being no method of keeping time underground). Then the final trek along the levels and the ascent begins, rung after rung upwards in the confined darkness, perhaps for three quarters of an hour, the younger ones going first, those in their thirties following more painfully, ever aware that it is always here on this ascent that the first sign of debilitation strikes their age group - a swaying dizziness, a desperate hold on the ladder as the limbs sag, and that is the beginning of the end.⁴⁴

However, light is eventually spotted, candles quenched, a little more effort and heads emerge into the evening breeze. Then the trudge in sodden clothes past the dressing floor across the bridge, into Burmahon and "home" perhaps to digs in a two roomed cabin full of noise and other people's miseries. But there is always the pub.

Life (ii) - Miners, Drunk and Sober:

"Miners are a drunken and improvident race" according to Inglis writing of those at Avoca.⁴⁵ He describes how he heard a miner there in 1834 regretting that he could not drink away the entire 30/- he earned per week. Inglis would have found the same situation had he visited Bunnahon. "The miners at Bunnahon get great wages and might live more comfortably than any workman in the county", according to the Catholic curate of Tramore in 1836, "but they spend their money very much in liquor. The police are obliged to go around and close all the public houses on Sundays to preserve order and quiet".⁴⁶ A contemporary poem⁴⁷ gives a drinkers'-eye view of this disapproval. It seems that Fr. Veale, curate of Kill was a follower of Fr. Matthew. Even though Bunnahon was outside his jurisdiction, the drinking there was a cause of grave concern to him. The anonymous poet is cynical about his priorities:

"He never dwells on soups or dinners,
But on publicans and sinners"

Part of the problem was that the good priest was seen to be in league with the employers who threatened dismissal for excessive drinking. They employed one Fardy Doyle to watch for such and his activities are the subject of much ironic poetic comment. In any case, Fr. Veale called a general meeting in Knockmahon to launch the cause of temperance:

"With spur on heel and whip in hand
He issued forth his high command,
To every man both sage and fool
To meet him at the national school."

Despite this cynicism, the temperance campaign was highly successful. Its physical manifestation was a new Temperance Hall costing £1,000 and opened in 1841⁴⁸ (the present chapel-of-ease at Knockmahon). Its spiritual effect was even more profound; "vast improvements have taken place from the miners having joined the Temperance Society which happily has extended even to their children". This is the comment of the mine manager, John Pentherick, who says that productivity has increased such that the same number of people are now (i.e. 1841) ⁴⁹ earning £300 per month more collectively than they did the previous year. (Presumably the company's profits increased accordingly, which does much to explain the role of Fardy Doyle). A supervisor volunteered the comment, "I consider the whole of the people in these works, especially since the Temperance Society was instituted, to be a very well-behave, well-conducted people."⁵⁰

Drunkenness in Knockmahon therefore would seem to have been a major problem which was dramatically resolved about 1840. This phenomenon was also observed of other mines. Of Cornwall, for instance one mining observer notes: "Unless people have witnessed they can scarce believe the amazing change that has come over those people (i.e. the miners) --- The Temperance Movement has been one of the main instruments in the mighty change".⁵¹ The same happened in Avoca Mines about 1840; "The Temperance Movement has here created a most wonderful change for the better". Apparently 300 gallons (sic) of whiskey used to be sold on payday (i.e. more than a pint for each of the 2,000 mine-workers there) but by 1841 not even a gallon was sold (in the one pub remaining) each pay day.⁵² Certainly in Bunnahon only one pub seems to have survived in 1849⁵³ although it is possible that drink continued to be available in every butchers',⁵⁴ tailors' and haberdashery there as was reported to be the case pre-1841.

Work (ii)- Overground:

It was the more spectacular aspects of the surface working that caught the eye of the casual visitor - not the underground labyrinths nor the filthy shanty town. The Halls, for instance, were most impressed by "the immense water power" and with good reason.⁵⁵ Twelve miles of water

channel (parts of which are still visible) conveyed sufficient head of water to turn a forty foot wheel, the water then going on to turn successively 30, 15 and 12 foot wheels.⁵⁶ The large wheel had provided sufficient power for all operations up to 1832 but by '35 the other wheels had been added. When the Halls arrived about 1840 however, the wheels were only being used for "dressing" the ore, the pumping now being done by two steam engines.⁵⁷ To understand the various processes, however, it is perhaps easiest to follow the ore after it has been brought to the surface at one of the shafts provided with "whins" for this purpose.

The ore, usually quite large rocks of it, was conveyed by horse and cart to the "dressing floors". In 1838 a tram line was laid down which could be used to convey the ore from the deepest shafts (near the cliffs).⁵⁸ Once dumped in the dressing sheds in Ballinasissila townland it underwent a preliminary sorting by young girls who discarded any rock with no ore in it. Thirteen year old Helen Hawke (probably the daughter of a Cornish miner) explains: "We sit down at this work and lean on our elbows ---. I get 4d a day ---. We come to work at six o'clock; (at) half past eight the bell rings for breakfast; we have half an hour. (At) one o'clock the bell rings for dinner; we have an hour and then work till six o'clock when the bell rings. In the winter we work as long as light will permit; we begin at daylight and leave off when it gets dark. --- I had potatoes and a bit of fish for my dinner; I go home to my meals but many have their dinners on the works". She had been doing this since she was eleven.⁵⁹ Jane Pollard, also thirteen, had only been there a week but claims, "I am not tired when I leave off work".⁶⁰ Another picker, Margaret Gough, who says she is "about 15 years old", adds: "I have never been to school; I can neither read or write. I have three brothers and five sisters; they are all at home; two of them besides me work here; we are very poor. I have no shoes or any other clothes than those I have on. I can sew a little. I get paid (i.e. 4d per day) very regularly. I give my wages to my mother".⁶¹ In all, 140 girls were employed at these operations.⁶² Some hammer waste rock off the ore. According to Anne Cavanagh, aged 21, "it is only the stout strong girls" who do this as "it is the hardest of the girls' work". She gets 7d per day.⁶³ The strong girls also took turns at conveying the ore to where it would be ground down into a coarse sand.

This operation needed little labour, being performed by what Sir Robert Kane lauded as being "very perfect machinery".⁶⁴ The rocks of ore were first crushed between rollers to a diameter of about one inch and from there were washed to the "stamps" whose continuous action hammer action pulverised them.⁶⁵ Both mechanisms were driven directly from the large water-wheel.⁶⁶ This ore was now "jiggled" underwater (the action again being imparted by the wheels) so that the heavier metalliferous sand fell to the bottom, the lightest top layer then being skimmed off. The process was repeated over and over again for the mixture in the middle until a concentrate of this metalliferous sand had accumulated. It could now be bagged ready for shipment.⁶⁷

In charge of one of the jiggling machines is 19 year old Jeremiah Hurley. He gets 10d per day, but complains, "the miners won't take me underground to work with them; they say I'm not strong enough". Two boys of 10 and 11 had different grounds for complaint here. One explains, "some of us get a slap on the head sometimes or a cut with a stick when not attentive to our work" and this is corroborated by the other. They get 3½d and 4d per day. Eighteen year old Nancy Mulcahy gets 7d per day for "putting the ore into a trough with running water and attending to it".⁶⁸

Other labour intensive operations were connected with handling and haulage. The ore concentrate was assayed, recorded, bagged and loaded on to waggons, being then pulled along the tram-way to the "stage" at

Kilduane where it awaited the arrival of the Swansea schooners. A continuous belt brought it from the cliff-top to boats moored at a wooden jetty from where it was rowed out to the schooners anchored in deeper water and man-handled aboard.⁶⁹ These same schooners most probably also brought with them from Swansea the vast tonnages of coal that would have been needed by 1840 to keep the three great steam engines working and all this would have needed to be hauled, stored and shovelled. The engineers in charge of these engines would most likely have been Cornishmen; much of the technology for these pumping engines had been developed there in similar cliff-top mining operations to that at Knockmahon. Great numbers of carpenters would have been needed to make and maintain the great wooden plunger beams running from the engine-house down to the lowest depths of the mine. A great deal of other attendant timberwork was also needed for lining shafts as well as for the construction of various stages and platforms underground. Another large group of craftsmen, plus labourers, were the blacksmiths. Not alone did they keep the numerous horses shod but they also forged and fashioned the various bolts, brackets, braces and the myriad other items that were in constant demand to meet a host of underground exigencies. Sharpening the numerous chisels and bars used by the miners at the ore-face would also have been a considerable task. Apart from those in constant employment there would have also been a fairly steady demand for casual labour to deal with recurring contingencies - shifting piles of waste from the dressing floors when they had grown too high, likewise with the cinders at the engine houses, clearing weeds out of the 12 miles of water-channel in summer, etc. Hope of such jobs would doubtless have attracted men from the impoverished hinterland to simply hang around, waiting.

The Workers - Cornishmen, Bearachs and Others:

"I am told that all who work underground are from England, chiefly from Cornwall, the Irish having no great taste for it". Thus Barrow reported in 1835, re Knockmahon having already given the exaggerated figures of 600 men working at depths of 800 feet below sea level.⁷⁰ It does seem logical nonetheless to assume a strong Cornish presence as this was the only source from which the expertise and technology could be recruited for a sophisticated operation such as Knockmahon's. They have, however, left remarkably little evidence of their existence. It is possible that many of them only stayed for a short while during the development stage of the mine and that few were left by the 1840s. Certainly none were lessees of houses in 1849.⁷¹ One would normally expect their names in church registers but these would have been mainly Methodists who would have formed their own little church community.⁷² Presumably it was to them that Rev. Doudney referred when he mentions, "A strange congregation, the majority Wesley Methodists".⁷³ One other clue exists. Of the 33 mine shafts sunk from the surface by 1853, 26 were named after the miners responsible for the work. Half of these names are of English provenance - Clemes, Davey, Recroft, Cock, Carew, Walker, Allen, George, Smith, Lot, Barker, Ivy and Morrish.⁷⁴ Of these, only Clemes is undisputably Cornish.

If the Cornish miners generally kept a low profile, there is an exception - the mine manager, John Pentherick. He had come from Cornwall in 1832 as an adviser and was made manager the following year.⁷⁵ Immediately he became involved in the local community as we find him in 1833 amongst those petitioning for a national school in Kill.⁷⁶ Over the following years he became actively involved in the Repeal Movement and attracted the attention of O'Connell who lauded Pentherick thus: "a true friend of liberty - a plain straightforward Englishman - a rough English diamond".⁷⁷ The one surviving list of donations for famine relief here shows him as giving £10.⁷⁸

If the search for Cornish householders in Bunmahon in 1849 proved barren, it did reveal the possible existence of another community. Harrington, Desmond, Scully, Lynch, Mahony, Houlahan, (O') Sullivan - all names of west Cork origin. This could be dismissed as coincidence were it not for the rich lore in the Allihies area of West Cork which recounts tales of reciprocal travel between the mines there and Knockmahon. These tales are too specific to be total inventions, but it is difficult to know why such interchange should have taken place.

One harrowing story concerns an Allihies mine-worker who set off to seek a job at Knockmahon leaving his wife and seven children to follow when he had got employment. Time passed and they heard no more of him so they set off to walk to Waterford to find him. Because of the hardship of the way, three of the children died. Reaching Bunmahon they found him being lowered into his grave. Hungry and penniless they now set out for the return journey to Allihies. None of the children made it. She arrived in Allihies demented and never recovered her sanity. She lived on for many years an object of pity for those who knew and of derision for those who didn't. Other stories concern Bunmahon miners in Allihies. It was said that their cabins could be distinguished by the pile of sea-shells (crab-shells?) outside their doors, these not being eaten by the locals. A strike there, apparently in the late 1840s, against an unpopular manager was supposed to have been organised by the Waterfordmen. Then there was the story of the man let down in church by his intended bride. He asked the congregation whether anyone would marry him and "Kate Bunmahon" offered herself as substitute, and they lived happily ever afterwards! She was reputed to be still alive in 1900.

Folklore, however, is a notoriously unscientific way of discerning historical fact. The only other listing of names available are those credited with mine shafts. The thirteen Irish names are Murphy, Cotter, Quin, Byrne, Mahon, McCarthy, Veal, Ryan, Dooley, Gorman, Sullivan and Brien. As no definite pattern emerges from these we can only note that the contemporary poem makes mention of the "Carrickmen" and wonder whether Ryan was one of those. Such negative evidence would prompt the conclusion that the bulk of the workforce were locals and this seems to be reinforced by an authoritative statement, "Nearly the whole population of this neighbourhood are more or less connected with these works, in one way or another".

One final group of workers must be mentioned - the children. According to Pentherick, "they have so much trouble with the children and the young persons already employed whom -- there is great difficulty to get to come to work at all; they are most irregular in their attendance, very adverse to work, and will not come when the weather is unfavourable though they work under capital wogden sheds. The parents do not insist on their children going to work". The man who had direct charge of these children in the dressing sheds says of them, "Sometimes I am obliged to send some of the younger persons home when they do not work properly. They want a great deal of looking after". One remedy, as we have seen, was "a cut with a stick". Another would have been to employ adults! It is in fact surprising that they did not do so as, according to Pentherick, "at least" one hundred more people could have been employed if only they could get more children to work at dressing the ore. It would seem that the attitude of the children would have reflected the parents' attitude that this mining activity was peripheral to their "real" life, which was agricultural.

FAMINE:

The price of copper was, and is, notoriously fickle. By 1844 cheap ore from Cuba had begun to flood the Swansea market ("worked by slave labour", states the secretary of M.C.I. bitterly).⁸⁷ There had been such recessions before⁸⁸ and by exercising economies (i.e. laying off workers) they could survive to await an upturn in prices. This recession was somewhat different for them, however, as they had recently discovered that the main seam petered out in a series of faults at its northern end⁸⁹ so that future work would have to be done at ever increasing depth and cost. The economies that were affected can be seen in the production figures. An average of 8,000 tons of ore was produced annually from 1840 to '44: in 1849 this had dropped to 2787 tons.⁹⁰ Presumably there was a corresponding reduction in the workforce employed. And this, of course, coincided with the famine.

As early as 1841 there was reported to be a shortage of food. "In consequence of the dearness of potatoes in the neighbourhood, Mr. Pentherick has imported large cargoes of potatoes and oatmeal solely for his people, which is of course a vast saving and convenience to them".⁹¹ This was sold cheaply to the miners. However, insufficient records have survived for Bunmahon-Knockmahon to enable a clear picture to emerge of events there over the famine years.⁹² It is only possible to get fleeting glimpses of the growing distress of the people from the following records: Feb. 1846: "(There is) a great increase of fever in the district. From 150 to 200 are unemployed in the village of Bunmahon. A considerable increase of fever is apprehended from the scarcity and high price of food".⁹³

May '46: "---a mining population of about 3,000 (?sic) --- some of these are in a state of great destitution". They will no longer be supported by the parishioners of Kill and Newtown. Only £116 left. Lorenzo Power and Richard Purdy have left for Dublin to get emergency help.⁹⁴

24th Aug. '46: 133 tons of Indian meal have been distributed since 2nd June among 3520 people. "A large quantity was distributed gratuitously and in return for work" (i.e. widening and straightening public roads - and it appears that they were running out of roads to straighten). Any that had employment were sold the meal for prices ranging from 1/2d to 6d per stone, half a stone being allowed per person per week. "The objects of relief in this district are chiefly cottiers, farm labourers -- and miners."⁹⁵

30th Sept. '46: No more money to buy meal.⁹⁶

22nd Feb. '47: The hinterland of Bunmahon "is one of the most distressed parts of this country. --- There is apathy to all farming operations and the ground is neglected".⁹⁷

May - Sept. '47: Out of a population of 5,000 in Kill-Knockmahon area on one day 3,500 applied for relief. There were 1,400 on the relief list when food ran out. £1,400 has been borrowed against next year's rates.⁹⁸

The rest is silence. The dimensions of the disaster emerge in the Census of 1851. One third of the population of Bunmahon hadn't survived - 629 people out of the 1,771 population recorded in 1841 had simply vanished and their fate goes unrecorded. The shanty-town of one roomed bothans was devastated. Only 18 of the 129 families there survived.⁹⁹ Seventy six of the ninety habitations there were gone - they were not even recorded as "uninhabited". The toll in the surrounding countryside though less grim was still severe and about a quarter of the labouring class in the hinterland of the mines seems to have vanished.¹⁰⁰ The human agonies behind these figures can well be imagined but no record survives to detail them.

However, by the early 1850s the price for copper had improved considerably, a new vein had been found at Tankardstown,¹⁰¹ the nightmare had passed

and its horrors faded with a growing prosperity among the survivors in the Knockmahon district.

SOURCES AND NOTES:

1. Described by the Rev. R. H. Ryland in 1824 as "a popular and fashionable bathing place" in The history, topography and antiquities of the county and city of Waterford, p. 272.
2. Mining Company of Ireland, Reports of Directors to Shareholders, 1824. These Reports were issued half yearly. There is an incomplete set of them bound in two volumes in the National Library of Ireland. I will refer to them as MCI Reports, followed by relevant dates.
3. idem. Also separate pamphlet in NLI, "A List of Proprietors of the Mining Company of Ireland", 1824
4. There is insufficient data for a full picture of this. However, Ryland (op.cit.) mentions three companies; Lewis', Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, Vol.1, 1837, p.207 adds one; the fifth is given by James Hore in Memoirs of the Geological Survey, Vol.VI, Waterford, Knockmahon. 5. James Hore, loc.cit.. 6. MCI Reports, 1824.
7. How this was organised does not emerge, but it is obvious from MCI Reports that the company could draw on a reliable range of technical expertise. 8. MCI Reports, 1825-'34.
9. The last lot of ore from Knockmahon was sold in Swansea in 1878 according to Mineral Statistics of U.K. (H.M.S.O. 1879). Mining however may have finished two years earlier, the "pickings" simply being sold. See G. Kinahan, Economic Geology in Royal Geological Society journal, Vol. VIII, 1887. 10. MCI Reports, Dec. 1840.
11. The best primary source recounting the efforts of these mines to survive foreign competition is the Mining Journals (NLI) from 1868 to '80. 12. Some account of these may be found in an article by Liam Doody, "Bonmahon May Boom Again" in the Cork Holly Bough, Christmas 1955. 13. see Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Ireland, op.cit.. 14. 1,200 is the employment figure given by mine manager, John Pentherick, in a letter to Robert Kane (no date given) quoted by him in The Industrial Resources of Ireland, Dublin 1845 (second ed.) p.190-191. Frederick Roper who visited Knockmahon in May 1841 gives the figure as 1,100 - PP, Reports from the Commissioners, 1842, Vol.XVI, Childrens Employment (Mines) I, p. 862. Thoms Directory for 1847, p. 136 states that 1,000 were employed at Knockmahon in 1836 and 1,200 in 1845. 15. PP, Census of Ireland 1841 - Occupations.
16. ibid - Population. 17. idem. 18. idem. 19. PP. Famine Relief, Evidence of Wm. Hyde, Inspector of Finance, Feb. 22nd 1847 on Kilmacthomas Union. 20. PP. "Devon Commission", 1845. Evidence collected 9th Oct. 1844 in Waterford from Ml. Nolan, Kilmeaden (p.438) and Rev. James Power, Parish Priest of Kill & Newtown (p.445).
21. ibid., evidence of Piers Barron, p.448 22. ibid., evidence of Rev. J. Power (p.445) and Rev. P. Treacy (p.452). There is plenty of other corroborative evidence for these figures. 23. ibid. - Rev. Treacy. 24. Roper, loc.cit.. - evidence of Henry Adams, p.865.
25. Devon Commission, evidence Rev. J. Power, p.445.
26. Census 1841 - Population. 27. idem.
28. Devon Commission - evidence Rev. J. Power, p.445.
29. MCI. Reports, November 1842. 30. ibid. - Dec. 1836.
31. ibid. - Dec. 1840. 32. Census 1841 - Population.
33. Devon Commission - evidence of Rev. J. Power, p.445. may not be shown.
34. As shown on six inch O.S. map 1840, Waterford, sheet 25. The worst hovels /
35. Census 1841 - Population. These were the fourth class houses.
36. Report on Sanitary Condition of Bunmahon to the Board of Guardians of Kilmacthomas Union, by G. Walker, sanitary officer. This manuscript report is included in the Fine Minute Book for Kilmacthomas Workhouse (see Decies 12, p.31). 37. Census 1851 - Population.

38. Most of this subsection is an imaginative reconstruction based largely on Cornish mining lore recorded in the various publications of D. Bradford Barton of Truro. To give full reference for each detail would be tedious and rather pointless, but I believe this picture to be reasonably accurate. 39. PP., Reports of the Commissioners --- on Mining Accidents, 1864, Vol.VI, p. 208.
40. As shown on a cross section of the workings dated Sept. 1845 in the Offices of the Geological Survey of Ireland, one shaft went down to 900 feet but seems unconnected with the others and may have been a sump for pumping purposes. 41. This is a very rough estimate based on the assumption that about half the 1,200 employees worked underground. This would allow for one hundred teams of six men: hence "at least seventy workfaces" allowing for development and maintenance workers.
42. Holdsworth tested the temperature at various levels and found that it did not increase with depth. This he attributed to the cooling effect of being so close to the sea. Reported in journal of the Geological Society of Dublin, Vol. IV, 1844.
43. Royal Cornish Gazette, 19th Aug. 1871, quoted in Essays in Cornish Mining History, by D. B. Barton, Vol. 1, Truro, 1971, p. 28. The introduction of dynamite in the 1870s greatly eased the problem of fumes. 44. PP., Mining Accidents, VI, Op. cit. pp 208 and 211.
45. H.D. Inglis, A Journey throughout Ireland in 1834, London 1835, Vol.1, p.34.
46. PP. Poor Inquiry.1836 (Vol.XXXII), P.108, Evidence of Rev. Cantwell. Unfortunately no evidence was called from the Bunmahon area, but it is surely indicative of its notoriety that the curate in Tramore should chose to speak about it. 47. The Miner, published anonymously in Waterford in 1841. (NLI). 48. Power, P., A Compendious History of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore, Cork 1937, p. 191.
49. Quoted by Roper, op. cit. p. 862. 50. *ibid.*, evidence of Henry Adams, p. 865. 51. Quoted in Cornish Mines and Miners, ed. R. Burt, Truro 1972. This is a selection of articles written by George Henwood and published in the Mining Journal from May 1857 to June '59.
52. Roper, op. cit. p. 856 & 857.
53. Valuation Office House Books, mss PROI . This was owned by James Barron. but may not have been the only pub there in 1849 as the valuers were not always consistent in attributing uses to buildings.
54. The Miner, op. cit. One must however allow for poetic exaggeration.
55. Hall, Mr. & Mrs. S. C., Ireland: its scenery, character, etc., Vol.I. London 1841, p. 314. 56. MCI Reports, Dec. 1835.
57. The first steam engine started on 17th June '36 - MCI Reports, June '37: The second came into operation in '38 - MCI Reports May '38: a third started either 1840 or '41 - MCI Reports Dec. 1840.
58. MCI Reports - Dec. 1838. 59. Roper, op. cit., p.863. 60. *ibid.* p.864.
61. *idem.* 62. Figure given by Pentherick in letter to Robert Kane quoted by him in The Industrial Resources of Ireland, Dublin 1845 (second edition), p. 190.
63. Roper, op. cit., p. 864/865. 64. Kane, op. cit., p.191.
65. Roper op. cit., p.862. 66. MCI Reports - Dec. '36.
67. This ore went to Swansea as did copper ore from all over the world. Smelting was a difficult process and it needed 20 tons of coal to produce one ton of copper. Hence it was easier to bring copper to coal than vice-versa. See Kane, op. cit. Ch. V.
68. Roper, op.cit., p. 864. 69. Ore may have been shipped in the early 1830s from the mouth of the river Mahon to judge from reference in MCI Report - June '28. 70. Barrow, TOUR around Ireland in 1835, London 1836, p. 71. Valuation Office House Books, mss.in PROI.
72. The Church of Ireland Marriage register in Stradbally begins in 1845. Only two miners were married there, brothers called Coombs. They married the misses Kinsman and Inch, both daughters of miners in 1845.

73. Doudney, D. A., A Pictorial Outline of the Rise and Progress of the Bonmahon Industrial, Infant and Agricultural Schools, Bunmahon 1851, p. 11. (See Decies 10 and 11 re same).
74. The details are from a plan, about 20' long, in NLI with legend "Knockmahon by B. Brokenshar C.E. Oct. 1841". A ms. note adds, "filled up to April 1853" but there is no means of determining what are additions.
75. MCI Reports - June '32 and June '33
76. National Schools Application, Records of Dept. of Ed. Mss. PROI.
77. Quoted by an indignant correspondent, Mining Journal 2nd Feb. 1841.
78. Relief Commission Papers, II, 2a in PROI.
79. Valuation Office House Books, PROI.
80. Several of these stories were narrated to me in Allihies in July 1977. However, these have been collected in Ms. by Paddy O'Keefe of Bantry and were deposited by him in the archive collection, Court House, Cork, Box 7, File 11.
81. Plan, by Brokenshar, op.cit.
82. The Miner, op.cit..
83. Roper, op. cit., p.863.
84. ibid., 1862.
85. ibid, p. 865. - Henry Adams.
86. ibid, p.862.
87. MCI Reports - Nov. '44.
88. There was for instance a short-lived recession in early 1837 when the price of copper dropped from £132 per ton to £97.
89. MCI Reports - June '37.
90. MCI Reports - Nov. '44 and May '45.
90. Sales of ore in Swansea up to 1847 are given in Memoirs of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, Vol.II, part ii, 1848, p.713. Later figures are given in Record of the School of Mines, Vol.I, Part iv, 1853. Both lots of figures compiled by R. Hunt, Keeper of Mining Records, and published by HMSO.
91. Roper, op.cit., p.862.
92. The very informative MCI Reports in the NLI bound volumes are missing for period Dec. '45 to May '50 (incl.). I don't know whether reports were issued over those years, but see no reason why they shouldn't be.
93. PP - Famine Relief. George Walkers' Report from Bunmahon Dispensary District.
94. Relief Com Papers, II, 2a ms. PROI.
95. Report from Bunmahon and Kilmacthomas relief district to Relief Commission Office, Dublin Castle. ms. PROI.
96. ibid. Note scrawled across statement of accounts.
97. PP - Famine Relief, Report W. Hyde (op. cit.) re Kilmacthomas.
98. ibid, re Killbarrymeadan Electoral Division.
99. Comparison of census figures, 1841 and 1851.
100. This is a rough estimate only as it has not been possible to define the extent of the hinterland of the mines from which labour was drawn.
101. MCI Reports Dec. 1850.

(Note: As the above had grown rather unwieldy I took a number of "short cuts" in giving references, particularly to Parliamentary Papers and Mss. in PROI. However, these can easily be traced bearing in mind that Knockmahon was in the Civil Parish of Kilbarrymeadan and Bunmahon (or Bonmahon) in Civil Parish of Ballylaneen although it is usually given the status of town or village. Both were in the barony of Upperthird up to 1841 when they became part of Decies-without-Drum.)

A CHECKLIST OF CHURCH OF IRELAND PLACES OF
WORSHIP IN COUNTY WATERFORD.

By John Mulholland.

As with other parts of Ireland, the Elizabethan reformation made little impact on County Waterford. This is attested by the state of the churches reported here in the Ecclesiastical Visitations of 1615 (ms. PROI). The 1641 Rebellion and subsequent plantations added greatly to an already confused situation and not until the mid-eighteenth century is it possible to get a clear picture of the Established Church here. Then, according to Bishop Este (see Smith, 1746) there were thirteen such churches functioning in the county. In the early 19th century a major reorganisation of the church took place, particularly under Bishop Richard Bourke (1813-32). Twenty new churches were built or old ones rebuilt. Despite this, there was a substantial decline in membership of the Established Church in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore between 1834 (approx. 10% and 3% respectively of population) and 1861 (approx. 7% and 3% of a reduced population), according to a pre-disestablishment listing of 1869. There were ^{in 1833} 33 Established Churches in use and it is on these that the following list is based. Only thirteen of these are open at present, coincidentally the same number as given by Este.

AFFANE:

The church had accommodation for 110 persons, was erected in 1819 and is of a First Fruits type. It is now roofless and derelict, as is the large ancient cemetery. Dr. Este's church may well have been a restored version of an earlier Catholic church which Canon Power places south of and parallel with the present church. Only its site can now be traced.

ANNESTOWN (or Dunhill)

A First Fruits type church was erected in 1822 in the village of Annestown about a mile from the old Catholic foundation. Under "Annestown" Lewis states "erected; under "Dunhill" Lewis states "rebuilt". However, Rennison states that the church of 1822 was rebuilt in 1856. It is still in use, with seating for 100.

ARDMORE:

In Dr. Este's day part of the chancel of the fine old cathedral of Ardmore was roofed over and in use as the parish church. Around 1840, a new Church of Ireland was erected on a new site in the village to seat 250 people and the old cathedral abandoned. The old cathedral dates from around 1200 A.D. and is now a national monument. The modern church stands lower down the hill and is still in use though there is no board to indicate the nature of the building or times of services. There is no real graveyard, though there are two tombstones beside the church. There is no longer a resident rector.

BALLYGUNNER (or Ballygunnertemple)

The modern Church of Ireland church in this parish seems to have had a comparatively short life. Dr. Este reported "church in ruins" in his day. A century later Dr. O'Donovan reported "the present ruin is of no antiquity: this building was in use till very lately". The church is surrounded by a large and ancient graveyard and clearly occupies the site of a much earlier foundation. In 1609 the parish was joined to Ballynakill and so remained until 1872 when it was joined to Killea. The church thus must

have been a chapel-of-ease to Ballynakill and is designated "St. Mary's Chapel" on the O. S. map. Today church and graveyard are abandoned, overgrown and desolate.

BALLYMACARBRY (or Kilronan)

This pleasant little "church in miniature", with accommodation for only 40 people, though technically the parish church, was built in all probability to accommodate the needs of the local landlord. Its lifespan as a church was short: Lewis records no parish church at all and few people now living can recall it in use. After closure it served for a time as a Court House and is now a County Council store. It is situated at the northern end of the village of Ballymacarbry, several miles from the pre-reformation church and graveyard.

BALLYNAKILL:

This is a First Fruits type church erected in 1816, with accommodation for 120 people. The site is a new one, some distance away from the old Catholic foundation. The church is in repair but locked up and reported to be no longer in regular use these last ten years. Negotiations are in hand to turn it into a Community Centre.

BRISKA or BRISKEY (see Kilrossanty)

CAPPOQUIN:

No historical parish of Cappoquin exists. The present church was built in 1820 and was for long a chapel-of-ease to Lismore. However, it appears in more recent times to have become the church of a separate parish. It is in good repair, seating 120 persons and is open for services each Sunday. It is very unusual in having no apparent graveyard and it had no Catholic predecessor.

CHURCHTOWN (See Dysart)

CLASHMORE:

A First Fruits type church was erected in 1820 on the site of a pre-reformation church, indeed probably on the site of Glaismhor Abbey according to O'Donovan. Both church and graveyard are now abandoned and derelict.

CLONEGAM:

This neat but decaying parish church on the borders of the demesne of Curraghmore has indeed been described as resembling a mortuary chapel for the Beresford family. It contains some of the earliest surviving stained glass in Ireland as well as several fine monuments and tombs. The church was described by Este as "lately rebuilt by Lord Tyrone" and the parish registers do date from 1741. While the church is still occasionally used, its functions as parish church seem to have been taken over by Portlaw church (see below). It was built on the site of a Pre-Reformation church.

COMERAGH (see Kilrossanty).

DRUMCANNON (see Tramore).

DUNGARVAN:

Smith (1746) says that the church here was built on the site of the chancel of "a large building with a high steeple" which had been demolished by Cromwell. Canon Power refers to the "singular and ancient gable-like piece of detached masonry" in the graveyard with its series of circular

opes and implies that this was the west gable of the post-Cromwellian church. The present edifice dates from 1831 with registers going back to 1741. Though still in use, there is no longer a resident rector.

DUNHILL (see Annestown).

DUNMORE EAST (or Killea)

This First Fruit parish church was erected in 1817 about a mile from the old Catholic church. As the village increased in size in the nineteenth century the church was enlarged and by 1869 it had accommodation for 260 people. It is still in use.

DYSART (or Churchtown)

According to O'Donovan the Protestant church here was built on the site of an earlier Catholic one. Este records it as being in ruins in 1740s but mentions "an house and 4 or 5 acres of glebe near the church". Rennison says it was built (rebuilt?) in 1791 which would make it one of the earliest "modern" parish churches and it is certainly marked on the Grand Jury Map of 1818. Lewis states that it got a grant of £188 for repairs about 1830 and it seems to have seated sixty people. Rennison says it was dismantled in 1904 and nothing is left of it now.

GUILCAGH:

The ancient parish of Guilcagh is most unusual in that it never at any time had a parish church until the present building was erected in 1851, according to Lewis, as a chapel-of-ease to Dunhill (Annestown). The church appears to be in perfect repair, but seemingly is no longer in use.

HEADBOROUGH (or Kilwatermoy, or Fountain)

A handsome church, according to Lewis, was erected here by the Board of First Fruits around 1831 on, or near, the townland of Headboro - hence the popular name for the church. It lies some miles distant from the earlier Catholic foundation. The church appears to be in very good repair, although everything is locked up and there is no board visible to indicate the nature of the building or times of services. It is said to be still in use.

KILCOOL (see Rossmire).

KILLEA (see Dunmore East).

KILLOTERAN:

This small church, seating 60 people on the outskirts of Waterford was built at a relatively early date (1733), apparently on the site of a pre-Reformation church. It has continued in use almost until the present day, having been virtually rebuilt in 1858. The church building is complete and roofed though the windows have been vandalised. In the churchyard are two inscribed burial slabs dated around 1650, in an excellent state of preservation.

KILL ST. NICHOLAS (see Passage East).

KILMEADEN:

This church with seating accommodation for 180 persons is described by Lewis as a "plain building of great antiquity". However, it has recently undergone a great metamorphosis, both inside and out. Mr. Ambrose Congreve, a parishioner here, has had the whole beautifully restored and refurbished.

Although locked and without any outward indication of its function, it is said to be still in use as the parish church. Crockford's Clerical Directory gives 1349 as the date for the founding of a church here, part of which was referred to in 1833 as being incorporated into the structure to make the fabric of this the oldest in either diocese. The Parish registers are the oldest in the county, dating from 1683.

KILRONAN (see Ballymacarbry).

KILROSSANTY (or "Comeragh" or "Brisca"):

The parish church is of First Fruits type and was erected on the townland of Brisca in 1810, being repaired around 1835. Locally it is called "Comeragh" or "Briskey" church. The old Catholic foundation is about a mile away. Brisca is still in use, seats about 100 people and is in good repair.

KILWATERMOY (see Headborough):

KINSALEBEG:

This is described by Smith as "not long since roofed" which suggests that an older foundation had been reroofed. Already (i.e. 1746) it was "going to decay". It was replaced in 1821 by a First Fruits church seating 90 persons, on or near the old building. However it had closed again by the end of the 19th century and it now stands a quite elegant ruin on a magnificent site overlooking the Blackwater estuary.

KNOCKMAHON (Monksland):

A First Fruits type church was built here on the townland of knockmahon in 1832 as a chapel-of-ease to the mother church of Inislounaght. At a later date and for a brief period it became Parish Church in its own right. The church was built to cater for the needs of the extensive mining population of the area at that time, and seated 120. It is located about a mile from the old Cistercian foundation of Glenvadden (for the historic connection between this and Inishlounaght, see Decies IX pp28-33). It still stands in good condition and is to be converted into a community hall.

LISMORE:

Of the 20 or so original churches in the town of Lismore only the Cathedral survives and serves as the Parish Church. It seats 300 people. The pre-Reformation Cathedral was almost destroyed by the White Knight in Elizabeth's reign but was later rebuilt and converted to Protestant worship by the great Earl of Cork. Portions of the older building survive and are incorporated in the present structure which has from time to time been further altered and repaired. Parish registers start in 1692.

MOCOLLOP:

The identity of the separate parish of Mocollop has for centuries been submerged in the combined Parish of Lismore and Mocollop. Hence the modern Protestant Church here seems to have been rated as a chapel-of-ease to Lismore. The church is a First Fruits type, erected in 1820 in the ancient cemetery beside the pre-reformation church foundations. Up to very recently both Catholics and Protestants continued to be buried here as there was no alternative Catholic site. Church and cemetery are now both semi-derelict. The roof timbers still remain but the slates are mostly gone.

MONKSLAND (see Knockmahon).

MOTHEL:

At Mothel are the meagre remains of the ancient Augustinian Priory of Mothel. Dr. Este's church, Smith tells us, was near this church being "in repair and constant service in it" - a rare description indeed. We do not know any more of this early Protestant Church, nor indeed, what became of it. A later church was erected by the Board of First Fruits in 1817 and repaired in 1852. This later church was one of the smallest in the county, seating only 40 persons, while at the same time having the largest net stipend in the county before disestablishment. Although the presence of the church is marked on most modern maps including the Ordnance Survey, I have failed to find any trace of it or a local inhabitant who can remember it. One can only assume that it was phased out as soon as possible after Disestablishment and thereafter pulled down.

PASSAGE EAST (Kill St. Nicholas):

Dr. Este's place of worship was actually a chapel-of-ease in the town of Passage East. This building was extensively repaired around 1836 and recognised as the parish church. It was closed recently and sold in 1978. (See J. C. Walton's article in Decies 12).

PORTLAW:

This was originally a chapel-of-ease to Clonegam (see above) and was built in 1852 during Portlaw's heyday under the Malcolmsons. It has since taken over the functions of a parish church and is still open and well-maintained. It has no graveyard.

RATHMOYLAN:

Canon Power states, "the church ruin at Rathmoylan, is apparently a modern Protestant erection occupying a pre-Reformation site: it is likely enough that the building was never completed". No further information is available regarding this church or why it was projected in this improbable spot. Here is arguably the most derelict and overgrown jungle of a graveyard in the county.

RINGAGONAGH (or Ring):

Ring Church, though not existing in Dr. Este's day, must have been built shortly afterwards, as it is shown on the Grand Jury Map of 1818 and the Board of First Fruits contributed £600 towards rebuilding it in 1822. Its site appears to have been just to the north of the old Catholic foundation. However, it was closed for worship earlier in this century and demolished some ten years ago. Only a mound of rubble now marks its site. Local inhabitants describe it as having been small but elegant, with a notable spire.

STRADBALLY:

Dr. Este reported the parish church in ruins, but it must have been either restored or rebuilt soon afterwards since Lewis states that in 1786 the Board of First Fruits provided £500 to rebuild the church. Rennison says that the present church was built in 1802 and enlarged in 1830. The church has accommodation for 130 persons. Authorities differ regarding the old pre-reformation site. Dr. O'Donovan states that the present church occupies the site and that there are thus no remains of antiquity: the extensive ecclesiastical ruins adjacent are

regarded by him and others as the remains of an Augustinian Abbey. Canon Power, however, argues strongly against the view and maintains that the present ruins are indeed the ruins of the extensive pre-Reformation church. The present church is in regular use and is, in fact, the head of an extensive "union". Parish Registers start in 1798.

ROSSMIRE (or Kilcool):

Although there was no church in use here in Dr. Este's day a Protestant Parish Church was erected in the same century (probably around 1766) beside the pre-reformation Catholic Church of Kilcool on the townland of Kilmacthomas. It may even have been thatched according to local legend. This was superseded in 1831 by the present church on approximately the same site. It is a First Fruits type and continues in use today.

TALLOW:

Tallow in the early 17th century was the centre of a Protestant Plantation by the Earl of Cork. Hence there could well have been a Protestant Parish Church here early in the 17th century. Dr. Este's church draws Smith to comment that it is "low and has but an indifferent aspect". Though the church registers start in 1772, the present structure was rebuilt in 1800 by private subscription. Lewis found it "commodious" and its seating capacity in 1869 was 250. The church was closed about 1960 and is now used as a store house. The graveyard, which is locked, contains what seem to be the foundations of an earlier Catholic church.

TEMPLEMICHAEL:

A First Fruits type church, seating 100 people was erected here in 1823 on the site of an older foundation. It continued in use into the present century, but is now abandoned. The church is still largely roofed, but the windows and doors are smashed in and the interior is much vandalised. All the wall plaques have recently been removed, but the wooden gallery still (just) survives. The graveyard is derelict. Within this parish are two important ecclesiastical sites - the ruins of the Abbey of Molana and the remains of the religious foundations at Rincrew. A church is mentioned here in 1494. Parish Registers start in 1801.

TRAMORE (Drumcannon):

Dr. Este mentions that there was "constant service" in the church in Drumcannon. Canon Power states that the Anglican Bishop Milles in 1735 demolished the east gable and parts adjoining to make room for a new Protestant church which he tacked on to its mutilated predecessor. This too is now a ruin. In 1809 this church was abandoned in favour of a new church built in Tramore to service the new and growing seaside resort further south in the parish. This church in turn proved too small and it was enlarged in 1851 to hold 550 persons - the largest in the county outside Waterford City.

VILLIERS TOWN:

The church here was strictly speaking not a Parish Church but a Chapelry in the gift of the Villiers-Stewart family, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Rector of Aglish, in whose parish it lay. The original chapel was built and endowed by the first Earl of Grandison in 1760. Lewis describes it as "small", but in 1869 its seating capacity was given as 400 - so it must have been considerably enlarged. The chapel ceased to be part of the Church of Ireland establishment during this century.

and is currently described as a "multi-denominational place of worship". The building looks old and rather decrepit. At the moment it is being partially reroofed by Anco: the interior also appears to be in the course of extensive repair and restoration.

WHITECHURCH:

Dr. Este's church was superseded in 1830 by a new First Fruits type church. This, states O'Donovan and Canon Power, was built on the site of the earlier pre-reformation church. We cannot determine now whether Dr. Este's church was a restoration of the original church or a new building. The 1830 church is, along with its graveyard, wholly derelict now and probably ceased as a place of worship early in this century.

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THE EARLY YEARS OF THE FANNING INSTITUTION.

from Anna Wigham.

Some information on the Fanning Institute is given in Egan's Waterford Guide, 1892 (pp.393-396). Much incidental detail about the contested will of its founder and about its charter emerges in a Parliamentary Paper on the Institution (H.C. 1864, Vol.L). Less well known, however, is an informative booklet entitled, "Report of the Fanning Institution, Waterford, for the first ten years with the history of its origin". It was published by the governors in 1853 and printed by Harvey and Company. The recent demolition of the Institution prompts this sketch of its early years, drawn largely from this last source.

James Fanning, a native of Rochestown, Mullinavat, acquired a large fortune through trade and marriage. In 1775 he retired to live in France where he obtained a "reconnaissance de nobless" giving him the title Sir Jaques de Fanning. In 1804 he added a codicil to his will bequeathing one third of his property to "the Poor of the City of Waterford". Two years later he died in Paris but nothing further could be done about

his will until the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Then began 26 years of litigation: indeed not until 1821 was anyone in Waterford seemingly aware of the bequest. Over the following years the matter was fought out in the French, British and Irish courts and eventually in 1841 the Court of Chancery directed that £25,000 should be placed in trust to the Board of Charitable Donations and Bequests for the poor of Waterford. The following year this became £31,514-10-0.

Various proposals were meanwhile being advanced as to how this money should be used. Finally it was decided that the bequest should help, "epileptic lunatics and idiots who are harmless, well-conducted persons of both sexes who shall be incapacitated by age, infirmity or misfortune from earning a livelihood, who are natives of Waterford and of too respectable a class to take shelter as paupers in the Workhouse". Furthermore, provision was made to "form the inmates into classes..... for the comfort of those who may once have been respectable" and "all beggars and mendicants are to be excluded from the institution." For these latter the Workhouse had been recently established and into it about three hundred "vagrants, lunatics, idiots and prostitutes" had been shifted from the old House of Industry which now stood empty. A timely bequest from John Pim enabled the newly-formed Board of Governors, who were to administer the Fanning money, to convert and renovate this building. In the Spring of 1843 it was ready and opened to admit 34 men and 43 women.

This Board of Governors comprised the Protestant and Catholic bishops, the incumbents, parish priests, mayor, sheriff and M.P.s of the city, anyone who donated ten guineas (life governors) or two guineas to be governors for the year. By 1853 there were 102 life governors (donating £1,073) and 26 annual subscribers for that year. The assets and property remained vested in the Board of Charitable Bequests and Donations who in 1863 instituted chancery proceedings to rid themselves of this charge as they "had not time nor....sufficient staff.....to supervise or control..... the management and distribution of charitable bequests of such magnitude and importance". It seems the Board were unsuccessful in their plea as the Institution remained vested in them up to their amalgamation with the Holy Ghost Hospital in the 1960s.

The capacity of the Institution as reported in 1863 was 180 but due to financial restrictions (only the interest could be used, not the capital) only 140 could be accommodated with 55 seeking admission. Vacancies occurred only with deaths or those who left. Of these latter, what proportion were expelled does not emerge, but only one misdemeanour warranted this - drink. Other rules inmates were "expected to obey" included punctuality - rise 6.00 a.m. (7.30 in winter), breakfast 9.00, dinner 2.00, supper 6.00 and bed 10.00 (in winter 8.00). Inmates were not allowed to leave the premises without permission and had to be back at 9.00 p.m. in summer and 6.00 in winter. They seem to have spent much of their time doing their own cooking, cleaning, sewing, washing, etc. The Institution was non-denominational but the religious persuasion of each inmate was recorded when they entered, "and no change in such record shall be afterwards permitted." The Superintendent was instructed to "occasionally inspect the persons of female inmates in order to induce amongst them habits of cleanliness". The first Superintendent was a Mrs. Mary Archdekin who had previously held this position in the old House of Industry.

Several other connections with the older establishment remained. Five bequests to the House of Industry had been added to the capital of the Fanning Institution. The entire sum (James Fanning's plus ten others in all by 1849, plus donations) of £34,472-13-0 had been invested at 3% Consols yielding £1,034-3-6d. per annum to run the Institution. Likewise the

"epileptic lunatics and harmless idiots" to be cared for were, it seems, inherited from the functions of the House of Industry. Not inherited, presumably, was the treadmill, "previous to which the House had no terror", according to Ryland (quoted by Egan). In fact, by the standards of the time, James Fanning's bequest was used in a quite enlightened manner.

	1		Admis- sions	Deaths	2		4	5
	Total No. Inmates M.	F.			Left	Cost of Upkeep		
1843	34	48	83	0	1	£11.0.0	(Not given)	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
1844	39	58	22	6	1	£10.0.0	£5.10.0	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
1845	39	68	23	8	5	£10.0.0	£5.17.6	5d.
1846	37	63	5	12	0	£10.2.0	£6.10.0	5 $\frac{5}{8}$ d.
1847	44	66	27	16	1	£10.10.0	£7.4.0	7d.
1848	54	65	18	6	3	£ 9.2.3	£6.2.2.	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
1849	63	75	31	8	4	£ 9.1.6	£5.7.5	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
1850	66	78	25	17	2	£ 8.3.3	£4.18.4	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
1851	63	81	14	13	1	£ 7.12.6	£4.18.9	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
1852	63	84	21	18	0	£ 7.19.0	£5.2.10	4 $\frac{1}{3}$ d.

1. As of 31st Dec. each year.
2. i.e. "Expelled or left the Institution".
3. i.e. per inmate for an entire year. This includes food, which accounted for over half the total cost and is therefore also listed separately in the next column. Other expenses included clothes (about £1), medicine and medical attendance (about 3/-), fuel, soap, candles, etc. (about 15/-), cost of staff per inmate (about 17/-), furniture and repairs (fluctuated greatly between 6/2 and 31/-). A breakdown of these costs is given for the year 1852 in the Report, the largest single cost that year being £100 worth of clothes. One hundred tons of coal were next (costing £65) after salaries and wages (£97). Repairs cost £49 that year and furniture another £16. Thirty four pounds were spent on soap, candles and soda.
4. Inmates would appear to have been quite well fed according to the breakdown for 1852. They got over 2 lbs. of meat per week each, about half of it beef, most of the rest being pork with a little veal and mutton. The biggest single expense however was bread, the inmates consuming about a one pound loaf per day each. A total of eight tons of meal (mainly Indian) was presumably converted into porridge. About 8 stone of potatoes were used per day by the 147 inmates then plus 160 pints of milk. A pound of tea per day was used and a ton of sugar was needed for the year. Butter was a minor expense and is placed as "miscellaneous" along with "mustard, etc."...
5. This was the average price of a 4 lb. loaf. The Report attributes higher food costs in 1846-48 to the Famine but does not explain the high price of bread in 1844.

Part V: THE ORDER OF KNIGHTS TEMPLAR IN THE WATERFORD AREA

by Tom Nolan.

Arrival of the Templars.

Sometime in or shortly after 1172 a group of men landed in Waterford harbour to take possession of lands granted to them by Henry II. They wore white mantles with a red cross on the breast of each. On their heads were white coifs held in place by red cloth caps. These were serious men who had pledged themselves "to behave decently and humbly without laughter, and to speak sparingly but sensibly and not in a loud tone".¹ But they were also fighting men, full of a pious zeal and believing, "that it is dangerous to all religion to gaze too much on the countenance of women".² These were, of course, members of the Military Order of the Temple of Solomon, more generally known as Knights Templars.

This religious order had been founded fifty years earlier (in 1118) by one Hugh de Payne in order to protect from "infidel" attack pilgrims taking the newly opened routes to the Holy Land. What he had in mind was a celebrate monastic order whose lives would be dedicated to this task. By 1128 St. Bernard of Clairvaux had drawn up rules of suitable austerity for such an order (having many similarities with Cistercian rules) and from 1130 the Templars had become the standing army of the Christian states in the Holy Land.³

Such a mixture of glamour and sanctity seems to have had a tremendous effect on the prices and knights of medieval Europe, for not only did they volunteer their services in great numbers but most generous presents of land and money were continuously heaped on the Templars over the 12th and 13th centuries and their foundations spread across Europe. Henry II's gift to them of land on either side of Waterford harbour was, however, part of the penance for his part in the murder of St. Thomas a Beckett whereby he promised to provide land for the support of 200 Templar Knights. In 1172 he issued⁴ a charter to the order setting out the land that was to be granted to them.

This charter specifically grants Crook and Kilbarry, as well as Clontarf, to the Templars and indirectly mentions Kilclogan⁵ (i.e. Temple-town on the east side of Waterford harbour). "Mills at Poulwaterfour (the Pill at Waterford) and Innermictam..!" are also granted plus, for some reason, "the small marsh between the king's houses in Waterford and the sea" which gets specific mention. Later on the Templars obtained Clonaulty in Co. Tipperary and Kilsarn in Co. Louth. These six foundations (4 of them in the south-east) appear to have been their main preceptories through the 13th century. However they got frequent grants of other land and the following table records those that are known for Co. Waterford. Most of these have been listed by Wood⁶ and the others have their sources given separately.

LANDS

NOTES

Dunmore East
Coulmacsowery
"The island near the city"
Offath

While this could be the barony of Offa it is more likely to refer to the three areas above.

Rathmarorkain
Carrickroe and Carrickard

Rath mor Ui Chein ? (possibly Islandtarsney)
(adjoining Kilbarry)

LANDS

NOTES

Loughdaheen
Ballyvooney

O'Donovan describes this in his O.S. Letters. He gives no source and I have found no earlier reference.

Affane
Bewley
Rincrew

(near Cappoquin) see Gwynn & Hadcock.⁸
(near Youghal) ibid.

Various lands in or near
Waterford city

See below.

Such lands were rented to suitable tenants, like Thomas de Northampton who in 1307 owed 2/- rent on land at Dunmore where another 40/- was also owed by other tenants unspecified. Rent for the Island was 13/4 (i.e. one mark) per annum but that apparently had not been paid for 12 years in 1307. One Stephen Fraunceys (q.v.) then owed 2/- for land, presumably at Carrickroe and or Carrickard.⁹

Life in the Local Templar Preceptories.

The Templars established their preceptories at Kilcloggan, Crook, Kilbarry and Clonaulty for three specific reasons - (i) to act as recruitment centres for suitable young men; (ii) to produce money and horses for the use of the fighting men in the Holy Land; and (iii) to serve as homes for old and wounded knights. How successful the first and third functions of these preceptories were we've now no means of judging, but we can at least speculate on aspects of the second.

In February 1307 a detailed listing of the possessions of the Irish foundations of the Templars was made (see note 20 below and appendix) and from these it would appear that the four houses in the south-east were primarily large farms for the order... Crook is the only one whose size we know - 3,000 statute acres¹⁰ and that would appear to have been the smallest to judge by the amount of stock. It had 350 sheep as against about 560 for Kilbarry and Kilcloggan; sheep rearing for all three seemed to have been far more significant than cattle grazing or crop growing. Clonaulty on the other hand seems to have concentrated on tillage (they had seven ploughs) and already in early February had 315 acres of corn sown. It is possible that winters were in fact much milder then as Kilcloggan had three acres of peas sown that month. All had tons of grain in store in February, much of which had been collected as tithes, possibly awaiting shipment. Hence, it would seem that sales of wool and corn were the main ways in which these local foundations raised money for the battles in the Holy Land. Horse raising may have been of much smaller significance as only Clonaulty had horses of any value (4 of them) the rest having just a few work horses and ponies.

The culinary arrangements of the community should give a reasonable guide as to the number of knights being catered for. At Kilbarry in 1307 there were only 6 pots and pans, 3 of them described as "small". However, Kilcloggan appears to have had none at all although it is credited with having 17 silver spoons! Since an ample collection of "cauldrons" is listed for Crook and Clonaulty it would seem to be wiser not to extrapolate too far from this list.

It may well be equally unwise to judge from the rules drawn up by St. Bernard how the Templars actually lived here. However, here is how they should have spent each day.¹¹ Like the Cistercians they rose for Matins at four each morning (six in wintertime). Around daybreak they went to the Chapter-room where some point of the Rule was discussed and the duties for the day arranged. From that time until midday - in complete silence - they pursued their allotted work. At mid-day they had their first meal. After

this they continued their work or exercised their horses and practised military tactics until Vespers (around sundown). Then a light evening meal was served, and the monks retired to bed until midnight, when they arose once more for prayers. Then once more, back to bed until Matins at four o'clock in the morning. They slept fully clothed in bare cells two per cell with the light burning all night.

Templars and Townspeople.

It would be interesting to know how our 12th and 13th century Waterfordians regarded this strange, foreign and exotic Order of Friar-Knights who were holding three large manors within a few miles of their city. Any reliable information we have seems to prove that while it was easy to admire and respect the Templars for their gallant and selfless work in the Holy Land, it was extremely difficult to love them at close range. In the few recorded cases where the citizens and the Knights had differences of opinion, invariably the local people came off second best.

The episode of the mills is a case in point. As has been said, the Templars were granted the right to have mills, in and around the city and these seem to have been a source of great wealth. In quite a short time after settling in Ireland the Templars had almost a monopoly of the wheat and flour trade, for in 1225 we find the King granting to the Master of the Templars in Ireland permission to convey his wheat, "whither he will throughout the country for trading purposes and without being hindered".¹²

Being good business people the Waterford merchants decided to look for their share of this lucrative trade and proceeded to build their own mills. Alas for their endeavours! The Templars objected and in 1243 we find Henry III issuing a Royal Mandate enjoining on his Chief Justice in Ireland to take steps to see that "no mill be erected in Waterford to the damage of the Templar mills, and that he should have razed to the ground any such mill already erected to the damage of the Templars".¹³

The work carried out on the city walls in the early 13th century must also have caused much ill feeling between the citizens and the Templars. At that time the city was enlarged three fold by a new range of walls, towers and gateways, which must have been a severe strain in both taxes and labour on every citizen within the Liberties of Waterford. The Templars of Kilbarry naturally refused to subscribe either money or material by invoking their Charter from King John which specifically freed their order from "all works on Royal Houses, Castles or Enclosures".¹⁴ We know that nothing irks a tax payer more than to see his neighbour escaping the tax-net.

Even the authorities of the city would have regarded the Templars at Kilbarry and Crook as something of a mixed blessing, and again while admiring their great work in the Holy Land they must have regarded them as a disruptive element close at hand. Being a Templar tenant conferred some privileges on a person and excused him certain tolls and taxes. This fact did not escape the notice of property owners in Waterford. To the annoyance (and cost) of the city fathers a custom developed (and this custom was widespread where ever the Templars had a house) of "transferring to the land of the Templars".¹⁵ This means that a property owner could declare himself a Templar tenant and therefore be excused certain tolls and taxes that ordinary city folk would have to pay. Naturally the city authorities objected, for we find Henry III expressly forbidding "any tenant of the King in Waterford, if he wishes to retain his property there, from transferring himself to the land of the Templars".¹⁶

While the Templars had bona-fide tenants in Waterford who would pay rent to them (the Templars) and normal city taxes to the Corporation they were

allowed (another of their privileges) one house in every town and city free from all city taxes, and this property was usually marked by the painting or erecting of a cross near it to show its immunity. To the annoyance (and again the cost) of the city fathers the shady custom grew up of all Templar tenants erecting crosses to avoid taxes. This was serious enough, but when citizens with no Templar connections at all began to erect crosses, steps had to be taken to stamp out this sharp practice.¹⁷

The Inventories of 1307 (see note 28 below) list such tenants where their rent was in arrears. Identifiably from the city were Robertus Rothewell, burgess (owed 13/4) and Robertus le Mareschal (4d). It is probable that the following also were citizens to judge from their names and occupations: Walterus de Coldebeck (12d), David le Tanner (8d), Gregorius le Skynner (3/4d) Adam Brewer (12d). The following also owed rents, tithes or other dues to the manors of Crook and Kilbarry although whether they were of the city is uncertain: Willelmus Hamound (3/-), Walterus Martyn (4d.), Ricardus de Long (15d), Henricus Osley (2/-), Willelmus Fyn (2d.), Willelmus le Botiller (2/4), Rynoc Stones (2/4), Johannes le Poer (2/-), Willelmus Gardeyn (2/-) Richardus, son of Stephen (1/6d), Lord Thomas, Capellanus (? - Chaplain-10/-) and strangely, Willelmus, son of David and Willelmus le Tyler (20/-), The total owed was given as £13-12-7d.

The Crook-Dunbrody Dispute.

It was not just ordinary lay folk who looked upon the Templars with less than affection. Even the mighty Cistercians of Dunbrody Abbey, when they "crossed swords" with them, found the Templars more than a match. Every account of the Templars in Ireland mentions the prolonged lawsuit between them and the Abbot of Dunbrody concerning a very large tract of land (five carucates, or roughly fifteen hundred acres) near Crook.¹⁸ The facts were as follows: Henry II's Charter gave the Templars 3,000 acres of land at Crook. No boundaries are mentioned. The Cistercians of Dunbrody were granted 1,500 acres by Gilbert of Essex in the same locality. Both Orders proceeded to develop their land and as the years passed and more and more of their respective land was enclosed, they both realised that their holdings overlapped. An examination of each ones own Charter convinced both that they had a cast iron case.

The Cistercians were actually using the disputed 1,500 acres, so the Templar Master at Crook took drastic action. He seems to have leased the land in question to a man named Inwen O Faolain on condition that the latter would expel the Cistercian tenants. And this is exactly what he did, "with force and violence" according to the Abbot.¹⁹ Immediately (1278) the Cistercians took legal action. The Templars refused to attend, claiming that they could only be impleaded before the King or his Justiciar.²⁰ During the following two years Dunbrody made repeated attempts to get the Templars into Court, but the Kingts used every legal trick and refused to be "pinned down".

Eventually a heart-rending letter from the Abbot to the King in which he claimed that "his house was reduced to poverty, that he could no longer grant hospitality and that he was being made an object of ridicule" had the desired effect and the King ordered that the case be resolved.²¹ Both Charters were produced and both seemed to cover the disputed land. Dates of the granting of the Charters were discussed but still the deadlock could not be broken. Eventually the case seemed to hinge on the fact that a Royal Charter carried more weight than one from a lesser noble and the verdict went in the Templars favour. However, the Master was asked to make a grant of 100 marks to the Abbot of Dunbrody.²²

Suppression.

The disputes described above were multiplied many-fold across Europe. While they had originated with the simple concept of a Military Order, the Templars had no option but to actually develop into two distinct groups. To support the fighting knights in the Holy Land it was necessary to have an extremely rich and powerful land owning section in Western Europe who would funnel men and money to the East, and it was this section of the Order that brought about the suppression of the Templars.

Within 20 years of their foundation demands for suppression began to be heard and these demands were frequently heard again during their 200 year history. And it is easy to understand these demands if we look closely at the members of the Order. Firstly, their wealth was immense, By 1300 they owned 20,000 estates in Europe and this property was bound to attract the greedy attention of nobles. Secondly, their pride and arrogance was notorious. Thirdly, their privileges were beyond number. However, so long as the Templars seemed to be of some use to Christian Europe - that is as long as they were fighting the Moslems in Palastine - there was very little fear that any Pope would raise a hand against them. But as soon as the Holy Land was finally lost (1303) the sacrifices and heroism of the Order was forgotten and their enemies moved in for the kill.²³

The first to attack them was Philip IV of France, and being croniclly short of money, he had for a long time coveted the riches of the Templars. The Pope at the time was Clement V, who was a Frenchman. He had been Archbishop of Bordeaux and had been raised to the Papacy by pressure exerted by Philip. He was living in France and was very much under the thumb of the French King. In 1307 Philip presented to the Pope a startling list of crimes and abominations of which he claimed the Templars were guilty. The list contained accusations of heresy, idolatry and homosexuality, child murder, witch-craft and cannibalism, any one of which would have merited severe penalties from the Inquisition. The crimes were so enormous that the Pope was sceptical and called the Grand Master (James de Molay) to acquaint him with the charges. De Molay was horrified and demanded that a public enquiry should be held as he felt perfectly sure that his Order had nothing to fear. The Pope agreed with the Grand Master's request but before any steps were taken Philip IV made his move. In October 1307 he suddenly had every Templar in France (including de Molay) arrested and handed over to Inquisition, while he (Philip) seized control of the Order's immense wealth.²⁴

Under torture in Paris some Templars confessed to crimes they had never committed, and then in open Court they retracted, claiming that they had confessed under duress, whereupon they were accused of being relapsed heretics and were burned at the stake. In Paris alone 140 Templars were examined (this usually meant tortured) and 36 of them died during questioning.²⁵ Altogether in France 200 members were burned at the stake and the 4 chief officers (including de Molay) were imprisoned and tortured for 5 years. As they still maintained their innonence and that of their Order they were eventually burned in Paris in 1312. Such was the end of the last Grand Master of the Military Order of the Temple.

At the Synod of Vienna (Oct. 1311 - March 1312) the fate of the Templars was officially sealed. Strangely enough, the majority of the prelates present were against suppression but, again, pressure from Philip of France on Pope Clement won the day and the Order was dissolved on 6 counts:

1. They were evil heretics.
2. They were much hated by Kings and Prelates.
3. The Grand Master and others had confessed to Heresy.
4. No righteous person would defend them.
5. The Holy Land was lost.
6. If delay was allowed, the property of the Order would be lost to the Church.^{26.}

So ended the Templars.

Fate of the Templars in South-East Ireland.

Meanwhile in the English province of the Order (and that included Ireland) proceedings against the Templars had also been going ahead. The King, Edward II, had at first refused to believe the charges made by the French King and declined to take any action against the Templars. However, under pressure from Philip IV (his father-in-law) and from the Pope, he abruptly changed his mind and in December 1307 he ordered the necessary steps to be taken to arrest all Templars in his kingdoms and to seize their property. His writ dated 20th Dec. 1307 - ordered John Wogan (the Lord Deputy) to contact the Sheriff of each area in which there was a Templar foundation, and to instruct him on the methods to be used in the arrest of the Knights and on the disposal of their property.²⁷

Therefore in January 1308 the Sheriff of Waterford - John Fitzpeter le Paor, Baron of Dunhill - received mysterious orders from Dublin instructing him to pick 12 good and trustworthy citizens and to have them available on Feb. 3rd when they would be met by a special envoy from the king. All this was to be done as secretly as possible and no inkling of what was intended was given. On the appointed morning, those thirteen worthy Waterfordians were met by a John Lucas - the king's envoy - and having been sworn to secrecy, were informed of what was required of them: they were ordered, in the name of the king, to proceed to Kilbarry and to arrest the Templars there. Similar orders had been given to Adam de Rupe to march on Crook and to Negello de Bruin for Clonaulty.²⁸ For the time being, however, we'll concentrate on Kilbarry.

Being winter, the Templars there would have arisen at six that morning and would have attended Matins in the chapel. Assuming the posse from Waterford proceeded there first (i.e. before going to Crook), they would probably have arrived while the knights were in chapter. They were immediately placed under arrest. The Sheriff then carried out the second part of his instructions. He requested two trustworthy neighbours of the Templars to join him and the Master of the Preceptory in making a very detailed inventory of the goods and chattels of the Manor. The chosen neighbours were Stepheni Fraunceys and Galfridi le Paor. The Master was Thomas le Palmer - destined to be the last Master of Kilbarry.

At Crook, Lucas arrested the Master, Radufi de Braddeleyi and his community, the inventory being taken by John le Grant and Robert Aylward. Across the Harbour at Kilclogan de Rupe arrested Brother de Mulvern and community, Sir John de Sutton and his namesake (kinsman?) John de Sutton of Rathgarrok taking the inventory. The Master at Clonaulty was Willelmi de Wareyni and the "trustworthy neighbours" were John Codd and Richardo Blancharde.

For each of these preceptories the house, farm house and the fields were carefully examined, the goods therein were listed and their approximate value recorded. Some interesting facts came to light. We find that the Templars did not live in luxury as had been claimed by their enemies. Articles of gold or silver are almost completely missing from the list, as is also any mention of rich furniture. The picture is of extreme frugality and simplicity (see appendix below).

One slight suspicion does exist about the inventories however. They were to be sent immediately to London but in fact nineteen years passed before any statement was sent and this was in response to a mandate of Dec. 1325.²⁹ These statements were totally inadequate, making no mention of household goods for instance, and there is reason to suspect that Alexander de Bykenore, Lord Treasurer of Ireland, had been enriching himself. In response to further

pressure a much more detailed inventory for each Irish preceptory was produced, and two of these in translation appear below³⁰

Different countries had behaved differently towards the Templars.³¹ Portugal, Aragon and Castile even found them innocent of all charges, whereas France and England found them guilty. In Spain, they managed to get warning of their coming arrest so they closed their castles against the civil authorities and resisted arrest for a year. In England they were placed in Monasteries³² to do penance for their sins, but we have no record of their being so treated here. The Preceptories of Kilbarry, Crook, and Templetown were allotted for the support of the suppressed Irish Templars.³³ Most histories state that the revenues of these manors were used for this purpose but no mention is made of where the Knights actually spent their remaining days. Gwynn and Hadcock claim that the Houses of the above named Preceptories were used to lodge the suppressed Templars.³⁴

During the actual imprisonment of the Knights, (1308-1313) the Manors of Kilbarry and Crook were managed by Robert Aylward. He would be responsible for forwarding to the Templars sufficient funds for their comfort, but a petition from Henry de Anet (the Irish Templar Master) in December 1311 seems to prove that Aylward was not giving a good account of his stewardship³⁵ and the Master asked that the Justiciar, John Wogan, be made responsible for the revenues. This was done for on February 3rd 1312 the imprisoned Templars acknowledged the receipt of £24-9-1 $\frac{1}{2}$ from Wogan.³⁶

By May 1313 the Irish Templars were released on bail,³⁷ and as their property then had been transferred to the Knights of Malta, the latter were bidden to pay each surviving Templar 2d. per day, as long as he should live. However, instructions were given that "the Templars should not lay up money and that they should not live delicately"³⁸

Later History of Preceptories.

On suppression (1312) the vast property of the Templars had been granted by Clement V to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (Knights of Malta) in reward for their valour in capturing Rhodes.³⁹ Thus Kilbarry, Crook and Kilclogan passed to new owners. The Knights of St. John remained in possession until the general dissolution of Monasteries in 1541 by Henry VIII. Kilbarry was granted, at the dissolution, to Thomas 10th Earl of Ormonde, in fee-farm, and by him assigned to Thomas Wadding⁴⁰ Crook was given to William Wyse in 1541. It was leased to Robert Woodford in 1578.⁴¹ By him it was leased to Anthony Power in 1584.⁴² Later, the castle and demesne passed to Sir John Davies and from him it passed to Richard Aylward.⁴³ Kilclogan was leased at the dissolution to James Sherlock at a rent of £26-13-4.⁴⁴ Later it passed to Sir Thomas Radcliffe (Earl of Essex).⁴⁵ It was then held by Sir Henry Harrington from whom it ultimately passed to Sir Dudley Loftus.⁴⁶

By 1841 the Templar church of Kilbarry had gone and was replaced by what John O'Donovan describes as "a rude structure, possibly 15th or 16th cent." This still remains. Also in 1841 part of the Preceptory remained. It stood 100 paces south of the church, and was locally known as "the Monastery". This has completely disappeared. The present-day ruins of both church and castle at Crook seem to be just as they were when O'Donovan paid a visit in 1841.⁴⁷ They may possibly be the remains of the actual Templar buildings. Two ancient buildings in the townland of Templetown were at one time the property of the Templars. The tower house at Kilcloggan was the dwelling place of the Knights, and the square tower at Templetown about half a mile away, is all that is left of their church.⁴⁸

Sources:

1. A translation of the rules of the order as drawn up by St. Bernard is given by Charles Addison in The Knights Templars, London 1842, p. 22 et seq.
2. *ibid.* p. 26.
3. Some general accounts of the Templars may be had from the following: Mcinerney, H., The Templars in Ireland, I.E.R., 5th Series, p.337 et seq.; Hennessy, W.M., Traces of the Crusaders in Ireland; Lees, Beatrice A., Record of the Templars in England; Billings, R.W., The Temple Church in London; Oambell, G.A., Knights Templars: etc..
4. Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1285-1292, no.622.
5. The actual place named in the grant is Alloch but G. O'C Redmond shows that this must in fact be Kilcloggan- WSEASJ, Vol. VI, no. 26 (1900), p. 221 et. seq.
6. Wood, Herbert, The Templars in Ireland, PRIA, Vol. 26 (1907) p.356 et seq.
7. Offath was the old name for Gaultier - see Empey, C.A., County Waterford in the Thirteenth Century, Decies 13, p. 6 et seq.,
8. Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, London 1970
9. Given in Inventories (see note 28 below). Fraunceys was one of those who drew up the inventory for Kilbarry.
10. CDI 1171-1251, no. 85.
11. Lobban R.D., The Crusades, p. 28, also Addison C., *op.cit.*,
12. CDI, 1171-1251, no. 1276.
13. Statutes of Westminster, 1243, quoted by Wood, *op. cit.*, p.338.
14. quoted in Rees W., History of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Cardiff 1947, p. 11.
15. Statutes of Westminster, *loc. cit.* 16. *ibid.*
17. CDI 1171-1251, April 13th, 1234.
18. About half the local references in the CDI for this period deal with aspects of this dispute. However, a full summary may be found in CDI 1285-1292, no. 622.
19. *ibid.* 20. *ibid.* 21. *ibid.* 22. *ibid.*
23. See Cullen, J.B., The coming of the Templars to Ireland, I.E.R. 5th series, vol. IX, p. 28.
24. Addison, *op. cit.*, p. 198. 25. *ibid* p. 204.
26. Wood, *loc. cit.*, p. 356.
27. Memoranda Rolls, 1st Edward II. PROI Calendar.
28. A full transcription in Latin made on the closure of these preceptories is given in Analecta Hibernica, Vol. XXIV , pp. 183-226. I have checked this for Kilbarry and Crook against the nineteenth century transcript of the original in microfilm in NLI from TCD ms.no. 1061. (see appendix).
29. *ibid.* 30. *ibid.* 31. Dublin Review, vol.117, Fall of the Knights Templars. 32. See Wood, *op.cit.* (Papal Register, Vol. 11).
33. Memoranda Roll, 5-6 Ed.II. P.R.O.I.Calendar.
34. See Gwynn & Hadcock, *op. cit.* 35. Memoranda Roll, 45.Ed.II, PROI Calendar.
36. *ibid* 5-6 Ed.II. 37. *ibid.* 6 Ed.II (M.47). 38. *ibid* 6 Ed.II (M.2).
39. Falkner, C.L., Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, P.R.I.A. Vol.26, p. 289.
40. Smith, Charles, History of Town and County of Waterford, Dublin 1746 p. 103. 41. Falkner, *op. cit.*, p. 313.
42. Calendar of Tudor Fiants : Elizabeth, nos. 3227 and 4529.
43. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
44. Calendar of Tudor Fiants : Henry VIII.
45. Falkner, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
46. *ibid*, Elizabeth, Nos. 2697 and 5080.
47. O'Donovan's O.S. Letters, edited by Planagan.
48. Hore, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 266

APPENDIX.

The following is a new translation of the possessions recorded for three preceptories at their closure in 1307. I would like to thank Mr. John Mulholland for his help - but responsibility for any infelicities of interpretation is my own. To the best of my knowledge a translation of the Clonaulty inventory has not been published previously. That for Templetown has (in History of the Town and County of Wexford IV by Philip Hore, p.276-7) and I have not repeated it. Less well known and with fewer annotations are Canon Power's translation of the inventories for Crook and Kilbarry given as an appendix in his Compendious History of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore and I include my own version of these. Prices have been standardised into shillings and pence on the basis of 1 mark - 13/4d. The exact quantity in a crannock could not be established as it seems to have varied with location, the crop and the era. Price in brackets is for a single unit (i.e. per sheep, per crannoc etc.).

INVENTORY OF KILBARRY, 3RD FEB., 1307.

Agricultural: 3 horses (6/8), 1 work-horse (5/-), 6 work-horses (3/4), 42 oxen (5/-), 22 large cows (5/-), 5 three year old heifers (3/4), 12 two-year old heifers (2/-), 12 two year old bullocks (2/-), 324 sheep and ewes (8d), 242 two-year old sheep (4d), 24 one-year old pigs (6d), 25 large pigs (10d), 4 geese (2d). In the grange were: 40 crannocs of wheat and mixed grain (5/-), 2 crannocs of barley (4/-), 1½ crannocs of malt corn (5/-), 5 crannocs of malt oats (3/4), 4 four wheeled wagons (3/4), 1 two-wheeled waggon (3/4).

Domestic: a copper pan (or pot) in an oven (6/8), another copper pot (5/-), 3 small copper pots (3/4d), 2 pitchers (12d), 3 pitchers (6d), 1 cauldron (6/8), 1 ladle (3/-), tubs, barrels, casks and other vessels (13/4); 1 mantle (12d), 2 old chests (12d), 1 bodice lined with silk (12d). A chest placed in the custody of the mayor of Waterford in which were seals, title-deeds and tallies, a goblet of maple wood (2/-), five books of no value, 18d in a money box and one outer cloak with a cape (2/-).

INVENTORY OF CROOK, 3rd FEB., 1307.

Agricultural: 4 workhorses (3/6), 2 foals (2/-), 16 cows (5/-), 2 calves (2/6), 5 heifers (2/6), 1 bull (2/6), 60 sheep (6d), 108 ewes (6d), 161 wethers (4d), 19 wethers (no value), 2 sows (6d), 28 six-month old pigs (4d).

In the grange were: 27 crannocs approximately of corn and mixed grain (4/-), 25 crannocs approximately of oats (3/4), 2 crannocs approximately of barley (3/4), 3½ crannocs of malt oats (3/4), 3 crannocs of peas (3/4), 3½ salted pigs (2/2), 1 two wheeled cart (3/4), 1 two wheeled cart (20d).

Domestic: 2 copper cauldrons (3/4), 2 cauldrons (4/-), 2 ladles (1/6) 5 copper cauldrons (12d), 2 ladles (18d), 1 ewer (6d), 1 old cup of maplewood (6d), 2 hogsheads, one barrel and one cask (12d - for all four?), one cask and one hogshead (each for holding bread or flour? - "ad panem") (6d for both), 5 boards or tables (2/-), one breastplate (? - "lorica") (12d), one pair of iron lids or covers (6/8), 3 old chests (12d).

EXTRACTS FROM INVENTORY OF CLONAUTY

(While this inventory was made at the same time as the others, it is far more detailed. For instance some of the horses are described individually (e.g. a Barbary horse with white eyes and white eyebrows!) and the crops from outlying farms are listed separately. There was also a wider range of agricultural and domestic implements and the more interesting of them are listed here) 1 gridiron (4d), 1 grinder (2d), 1 kitchen knife (2d), 2 barn skillets (1/- & 2/-), 1 anvil (3/4), 2 trundles in bakehouse (2/4), 1 iron crowbar for breaking stones (2/-), 1 silver cup with lid (cup valued 13/7d by weight, lid 6/3 by weight), the saddle of the Master together with his robes and chests and the saddles and robes of two brothers which were not valued but handed over to the custody of his chamberlain, 12 silver spoons (valued by weight 10/8), 3 worn pots or cauldrons (total value 10/-), 2 cauldron ladles (3/- & 2/-).

PART VI.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO GAULTIER FROM 1250 to 1350 (approx.)

From notebooks of Feardorcha Funnell.

(This is compiled from four notebooks of source material transcribed in the 1930's and '40's by Mr. Funnell, entitled, "A collection of material illustrative of the history and topography of Gailltir". After his death in the 1950s these notebooks passed to Mr. John D. Bourke and we are grateful to him for allowing us to use them. We publish this compilation, not only for its relevance to this present series but as a tribute to the years of research and meticulous transcription by Mr. Funnell, a local historian who might otherwise have remained unknown.

Most of the earlier matters recorded here are relatively routine and reflect the manner in which the Normans consolidated their grip on Ireland. From 1303, however, a new note enters with murder and robbery followed in succeeding years by assault, abduction, and the robbing of a priest by his son. Such deeds heralded the breakdown of the "Pax Normantica".

While some modernisation of text has been given, proper names remain unchanged. Most placenames are still readily identifiable by phonetically pronouncing even the most unfamiliar words. Some of the less obvious are given in brackets, these being the interpretations of Matthew Butler in his History of Gaultire. He does, however, assume the name Gaultire itself to date back to this time although Dr. Empey's research (see part III of this series) now shows that the name of this area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was Offath. Omitted from this calendar are the many references to the Knights Templars here.)

1249: Morrow of All Saints. Wm.F. Robert de Blundenstone has granted and confirmed to Wm. de Weylaund the manor of Killokeran.¹

1252-'53:

Jan. 7th. Writ to enquire into lands of Kerewel Okeleghyn.... The jury of 12 men say..... Kerewel Okeleghyn held the land of Balicormare. (Ballygunner ?)

1274: Let it be recorded that he (King Edward I) had given full powers lately throughout his father's lands to Robert de Ufford, recently Justiciar of Ireland, so that he himself in accordance with the advice and consent of S. (?) Bishop of Waterford, at that time Treasurer of Ireland, should be able to enfeoff such men as he wished and bring them into allegiance to the king (and) should take precautions concerning all the vast lands of the king in Ireland, by holding them by means of military or other services. Also let it be recorded that the same Robert should entrust to Master John de Saunford, escheator of Ireland, out of the wide lands held in homage in the district of Clonconewy, on either side equally, the villages of Dunmore, Dromeyne, Rosmoyle.....²

c.1280:

..... Stephen of Fulburne (Succ.1273; resign.1286) while he was Bishop of Waterford, by the consent of his Dean and Chapter, he made an exchange of the Manor of Ballydermot for the Manor of Monymuntre, with Henry Fitzphilip (the instrument of which exchange may be seen in Archbishop King's Collections).³

1283: Ap. 26th Writ commanding Stephen, Bishop of Waterford, justiciary of Ireland, to take an inquisition into what lands William of London left at his death. Inquisition taken at Stradbally on Tuesday, July 6, 1283. William held the following lands of David le Waleys, 30 acres in Rathmolan redering 1d a year and worth 15s. a year, namely 6d an acre.¹

1284-5: Jan. 9 . Mandate to Justiciary of Ireland to deliver to Walter, Bishop of Meath, the Island near Waterford which belonged to Robert le Poher.¹

1286-7: David de Neth quit-claims to Agnes de Weysforde a mark of silver yearly, rent out of a fourth part of a $\frac{1}{2}$ villate in Redevallon (? Rathmoylan), Rosdyf and Cnocketon.⁴

1287 : Ap. 18 Waterford. Issues of lands of Poltoyl and Lysnekylle by Benedict le Poer: £ 0.36.8d

Oct. 15 . Of issues of lands of Poltoyl and Lysnekylle by Matthew le Poer, £8.10.0d¹ (Portally & Lisnakill).

1288-89:

The account of Reginald de Bella and William le Palmer. Provosts of the Great Island, from Michaelmas 16th to Michaelmas 17th. year:
Deficiencies for deficiency of the ferry at Cokery for the year, 4s., as the ferry at le Crook was temporarily used when William (le Palmer) rowed his own boat.⁵

1289: Account for year ending Easter by Walter de la Haye, escheator of Ireland:

Dunmore: He accounts for 102s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rent of two parts of the Manor of Dunmore which belonged to Michael le Flemyng.

Waterford County: Account for Sums due in respect of various services: a fourth of a service by the heirs of Thomas, son of Antoye of Ballmackill.⁶

1290: Ap. 23rd. Petition of Hugh, son of Michael le Fleming. His father having held in capite of the King the manor of Dunmore in the county of Waterford, leased it to Robert de Stapleton, Shériff of Waterford, for a term of 20 years etc.¹

1290: May 10: Writ to Walter de la Haye. John de Weylaund has shown that whereas Thomas his father had enfeoffed him of the manors of Balyconnar and Killotharan, and of the rent of Balymacoyl, the Escheator had taken them into the King's hand.

July 12: command from King to Escheator to deliver to John the manors and rents aforesaid.¹ (Ballygunner, Killotteran, and Ballynakill).

1292: May 10: Roll of Receipts of Easter term. Waterford: the heirs of Thomas Fitz Anthony of Ballymackyle of the same 10/- .¹

1296: Easter: Receipt of services of Tristeldermott in term of Easter:

Waterford. The heirs of Thomas Fitz Anthony of Ballymackyl of the army of Tristeldermott. 10/-¹

1297: Account of Walter de la Haye for year ending Easter.

Dunmore, County Waterford: He accounts for £7.13.2 $\frac{1}{4}$ rent and issues of the two parts of the Manor of Dunmore which belonged to Michael le Flemyng for period ending Easter term, at 5ls. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. yearly.

Rathmolan &c.: He accounts for 82s. 1s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ rent of two parts of demesnes of Rathmolan, Killachelan, and Balycrahan for same time at £2.13.9 $\frac{1}{4}$ yearly.

Fathelyg, Co. Waterford: He accounts for £1.10.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rent for demesnes etc. of Fathelyg which belonged to Nicholas Aylward, who held it of the King in fee from Thursday before the Feast of Annunciation to 12 June same year, when Lucy, widow of said Nicholas was endowed with said land; 14.10d. from rents of free tenants there; 6s. from rent of rabbit warrens etc. 18s. 8d. from rent of demesnes etc. of Balyturkil; 5s. 2d. from the rent of the Resck; and other receipts from two parts of the manor of Fathelég and the other lands above, from said 12th June tomorrow of close of Easter £13.14s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

1299: Jan.20-27th: Common Pleas at Dublin before Chief Justiciar. Theobald de Verdun gave to Milo de Verdun, his son, his whole land of Balymacloth and Balymacgonnoure to hold intail male (sic ?) of the King.⁷

1300: Common Pleas at Naas before Chief Justiciar.
 May 8: The Sheriff was commanded to go to Waterford and made record of the plea at that court of the dower of Agnes de Matyshale, whereof Nicholas Cardoun called to warranty John, son of John de Kilcop and Elena his wife.....
 July 8: similar
 April 8: Brother Hugh, preceptor of the house of Killeur v. Walter, son of Matt.le Poer.⁷

1302: Dunmore, Co. Waterford. Land which belonged to Michael le Flemmeyng and held of the King in Capite. He answers nothing because the lands were delivered to Thomas le Mareschal and Constance his wife, sister and heiress of Hugh, son of said Michael, by writ of 14th July.

Rathmolan, Co. Waterford. He accounts for £8.10.2¹/₂d. rents etc. of lands which belonged to Robert de Stapletoun of Balycolan, Crossethe and Rathmolan, Co. Waterford.

Fatheligge etc., Co. Waterford. Accounts for £22.18.9¹/₂d. rent of two parts of lands of Fatheligge, Balytorkyll and the Resk, which belonged to Nicholas Aylward.

Kilcopthe, Co. Waterford. Account for 75s.1d. rent of two parts of these lands which belonged to Maurice, son of John, and came into the king's custody on his death, from feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, to ~~narrow~~ of St. Hilary, for four years when Johanna, widow of said John, got dower of the premises.

Rathmolan etc., Co. Waterford: Accounts for the Rents of two parts of the lands which belonged to Ralph de Hampton at Rathmolan and Coulach, Co. Waterford, in King's hands by death of said Ralph.

Dunmor, Co. Waterford; Accounts for 14s.7d. of the rent of two parts of the manor of Dunmor which belonged to Will le Buttyler, in custody of the King by reason of his death, from feast of St. Bartholomew (a.r.30) to 26 August following (Note, a third part of the demesnes lay fallow). 19d. rent of 2¹/₂ac. and two parts of the of meadow for the same time. 13s.5³/₄d. rent of cottiers, fisheries and perquisites of court. 6d. rent of free tenants. All before the said manor was delivered to John, son and heir of said Will le Buttyler by writ of 26 Aug.⁶

1302 -6:

ECCLESIASTICAL TAXATION OF IRELAND

WATERFORD DIOCESE

<u>CHURCH</u>	<u>VAL.</u>	<u>TENTH</u>
Prebend of Master Adam Handon - Corbali	2 Marks	2s. 8d.
Prebend of Rosdyff	1 Mark	16d.
Church of Balymackill with vic.	4 ¹ / ₂ Marks	6s.
Portion of vicarage of Killatheragh (Killcarragh)	1 ¹ / ₂ Mark	8d.
Church of Balygennore with vic.	11 Marks	14s. 8d.
Church of Fathelig, hosp. with vic.	4 "	5s. 4d.
Church of St. Nicholas with vic.	3 ¹ / ₂ "	4s. 8d.
Church of Kilmacthom (Kilmacomb ?)	2 ¹ / ₂ "	40d.
Portions of Balilothi with Monemont	11s. 4d.	13 ¹ / ₂ d.
Portion of vic. of Rathmolan	20s.	2s.
Church of Killeth with vic. (Killea)	12 Marks.	16s.
Church of Killotheran	8 "	10s. 8d.
Church of Kilcops	Not worth service of a chaplin	
Portion of two Balimaculs	5 ¹ / ₂ Marks	7s. 4d.

TAXATION OF ALL ECCLESIASTICAL BENEFICES AND REVENUES IN DIOCESE OF
WATERFORD.

The Church of Kilcopech of the House of St. John of Waterford.	1 Mark	16d.
Church of Kyllech for rector	2½ "	3s. 4d.
Church of Balymakyl" "	3 "	4s.
Church of Fathely for rector	44s.	Tenth nothing
Church of St. Nicholas for rector	44s.	4s. 4½d.
Kylmethc n without a vicar	6 marks	8s.
Kyllmacclek	5 "	½ Mark

1303 William de Clere, being about to set out for England, gives power of attorney to Richard Bisset and Richard de Dunamore.²

1303: Oct. 13th. Pleas at Clonmel. Henry Lyder against Henry de Rupe on plea of trespass, to wit that John de Rupe, Alexander his brother, etc. slew a son of Henry Lyder and tenant of his, and wounded two of his serjeants even to death and wounded Henry Lyder himself and robbed him of six afers, (work horses), six oxen etc. and carried away the plunder to Henry de Rupe at Fathelik.⁷

1305: March 1. Thomas Knythsweyn of Balygaveran v. John de Nelder of Ros. When Thomas came to the town of Ros on his journey to the Roman court and chose his port at the Crok, John assaulted him in the town of Ros.⁷

1306: April 24. At Dublin, before Justiciar. Inquisition taken at Waterford before Walter de la Haye, Escheator, on Monday before the Annunciation, a.r. 33, by the following..... who say that Nicholas Aylward held his lands and tenements at Fatheligg, Balycorkill and the Resk of the king in capite.⁷

1306: July 22: At Cassel. Roche of Fathelik, a party to a case of abduction.⁷

1307: Feb. 27. At Clonmell. Maurice, son of John le Poer, and Balduk Omakkasil charged that they with Andrew Occulan, Will. le Poer, and John, son of the priest broke into the house of the priest of Kilmcleg and robbed him of food and drink and other things valued 5s.⁷

1307: Account of Walter de la Haye, Escheator of Ireland. Rathmolan etc., Co. Waterford. Accounts for 11.7s.10d. rent of two parts of land which belonged to Ralph de Hamptoun at Rathmolan, Coulath and Balilorcan, who held them of the King in capite.

Coul M'Sawery, Co. Waterford. Accounts for 11.4s.10d. rent of demesnes etc. there which belonged to Peter de Bruys who held of the king in capite.⁶

1309: Account of Walter de Istlep. ⁶

1309: Maurice, son of Reymund of Crooke near Waterford, admits he owes Alexis de Bykenore four marks.²

1312: Balyfalyng, (Faithleg?). Accounts for £3.19s.6¾d. issues of two parts of land which belonged to Nicholas Aylward at Balyfalyng, Balyturkil, and the Reskey, Co. Waterford, in the King's hands by death of said Nicholas before the premises were delivered to Peter, his son and heir.

Fynevauth, Co. Waterford. Account for 20s. rent and issues of lands and tenements which belonged to Philip, son of Matthew le Poer there who died without heir.⁶

1315: Account of Hugh Canouna.
Coulm'sawery, Co. Waterford. Account for £1.15s. 8¹/₂d. rent for demesnes there which belonged to Peter de Bruys who held of the king in capite, his heir being a minor. From this deduct 12d. rent due to the Master of the Templars in Ireland.

Account of John de Dufford: Coulmaksawery, Co. Waterford.
£8. 18s. 10d. Fynvagh. £2.13s. 4d. as in last account for same.⁶

1318: Account of Edmund Hake¹jut, escheator of Ireland Coulmaksawery, Co. Waterford. Account for £3. 11s. 5d. rent of demesnes etc. which belonged to Peter de Bruys.

Rathmolan, Co. Waterford. Account of 13s. 4d. rent of 15 acres. There acquired by Reginald Broun from William de Stapletoun and Robert Christofre, tenants in capite without royal license.

Account of Richard de Wodehouse, escheator from 28 June to 14 May following Coulmaksawery etc. Co. Waterford. Account for £3.11s.5d.

Dunmor etc. Co. Waterford. He answers nothing for the manor of Dunmor and a carucate of land in Rathmolan and a carucate and a half in Kilcopnit, Co. Waterford, (in the king's hand as John de la Rokel acquired the premises of John, son of William le Botiller, tenant in capite without license) because the premises with the issues in meantime were delivered to said John de la Rokel by contract delivered into exchequer, 13 Dec.

Rathmolan, Co. Waterford. Account for 6s. 8d. the rent of premises there which Reginald Brown acquired of Wm. de Stapletoun without license.

Account for Co. Waterford, Easter to Michaelmas:

William O'Flennogan, vicar of Killegh, owes 40s. fine for trespass by the security of Meiler, son of David le Poer and Stephen Fraunceys.

1321: Account of John de Dufford. 20th Feb. 1320 to 1 Aug 1323

Rathmolan, Co. Waterford. Account for 10s. rent of 15 acres.
Coulmaksawery, Co. Waterford. £1. 15s. 8¹/₂d.
Waterford county: Account from Michaelmas 1318 to Easter 1321.
Thomas le Mareschal and Constance his wife account for £2 10s. their relief for the manor of Donmore by the sec. of Wm. le Botiller.

1322: Account of John de Tunstall, escheator of Ireland. Rathmolan, Co. Waterford. Account for 13s. 4d. rent of 15 acres.⁶

1324: Account of Walter de la Pulle, 4 Jan. 1322 - 16 Feb. 1324

Rathmolan, Co. Waterford. Account for 13s. 4 d. rent of 15 acres.⁶

1328: Account of Walter Wogan, escheator, 17 May 1327 to 21 Dec 1328.

Rathmolan, account for 10s. of 15 acres.⁶

1330: April. Thomas of Northampton grants to Adam, son of Henry de Northampton one messuage and four carucates of land in Ardeston, Coylenach Coylach and Cnebranpaydyn. Given at Ardeston on Sunday next before the feast of St. George the Martyr in the 4th year of Edward III.⁴

1331: June 15. John, son of Robert le Poer, knight, grants to Fulco, son of Fulco de Fraxineto and his heirs all his lands and tenements in Fathely.⁴

? John son of Fulc de Fraxineto grants to Madoc de Eytoun.
Chaplain,.....all lands and tenements of Fathly.⁴

1334: Thomas de Maresch and Constance his wife owe £2l. 3s. 4d. for relief for manor of Dunmore by sec. of Wm. le Botiller.⁶

Dunmour, Co. Waterford. Account for £6.17s. 3d. rent and issues of the manor of Dunmour and lands and tenements which belonged to Gerald, son of Will. le Buttyller at Dunmour, in king's hand by reason of minority of heir.⁶

1335: Account of John Moriez, escheator, 5 Mar 9 - 10 Aug. 10
Donmor, Co. Waterford. Account for £3.8s. 7¹/₂d. rent etc.⁶

C1335 John, son of Maurice, a twelfth part of a service at Ballymackilly.⁸

SOURCES:

1. Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, edited by Sweetman, 1875-'86.
2. Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium, Hen. II - Hen. VII, edited by Tresham, 1828. The translations here are by John Mulholland. Because of the number of abbreviations in the 1274 reference a certain amount of guess-work had to be used in translation.
3. Works of Sir James Ware, translated by Walter Harris, 1739.
4. Calendar of Ormond Deeds, Vol. I, I.M.C..
5. Quoted in History of Town and County of Wexford by P. Hore from ms. 347/8 in P.R.O. London.
6. Pipe Rolls 1289-1335 in 37th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland.
7. Calendar of Justiciary Rolls of Ireland 1395-1305, ed. Mills. by Bateson in English Historical Review, July 1903.
8. Irish Exchequer Memoranda of the Reign of Edward I, edited by Bateson in English Historical Review, July 1903.

NOTE ON MEDIEVAL SERIES:

Pressures of time and space have precluded us from publishing further articles in this series here. It is hoped however to include these articles in the 1981 issues of Decies.

PICTORIAL DECORATION ON EAST WATERFORD TOMBSTONES.

By Julian C. Walton.

INTRODUCTION:

The importance of monumental inscriptions has long been recognised by genealogists and some social historians, and today the laborious task of transcription is in progress in several parts of Ireland. An account of the work achieved has been published each year since 1972 in the Irish Genealogist, in the Annual Reports of the Tombstone Sub-Committee of the Irish Genealogical Research Society. As a member of that Sub-Committee, I have during the last eight years been copying inscriptions in east Waterford. Typescripts of the work done may be consulted at the Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle; it is hoped that copies will soon be available at the City Library in Waterford.

As may be imagined, this activity has involved countless hours of clearing sites, digging, cleaning, copying, and (most tedious of all) typing out the results. While much remains to be done, this may be a good time and place to summarise what has been achieved so far.

Gaultier: All 15 sites completed. All inscriptions were copied (total 1,655), except at the vast Catholic cemetery of Ballygunner; here there is a burial register dating from 1886, so no inscriptions commencing after that date have been included.

Middlethird: All 9 pre-1800 sites completed; the more modern sites are still to be done.

Upperthird: 5 sites done, notably Clonegam (with the help of Ian Lumley).

Waterford City: The two principal remaining pre-1800 graveyards are St. Patrick's and St. John's. Ian Lumley and I have copied all 277 inscriptions from St. Patrick's. St. John's has had to be left aside for the moment as it presents a major problem: when the Corporation turned the graveyard into a park, the monuments were piled on top of each other in the ruined church, where they are virtually inaccessible.

THE STUDY OF TOMBSTONE ART.

While much work has been and is being done on the copying of inscriptions, the decorative carving on the monuments has received nothing like the attention it deserves. In the achievements of the local stone-cutters we have, after all, the principal surviving form of Irish vernacular sculpture in the 18th and 19th centuries.

In England, the best study of the subject is English Churchyard Memorials, by Frederick Burgess (Lutterworth Press, London, 1963); unfortunately it is out of print.

In Ireland, the subject has been pioneered by Ada K. Longfield (Mrs. H. G. Leask), who was the first to make a systematic study of the main schools of monumental stone-cutting, and to record photographically the best examples. Her findings were published in the 1940s and 1950s in articles in the Journals of the Antiquaries, Kildare and Louth societies. These are summarised and updated in her recent booklet, Some Irish Churchyard Sculpture (Gifford and Craven, Ballycotton, Co. Cork, 1974).

The principal monuments within our churches are dealt with in Dr. Homan Potterton's Irish Church Monuments 1570-1880 (Ulster Architectural Heritage

Society 1975).

In view of the magnitude of the task (there are perhaps five thousand graveyards in Ireland) and the scarcity of field-workers, it is difficult to generalise on the geographical distribution of decorated tombstones. However, it is evident that in large areas of the country, while the lettering may be of high quality, stones with pictorial decoration of any interest are a rarity. The areas in which the most distinguished schools of stone-cutting existed were the following:-

- (1) Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow: Some fine crucifixion scenes, many signed by the stone-cutter. These have been dealt with by Mrs. Leask.
- (2) Louth, east Meath, north Dublin: The standard representation is of an altar with crucifix, candles, angels, &c., but there is a variety of other themes. These too have been dealt with by Mrs. Leask.
- (3) Clogher Diocese: Mortuary symbols (skull, crossbones, coffin, bell &c.), symbols of occupation, and some lively heraldic work. See articles by Finbar McCormack in the Clogher Record, 1976 and 1979.
- (4) West Clare: Large horizontal slabs of the mid-19th century decorated with crucifixion scenes and passion symbols.

EAST WATERFORD

We in east Waterford may be proud of the work of our 18th century stone-cutters. While we had no school of monumental masonry of as high a quality as those mentioned above, our tombstones do have a distinctive decorative style which is more varied and interesting than that prevailing in most of the country.

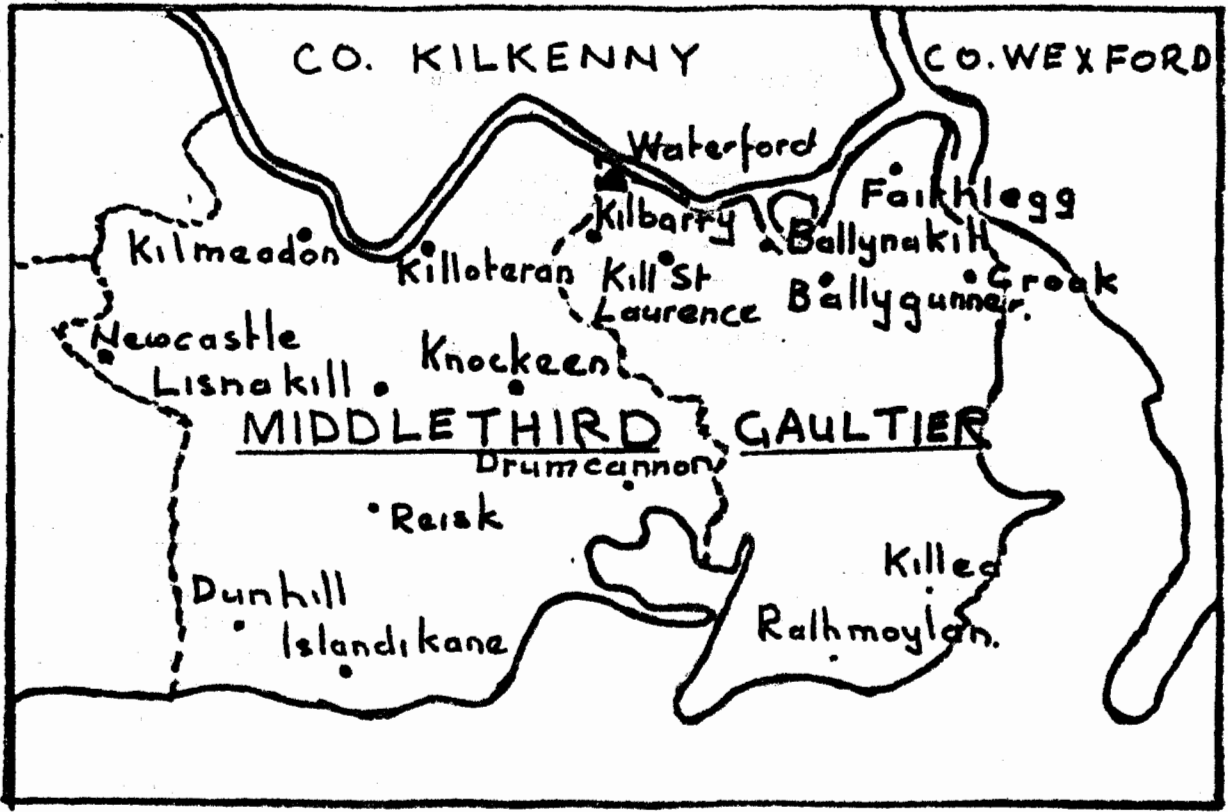
Any visitor to our older graveyards will notice that the commonest form of decoration on the older headstones is a combination of objects associated with our Lord's Passion. This representation of the Passion story by symbols demanded ingenuity not only in the carving but in the selection and spacing of the objects to be depicted. It is very different from the more ambitious crucifixions on Co. Wexford monuments, in which a few symbols are used as a background to the principal scene.

In areas not far to the north and west of us, decoration of this kind is totally absent. What are the territorial limits of the passion-symbol style? Tentatively, I would suggest that the style is confined to east Waterford, south Kilkenny and south Tipperary, though individual monuments of the same kind may be found further afield.

The present study is confined to the areas I have studied in depth, namely the baronies of Gaultier and Middlethird, and Waterford City (except St. John's). Ian Lumley is far better qualified than I am to deal with south Kilkenny. South Tipperary is another day's (or decade's) work.

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MONUMENTS

The ancestry of the passion stones is a respectable one. Medieval carvers depicting on monuments the coats of arms of great families would often include a shield charged with the "heraldry of Christ", i.e. the emblems associated with his Passion. In many parts of the country may be seen great altar-tombs and horizontal slabs ("ledgers") on which these emblems are depicted: the more elaborate monuments might have a whole panel devoted to them. The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (down to Cromwell) were the heyday of this style of carving.



Map Showing Pre-1800 Graveyards in East Waterford.

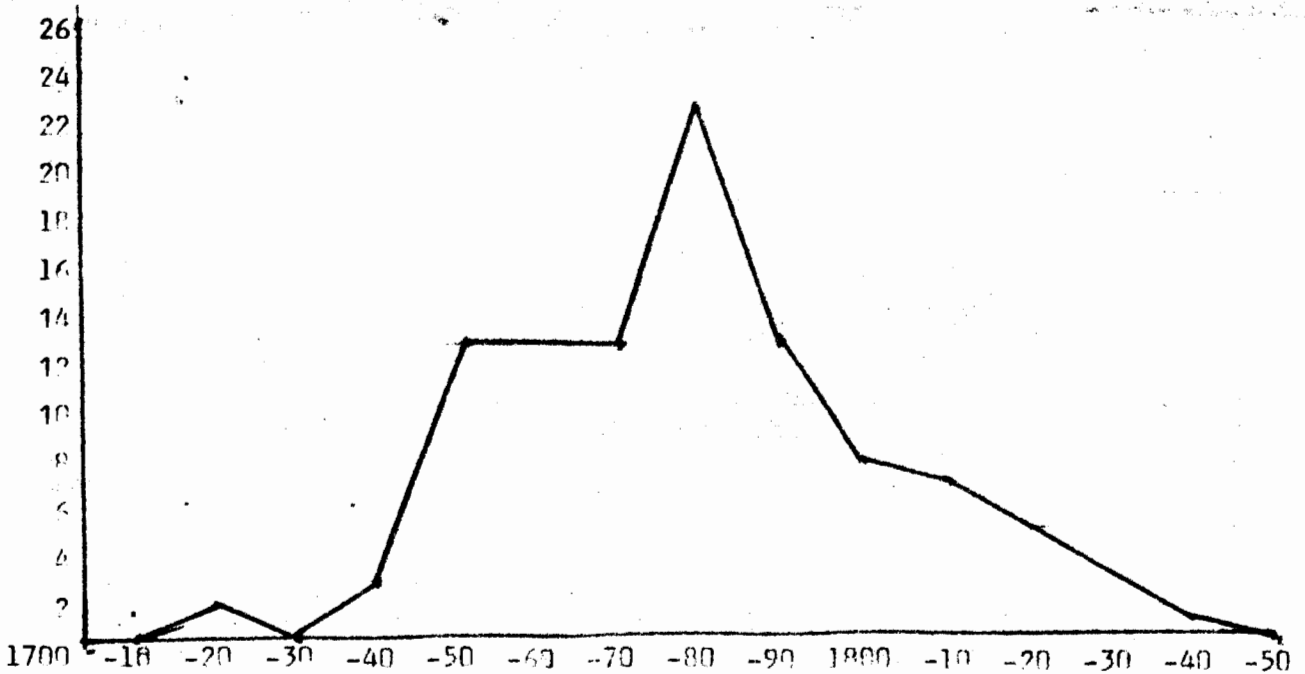


Table 1: Chronological distribution of passion symbols on East Waterford monuments.

In east Waterford there are several monuments of this period bearing passion symbols, and some of them are of outstanding interest. A tomb-slab dated 1582, found recently in St. Michael's churchyard and now in the Corporation yard in Bolton Street, bears a hammer and pincers. An undated fragment at Kill St. Lawrence, commemorating Thomas Convy, also has passion symbols (this stone was later stuck in the ground upside down and used as a headstone!). In the railed enclosure beside Christ Church Cathedral is a rather enigmatic slab, with a Latin inscription round the edge and a large eight-pointed cross in the centre; the extraordinary thing is that the symbols (hammer, nails, ladder) are shown on the nimbus of the cross, instead of beside it. Unfortunately, the stone is rather weathered, and its condition was not improved by reuse in the 18th century. I have failed to decipher the inscription, which is in an unfamiliar lettering, but the stone has been dated on stylistic grounds to the early 16th century.

The monument in the French Church to Thomas Wyse and Mabel Walsh (both died 1604) bears a more conventional representation of the passion-symbols. The Latin inscription round the edge is in Gothic lettering. The centre of the slab is dominated by a cross, above which are the sun and moon, and in the centre of which is shown (as a nimbus) the crown of thorns. To the left of the cross are various symbols, while to the right the letters IHS appear as a monogram; these are the first three letters of the name IESOUS in Greek characters, but at this period would have been taken as standing for "Jesus Hominum Salvator". In base are two shields bearing the arms of the Wyses and the Walshes.

In the remote graveyard of Newcastle, south-west of Kilmeaden, is one of our most remarkable monuments, the tomb of James Ronan of Hacketstown (died 1626), described as "a very celebrated doctor" (medicus celeberrimus) and his wife Anastasia Devrox (died 1614). The mensa (top slab) bears the inscription round the edge in raised Roman capitals, and a large floriated cross. The long side-panel is carved to give the appearance of a colonnade, in the three arches of which are depicted the following emblems:

left: the pillar at which our Lord was scourged, with the ropes that bound him to it; on top of the pillar sits the cock that crowed when St. Peter denied Jesus; two vicious-looking scourges, each with three knotted lashes ending in metal spurs; a palm-branch from Palm Sunday; and two large fan-like objects.

Centre: the cross with crown of thorns; the spear that gashed the side of Christ; the sponge of vinegar on the rod; the ladder with which he was put up on the cross, the hammer that drove in the nails, and the pincers that pulled them out (shown holding three nails); the seamless robe, and the three dice with which the soldiers gambled for it (the winning numbers are here shown as 4, 5, and 6!).

right: St. Veronica displaying her veil, on which can just be seen the face of Christ; the sword with which St. Peter struck off the ear of Malchus the high priest's servant; the ear itself (!); the hand that struck our Lord; and the basin and ewer that contained the water with which Pilate washed his hands.

This fine monument met a strange fate. In about 1815 it was dismantled; the mensa was given a new inscription and laid over the grave of a Mrs. Margaret Flinn; the side and end panels were used to form the box-tomb of a recently deceased parish priest - the side panel (containing the passion symbols) being stuck in the ground upside down and sunk $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface, and the corner broken off to avoid a protruding rock, thereby depriving the unfortunate cock of his head !

A very different arrangement of the passion-symbols appears on the monument erected in 1639 by Christopher Sherlock of Waterford to commemorate himself, his wife Helen Leonard, and his mother Margaret Fagan (later the wife of Sir Richard Shee of Kilkenny). Here the centre-piece is not the cross but the two coats of arms of the two generations of Sherlocks and their wives; the long inscription runs round the edge and then occupies all the remaining space in the centre of the stone; the passion-symbols are relegated to the base, where they are clustered into an area occupying only about a quarter of the monument.

This tomb has also had a strange history. According to her funeral entry, Margaret Fagan was buried in Christ Church Cathedral; yet it was in the French Church that her tombstone was discovered in the 1860s (see WSEAS Jnl., Vol. V., pp.196-198). In March 1900 a rather unsatisfactory photograph of it was published (ibid., Vol VI., Part I, f.p.xii). A rubbing was also made of it by Edmond Walsh Kelly for Sister Mary Berchmans Sherlock. Since then, the stone has completely disappeared!

Also at the French Church, and in no evident danger of disappearance, are the two finest examples of 17th-century monumental art in Waterford. One commemorates Michael Hore (died 1639) and his wife Anastasia Walsh, the other John Skiddy (died 1641) and his wife Joan White (Fig.1); they were almost certainly the work of the same stone-cutter. On both, the inscription runs round the edge in raised Roman capitals, while the dominant feature is a large cross, at each point of which stands one of the letters MRIA (for Maria). One cross has a skull and crossbones at the base, commemorating a somewhat unlikely legend that Christ happened to be crucified over the very spot where Adam was buried; in any case, this neatly symbolised the victory of Christ the "second Adam" over death. The top of the cross is flanked by the sun and the moon (each with a human face), while the base is flanked by the separate arms of husband and wife. The remaining space is taken up by passion-symbols: pillar + ropes + cock; two three-lashed scourges; crown of thorns (shown in one case on a second cross); thirty pieces of silver (running down the shaft of the cross in one case and of the sponge-rod in the other); palm-branch; ladder, hammer and pincers + 3 nails; Peter's sword and Malchus' ear; spear and sponge on rod; basin and ewer; seamless robe and three dice.

These two monuments are fine pieces of work, which must have taken some time to carve and cost a lot of money. Doubtless there were many others of the same quality in Waterford (as in Kilkenny), but which were later destroyed. It says much for the prosperity of these urban communities that they were able to commission such memorials for themselves. Yet within a few years the civilisation of which these monuments are almost the sole artistic remains was swept away for ever in the Cromwellian holocaust.

Symbolic of the disastrous effect of the Puritan revolution on monumental sculpture are two slabs laid beside the east wall of Killoteran church. The first is broken into fragments, some of which are missing, but seems to have commemorated James Fitz John Nugent of Lower Butlerstown, (died 1606) and his wife Catherine Power (died 1614 or 1644). It is decorated in much the same style as the Hore and Skiddy tombs, but with the addition of a pair of hands (those of Christ) and the lantern used at the arrest of Jesus in Gethsemane; at the base of the cross are a skull and crossbones and the words "Memento Mori". Next to this monument is a large slab commemorating the infant daughter (d.1656) of John Cawdron, the first Cromwellian Mayor of Waterford. The inscription is in English and carved very lightly across the centre of the stone; needless to say, there is no decoration whatsoever.

WILLIAM KIDWELL

For over half a century after Cromwell, no monument of any artistic interest was erected in Waterford. Then the situation changed dramatically with the arrival here in 1711 of the foremost monumental sculptor in Ireland: William Kidwell. The purpose of his visit was to erect a memorial in Christ Church Cathedral to Bishop Nathaniel Foy. It may still be seen there, with its lavish coat of arms and skull and crossbones. Of more immediate interest to our subject is that while Kidwell was in Waterford he was commissioned to carve memorials to the heads of two of the old Catholic families who had survived Cromwell: William Dobbyn and Peter Synnott. These tombs now lie beside the Cathedral in the railed enclosure already mentioned. Unfortunately, Synnott's stone has badly weathered, while Dobbyn's (Fig.2) though much clearer, has been split up into several fragments (I recently saw the skull and the crossbones lying around on the cathedral floor).

The two slabs are identical in style: symbols of the passion at the top; then skull and crossbones in separate roundels; then the coat of arms, also in a roundel; then the inscription, in English; at the base "Requiesca(nt) in Pace" and "Kidwell fecit 1711". I know of no other monument on which Kidwell uses passion symbols; none is mentioned in Dr. Homan Potterton's article on his work (Quarterly Bulletin, Irish Georgian Society, XV.3/4, pp.80-124); his only other tomb in east Waterford, that of John Otterington at Kilmeadan, is starkly in keeping with the nonconformist sympathies of his deceased client. It should be noted that Dobbyn and Synnott were both alive when their tombs were made (Synnott died in 1714, Dobbyn not until 1724), and it stands to reason that they would have had some say in the design of the works they had commissioned. The recording of their coats of arms indicates their anxiety to establish their status among their more recently arrived neighbours; it is my belief that the inclusion of passion-symbols was intended to stress their consciousness of descent from the preCromwellian merchant oligarchy of Waterford.

However, Kidwell's treatment of the passion-symbols is far different from that of the pre-1650 stone-cutters. All the symbols are confined within a comparatively small cross-shaped panel. In the centre is a plain cross, behind which are stacked the ladder, the spear, the sponge on the rod, and a fourth object which I have not seen on the earlier stones: a broken staff. I do not know of any episode in the Passion story which could provide the source of this emblem. It is presumably intended as a symbol of death; the prophet Jeremiah's observation on the fall of Moab, if applied in later times to Christ, may be its origin: "All ye that are about him, bemoan him: and all ye that know his name, say: How is the strong staff broken, and the beautiful rod" (Jerh.48.v.17). Beneath one arm of the cross is a long colonnaded building, representing the Temple, matched on the other side by the tomb built on a rock and with the stone removed. Beneath these are, on one side, the scourging-pillar with ropes, a three-lashed scourge, and a fine 18th century-style seamless robe; on the other, the three dice, the crown of thorns, and the hammer and pincers. The two latter are neatly stacked in a two-handled wicker basket, and we may wonder whether this was just a homely touch on the stone-cutter's part, or whether it had profounder significance. If it is a symbol in its own right, this would account for its frequent appearance on stones later in the century, usually containing both hammer and pincers, but sometimes only one of the two, and sometimes empty.

The importance of these two stones cannot be over-emphasised; they provide the link between the monuments of the pre-1650 landowners and merchants and those of the 18th-century Catholic middle classes. When designing them, Kidwell presumably studied the local examples of passion-

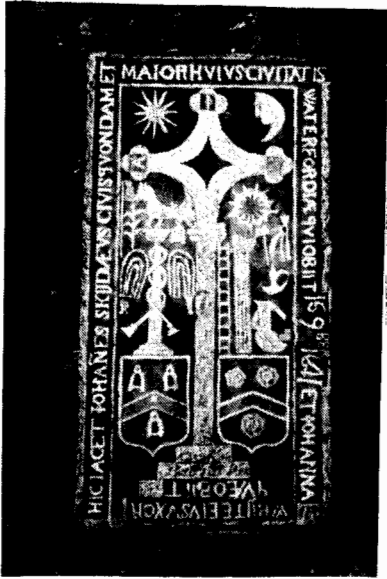


Fig. 1 French Church
John Skiddy, 1641.



Fig. 2 Cathedral.
William Dobbyn. "Kidwell
fecit 1711"



Fig. 3 St. Patrick's.
John Mahony, 1716.



Fig. 4. St. Patrick's. Anstas
Chiven als White, 1717.



Fig 5. Kill St. Lawrence.
Catherine Foaren, c1750
(centre).



Fig. 6. Kill St. Lawrence.
Catherine Foaren, c1750 (left).



Fig. 7. Kill St. Lawrence.
Catherine Foaren, c1750
(right).

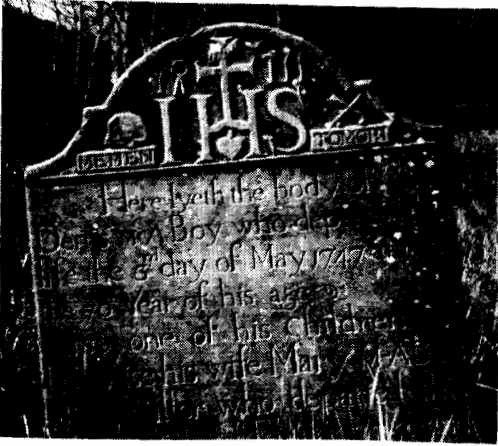


Fig. 8. St. Patrick's. Denis McAboy, 1750.

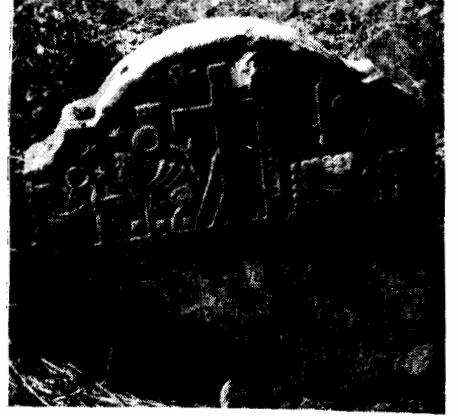


Fig. 9. Kill St. Lawrence. Val Kelly, 1751.



Fig. 10. Reisk. Pierce Power, 1762. "Jno Carew fecit."



Fig. 11. Ballygunner Temple. John Sweetman, 1776.



Fig. 12. Drumcannon. Patrick Mullins, 1781.

symbol carving; but to what extent is the arrangement of the objects his own creation, and to what extent was he relying on sources unknown to us? Whatever the answer, the stylistic influence of Kidwell on local stone-cutters can be seen again and again. In St. Patrick's graveyard are two very obvious examples (beside the path along the south wall of the church), commemorating Catherine Roche alias Tomnery (1739) and Andrew Fitzgerald (1751). Both slabs contain passion-symbols enclosed in a roundel, and the style and layout are very much as on Kidwell's two stones (e.g. the tomb on the rock).

EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HEADSTONES.

These two ledgers date from a generation after Kidwell's visit. In the interval, a major development had taken place in monumental masonry: the increasing popularity of the headstone, and its adoption by a class of people who would never have aspired to the more exalted box-tomb or ledger: the strong farmers and tradesmen. The practice of erecting headstones reached this country from England in the late 17th century, but outside urban areas it is uncommon to find one before about 1740. Early examples were small, and have frequently sunk or been covered with earth. At St. Patrick's, the earliest headstone bears the date 1699/1700; outside the city, the oldest is at Crook and is dated 1717/18. After 1740 headstones began to be erected on a large scale, and today they are by far the most numerous and prominent type of monument in our graveyards. It may be remarked in passing that they had a distinct advantage over the horizontal monuments that continued to be erected by the more exalted classes. The box-tomb or ledger, being exposed to the fury of the elements, could weather quickly unless the stone used was very durable, but the headstone, being placed upright and facing east with its back to the prevailing wind (priests' stones, however, faced west) were so well protected that many are as clear today as when they were first carved. Furthermore, they are much easier to photograph than ledgers, for shortly before noon the sun shines on them from such an oblique angle that the carving shows up very clearly.

Early Waterford headstones were often decorated at the base with a skull and crossbones, of which there are some good examples at St. Patrick's (Fig.3). However, two headstones of this period (also at St. Patrick's) have more ambitious decoration. The first, at the south-west corner of the graveyard, commemorates Anstas White (died 1717), wife of Thomas Chiven from Drogheda (Fig.4). Like the Kidwell stones, it incorporates passion-symbols, coat of arms, skull and crossbones, and inscription, but unlike them all is here squeezed into a very confined space. Of necessity, the number of symbols is more limited. In the centre, we have the cross, spear and sponge on rod; on the left, the crown of thorns and the scourging-pillar, the ropes of which are ingeniously used to bind to the pillar the two three-lashed scourges and what looks like a broken palm-branch; on the right, hammer, pincers, ladder, three nails, and a heart pierced by two swords. Underneath are the arms of Chiven impaling White, surrounded by mantling and flanked by a skull and crossbones. Then follows the inscription in semi-relief Roman capitals. This little monument is an attractive and skilfully executed piece of work, and is in excellent preservation. Close by it is an earlier and less ambitious work by the same carver, commemorating the young son of Michael Sutton, who died in 1715.

THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By the mid-18th century, passion-symbols had become a standard form of decoration on headstones (see Table I). Different carvers displayed varying degrees of originality in the selection, spacing and depiction of the different emblems. We shall take note of some of the more remarkable monuments.

A good starting-point is the memorial to Catherine Foaren at Kill St. Lawrence. (Fig. 5) Unfortunately, only the top part survives, and prolonged search has failed to locate the missing fragments, which include the date; however, an adjacent stone (that of Robert Welsh) is dated 1744 and is probably by the same carver. The passion-symbols are very much in the style of Kidwell: in the centre, cross, ladder, spear, sponge on rod, and broken staff; on the left, scourging-pillar with ropes, three-lashed scourge and seamless robe; on the right, hammer and pincers in basket, three nails, and three dice. Temple and tomb are missing; there was simply no room for them. The whole carving is beautifully clear; we may observe, for instance, the buttons, cuffs and pockets on the robe, the nail-holes on the cross, the wickerwork on the basket, and the dots on the dice (the winning score, in which no doubt further symbolism was intended, was 3-6-5!).

This stone is a particularly fine example of typical mid-18th century passion-carving. Others in the same style may be seen in all our larger old graveyards. In one respect, however, Catherine Foaren's stone is unique; for what most catches the eye is not the passion-symbols but the two objects that flank them: on the left, a ghastly grinning wreathed skull with crossbones (Fig. 6); on the right, a graceful hourglass (Fig.7).

In general, mortuary symbols are absent from the mid-18th-century stones. One carver, however, made them his speciality. I know of four of his stones, all very similar in style, three in St. Patrick's and one at Reisk; the earliest dates from 1743, the latest and best (that of Denis McAboy and his wife Mary Foullor, in St. Patrick's) from 1750, (Fig. 8). In the centre is a +IHS, on the left a skull, on the right crossbones, there are a few passion-symbols, and underneath are the words "Memento Mori".

The number of passion-symbols depicted on headstones of this period varies considerably, but the prize for cramming the largest number of symbols into the available space must surely go to the stone-cutter whose speciality was to include three stars and a crescent moon. Mrs. Leask has recorded examples of his work in Kilsheelan (see Antiquaries Jnl., Vol.84, 1954, pp.173-178, and Some Irish Churchyard Sculpture, pp. 3-5). There are six of his stones in our area:

At Kill St. Lawrence: William Kennedy (1749)

Val Kelly (1751)

David Quin (1756)

At Ballygunner: John Power (1759)

At Reisk: Margaret Burk alias Cahell (1756)

At Kilbarry: Edmond and Margaret Magrath (N.D.; the end

of the inscription, stating that Margaret died in 1773, is a later addition). On all six stones, the style is quite distinctive. There is, for instance, a total disregard for scale, the scourging-pillar being smaller than the hammer-basket and minute compared to the cross. The number of symbols included is amazing, the Temple being the most obvious absentee. The memorial to Val Kelly (Fig. 9) includes: hammer and pincers in basket, pillar with ropes and cock, three dice, scourge, sponge on a rather short rod, three stars and moon, crown of thorns, three nails, broken staff, cup to catch the blood, billet for INRI, cross (an angel above it), spear, ladder, tunic, Peter's sword, Malchus' ear, thirty pieces of silver and an inadequate bag to put them in, and tomb with stone! Some of the "three-star" stones noted by Mrs. Leask show a rather homely carving of our Lord on the cross, but in our area the memorial to David Quin (1756) is the only one to do so (though there is also a very fine example at Fenoagh in Uppertthird barony). Mrs. Leask has pointed out that the inclusion of the three stars, for which there is no obvious symbolic reason, amounts almost to a signature of his work by the craftsman.

JOHN CAREW

Few, alas, are the stones in east Waterford on which the carver has signed his name. The earliest are the ledger of Father Bartholomew Tobin (1736), originally at Kilbarry and now at Ballybricken, and the headstone of Jane Williams (1741) at Kill St. Lawrence; both are signed Quin - unfortunately they are also devoid of interesting decoration.

At Reisk, however, there is a passion-stone of outstanding merit which is signed by the stone-cutter: that of Pierce Power (1762) (Fig.10). This monument attracts one immediately by the depth of the carving and the clarity with which it stands out. Secondly, one is struck by the unusual nature of the design. In the centre is a slender cross with the beam very high up; at its base are the letters IHS. Around it are a select number of symbols: on the left, a very fine robe, pincers, and a drum-shaped basket which should contain (but does not!) the hammer and pincers; on the right, thirty pieces of silver and the scourging-pillar with ropes; below, three dice (winning numbers 3-4-5), ladder, three twisted nails, and claw-hammer. Beneath all this, two angels blow vigorously on trumpets and support a scroll on which is written: "Glory be to God on high &c." Beside the right-hand angel is the legend: "*Ino Carew fecit*".

I know of three very similar stones in east Waterford, those of (1) Mary Dobbyn alias Doyle (1773) at Rathmoylan, in which the scourge is placed in the basket with hammer and pincers; (2) Robert Phealon (1774) at Kilmeadan, on which the tomb is included; and (3) Margaret Cooney and family (1773-1781) at St. Patrick's, on which the angels are missing. All three have the Scroll with the Gloria in English and "&c". None, however, is autographed; perhaps Carew was most proud of the Reisk stone (which is certainly the finest), or perhaps the others were only the work of his pupils.

At Kill St. Lawrence there is another stone bearing John Carew's autograph, that of Nicholas Whelan, clothier (1768). It has the same Gloria scroll; but the subject of the decoration is very different to what we have been studying: it shows a woman weeping beside an enormous urn, with a tomb and a tree in the background.

There would appear to have been a whole dynasty of Carew stone-cutters in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It might be possible to reconstruct their family tree with the aid of the Registry of Deeds and parish registers; meanwhile, the following isolated facts may be of interest. Lucas' Directory (1788) names two stone-cutters in Waterford City, one of whom is John Carew of King St. At Fiddown, the fine memorial to Rebecca Briscoe (1798) is signed "I. Carew" (see Potterton, Irish Church Monuments, p.38). William Carew signs the rather dull headstone of Ann Walsh alias Power (1802) at Knockeen. Matthew Carew signs the headstone of Thomas Coleman of Daragil (1811) at Clonegan (depicting the crucified Christ) and the box-tomb of Roger Cashin at Ballygunner Temple (1816). Pigot's Directory (1820) names three stone-cutters in Waterford City, two of whom are named John Carew, one on the Quay and one at John's Bridge. A John Carew of Waterford who died in 1820 aged 76 is buried in St. Patrick's, but he may be the John Carew listed by Pigot in 1788 as a merchant in William St. Finally, John Edward Carew the sculptor (c1782-1868) is reputed to have been born in Tramore and to have been the son of a local sculptor (Potterton, Monuments, 38-39).

The second stone-cutter listed in Lucas' Directory of 1788 is Mathias Neill of William St. Mathias may have been the son of Henry Neill, who carved the memorial to Benjamin Morris (1743) in Christ Church. (Potterton, op.cit., 73). I know of four stones signed by him. At St. Patrick's he carved the memorials to James Collins and Jane Gill (both 1781), which are decorated with the crests of the deceased. At Drummannon he carved head-

stones to Elizabeth Phelan and her parents (1783), and the family of Edmond Power of Boreenclough (1785). This last monument is decorated with passion-symbols - the only east Waterford passion-stone whose sculptor is known by name, apart from the works of John Carew.

SOME LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PASSION-STONES

We have seen how the carving of passion-symbols became popular in east Waterford from about 1740; the earliest example is the unimaginative and lightly carved memorial to the children of William and Anstice Halpin (1737) at Drumcannon. For a quarter of a century, the popularity of this subject remained constant; then in the 1770s it increased dramatically. The new vogue did not last long, however, and the last twenty years of the century saw a rapid decline in the number of passion-stones being erected (see Fig.1). Nevertheless, some of the most interesting examples date from this period, for instance, the monument at Ballygunner Temple to John Sweetman and his wife (1776), with its exotic depiction of the Temple (Fig.11). Less unusual is the very well preserved headstone of Patrick Mullins of Ballyboy (1781) at Drumcannon (Fig.12).

One of the finest monumental carvings in east Waterford is that of Maurice Condon (1793) at Killea, (Fig.13). It depicts the crucifixion scene, with the crucified Christ, Mary kneeling at the foot of the cross, an angel standing by on the left, and a soldier waving a sword on the right. The symbols included are the cock, ladder, thirty pieces of silver, palm-branch, scourge, nails, pincers, hammer, spear, and a two-handled cup for catching the blood of Christ. Unfortunately, we can hardly claim a Waterford origin for this stone, which belongs stylistically to the great crucifixion-carvings of Wexford.

One of the alien characteristics of the Condon stone is the position of the cock. Our local stone-cutters usually depict the bird on top of the scourging-pillar, but here it is shown on top of a cooking-pot. In other words, the carver was not thinking of the cock crowing when St. Peter denied our Lord, but of an early legend in which Judas Iscariot's wife declared that the cock she was cooking was more likely to fly out of the pot than was Jesus to rise from the dead - whereupon the cock promptly obliged!

I know of only one other instance in east Waterford in which the cock is shown on the pot - the memorial to James Heylin (1751) at Reisk (Fig.14) - and this stone has other peculiarities (e.g., it has three stars, but is not by the three-star artist). But there are also two stones on which the cock is shown on the tomb: those of Luke Flinn and William Carew (1774) at Kilmeadan, and of Edmond Donohue of Ballycasheen (1788) at Drumcannon. This would indicate that some at least of the local carvers were aware of another version of the legend, in which Mary Magdalene visits the tomb on Easter morning and finds a Roman soldier cooking a cock there. The soldier, like Mrs. Judas Iscariot, says the cock is more likely to fly out of the pot than is Jesus to rise from the dead, and the cock dutifully launches into flight crying "Mác an Uaighe slán!" (see Rev. St. J. D. Seymour: "The Cock and the Pot", *Antiquaries Jnl.*, Vol. 51, 1921, pp. 147-151).

Whatever about the performance of the cock, that of the above Edmond Donohue is remarkable for a different reason: he is credited with having died in 1788 at the age of 686!

THEMES UNCONNECTED WITH THE PASSION

Throughout Ireland one occasionally finds stones depicting objects connected with the occupation of the deceased. Claregalway Friary has a particularly fine collection (illustrated in *Memorials Jnl.*, IX). The late Billy English compiled a list of such stones. In east Waterford I only know of three



Fig. 13. Killea. Maurice Condon, 1793.

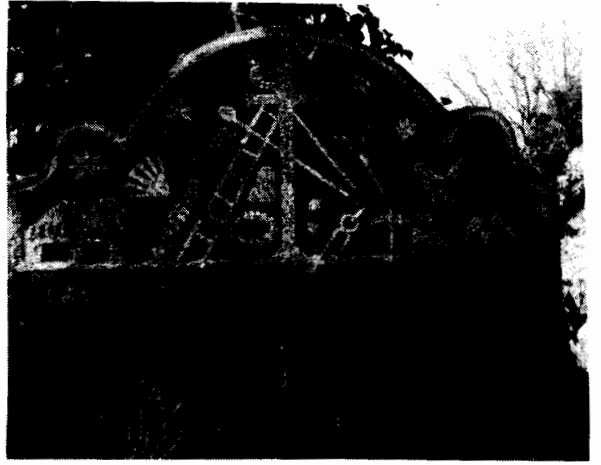


Fig. 14. Reisk. James Heylin, 1751.



Fig. 15. Kill St. Lawrence. Michael Mannan, 1767.

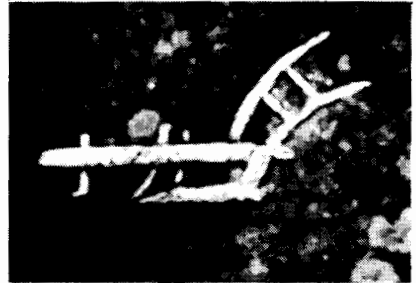


Fig. 16 Kilbarry. Richard Phelan, 1792 (reverse).

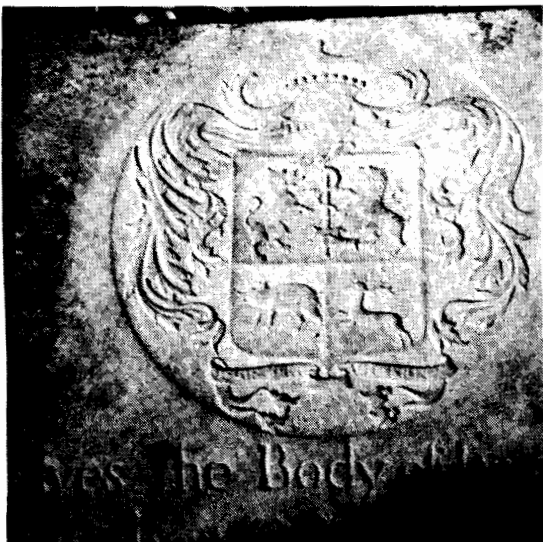


Fig. 17. Reisk. James O Sullevan of Ballylegat, 1738.

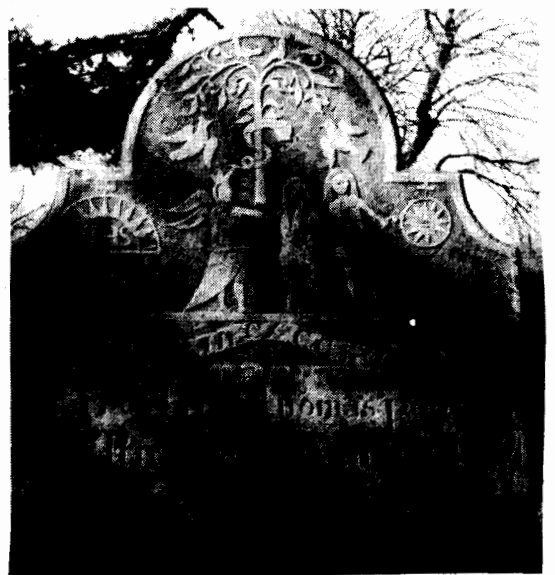


Fig. 18. Reisk. Thomas Pour and Richard Heran, 1791.

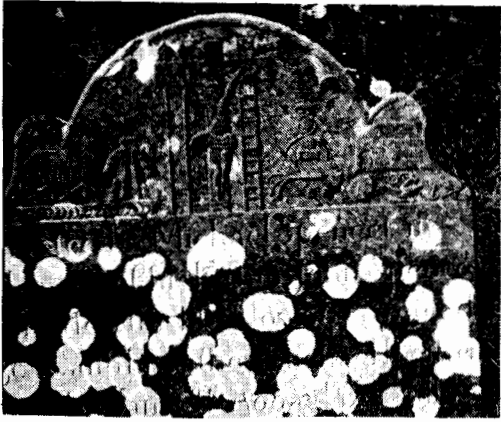


Fig. 19. Killea. Michael Spencer, 1811.



Fig. 20. Crook. Elenor Rocket, 1822.

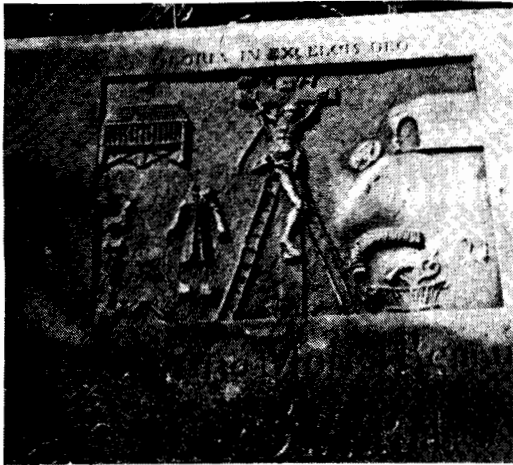


Fig. 21 Lisnaskill. Abigail Power and Anthony, 1814.

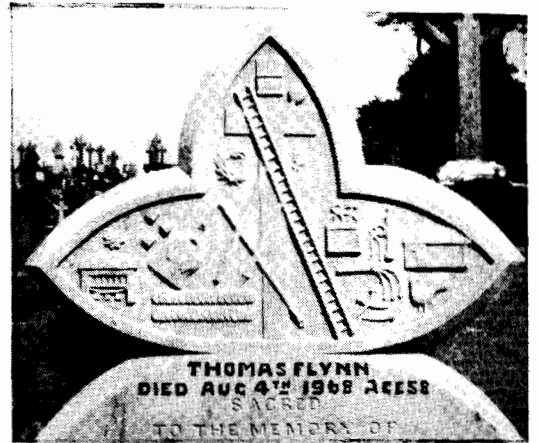


Fig. 22. Ballygunner (new). John Power of High St., 1863-83.



Fig. 23. Reisk. John Connely, 1810.



Fig. 24. Islandikane. John Rocket, 1812.

stones bearing occupational symbols. The earliest and most puzzling is the small headstone at Kill St. Lawrence commemorating the children of Michael Mannan (1767), on which are lightly incised hammers, dividers, a set-square, and a mysterious object which has been identified as a coil of rope, (Fig.15). At Faithlegg, a ship in full sail is carved (all too lightly) on the monument of Captain (i.e., of a fishing-vessel) Thomas Mullowney (1779). And at Kilbarry, the memorial to Richard Phelan, farmer (1792), has a plough on the reverse side. (Fig. 16).

The tombs of the more exalted individuals often bear the family coat of arms. One of our earliest and finest examples is the monument at Reisk to the O Sullevans of Ballylegat (1738), (Fig. 17). Unfortunately, the 18th century was not a time of accuracy in heraldry, and while this interesting family claimed descent from O Sullivan Beara, they are here given the arms of the other sept of the name, O Sullivan Mor !

Perhaps the most interesting headstone in east Waterford - certainly my favourite - is that of Thomas Pour and Richard Heran (1791) at Reisk, (Fig. 18). It depicts, not the Passion, but the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. At the top is the Tree of Knowledge, complete with leaves and fruit; two birds of Paradise repose in its branches, while two more fly towards it; the Serpent is coiled around its trunk, and his grotesquely enlarged face grimaces out at us. Below this, an angel with drawn sword thrusts the offending pair from the garden; Adam's right hand is raised to his head in a gesture of shame, while his left reaches anxiously for his figleaf. Eve, defiant to the last, clutches an apple-core in one hand and with the other indicates the Serpent, who is depicted a second time crawling away on his belly. To Eve's right is a representation of the sun, balanced on the other side by a curious symbol enclosing the letters IHS. The whole dramatic scene is executed with confidence and skill. Unfortunately there is no indication why this rare (but not unique) subject was chosen to commemorate these particular deceased. There is no other monument like it in east Waterford, nor do we know the stone-cutter's identity; however, his many spelling mistakes (e.g., "excelcis") may provide a clue if they occur on a signed stone.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY PASSION-STONES

The decline in the number of passion-stones in the late 18th century continued into the 19th until the genre became virtually extinct. The last of the series are two stones at Newcastle dating from the early 1830s. By this time, the Catholic rural middle classes were abandoning their old burial-places in favour of the graveyards surrounding their new churches, and no doubt they preferred a more sophisticated and less rustic style of decoration on their monuments. More's the pity.

The memorial to Michael Spencer (1811) at Killea illustrates the shift away from vernacular carving, (Fig.19). Not only is the execution more sophisticated, but the figure of Christ on the cross dominates the surrounding emblems. Soon one finds headstones on which only the crucified Lord is shown, as on that of Elenor Rockett (1822) at Crook, (Fig.20).

Of the few early 19th-century passion-stones, the majority are uninteresting and lightly carved. There are honourable exceptions as for instance the monument erected at Ballynakill by Edmond Hayes of Kilbride (1817). The most remarkable is on the large box-tomb at Lisnakill of Abigail Power alias Anthony and her family (1810-1836: the monument was probably erected in or soon after 1814) (Fig.21). The cutting is deep and each object is carved with great clarity and individuality. In the centre is Christ on the cross, with the ladder, spear, sponge on rod and broken staff. On either side are the Temple and the tomb, but the Temple (shown as a wooden building on stilts)

has a star over it, so that the carver may have intended it to be the stable at Bethlehem. In his depiction of the other symbols, while using earlier models, he has maintained very much his own style.

The second half of the 19th century saw the increase of mass-produced tombstones and a decline in standards of lettering and decoration, not to mention the adoption of mawkish sentimentality. But one stone-cutter working for the firm of Kennedy's of Waterford remained true to the old ways, depicting passion-symbols on the trefoil-shaped tops of a number of large headstones to prosperous Catholic families. There are several good examples of his work, for instance the monument of John Power of High St. and his family (1863-1883) at Ballygunner. (Fig. 22).

The late 19th century also saw the introduction of the most ostentatious kind of monument in our graveyards, the neo-Celtic high cross. This is not a genre with which I have particularly concerned myself, but we have in east Waterford one outstandingly fine example, the McEnery cross at Ballygunner, by O'Shea's of Callan (1885). Not only does it have the majestic dimensions that the subject demands, but its western face is lavishly adorned with Celtic intertwinings, including dragons and serpents, animals and birds.

SOME OTHER EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY MONUMENTS.

While most early 19th century monuments are devoid of any interesting decoration, there are also a few so unusual as to be almost bizarre. We conclude with a consideration of these.

At Rathmoylan is the memorial erected by Nicholas Power to his wife Easter Sleacin and his father (1810). In the centre is an ordinary leaf-edged IHS and the Power crest. To the left is carved the bust of a woman. This could be a portrait of the deceased, but I am at a loss to explain the carving on the opposite side, which shows a naked youth, his right hand pressed to his face in a gesture of grief, while from his left hand there trails what looks like a mop or broom!

At Reisk, the headstone of John Connely of Monmohogue (1810) (Fig. 23) looks from a distance as if it is merely decorated with the letters IHS surrounded by rays, foliage and "Gloria in excelsis Deo". A closer examination, however, shows figures and objects, very lightly incised, inserted in almost every available space. The more carefully one looks, the more passion-symbols one can see; but it is the carvings at the ends of the "Gloria" scroll that cause the most surprise. There are two kneeling figures who appear to be praying; underneath one is a nude angel in full flight blowing a trumpet; underneath the other is a creature that looks like a large dog but is probably intended to be the Lamb of God - a sheep in wolf's clothing?

At Islandikane, the headstone of John Rocket of Garrices (Garrarus?) (1812) (Fig. 14) has an unusual crucifixion scene (unfortunately very badly weathered), showing our Lord on the cross flanked by our Lady and St. John. This is surrounded by acanthus leaves and the slogan "In hoc signo vinces". Underneath is a weird animal obviously meant to be the Lamb of God, whose head is turned back and who is carrying a banner on which are (or were) the words "Agnus Dei" (cf. a similar figure, more clearly cut, on the headstone of Thomas Cain, 1807, at Lisnakill). On either side of the centrepiece are two beings who look as if they had escaped from an Egyptian tomb.

At Reisk, the headstone of William and Catherine Murphy of Dunmore (Fig. 25) has as its most prominent feature the sun in its glory, its little face positively bursting with vigour.

At Faithlegg, the stone of Nicholas Power of Dungarvan (1829) depicts an altar surrounded by the named figures of St. Peter and St. Paul and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. It is almost certainly by Kehoe of Marley, examples of whose work are to be found at St. Mullins (see Leask, Antiquaries Jnl., Vol. 77, 1947, pp.1-4, and Some Irish Churchyard Sculpture, 25-26).

Near the west end of Kill St. Lawrence graveyard is a curious stone which bears no name or date. It faces west, and is badly entangled in tree-roots. On it are the initials A.T., a sun in glory with a human face, three trumpeting angels, a plain cross and the motto "In hoc signo vinces". Around the top are the ominous words: "Arise ye dead and come to judgement" !

Finally, also at Kill St. Lawrence is a small headstone bearing the letters IHS and leafy patterns. It is of interest as apparently commemorating the little son of the stone-cutter himself. The message, brief but touching, runs:

"I need no pity, no sin I knew.
Parents, death called me to intercede with God for you.
Francis Scully ag 3 yrs. Michael Scully fecit."

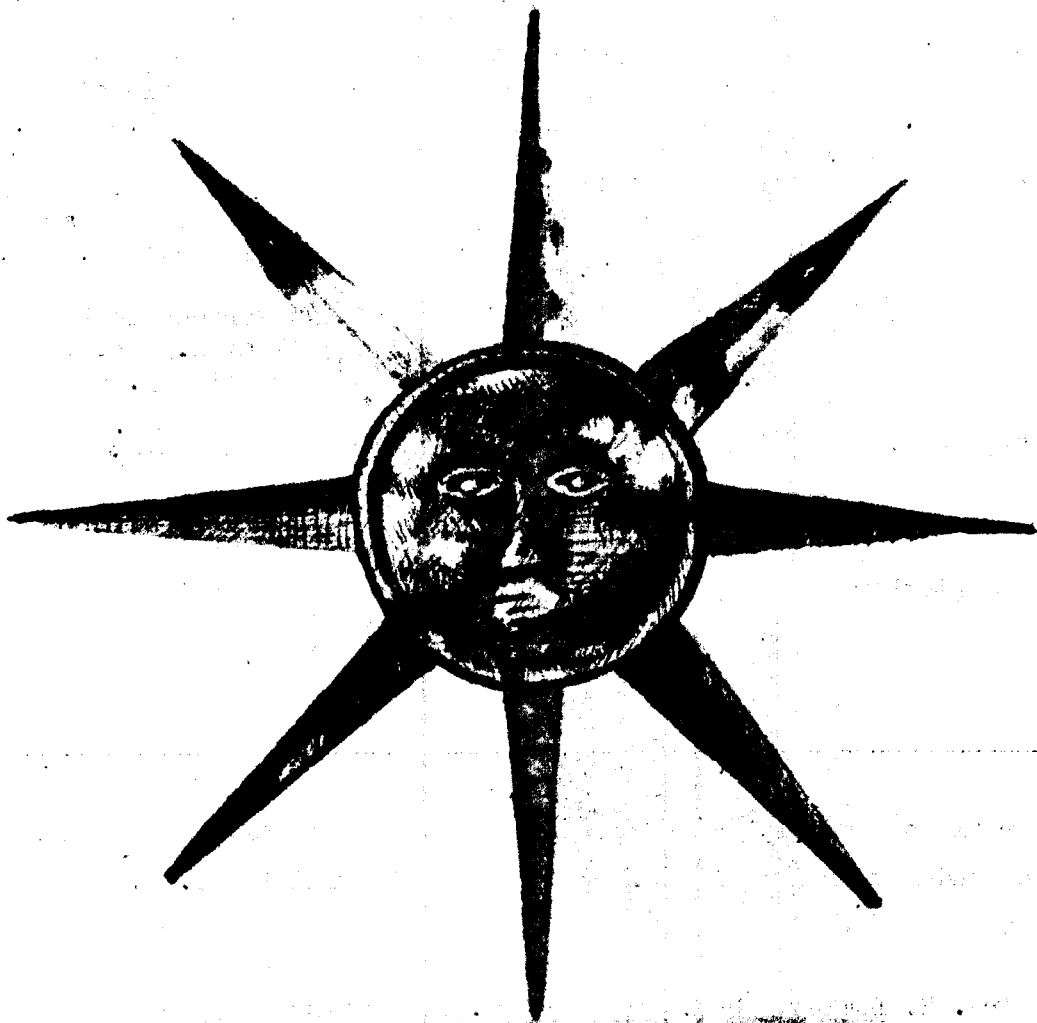


Fig. 25 Reisk, William and Mary Murphy of Dunmore 1824 (Drawn by Michael Hendry).

OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

PROGRAMME FOR JUNE TO SEPT. 1980.

- Sunday, June 15th : Coach trip to Castletown House and Maynooth. Conducted by Hon. Desmond Guinness and Mons. Michael Olden.
(Details on separate notice sent to members).
- Sunday, July 6th : Visit to Tybroughney Castle and Clonegam Tower. Conducted by Mr. Frank Heylin. Departure from City Hall 2.30 p.m. to assemble at Tybroughney at 3.00 p.m.
- Thursday, July 17th : Visit to Harristown (Co. Waterford) and Kilmacomb. Departure from City Hall 7.30 p.m.
- Sunday, July 27th : Visit to Fethard (Co. Tipperary), conducted by Fr. Sean O'Doherty. Assemble at Augustinian Church, Fethard at 3.30 p.m.
- Sunday, August 24th : Visit to Gowran and Dungarvan (Co. Kilkenny), conducted by Mr. Conleth Manning (Board of Works). Departure from City Hall 2.30 p.m.
- Sunday, Sept. 7th : Visit to Kilsheelan and Gorteen le Poer. Departure from City Hall at 2.30 p.m. to assemble at grotto, Kilsheelan 3.15 p.m.
- Friday, Sept. 19th : Lecture by Dr. Maurice Craig entitled "Medium sized Houses in Ireland, 1700 to 1900". In Teachers' Centre, 31, The Mall at 8.00 p.m.
- Late September : Publication of DECIES 15, an index issue to numbers 1 to 14. This will be sent post free to members of the society.
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Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. The sub. for calendar year 1980 is £2.50; for 1981 it will be £3.00. Please send to:

Mrs. R. Lumley, (Hon. Treasurer O.W.S), Daisy Terrace, Waterford.