

*Old Waterford Society*

# DECIES

XIX

JANUARY 1982



*Leabairtanna Comraoibí Pobláinse*

DECIES

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(Part II of "A 19th Century French Traveller's visit to Waterford"  
by Dr. Holt will appear in DECIES XX, May 1982)

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COVER

Messrs. T.J. Moran's employees working on Waterford Corporation contract 1930.

EDITORIAL

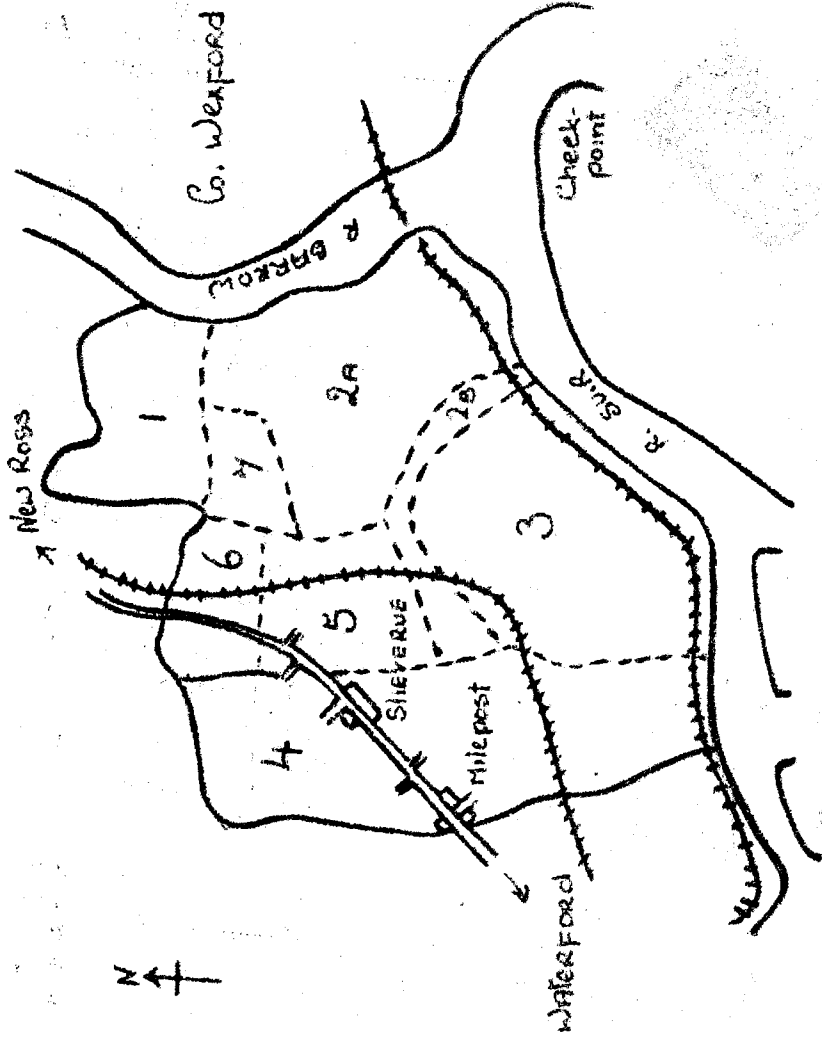
"Middle - aged, middle-class, and middle-browed" is a description of the OWS that would rightly incur disfavour in our ranks. In recent years the Society has shown considerable flexibility and capacity for innovation. This much is reflected in the growth of membership, and the steady improvement in the content and format of Decies. Nevertheless, it is timely to remind ourselves that the OWS has yet to achieve the recognition it deserves from the people of Waterford. Continued advance is vital, and to this end three aspects of the Society might be reviewed.

Firstly, if the OWS is to have a greater social impact it is imperative that an intellectual cohesion be promoted within it. The OWS can survive, but hardly thrive, as a passive receptacle of historical opinion. As the guardians of curiosity about our past, its members not only have an important role to play in the promotion of historical debate and scholarship, but have a civic duty to discharge that function. A collective effort in this regard can forge a sharper awareness of the Society's own identity. This in turn should encourage a more aggressive spirit, transforming an essentially static relationship between individuals into a movement for history. An assertive self-perception of this kind is a pre-condition of success in the field of public relations. The Society needs a stronger image.

Secondly, our activities, lectures, outings, publications, must become the instruments of advancement. Decies has a special part to play, both as a means of infusing fresh ideas and approaches, and as a way of projecting our cachet beyond the membership. Accordingly, the journal should offer a forum for debate on the idea of local history; and not just its method, but also its philosophy and aims. A more appealing format needs to be devised, one which can go some way towards accommodating the demands of a non-specialised readership, whilst maintaining the usual scholarly standards. This issue takes a modest step in that direction with the inclusion of the first ever oral history feature in a journal of this kind, and an essay in review that competently ventures into the realm of academic criticism.

Thirdly, if the Society's objectives are to be realised, then ways of expressing our concern must be pursued and determined. Former editors have very correctly highlighted issues which the OWS should take up as a matter of urgency; the preservation of records and buildings of historical interest, the collecting of oral history, the provision of an archives centre. To effectively articulate our standpoint on these and other questions the OWS warrants representation on local statutory and voluntary committees. That in turn will depend not merely on members' commitment, but also on their ability to formulate a "certain idea of Waterford", a viewpoint on the locality, and on the purpose of its most prestigious historical society.

Finally, one measure of the Society's advance must be recorded; namely that this editor could look forward to Decies XLIX with a minimum of anxiety. For this pleasant experience thanks are particularly due to Noel Cassidy, Des Cowman, and Thomas Power, but no less to all those who have been involved in the production and distribution of this issue.



The Civil Parish of Rathpatrick (SIEVERUE)

Barony of Ida, County Kilkenny.

Townlands: 1 Ballinlaw; 2 Drumdowney, (A, Upper & Lower);  
 3 Gorteen; 4 Kilmurray; 5 Rathpatrick; 6 Luffany;  
 7 Muataghstown.

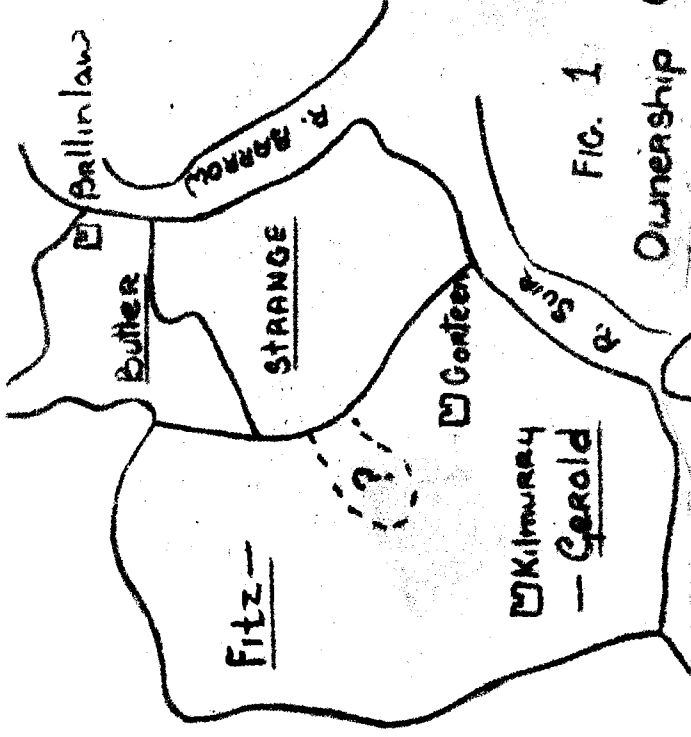


FIG. 1

Ownership C. 1600

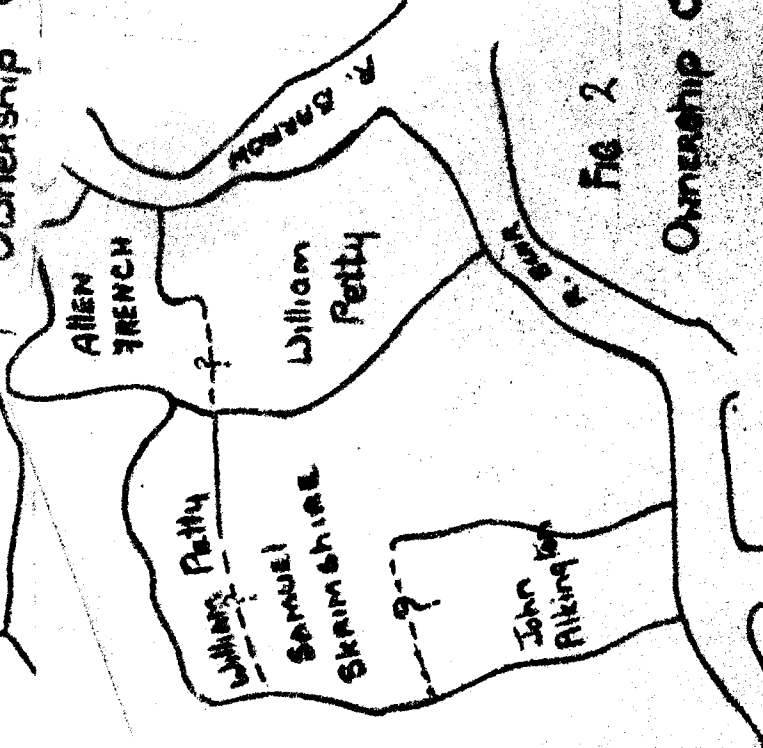


FIG. 2

Ownership C. 1700

THE CIVIL PARISH OF RATHPATRICK IN THE 19th CENTURY.\*

by Des Cowman.

INTRODUCTION:

The parish of Rathpatrick was once a very strategic location known simply as Cumar (Comar Tri nUisce - Meeting of three rivers) and features in the Annals as the corner of Ossory and the edge of Munster.<sup>1</sup> When the Deisi had fled from Meath and were pursued southwards they wound up trapped here by the forces of the King of Ossory. He is said to have viewed their encampment and exclaimed, "There are a thousand houses and a thousand smoking fires", thus giving the area a new name Mile nDeatach (a thousand smokes) or Mileadach. Anyway, he attacked them, driving them west along the Suir until they found a crossing point into what is now Waterford.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, St. Patrick also had arrived here, on his way to visit St. Kieran according to an unlikely 19th century tradition, and decided to build a church on top of a hill (Drumdowney ?) but became discouraged with the area after a local woman had made him a stew in which the major ingredient was a yellow dog!<sup>3</sup> However, it happened, the name Patrick remained and presumably the church which he is credited with acquired a rath, as was quite common. The most likely site for this would have been on Drumdowney hill which was apparently originally known as Rathpatrick.<sup>4</sup>

Drumdowney would also have been seen as a site of strategic importance to the Normans and it is likely that they placed a motte or even a castle here dominating the two estuaries. While I've found no documentary evidence for this, the most likely site is significantly known locally as "Castle John". Both church and castle may well have been wiped out during the plagues and warfare of the 14th century leaving only tradition behind.<sup>5</sup> In the case of the church this tradition may be enshrined in the name by which the area has been known since the early 15th century - Drum Domhnaigh, the hill of Sunday (worship).

The late 15th and earlier 16th centuries were times of general reorganisation in Ireland, and it may have been then that the nuns of Kilculiheen decided to re-establish a church in Rathpatrick, though in a less conspicuous position. Certainly the nuns had a right to most of the tithes here,<sup>6</sup> and from John O'Donovan's inspection of the ruins here he assumes them to be post 14th century.<sup>7</sup> The actual parish boundaries would have been based on the lands ruled from the destroyed castle. Most of Ossory and much else besides had, of course, been granted to the Butlers of Ormond. In 1431 they decided to re-establish their presence here by having erected three fortified houses, "stiff and staunch", construction to be done by William and Shane O'Crechane.<sup>8</sup> The exact location of these is not given, but presumably these were tower houses typical of the period, one was at Ballinlaw, another at Gurteens and the third at a place variously spelled Colefeagh, Cowillfeagh, Cowillesfeagh or Cowlefey.<sup>9</sup> This is seems was built near a well named after the Virgin - Tobar Muire. An oratory connected with the castle was similarly named - Cill Muire. Gradually the castle and accompanying lands came to be called Cill Muire which by the early 17th century was an accepted name for the town-land now called Kilmurry.<sup>10</sup>

\*The origin of this article was a talk given by the author at Eigse Sliabhruie on the 6th November, 1981 where it was pointed out that this was not intended as a comprehensive history of the parish but a study based on a limited range of sources.

It is not clear to whom these three castles were granted in the 15th century but by the end of the next century Ballinlaw seems to have been in the hands of the Archdeacon family (also called McCody) while the other two were held by Fitzgeralds<sup>11</sup> about whom little appears to be known.<sup>12</sup> Then by the early 17th century a Richard Butler seems to have acquired Murtaghstown and Richard Strange held possession of Drumdowney<sup>13</sup> while his tenants disputed the right of Fitzgerald of Gorteens to have a mill-pond on their land.<sup>14</sup> However, the castles themselves seem to have become irrelevancies as they were not strategically located and were vulnerable to artillery. It is possible that by 1600 they had ceased to be the chief residences of the landowners.<sup>15</sup> The ordinary people of Rathpatrick meanwhile lived in farm clusters - the names of which have survived - Ballyvally, Ballyboy, Ballyone, Ballyntaggart, Ballyandryne (in Kilmurray) and Ballyvooly (in Luffany).<sup>16</sup> The social focus for the year was the great fair of Kilmurray held from 21st to 23rd of May.<sup>17</sup>

These fairs continued into the 18th century and from 1744 it seems that the area had become prosperous enough for four lots of three day fairs to be held in March, July, September and December.<sup>18</sup> By then, of course, a dramatic change of land ownership had taken place in the years following Cromwell's visit. Fig. 2 shows landownership here as recorded about 1700<sup>19</sup> but it is clear that a whole series of sales and leasing arrangements took place over the next hundred years so that by the early 19th century a most complex landholding pattern had emerged.

#### Landowners and Tenants:

We may judge the complexity of landownership in Rathpatrick from the fact that even John O'Donovan who knew the parish well seems to have accepted a gross simplification of the actual position. Fig. 3 represents the situation which he thought to be true:<sup>20</sup> by using the additional evidence of the tithe<sup>21</sup> and valuation<sup>22</sup> statistics, the following account for each townland seems nearer the actual situation.<sup>23</sup> In using the phrase "Landowner" we may often be dealing with someone who had a very long lease. Further research may indicate whether the many changes in such "ownership" in the fifteen years from 1835 was due to coincidental factors such as families dying out, or that the Encumbered Estates act was being used to sell mortgaged land.

Ballinlaw - It is difficult to make out who actually owned this townland as three names are mentioned in connection with it. Possibly the chief landlord was Lord Ormond who may have let it on a 100 year lease to William Kearney who may in turn have sublet most of it to Lady Esmond and the rest of it to a number of small-holders.

Drumdowney - The two parts of this townland were also held by William Kearney having reportedly been purchased outright from Lord Ormond or from the Snow family, who had apparently sold their lease in about 1770.<sup>24</sup> One of the Snows lived in Larkfield House in Kilmurray while retaining some interest at least to the demesne of their old house at Snow Hill. By the early 19th century however it, and a large part of the townland, were held in leasehold by the Power family the head of whom was known locally as "Niocolas Garbh".<sup>25</sup> Either he or Kearney let the rest of the townland out in smaller holdings and some of these may have been in turn sublet. By 1850, however, it seems Kearney sold his lease to Henry Bolton of Waterford who retained the same tenants. There was also a village of Drumdowney comprising

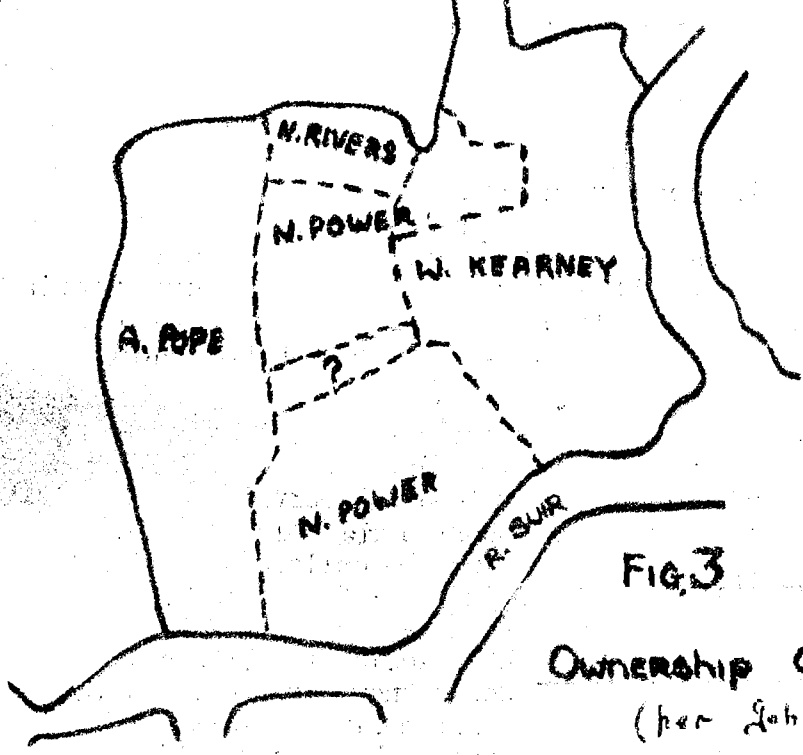


FIG. 3

Ownership c. 1830  
(per John O'Donovan)

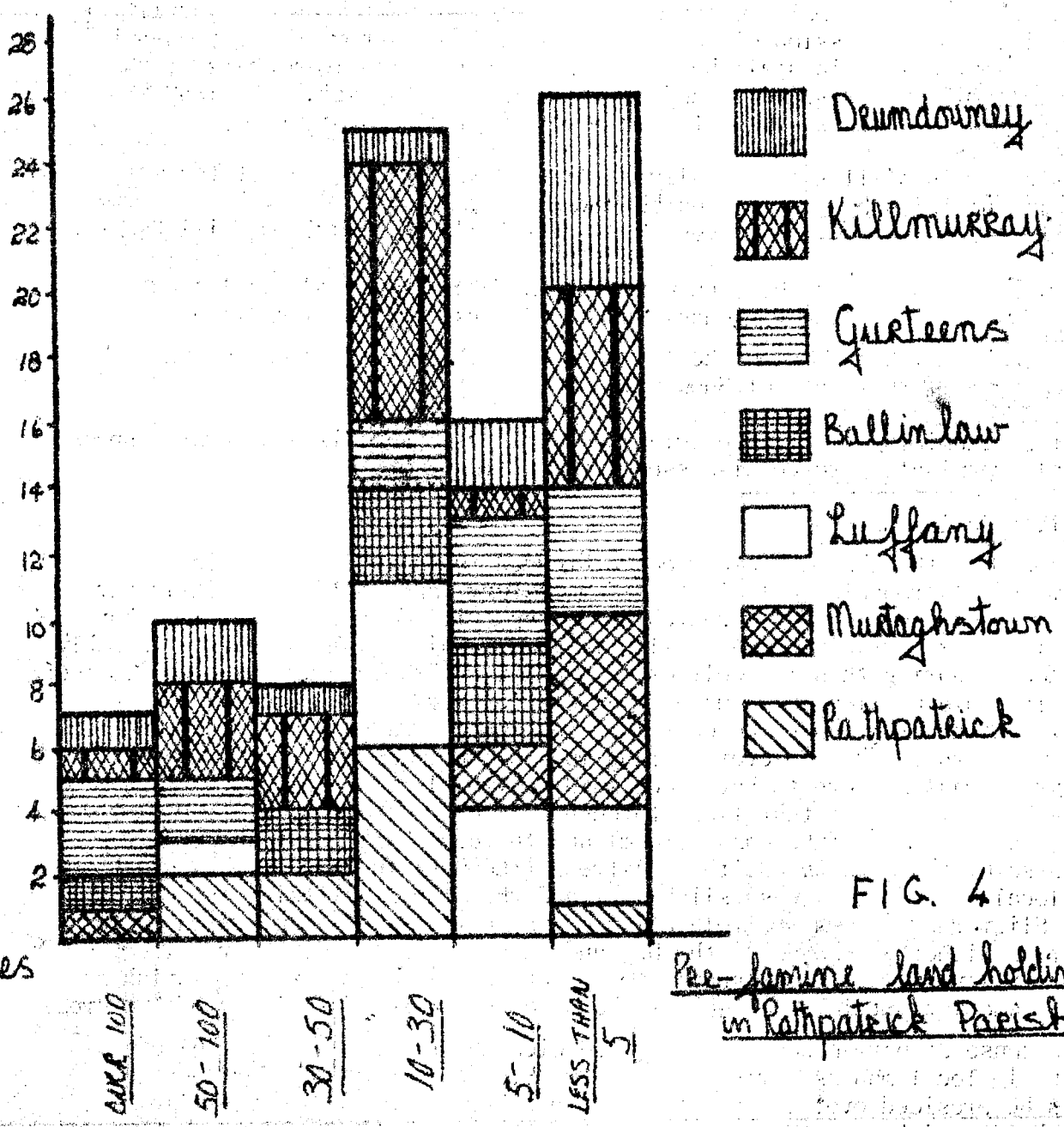


FIG. 4

Pre-famine land holdings  
in Rathpateck Parish

"about eleven houses which are in good repair".

Gorteens - Niocolas Garbh Power also held this having, it seems purchased it outright. Most of this it seems he let out in substantial holdings to John Hackett who lived at Glass House, Patrick Power who lived at Bellevue and the absentee Mrs. Mansfield who sublet her 400 acres among 15 smallholders.

Kilmurray - This too would have appeared to have been purchased outright by the Pope family (presumably the shipbuilders of Ferrybank). Apart from the 123 acres leased by Major Snow of Larkfield (part sublet to four tenants) Gervaise Giles and Sir Simon Newport also resident here, some other substantial holdings would appear to have been held by absentees such as Samuel King who collected most rents around Slieverue. Other smaller farms here were held in the 1830s by other unlikely people (at least to judge from their names) - Liddy, Tynan, Tyrell, Thomson, Stone, Belcher, McClean, Ivie and Patten. What social significance should be attached to these planter sounding names I don't know nor can I explain how there were only two of them left by 1850. Most other medium to small farmers in Kilmurray as in the rest of the parish had names which one would associate with this area.

Luffany - By 1835 this small townland ("flat and wet and of middling quality") had come into the possession of Joseph Rivers of Tybroughney, Carrick-on-Suir<sup>26</sup> and was let out mainly in small holdings of about 10 acres to members of the Fitzgerald family who also held land in adjoining Rathpatrick. By 1850 however Luffany was either sublet to, or bought by Thomas Kearney.

Murtaghstown was still known locally as Baile Muirceartaig and it too was owned in the 1830s by Niocolas Garbh Power but was let to Patrick Foley and to six smallholders. By 1850 these had a new landlord - David O'Neill Power.

Rathpatrick - This too had been purchased by Nicolas Power and was let out in the 1830s mainly to ten reasonable sized farmers with a few small holdings.

By 1850 another Nicholas owned the townland but I think he was one of the Bellevue Powers rather than of Snow Hill.

Before examining the agricultural scene further there is a separate aspect of social organisation to be discussed - the ecclesiastical.

#### The Civil & Religious Parish:

As we have seen the church whose weed-enshrouded ruins still stands in Rathpatrick was probably built in the 15th century, and would most likely have continued in use as the parish church for Rathpatrick down to the Elizabethan reformation. Reportedly it was still "in good repair" in 1615<sup>27</sup> but presumably was abandoned during the difficulties of the later 17th century and once its roof fell in it could no longer be used. Some priests may have returned to the original site at Drumdowney and certainly in 1704 a Fr. James Ryan was reported to be living there.<sup>28</sup> However, during much of the penal period of the early 18th century mass appears to have been said discretely in a bog on the west of the parish. The stream that flows through the bog was known until recently as Dabhac an Aifrean<sup>29</sup> (the mass stream) and the crossable point at which the people assembled was known as Ath an Aifrean (the mass ford).<sup>30</sup> I suspect that a local word for bog was "sliabh"<sup>31</sup> and the redness of this gave the name spelled Slieverue. With the relaxation of the penal laws a new church could be built on higher ground above the bog and this was done by the early 1760s.<sup>32</sup> The name Slieverue also was applied to this church as well as to the parish so that the name Rathpatrick came only to be used as a civil definition of the area.

The sense of permanence was completed with the appointment in 1764 of a remarkable local man as parish priest, Dr. Stephen Lower, and for the next 36 years he presided over the parish. He had been a convert to Catholicism when such was neither common nor popular and had got his doctorate in Louvain.<sup>33</sup>



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The parish records which he meticulously kept are the second oldest such in the country.<sup>34</sup> He was responsible for acquiring a new church but did not live to see the new church open as he died in January 1800. He seems to have been raised to instant sainthood by his parishioners, and according to a local ballad miracles were attributed to him.<sup>35</sup>

Before dealing with the church in the 19th century, we'll go back to look at the question of tithes. While these, theoretically, were for the upkeep of the Established Church as we have seen, much of Rathpatrick's tithes went into the coffers of Waterford Corporation, and these they used to auction off. In 1685, for instance, John Snow of Snow Hill -paid £26-10/- to the Corporation for the right to take about one fifteenth of all crops grown in the parish. In fact he may have bid too high as he didn't take it again and over the following years an alderman of the corporation, Michael Head, procured them for £20 p.a. This money represented about 70% of the tithes from Rathpatrick, the remainder being supposed to go to the support of a curate or vicar here. Of course there was none, but Waterford Corporation appear to have acquired the right to nominate a recipient for the remaining money, (about £14).<sup>36</sup> By the end of the 18th century these tithes had increased greatly in value as the price of corn increased so that by 1802 the rector's tithes which had been auctioned off for £20 p.a. a hundred years earlier were now let on a 31 year lease for £96 p.a. plus a downpayment of £384 to Thomas Fitzgerald and Maunsell Bowers. By then too a rector had been nominated to the parish and his portion of the tithes was valued at £66-9-2d but he had sublet these out to four individuals (local men to judge from their names - Grant, Walsh, Hallaghan and Whelan).<sup>37</sup> In 1833 this entire extortionist hierarchy was at length swept away when tithe payment were made the responsibility of landlords. While these did pass them on in higher rent charges on their tenants, at least farmers were no longer being subjected each Autumn to the blatant injustice of having one tenth of their crops taken. The landlords did not find it onerous until later in the century when, not only were their rents restricted by land courts, but the price of corn dropped dramatically due to cheap imports from the American prairies. In 1889 three local landlords, Nicholas Power, Paul Power and Paul Anderson formally posted appeals on church doors and eventually had their £100-0-11½d tithe payments reduced to £58-16-1½ in line with corn prices.<sup>38</sup>

To return to the early 19th century: this was a time of reorganisation and "modernization" in the Catholic church. Such a modernizer was the Rev. John Fitzpatrick, P.P. between 1806 and 1836<sup>39</sup> who would have been responsible for implementing an episcopal ban on wakes and the rituals connected with them.<sup>40</sup> He also banned the pattern held at Kilmurray well every Lady Day even though his distinguished predecessor, Dr. Lower, used to say mass there. John O'Donovan remembered this banning and commented: "The Rev. John FitzPatrick was a great admirer of modern civilization and not at all given to superstition - unless as far as he could make use of it to make the people pay him his dues".<sup>41</sup> Not that the said cleric was faced with starvation as the land records show him as a holder of thirty acres of good land which he presumably farmed.<sup>42</sup>

One other aspect of life here that fell within ecclesiastical authority from about 1840 was that of education. Sometime around 1800 a school had been established here "by the gentlemen of the parish", which by 1821 had 98 pupils, 20 of them taught gratis.<sup>43</sup>

This may have been located in Ballinlaw, but does not appear to have survived into the 1840s.<sup>44</sup> There were also 'hedge schools' at Dunkitt and Kilmacow<sup>45</sup> and sometime in the early 1830s what was described as a 'Sunday school' was set up<sup>46</sup> in a new building on the grounds of the church in Slieverue. In 1840 the new parish priest, the Rev. Edward Walsh applied to have this school adopted into the national school system. He offered a stone, slated building of 22 feet by 60 feet divided into sections for boys and girls and equipped with 22 new desks. The money for this had been raised by public subscription two teachers were already employed. These were Thomas O'Keeffe and 17 year old Ellen Halligan.<sup>47</sup> The schools were accented into the national school system in October 1840<sup>48</sup> but their tribulations I will leave until later.

#### Prefamine, Life and Work:

South Kilkenny was largely Irish speaking up to the end of the 18th century but by the early 19th century English was coming into increasing use.<sup>49</sup> There must have been still Irish speaking families in Rathpatrick up to about 1870.<sup>50</sup> Prefamine food was generally potatoes with "sour milk" (buttermilk ?) even among large farmers and most clothing was still spun and woven in the locality.<sup>51</sup> However, not a great deal of evidence has survived about these domestic industries nor about crafts such as blacksmithing, thatching,, masonry, etc. which were part of the endemic life of the area. Other rural industries such as milling are rather better recorded.

It is likely that there has been a mill on Gurteens stream (i.e. that which flows through Rathpatrick and Drumdowney townlands and enters the Suir at Gurteens) since the middle ages. The first mention I have found is the mill on the southernmost point in 1607 when the tenants of Drumdowney did "say and brag that they would break the mill pond and that the water was theirs and that they would not suffer it to run to the mill".<sup>52</sup> A century and a half later this had become a paper mill<sup>53</sup> but by the 1830s had turned back into a flour mill run by a Mr. Kenny Purcell.<sup>54</sup> By then there were two other mills on the stream - Shallows on Drumdowney and Nathaniel Taylor's in Rathpatrick<sup>55</sup>. There was a fourth mill in Kilmurray near Dabhac an Aifreann dating from the mid-18th century but by 1850 this had ceased to operate.<sup>56</sup>

There have been some more unusual industries also in Rathpatrick. During the 1730s there was, for instance a shortlived glass works in Gurteens.<sup>57</sup> A chance reference in 1804 give an insight into an otherwise unsuspected industry here - coalmining. A newspaper report describes an attack on a Thomas McGrath, "who worked at the coal shaft that is opened in Kilmurray," the supervisor being a Mr. Lloyd.<sup>58</sup> While the site of this is preserved in local tradition I have found no other reference to this working which was presumably short-lived. A similar type of operation took place on "Jebochta" (local name for Drumdowney hill) where the stratified conglomerate was quarried to produce milstones up to the mid 1830s. These were reportedly "shipped with ease" along the river and brought as far as Dublin and Cork.<sup>59</sup> The rivers here would also have provided fishing but the only surviving evidence of that is the activities centered on the salmon weirs. The rights to these were held by the local landowners. The Powers of Snow Hill leased theirs out in the mid 19th century as did John Snow of Larkville. Power of Bellview and John Hackett of Glasshouse apparently retained direct control of their weirs.<sup>60</sup>

However, the main "industry" here was undoubtedly farming and it was commercial farming for the most part rather than subsistence tillage to judge from the size of farms. (see fig. 4).<sup>61</sup> John Hackett of Glasshouse considered the main crop here to be wheat and oats with potatoes as a minor rotation crop. This was facilitated by the availability of river sand for fertilizer as well as "Waterford dung" (i.e. "night soil" and ashes from the city plus the cleanings of pighouses, stables, etc.). In all there was an

awareness of the need for more efficient farming and wherever possible farms were being consolidated and enlarged.<sup>62</sup> This must have presented difficulties with a rapidly growing population (see fig. 5). Hackett admits that farmers were inclined to divide their holdings amongst their sons and that there was very little the landlord could do about this. Such, he says, are "getting poorer and breaking down" adding ambiguously, that they "are not better off than they have been for some years but that they have a greater degree of cleanliness about them".<sup>63</sup>

This seems a clear recipe for social unrest and indeed Hackett himself seems to have been much resented to judge by local tradition about him. A sectarian edge was given to this in a couplet written after his death about 1846 - "Luther and Calvin in their carriage do roll/To take away Hackett both body and soul".<sup>64</sup> Proximity to Waterford ensured that there was a safety valve for such resentments. Apart from the obvious employment and emigration opportunities, there was also an element of competition among the landowners-cum-businessmen to make their houses by the river into symbols of their own status with formal gardens<sup>65</sup> and liveried servants. As a gazetteer of the 1830s commented, Rathpatrick "possesses" a large aggregate of villan decoration<sup>66</sup> The 1831 census shows not a single man over twenty in the parish unemployed<sup>67</sup> and John Hackett commented in 1844 "there is scarcely a man who has not work there are so many gentlemen living here".<sup>68</sup> On the eve of the famine, therefore, there seems to have been no cause for apprehension regarding Rathpatrick.

The Famine:

It is clear from the above that Rathpatrick was not an impoverished parish by Irish standards. In 1844 only about 8% of the land was under potatoes (290 acres out of 3579) and of these only 38 acres were taken on con-acre indicating that here was no great dependance on the potato crop here.<sup>69</sup> According to official statistics over 300 tons of potatoes were harvested here in 1847 at the height of the famine.<sup>70</sup> Even though this may not be reliable it seems reasonable to assume that the famine would have had very little impact on Rathpatrick. Such was not the case.

The population statistics show a massive flight from the parish in the late 1840s and through the '50s, continuing at a diminished rate into this century<sup>71</sup> (see Fig.5). It is clear that this is not the result of just the threat of starvation but must have come from a deeper psychological sense of horror at what had happened. Writing about 1850 John O'Donovan makes an illuminating comment on this. He had described how his great grandfather, William O'Donovan of Drumdowney (died 1749) was "Proud, almost to madness of his maternal descent from the Kavanaghs" and how he used to accuse Robert Snow of being descended from Cromwellian weavers who never had anything but what they stole. He then adds, "these feelings of ancient pride and family distinction existed to a late period in County Kilkenny but the late famine has almost obliterated them".<sup>72</sup> If the better-off sections of the local population reacted thus - its impact on the more economically vulnerable classes must have been far more dramatic.

Exactly how the famine affected the lower classes I haven't discovered as insufficient Relief Commission records for Rathpatrick appear to have survived. There was a relief Committee under the chairmanship of Nicholas Power of Belleview with Thomas O'Shea as secretary. They had been receiving donation of "small sums from day to day --- from farmers and others".<sup>73</sup> This was in the spring of '47 when, however, farmers only planted 51 acres of potatoes in contrast to nearly a thousand acres of wheat and oats as well as respectable acreages of barley (121 acres) and turnips (106) plus nearly four hundred acres of grazing.<sup>74</sup> Nobody should have starved and nobody should have felt it necessary to leave. Yet, between 1841 and 1851 an eighth of the population disappeared and over the following decade of prosperity another fifth of the population fled.<sup>75</sup> Within a generation (i.e. by 1891) fully half

the population had gone.<sup>76</sup> With them went life and fun and hope for the future leaving only deserted cabins as symbols of an ebbd vitality.

### Aspects of Post-Famine Society:

Such hope as there would have been for the future should have lain with the youth of the parish. This hope seems unlikely to have been stimulated from their homes given that so many of their parents apparently wanted only to get out of the parish, so that the task of renewing morale would have fallen mainly on the schools. They, unfortunately were ill-equipped to do so.

In the girls school, for instance, there were problems from the beginning. Over its first 15 years there were nine different teachers. During the height of the famine, Dec. '46 to Aug. '47 the school was closed, not for lack of children, but because the parish priest had sacked the teacher, Mrs. Croake, and no replacement had been got. The school was reopened under Mary Walshe who soon resigned, was replaced, brought back, resigned again and her successor in 1855 was dismissed "being incompetent". Over the next year and a half there were three teachers, at least one of whom was also sacked for "incompetence". From the end of 1856 a more permanent teacher was got, Margaret Drinan and she appears to have lasted for fourteen years. Every time the inspector came however he had to admonish her on the "low proficiency of classes" and she was also accused of "frequent closing of school", not adhering to timetable, and "carelessness and inaccuracy in keeping the school accounts". Apparently she worked the Lancastrian system with one of the pupils acting as monitor over a group of younger pupils. From the 1st of June 1863 the master's daughter (or niece, perhaps) was appointed monitor and remained such until about 1870 when after a teacher training course she took over as headmistress. She, however, was no better than her predecessor - in the eyes of the inspectors at least. Every time they visited the school they found cause to admonish her too - for "deficiency of the pupils in Grammar and Geography"; for "irregularities in accounts" (on three separate occasions) and for giving excessive holidays.

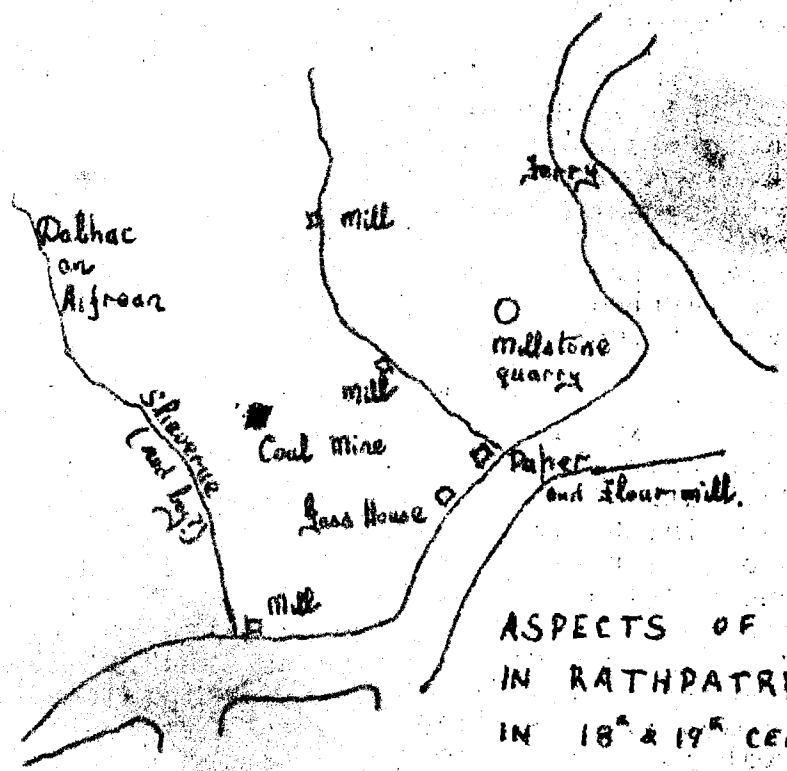
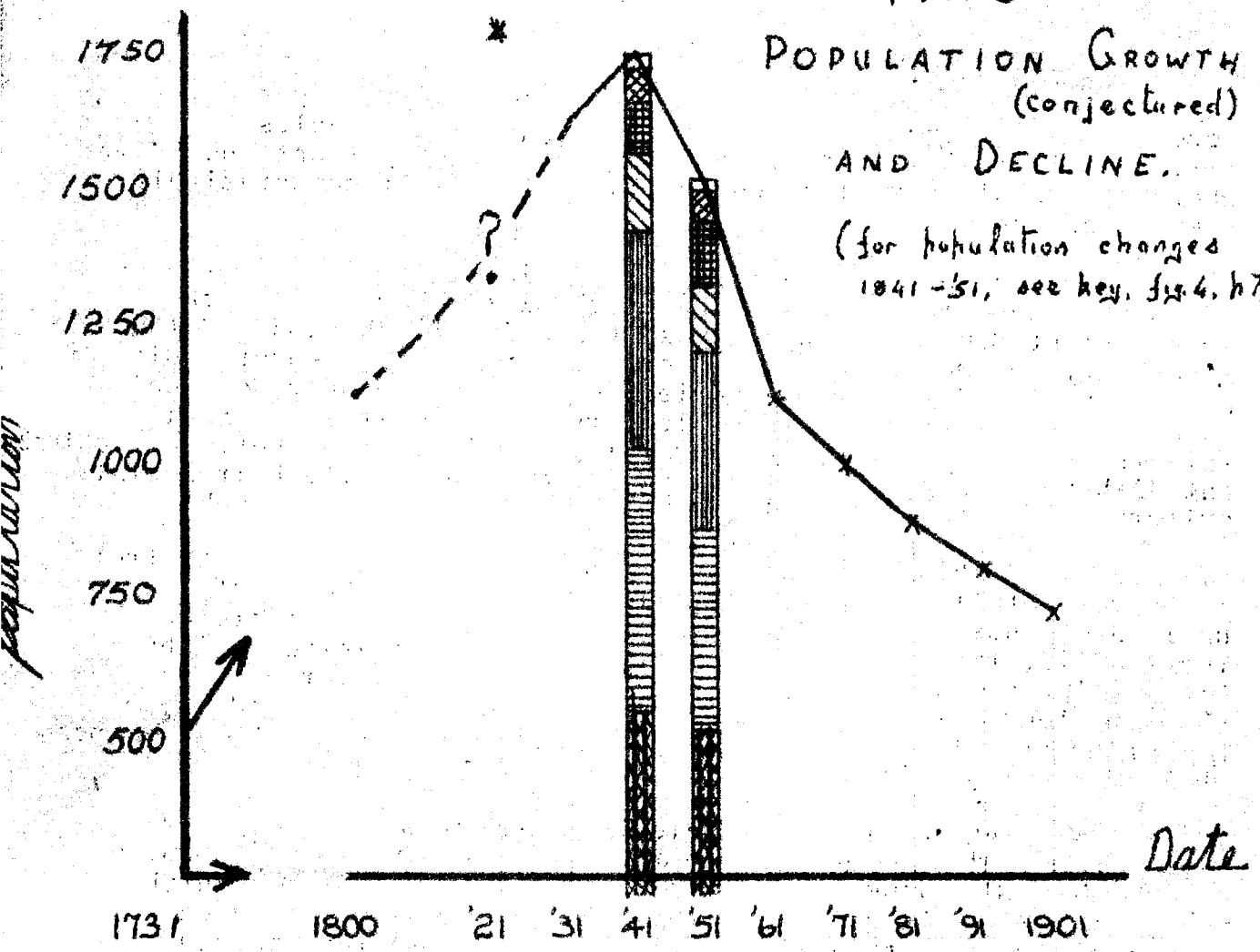
In the boys' school, matters were no better under Pat Hackett who was master here from about 1850 up to his retirement in 1882. He appears to have taught before this in Stoneyford school where he had been accused of falsifying the accounts. Apparently he continued this here and over his 32 years in Slieverue the inspectors' reports are a long catalogue of accusations against him. He had his salary stopped on him at least twice and on the second occasion seems to have only got it back on appeal to London. Amongst the complaints against him were, "state of school very poor as regards classes. P. Hackett to use more exertion, improve his method of teaching and discipline of the school." He didn't and the complaints continue: "P. Hackett admonished on deficiency of pupils in Grammar, Geography and Dictation and on neglect of programme"; for "neglect of reading"; for "omissions and alterations in accounts" and for giving excessive holidays. Eventually he had to be forced into retirement by withdrawing his salary but the parish priest brought him back again until the Board of Education agreed to give him a pension of £35 p.a.

No doubt the clashes which the Hacketts, Pat and Catherine, had with the inspectors were the subject of much strong feeling locally. They were however fairly typical of the low standards of teaching in the national schools throughout the country. Through the fifties and sixties the average age of children in the

FIG. 5

POPULATION GROWTH (conjectured) AND DECLINE.

(for population changes 1841-51, see key, fig. 4, h7)



Figs. 4 & 5 drawn by Mr. Tom Goulding.

Maps drawn by Mrs. S. Brophy.

ASPECTS OF LIFE IN RATHPATRICK IN 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

boys' school was ten, and in the girls' school nine, yet under ten percent ever learned to read words of over two syllables and not a single pupil in Slieverue is recorded as having got onto book five where they would have learned to read passages of comparatively simple English.

One can argue that there were more important issues at this time than the competence of local school teachers - e.g. the Tenant Right Movement in the '60s, Fenianism in the 60s and the Home Rule Party for most of the rest of the century. However, multiply the Slieverue educational experience across the country and we'd have year after year of school leavers, barely literate, their talents lying fallow and their moral criteria that of petty deceptions and dishonesties. It is perhaps understandable if their social, cultural and intellectual lives centered largely on the pub.

Not that this parish was a drinkers' paradise, to judge from the number of licensed pubs (naturally, we've no record of the unlicensed ones!). In the 1870s the number was as at present - two in Slieverue, two in Milepost and one in Ballinlaw. John Fitzgerald and Patrick Ward were publicans in Slieverue. Pattens pub in Milepost was bought in 1876 by Patrick Quigley and run by his widow from 1878. Bridget Connors ran the other pub in Milepost, while that in Ballinlaw was run by another woman, Mary Lyons.<sup>78</sup>

From drink to crime, of which it seems there was comparatively little. While there might have been agrarian unrest earlier in the century, by the time of the famine it had become unfrequent.<sup>79</sup> There was another period of unrest in county Kilkenny in the 1860s but only one arrest is reported from Rathpatrick, Charles Kavanagh being charged in August. '61 with 'having arms in a proclaimed district.' The case was dismissed at the petty sessions court.<sup>80</sup>

This raises the question of the constabulary and further research would be needed to find the date of their introduction to Slieverue and their subsequent activities. Certainly they were not exactly the agents of an oppressive regime to judge from the first census details which become available about them from 1901. The sergeant was 45 years old, Catholic, hailed from Westmeath and married a local girl. The constables were aged between 20 and 29, only one was married, and they came from Galway, Wicklow, Offaly, Down and two, of course, from Kerry. All were farmers sons.<sup>81</sup>

There is another group of outsiders whose presence is not so easily explained. Why should Henry and Marion Cole, musicians from Manchester have come here to live with a nephew and niece in Rathpatrick? Why did James Bell an engineer from county Down move here in the 1880s. And why were so many domestic and farm labourers brought in from outside? Farmer John Sullivan had four labourers - one local and the others from Kildare, Kerry and Dublin. Publican Edward Power got his barmaid from Wexford. Many general labourers seem to have crossed the river from Waterford as did people like laundress Mrs. Brennan and dressmaker Mrs. Walsh.<sup>82</sup> A possible explanation is that the heavy emigration of the more vigorous members of the community actually created a job shortage and at the same time left a number of houses unoccupied. Since the south western part of the parish was just about within commuting distance of Waterford some whose employment was in the city it seems chose to live here during the second half of the 19th century. This would explain the presence of, for instance, shipwright William Powers or sailor John Johnson.<sup>83</sup>

At the close of the 19th century, however, a different wave of migration into the parish took place. In 1897 and '98 decisions were taken to build railways from Waterford to New Ross and Rosslare, branching at Abbeylands to run in two directions through Rathpatrick parish with a bridge across the Barrow at Drumdowney and a tunnel.<sup>84</sup> A wave of navvies now descended on the parish and many looked for cheap lodgings here. Only the most impoverished families, appear to have been willing to take them in. Labourer John Heneberry for instance lived with his wife and six young children in a three roomed cottage. Somehow he found space to sleep an extra six navvies. Patrick Murphy took seven in to his four roomed cottage along with his wife and four children. William O'Neill had a living room and a bedroom for his wife, himself and two teenage daughters. They found room for two navvies. One married navvy with 8 children could get nowhere except a two roomed "lading house" which they rented. Another family of twelve were less fortunate and moved into a railway hut at Gurteen.<sup>84</sup> However, in due course (1906) the railway was completed, the navvies moved on and the old parish of Rathpatrick returned to being the pleasant peaceful place which it still is.

#### Notes and Sources:

1. See Ridner, J.N. Fragmentary Annals of Ireland, Dublin 1978, p.33 (year 678) & 105. (year 858) and notes.
2. As narrated by Canon P. Power in St. Declan & Mochuda, Irish Texts Society, 1913, notes p.15.
3. Recorded by John O'Donovan in Kilkenny Archaeological Society Journal, Vol. I, 1849-'51, p.363.
4. Authority of Canon Carrigan, History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, Vol.IV, p.200.
5. While the name "Castle John" is well known locally, Mr. Dan Dowling of Glenmore has recorded a tradition of there being the remains of a stone castle at "Jebochta" (a strange local name for Drumdowney hill) up to the early 19th century when the stones were taken away to build a house.
6. Archdal, M., Monasticon Hibernicum, Dublin 1786, p.365.
7. O'Donovan, John, Ordnance Survey Letter, Oct. 3rd 1839. Typescript copy O.S. Letters, p. 94 (in NLI and other Libraries)
8. Calendar of Ormond Deeds, Vol. III, Dublin 1935, p.55
9. ibid, p. 109 & 135. Also Carrigan op. cit. p.203.
10. O'Donovan, O.S. Letters (loc.cit.), p. 95, suggests that this "Cill" was attached to Gorteens castle. However the 1839 six inch O.S. map, Kilkenny sheet 43, shows "tobair" and "cill" sites close to Kilmurray castle.
11. Healy, W., History and Antiquities of Kilkenny, Kilkenny 1893, p. 123 & 292, quoting Inquisitions of James I.
12. Not mentioned by Burchaell in his series The Geraldines of County Kilkenny in Kilkenny, Archaeological Society Journal. - see Vols. for 1892, '93 & 1902. Carrigan (op.cit.) also ignores them but Healy (op.cit.), p.68 does mention the difficulty of tracing them.
13. Books of Survey and Distribution, ms. PROI.
14. Healy, op. cit., p.68.
15. They do not feature in the Kilkenny section of Hogan's, Description of Ireland 1598, London & Dublin 1878. Jobson's Map of 1591 (copy in Waterford City library) shows three fanciful castles in approximately the right locations, but their names seem to be wrong.

16. Healy, op.cit., p.67 & 263.
17. Lodge, Record of the Rolls, Vol. XIV, (ms.PROI).
18. ibid 19. Books of Survey & Distribution, loc.cit.
20. O'Donovan, John, O.S. Name Books, microfilm p3410, NLI.
21. Tithe Applotments, Ms. PROI.
22. Griffiths Primary Valuation of Tenements, 1850 (microfiche, NLI)
23. Unless otherwise indicated all information on each townland is taken from references 20-22 above.
24. Ponsonby's List of Irish Gentry 1755 in WSEIAS journal, Vol.XVI, 1913, p.50, shows Snow Hill as having then been leased by Robert Carew. However, it is apparent from the family ledger preserved in the Mansfield Papers in Analecta Hibernica, No.XX, p.119 that Robert Snow still ran at least part of the demesne.
25. On top of the page in the Name Books (op.cit.) dealing with Snow Hill and Nicholas Power O'Donovan has added a note, "I knew Niocolas Garbh well. JO'D".
26. Joseph Rivers' father was a first cousin of Power of Bellevue and the Rivers family acted as agents for the Power's land around Tybroughney. See Decies XII, p. 59. The name books state that Joseph Rivers held Luffany "by deed for ever".
27. Royal Visitation, 1615, reported by Leslie, J.B., Ossory Clergy and Parishes, Enniskillen 1933, p.340.
28. Carrigan, op. cit., p. 200.
29. I am grateful to Mr. Dan Dowling for this information.
30. Carrigan, op.cit., p.200.
31. This is one of the definitions given in Dineens dictionary for Sliabh. In Richards' and Scales' Map of Waterford city and environs 1764 (copy in Waterford city library) the word Slieverue is firmly printed along the stream through the bog. Compare Sleeveen near Kill, Co. Waterford, which is a small bog without any hill in sight.
32. Shown on Richards and Scale's Map, op. cit...
33. Carrigan, op.cit., p.
34. See Irish Economic and Social History Journal, Vol. VI, 1979 page 7 & 8.
35. Again I thank Dan Dowling for allowing me to use the folklore he has collected. The ballad as given to him ran: "For the reverend father Lower/We have reason to lament/ For the duty of his parishioners/ Both day and night he went/ They came wandering this nation/ Enquiring for Glenmore/ He cured the deaf, the dumb, the blind/ Their health he did restore.
36. Pender, S. (ed.) Corperation of Waterford Council Books, see pp. 256, 272, 278, 271.
37. Statement by Samuel Gordon, Tithe Commissioner, accompanying Tithe Applotments (op. cit.)
38. Ms. accompanying Tithe Applotments (op. cit.) dated 1889, entitled "In the matter of an application to vary Tithe Rent charge of the parish of Rathpatrick---"
39. Carrigan, op. cit., p. 209.
40. see The Diary of Humphrey Sullivan (trans by de Bhaldraithe) Cork 1979, p. 105.
41. O'Donovan, O.S. Letters (op.cit.) p. 95.
42. Tithe Applotments (op.cit.), parish of Kilmurray.
43. P.P., Census of 1821, marginal note, p. 45
44. Valuation Office Field Books (ms. 2A/28/22 in PROI) 1845, mention a schoolhouse in Ballinlaw. The Parliamentary Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, 'p. 139 does mention a pay school which then (1830s) had 21 boys and 19 girls. This may have been Ringville school under the patronage of Lady Esmonde.
45. P.P. 1826, Appendix to Second Report from the Commissioners---
46. Parl. Gaz., op cit., p. 139.



47. National School Applications, mss 2C/57/38 & 2C/67/26 in PROI.
48. idem.
49. Mason's Parochial Survey,; Vol. II (1814), parish of Fiddown, p. 366 and Vol. III (1819) parish of Listerline, p.243-244.
50. Census of 1901, Form A, ms.PROI indicates that many people over 45 years old recorded themselves as being able to speak Irish. In Kilmurray townland none under that age could.
51. Tighe, Statistical Survey of County Kilkenny, Dublin 1802,p.503.
52. Healy, op.cit. p. 68.
53. Richards and Scale's Map, op. cit..
54. See map of Mansfield property, Longfield Collection, Ms.21F38 NLI.
55. idem and Griffiths' Valuation, op. cit..
56. Richards and Scale, op. cit. and Griffiths' Valuation.
57. See The Glass House of Gurteens in Old Kilkenny Review,No. 25, 1973, p. 51-53.
58. Waterford Mirror, 8th Nov. 1804.
59. Lewis' Topographical Dictionary, Vol. II, 1837,p. 506.
60. Griffith's Valuation, op.cit..
61. As assessed from Tithe Applotments 1835, op.cit..
62. P.P., Devon Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p. 443-445  
He seems reasonably reliable to judge from the concurring evidence of other landowners in the area - c.f.907, 908 & 913.
63. idem.
64. Collected by Mr. Dan Dowling.
65. These are clearly identifiable in 1839 six inch O.S. maps, Kilkenny Sheets 46 & 47.
66. Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland, Vol. VIII, c. 1835,p. 139.
67. P.P. Census of Population, 1831.
68. Devon Commission, op. cit..
69. Relief Commission IV, 2, Constabulary Returns,PROI.
70. P.P.Agricultural Census of 1847. The 300 tons may have only been the crop's potential.
71. P.P.Census of Population, 1841, '51, etc.
72. O'Donovan, John, Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory, Dublin 1851. The copy in NLI has ms. addenda by O'Donovan.
73. Relief Commission, No. 16267, March 30th 1847, ms.PROI.
74. PP. Agricultural Statistics 1847, No. 128, Union of Waterford.
75. P.P. Census of Population, 1841 & '51. 76, ibid 1891.
77. All the following re schools are taken from Registers of male and female national schools, Slieverue, ms. PROI.
78. Publicans Licences, 1817-1924, Ms. ID/58/101 PROI.
79. Devon Com, John Hackett (40-41), op. cit..
80. P.P., 1862 XLVI, Offences committed in Ireland----.
81. Census 1901, Form H. Slieverue Barracks, ms.PROI.
82. Census 1901, Form A., Kilmurray Townland, ms. PROI.
83. idem.
84. See Journal of the Irish Railway Society , Vol VI, No.28,1961, p. 17; also Thornton, Albert in Decies XVI. p.48.
85. Conculsions drawn from Forms A and BI, Census 1901, ms.PROI.

NOTE: (i) The following is the full reference needed to check census figures in the Parliamentary Papers- Parish of Rathpatrick, Barony of Ida, County Kilkenny.

(ii) Photocopies of the main manuscript sources used here have been lodged with the Eigse Committee in Slieverue - viz, numbers (above) 21, 22, 37, 38, 47, 50, 65, 77, 81, and 85.

PART II: TEXTUAL APPENDIX

By Mary C. Lyons.

The Account of David Trillec, reeve of Old Ross  
from 29th of September 1284 to 29th of September 1285

Compotus [Radulfi Lund constabularii et:interlined] Davidi Trillec prepositi veteris Ros a festo Sancti Michelis Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Duodecimo usque ad festum Sancti Michelis Anno Regni Regis Edwardi terciodecimo.

Arreragiis Idem reddit compotum de xxj l<sup>o</sup>. xvjs. iijjd. de arreragiis compoti precedentis.

Summa, xxjli. xvjs. iijjd.

Exitus  
Manerii

Idem reddit compotum de j coreia unius vacce vendita de morina. Et de ijs. de coreia unius bovis cum carne de morina vendita. Et de ijs. ijd. de carne et coreia alterius bovis de morina venditis. Et de xxd. de coreia unius bovis de morina vendita. Et de xxd. de coreia et carne unius vacce venditis de morina. Et de viijjd. de iij coreis boviculorum de morina venditis. Et de xxs. de xx multonibus post tonsionem venditis precium capitalis xijd. [Interlined: Et de ijs. de iij multonibus venditis] Et de xvd. de xij sueicling<sup>1</sup> venditis precium cuiuslibet jd. quart. Et de ijs. vjd. de viij pellibus multonum xiiij pellibus matricium et xxxij pellibus hoggastrorum de morina venditis. Et de xxd. de liij pellibus agnorum venditis de morina. Et de xiiij li. xijs. xd. de petris dimidia lane grosse et agnorum venditis precium sacce vj li. Et de vjli xvjs. de cciiij petris casei venditis precium petre viijjd. Et de xvijjd. de caseo et buturo de relicta vendito hoc anno. Et de xvijjd. de porris hoc anno venditis. Et de ijs. iijjd. de j crannoco vj bussellis pomorum hoc anno venditis. Et de ijs. vjd. de iij porcis venientibus de ponagio venditis. Et de jd. de coreia j vituli. Et de liij d. de xxiiij pellibus agnorum venditis super compotum. Et de ijs. de j petra lane vendita super compotum unde Callanus respondit. Et de ixs. de xij multonibus venditis super compotum unde Idem Callan<sup>1</sup> respondit.

Summa, xxiiij li viijs.

Venditio  
Bladi

Idem reddit compotum de xlvjs. de v crannocis demidio et ij bussellis frumenti venditis precium crannoci viijs. Et de xli xixa. iijjd. ob. de xxiiij crannocis iij bussellis frumenti venditis precium crannoci ixs. Et de viij li iijjs. ijd. de xvij crannocis ij bussellis

Account of [Ralph Lund constable and : interlined] David Trillec reeve of Old Ross from the feast of St. Michael in the 12th regnal year of King Edward (29th September 1284) to the feast of St. Michael in the 13th regnal year of King Edward (29th September 1285)

Translated from the Latin by Mary C. Lyons

Arrears The same renders account of £21-16-4 of arrears of the preceeding account.

Sum, £21-16-4

Issues of the Manor The same renders account of the sale of the hide of one cow dead of murrain. And of 3s. for the hide of one ox with its meat dead of murrain. And of 2s. 2d. for the meat and hide of another ox dead of murrain. And of 20d. for the hide of one ox dead of murrain. And of 20d. for the hide and meat of one cow dead of murrain. And of 8d. for 3 hides of bullocks dead of murrain. And of 20s. for 20 wethers sold after the shearing, price per head 12d. [Interlined: And of 2s. from the sale of 3 wethers] And of 15d. from the sale of 12 sucklings, price of each 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. And of 2s. 6d. from the sale of 8 fleeces of wethers, 14 fleeces of ewes and 32 fleeces of hoggets all dead of murrain. And of 20d. from the sale of 53 fleeces of lambs dead of murrain. And of £13-12-10 from the sale of (the number is not given at this point) stones and a half of sheep's wool and lambs' wool, price per sack £6. And of £6-16-0 from the sale of 204 stones of cheese, price per stone 8d. And of 18d. from the sale of cheese and butter remaining this year. And of 18d. from the sale of leeks this year. And of 2s. 4d. from the sale of 1 crannoc and 6 bushels of apples sold this year. And of 2s. 6d. from the sale of 3 pigs received through pannage. And of 1d. from the sale of a calf's hide. And of 4d. from the sale of 23 lambs' fleeces outside the period of account. And of 3s. for 1 stone of wool sold outside the period of account for which Callanus answers. And of 9s. from the sale of 12 wethers outside the period of account for which the same Callan answers.

Sum, £23-8-0

Sale of Grain The same renders account of 46s. from the sale of 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> crannocs and 2 bushels of wheat, price per crannoc 8s. And £10-19-4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> from the sale of 24 crannocs and 3 bushels of wheat, price per crannoc 9s. And of £8-4-3 from the sale of 18 crannocs and 2 bushels of rye, price per crannoc 6s. And of 105s. from the sale of 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> crannocs of oats sold at Baliconeh, price per crannoc 6s. [An erasure of 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> lines follows]

Sum, £40-2-7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

siligonis venditis precium crannoci vjs. Et de cvs. de xvij crannocis dimidio avene venditis apud Baliconeh' precium crannoci vjs. [An erasure of 1½ lines follows]

Summa, xl li. ijs. vijd. ob.

Placita et Perquisita

Idem reddit computum de vjji xvjs. de placitis et perquisitis Curie forinsece de vetere Ros per annum. Et de xxxvijs. vjd. de placitis et perquisitis Curie de Insula per annum.

Summa, viij li xiijs. vjd.

Recepta Forinseca

Idem reddit computum de ixs. jd. receptis de Thome Wade Thesaurario de redditu Mauricii Nottasse de termino Pasche. Et de vjs. viij d. de Willilmo Slime preposito de Insula sine tallia. Et de xxs. receptis de Willelmo Vicario per manum Callan' bercarii [Interlined: sine tallia] Et de iijs. de Davido Robin preposito veteris Ros sine tallia.

Summa, xlijs. ixd.

Summa socius receptorum cum arreragiis xcvi li. ijs. ijd. ob.

Expensa necessaria

Idem computat In ferro empto in sustentacione [Cancelled: iiij] v carucarum per predictum tempus. In j cultro et ij vomeribus de ferro proprio faciendo viij d. ob. In j berleg' de ferro proprio faciendo ob. quart. In j caruca cum ferro proprio liganda jd. In stipendio fabri fabricantis ferramenta dictarum carucarum per predictum tempus vs. iiij d. In ferrura v affrorum per predictum tempus xxij d. quart. In vj herciatoribus conductis ad herciandum apud Baliconeh per vj dies xvd. In iiij herciatoribus conductis ad herciandum per iiij dies iiij d. ob. In funo extrahendo de nova aula ijs. In funo coligendo infra hagardum viij d. In j equo cum homine conducto ad cariandum funum per x dies xvd. In sablone empto ad ix acras et dimidia fecundas xxjs. iiij d. ob. In j homine conducto ad levandum sablonem iuxta mare per viij dies viij d. In cariagio eiusdem usque ad veteri Ros lxxiijs. scilicet pro acra viijs. In dicto sablone spergendo xxiiij d. In x acris [Interlined: et dimidia] ardendis xiijs. scilicet pro acra xvjd. In dictis acris spergendis ijs. vijd. ob. scilicet pro acra iiij d. In j carecta empto ijs. In oblatione servientis ad Natale de consuetudine xij d.

Summa, vij li. vjs. ixd.

Potura famulorum

Idem computat In potura x carucariorum v bercariorum j prepositi qui est prepositus et vigilator j messoris j vaccarii a festo Sancti Michelis usque ad idem festum per annum xvli. xijs. scilicet cuilibet in septimana iiij d. In potura Willelmi Brun custodientis portam per annum xxvjs. In septimana vjd. In potura custodis vitulorum per annum qui capit in septimana ij d.

Pleas and Perquisites The same renders account of £6-16-0 of the pleas and perquisites of the external court of Old Ross for the year. And of 37s. 6d. of the pleas and perquisites of the court of Insula (Great Island) for the year.

Sum, £8-13-6

Foreign Receipts

The same renders account of 9s. 1d. received from Thomas Wade, the Treasurer, of the rent of Maurice Nottasse for Easter term. And of 6s. 8d. from William Slime reeve of Insula without a tally. And of 20s. received from William Vicar by the hand of Callan, the shepherd [Interlined: without a tally] And of 3s. from David Robin reeve of Old Ross without tally.

Sum, 42s. 9d.

Sum of all receipts with arrears £96-2-2½

Necessary Expenses

The same accounts. In iron bought for the maintenance [Cancelled of four] of five ploughs during the aforesaid time. In the making of one coulter and two plough shares of iron 8½d. In making one pole/shaft? of iron ¾d. In binding one plough with iron 1d. In the stipend of the smith making the aforesaid irons of the said ploughs for the aforesaid time 5s. 4d. In the shoeing of 5 affers for the aforesaid time 22½d. In the hire of six harrowers to harrow at Baliconeh for 6 days 15d. In the hire of three harrowers to harrow for 4 days 4½d. In removing dung from the new hall 2s. In the gathering of dung within the haggard 8d. In the hire of a horse with a man to carry dung for 10 days 15d. In the purchase of sand to improve 9½ acres 22s 3½d. In the hire of one man to gather sand by the sea for 8 days. In carriage of the same to Old Ross 73s., to wit for an acre 8s. In the spreading of the said sand 23d. In the burning of 10 [Interlined: ½] acres 14s. to wit 16d. per acre. In the spreading of the said acres 2s. 7½d, to wit 3d. per acre. In the purchase of one cart 2s. In the customary Christmas payment of servants 12d.

Sum, £7-6-9

Food allowance of the famuli

The same accounts. In the food allowance of 10 ploughmen, 5 shepherds, 1 reeve, who is reeve and watchman. 1 reep reeve, 1 cowherd from the feast of St. Michael up to the same feast for the year £15-12-0, to wit 4d. each per week. In the food allowance of William Brun, Keeper of the door 26s. for the year. In the week 6d. In the food allowance of the Keeper of calves for the year who receives in the week 2d.

Stipend of the famuli

The same accounts for 5 holders (ploughmen) per annum 25s. to wit each 5s. In the stipend of 5 drivers (ploughmen), 5 shepherds, 1 reeve, who is reeve and watchman, 1 reep-reeve, 1 cowherd per annum 52s. to wit 4s. each. In the stipend of 1 doorman per annum 4s. In the stipend of 1 dairymaid for a half year for food allowance and

Stipendium famulorum Idem computat v tentorum per annum xxvs. scilicet cuilibet vs. In stipendio v fugatorum v bercariorum j prepositi qui est vigilator et prepositus j messoris j vaccarii per annum lijs. scilicet cuilibet iiijs. In stipendio unius ianitoris per annum iiijs. In stipendio unius daye per dimidium annum pro potura et stipendio ijs. In stipendio custodis vitulorum per annum ijs.

Custus domorum Idem computat In carpentaria circa motam emenda scilicet Gregorius carpentarius per vij dies xxijd. In cc vlornail' emptis ad idem viijd. In cclx wohrnail emptis ad idem vjd. quart. In ccc de laitnail empto ad idem iiijd. ob. In ij crannocis de calce emptis in reparacione domorum xvd. In cementario pro emendacione aule et mote vjs.

Summa, xs. vjd. ob. quart.

Custus domorum apud Kilcolman Idem computat In gumphis et vercenell' ad magnam portam et valvam dicte porte xxijd. In xxxij spikyns emptis ad idem iiijd. ob. In m<sup>o</sup> ij de laitnail in reparacione domus ibidem ijs. vjd. In viij spikyns emptis ad eandam domum ijd. In lx clavis emptis ad idem ijd. In stipendio carpentarii pro dictis domibus apud Kilcolman reparandis ad tascham xiijs. iiijd. In stipendio alterius carpentarii per iiij dies ibidem xijd. Item In stipendio cuiusdam carpentarii pro cc bordis faciendis ad dictas domos lijs. viijd. In j cerura empta ad magnam portam vjd. In x crannocis de calce emptis vs. scilicet ad bovaria In stipula falcanda ad straminandos bidentes ibidem ijs. iiijd.

Summa, xxxijs. xjd. ob.

Emptio bladi Idem computat In xv crannocis frumenti emptis ad semenem iiij li. ijs. vd. ob. per diversa precia. Item in j crannoco siligonis empto ad semenem iiijs. vjd.

Trituratio Idem computat In trituratione et ventulacione xxv crannocorum frumenti et xx crannocorum dimidii siligonis apud Ros vijs. vijd. scilicet pro crannoco ijd. In trituratione et ventulacione lxxix crannocorum avene ibidem vs. ixd. scilicet pro crannoco jd. In trituratione et ventulacione xxvij crannocorum avene apud Balicolman ijs. iiijd. scilicet pro crannoco jd. In toto blado predicto ventando ijs. scilicet vj crannoci pro jd.

Summa, xvijs. viijd.

Minute Idem computat In me. clxix bidentibus diversis sexis et ccvj agnis lavandis et tondendis vjs. vijd. ob. In salva presura et linea tela empta ad daeriam iiijs. viijd. In savone empto ad carectas vjd. In minutis pastoris custodientis matrices. In fetu ijs. iiijd. In ij vangis emptis vd. In j furca ferranda jd. ob. In j tripode empto ad daeriam xiijd. In cerrura ad hostium bercarii vd. In uno garcon' locato eunte Dublin' pro equis Comitibus deliberandis apud Kilcolman xixd.

	stipend 2s. In the stipend of the Keeper of calves per annum 2s.
Expense of the houses	The same accounts. In repairing the carpentry about the motte, to wit Gregory the carpenter for 7 days 22d. In 200 vlor nails bought for the same 8d. In 260 woh nails bought for the same 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In 300 lait nails bought for the same 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In 2 crannocs of chalk bought for the repair of the houses 15d. In a mason for the repair of the hall and motte 6s.
	Sum, 10s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
Expense of the houses at Kilcolman	<del>The same accounts.</del> In gumphis and vercenell for the great door and the valve of the great door 22d. In 32 spikyngs bought for the same 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In 2,000 lait nails for the repair of the house there 2s. 6d. In 8 spikyngs bought for the same house 2d. In 60 nails bought for the same 2d. In the stipend of the carpenter for the repair of the said houses at Kilcolman, piece rate 13s. 4d. In the stipend of another carpenter for 4 days there 12d. Also, In the stipend of a certain carpenter for making 100 boards for the said houses 3s. 8d. In the purchase of 1 lock for the great door 7d. In the purchase of 10 crannocs of chalk 5s. to wit for the byre. In the mowing of straw with which to thatch the sheepfold there 3s. 4d.
	Sum, 32s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Purchase of Grain	The same accounts In the purchase of 15 crannocs of wheat for seed £4-3-5 $\frac{1}{2}$ for divers prices. Also in the purchase of 1 crannoc of rye for seed 4s. 6d.
Threshing	The same accounts In the threshing and airing of 25 crannocs of wheat and 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ crannocs of rye at Ross 7s. 7d., to wit 2d. per crannoc. In the threshing and airing of 69 crannocs of oats 5s. 9d., to wit 1d. per crannoc. In the threshing and airing of 28 crannocs of oats at Balicolman 2s. 4d., to wit 1d. per crannoc. In the winnowing of all the aforesaid grain 2s., to wit 6 crannocs for 1d.
	Sum, 17s. 8d.
Minutae	The same accounts. In the washing and shearing of 1,169 sheep of divers sexes and 301 lambs 6s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In the purchase of a good press and linen cloths for the dairy 4s. 8d. In the purchase of soap for the carts 7d. In the minor expenses of the pastor keeping the ewes. In breeding 3s. 4d. In the purchase of 2 mattocks 5d. In the iron work of 1 fork 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In the purchase of 1 tripod for the dairy 13d. In a lock for the house of the shepherds 5d. In the hire of a boy going to Dublin to deliver the Earl's horses at Kilcolman 19d.
Expense of the harvest	The same accounts. In the weeding of 35 acres of wheat and 60 acres of oats 7s. 7d. Also in the weeding of 21 acres of oats at Baliconeh 21d. In the reaping, binding and gathering of grain at Old Ross 52s. 2d. In the hire of carriage this year 4s. to wit for the said

Custus  
autumpni

Idem computat In xxxv acris frumenti et lx acris avene sartlandis vijs. vijd. Item in xxj acris avene sartlandis apud Baliconeh' xxjd. In blado metendo ligando et aduiendo apud veterem Ros lijs. ijd. ob. In cariagio conducto hoc anno iiijs. ijd. scilicet circa dicta blada. In j tassatore tessante bladum infra grangium, per xiiij dies xiiijjd. In blado metando apud Baliconeh' xjs. ijd. ob. quart. In blado metando apud Kilcolman ijs. vd. In j corda empta vd. In hoc mette famulorum de consuetudine xijd.

Summa, iiiijli xxijjd. quart

Summa omnium expensarum xliij li. viijs. iiiijjd.

Liberaciones

Liberavit Thome Wad' Thesaurio de Kath [Cancelled: xxix li xjs. jd.] xxiij li xixs. vijd. [Cancelled: per viij tallias] vij tallias quia una tallia fuit de lana.

Item liberavit eidem Thome in lana huius anni xiiij li xijs. xd. per j talliam

Item liberavit eidem Thome ad opus Willelmi Sticteys vj li. viijs. per j talliam

Item liberavit eidem Thome Wad' Thesaurio xxs. ad robem Radulfi Lund' [Cancelled: Summa, xliij li. vd.]

Liberavit

Davido Robin preposito manerii ad sustentacionem manerii ls. xd. unde septimo decimo (sic!)s. vjd. sunt per manus Callan' bercarii.

Summa, xlviij li. xjs. iijjd.

Summa tocius expensarum cum liberacionibus lxxxviiijli. xixs. vijd.

Et debet vijli ijs. vijd. ob.

De Quibus Allocantur eidem xxvjs. viijjd. de stipendio clerici scribentis rotulos Curie per annum et per commencionem eidem factum per consuetudinem ut dicitur et hoc de duobus annis cum anno presente. Et sic debet de claro cxvs. xjd. ob. De Quibus Allocantur iiijs. iiiijjd. de falcacione stipuli hoc anno. Et allocantur eidem xvijjd. de clavis emptis et missis apud Kylcoleman. Et allocantur eidem xijs. iijjd. de diversis amerciamentis veteribus que non possunt levare quia amerciati mortui. Summa allocacionis xviijs. jd. Et debet adhuc iiiijli. xvijjs. xd. ob. De Quibus Computat Liberavit Bricio clerico preposito veteris Ros lixs. vjd. ob. quart. ut patet in compoto suo anno R. E. xv<sup>o</sup> sine tallia. Et sic debet adhuc de claro xxxviijs. iijjd. ob. quart.

dorse of the membrane

(No title)

frumentum

Idem reddit compotum de xxiij crannocis j busello frumenti de exitibus frangie per cumulum ad taschem. Et de vj crannocis de incremento

[Cancelled: Et de xvj crannocis de eodem exitu ut ac residuum de j



grain. In one stacker making ricks of the grain within the grange for 14 days 14d. In the reaping of grain at Baliconeh 11s. 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. In the reaping of grain at Kilcolman 2s. 5d. In the purchase of 1 cord 5d. In the hoc mette (some form of customary payment) of the famuli as of custom 12d.

Sum, £4-0-23<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

Sum of all expenses £41-8-4

Payments

He delivered to Thomas Wade, Treasurer of Carlow [~~Cancelled: £29-11-1~~] £24-19-7 [~~Cancelled: by 8 tallies~~] 7 tallies because one tally was for wool. He also delivered to the same Thomas in this year's wool £13-12-10 by one tally. He also delivered to the said Thomas £6-8-0 for the use of William Sticteys £6-8-0 by one tally. He also delivered to the said Thomas Wade Treasurer 20s. for Ralph Lund's robe.

[Cancelled: Sum, £44-0-5]

He delivered

To David Robin reeve of the manor for the sustenance of the manor 50s. 10d. whence seventeen s. 6d. are by the hand of Callan the shepherd.

Sum, £47-11-3

Sum of all the expenses with payments £88-19-7

And he owes £7-2-7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

Of which he is allowed 26s. 8d. for the stipend of the clerk writing the rolls of the Court each year and for his upkeep as is said by custom and this for two years together with the present year. And thus he owes de claro 115s. 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. Of which is allowed 4s. 4d. for the mowing of thatch this year. And he is allowed 12s 3d. of divers old ameracements which cannot now be levied because those amerced are dead. Sum allowed 18s. 1d. And he owes up to this £4-17-10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. Of which he accounts He delivered 59s. 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. to Bricius the clerk reeve of Old Ross 59s. 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. as appears in his account of the 15th regnal year of King Edward (1285-6) without a tally. And thus he owes de claro at this point 38s. 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.

dorse of the membrane

(no title)

Wheat

The same renders account of 23 crannocs 1 bushel of wheat of the issues of the grange by heaped measure at piece rate. And of 6 crannocs of increment [~~Cancelled: And of 16 crannocs of the same issue as residue of 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> crannocs Interlined within the cancellation: so that (two words lost through impacting) thence 3 crannocs from (one word lost through fading)~~] And of 15 crannocs purchased.

Sum, 45 crannocs 1 bushel.

Of which. In seed on 38 acres 1 stang 15 crannocs, to wit 3 bushels to each acre with an extra crannoc. [~~Interlined: In seed~~] In sale as appears below 30 crannocs 1 bushel. Also 'n sale (following

crannoco dimidio Interlined within the cancellation: ut (two words lost through impacting) unde iij crannoci de (one word lost through fading))]. Et de xv crannocis de emptione.

Summa, xlv crannoci j bussellus.

De Quibus In semine super xxxvij acras j estangan xv crannoci scilicet super acram iij busselli ultima in toto j crannocus.

[Interlined: In semine] In venditione ut patet infra xxx crannoci j bussellus. Item in venditione [following half line totally erased

Summa ut supra. Et nichil remanet.

siligio

Idem reddit computum de xx crannocis dimidio siligionis de exitibus grangie ad tascham. Et de v crannocis j bussello de incremento

[Cancelled: Et de x crannocis vij bussellis de eodem exitu ut acquietur respectu de ij crannocis dimidio (Interlined within the cancellation and subsequently cancelled: per inquisitionem)] Et de j crannoco de emptione.

Summa, xxvj crannoci dimidius j bussellus.

De Quibus In semine super iij acras j crannocus j bussellus. In venditione ut patet infra xxv crannocis dimidio. In [erasure]

Summa ut supra. Et nichil remanet.

avena

Idem reddit computum de lxxix crannocis de exitibus grangie per cumulum ad tascham. Et de xvij crannocis j bussello de incremento

[Cancelled: Et de lxxv crannocis dimidio iij bussellis de exitu, the remaining third of a line is lost in the cancellation.] Et de vj crannocis de eodem exitu per estimacionem in garbis.

Summa, iij xij crannoci iij busselli

De Quibus In semine super lxxij acras xxxvj crannoci. Item in semine apud Kilcolmen ij crannoci ij busselli. Item liberati apud Balicor ad seminem iij crannoci. In prebendo affrorum a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi ix crannoci ij busselli. In sustentacione bovum per estimacionem in garbis vj crannoci. In venditione ut patet infra xxxv crannoci [an erasure follows]

Summa ut supra. Et nichil remanet.

Exitus  
grangie de  
Baliconeh

Idem reddit computum de xxvij crannocis de exitu grangie de Baliconeh ad tascham per cumulum. Et de vij crannocis de incremento Et de iij crannocis de veteri Ros.

Summa, xxxix crannoci

De Quibus In semine super xxxix acras xix crannoci dimidius. In prebendo affrorum ibidem ij crannoci. In venditione xvij crannoci dimidius.

Summa ut supra. Et nichil remanet.

half line totally erased)

Sum as above. And nothing remains.

Rye

The same renders account of  $20\frac{1}{2}$  crannocs of rye of the issues of the grange at piece rate. And of 5 crannocs 1 bushel of increment [Cancelled: And of 10 crannocs 7 bushels of the same issue so that it is acquitted in respect of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crannocs (Interlined with the cancellation and subsequently cancelled: by inquirey)] And of 1 crannoc purchased.

Sum,  $26\frac{1}{2}$  crannocs 1 bushel.

Of which. In seed over 3 acres 1 crannoc 1 bushel. In sale as appears below  $25\frac{1}{2}$  crannocs. In [erasure]

Sum as above. And nothing remains.

Oats

The same renders account of 69 crannocs of the issues of the grange by heaped measure at piece rate. And of 17 crannocs 1 bushel of increment [Cancelled: And of  $75\frac{1}{2}$  crannocs 4 bushels of issues, the remaining third of a line is lost in the cancellation] And of 6 crannocs of the same issue in sheaves by estimation.

Sum 92 crannocs 4 bushels.

Of which In sowing on 72 acres 36 crannocs. Also in sowing at Kilcolman 2 crannocs 2 bushels. Also delivered at Baliconeh' as seed 4 crannocs. In feed for the affers from the feast of All Saints (1st November) to the feast of the Apostles Philip and James (1st of May) 9 crannocs 2 bushels. In feed for the oxen by estimation 6 crannocs in sheaves. In sale as appears below 35 crannocs [an erasure follows].

Sum as above. And nothing remains.

Issues of the grange of Baliconeh'

The same renders account of 28 crannocs of the issues of the grange of Baliconeh' by heaped measure at piece rate. And of 7 crannocs of increment. And of 4 crannocs from Old Ross.

Sum, 39 crannocs

Of which. In seed over 39 acres  $19\frac{1}{2}$  crannocs. In feed for the affers there 2 crannocs. In sale  $17\frac{1}{2}$  crannocs.

Sum as above. And nothing remains.

The Account of the Stock

Affers

The same renders account of 6 affers remaining.

Sum, 6. And they remain.

Oxen

The same renders account of 30 oxen remaining. And of 2 which have matured. And of one received from David Wac' in order that he might not be reeve.

Sum, 33

Of which in murrain 3.

Sum, 3. And 30 remain.

Compotus stauri

- Affri Idem reddit compotum de vj affris de remanentia.  
Summa, vj Et remanent.
- Boves Idem reddit compotum de xxx bovis de remanentia. Et de ij de  
adunctio. Et de j recepto de David Wac' ut non sit prepositus.  
Summa, xxxiij.
- De Quibus In morina iij  
Summa, iij. Et remanent xxx.
- Vacce Idem reddit compotum de xxv vaccis de remanentia. Et de viij de  
adunctio.  
Summa, xxxiij
- De Quibus In morina ij.  
Summa, ij. Et remanent xxxj.
- Bovetti Idem reddit compotum de iiiij bovettis de remanentia  
Summa, iiiij. Et remanent quorum j taurus
- Boviculi Idem reddit compotum de ix boviculis de remanentia annalium.  
Summa, ix.
- De Quibus In morina iij.  
Summa, iij Et remanent vj quorum iiiij masculi.
- Annales Idem reddit compotum de xj annalibus de remanentia vitulorum.  
Summa, xj. Et remanent quorum v masculi.
- Vituli Idem reddit compotum de xij vitulis de exitu istius anni.  
Summa, xij
- De Quibus In Decima j.  
Summa, j. Et remanent xj.
- Multones Idem reddit compotum de cccLiiij multonibus de remanentia.  
Summa, CCCLiiij.
- De Quibus In morina ante tonsionem iij. In venditio post  
tonsionem xxij. In venditio super compotum xij.  
Summa, xxxv. Et remanent CCCxix.
- Matrices Idem reddit compotum de D xxij matricibus de remanentia.  
Summa, D xxij.

Cows The same renders account of 25 cows remaining. And of 8 which have matured.

Sum, 33.

Of which. In murrain 2.

Sum, 2. And 31 remain.

Bullocks The same renders account of 4 bullocks remaining.

Sum, 4. And they remain, one of which is a bull.

Two year olds The same renders account of 9 two-year olds of the remaining yearlings.

Sum, 9

Of which. In murrain 3.

Sum, 3. And there remain 6 of which 4 are male.

Yearlings The same renders account of 11 yearlings of the remaining calves.

Sum, 11. And they remain, of which 5 are male.

Calves The same renders account of 12 calves of this year's issue.

Sum, 12.

Of which. In tithe 1.

Sum, 1. And 11 remain.

Wethers The same renders account of 354 wethers remaining.

Sum, 354.

Of which. In murrain before the shearing 3. In sale after the shearing 23. In sale outside the period of account 12.

Sum, 35. And there remain 319.

Ewes The same renders account of 522 ewes remaining.

Sum, 522.

Of which. In murrain before lambing and shearing 11. In murrain after lambing and shearing 10.

Sum, 21. And 501 remain.

Hoggets that were lambs before The same renders account of 329 hoggets of the remains of the lambs.

Sum, 329

Of which. In murrain before the shearing 22. And after the shearing 12.

Sum, 34. And 295 remain of which 240 are male.

Lambs The same renders account of 466 lambs of the issue.

Sum, 466.

Of which. In murrain before the tithe 67. In tithe 40. In murrain after the tithe 16. In sale before the shearing 12.

Sum, 135. And 331 remain.

Wool The same renders account of 351 wethers' fleeces. And of 511 ewes' fleeces. And of 307 hoggets' fleeces.

Sum, 1,169

Of which. In tithe 117. In sale as appears below 1,041 fleeces which made 81 stones. And be it noted that 12 sheep of whatever

De Quibus In morina ante fetum et tonsionem xj. In morina post  
fetum et tonsionem x.

Summa xxj. Et remanent Dj.

Hoggastri Idem reddit comptum de CCCxxix hoggastri de remanentia agnorum.  
qui prius  
agni Summa, CCCxxix.

De Quibus In morina ante tonsionem xxij. Et post tonsionem xij.

Summa, xxxiiij. Et remanent CXCXV quorum CCXL masculi .

Agni Idem reddit comptum de CCCCLXVJ agnis de exitu

Summa, CCCCLXVJ

De Quibus In morina ante Decimam lxvij. In Decima xl. In morina  
post decimam xvj. In venditio ante tonsionem xij.

Summa, Cxxxv. Et remanent CCCxxxj

Lana Idem reddit comptum de CCCLj velleribus multonum. Et de Dxxj  
velleribus matricium. Et de CCCvij velleribus hoggastrorum.

Summa, ME. CLXIX.

De Quibus In Decima Cxvij. In venditio ut patet infra ME. xij  
velleribus que fecerunt <sup>xx</sup>iiij petras. Et memorandum quod xij  
bidentes cuiuslibet sexus faciunt petram ultima in toto xxx velleres.  
In venditio super comptum xj velleribus que fecerunt j petram quare  
multonum.

Lana Idem reddit comptum de CCCXXXJ velleribus lane agnorum facientibus  
Agnorum xj petras dimidiam. Et in venditio infra. Et nichil remanet.

produce a stone beyond which there are 30 fleeces. In sale outside the period of account 11 fleeces which make 1 stone because they are from wethers.

'Lambs'  
wool

The same renders account of 331 fleeces of lambs' wool making 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  stones. And in sale below. And nothing remains.

P.R.O. S.C.6 1238/48

ORAL HISTORY

Farmers' Organisation and Politics; Recollections of Michael Walsh.

Himself a farmer, Michael Walsh has had a lifelong interest in politics, organisation and independent farmers representation. In the following account he tells of how he came to be involved with Clann na Talmhan when that party was active in Waterford in 1940s.

"I had a great admiration for my father-in-law, Nicholas Fitzgerald, who stood as a Farmers' candidate in 1922 general election. He had much to do with the development of farms in Waterford and the promotion of seeds and artificial fertilizer... Perhaps I tried to copy his ways...I tried to promote a Young Farmers' Club in Kill, one of the first in the country, and it later became a branch of Macra na Feirme. The Club was developing along good lines, but some people there thought I was doing it for the benefit of a particular party (I had relatives with Fine Gael leanings). We had a number there from Fianna Fail, and Labour, well. pro-Labour people...This gentleman accused me of promoting Fine Gael under the guise of a Young Farmers' Club. I told them I wasn't "Feena" anything. But it diluted my interest, and I had family commitments...

"I never lost an interest in the promotion of agricultural activities in political affairs....and almost at the same time as the development of the Young Farmers' Club I was asked to attend a meeting at Egans Hotel in Dungarvan by older farmers from the mid-Waterford area, and I was asked by a number of prominent mid-Waterford farmers, including the late Mr. Jimmy Power of Kilbeg, Mr. Gerry Cooney of Kill, and the late Mr. John Power of Ballingarry, to canvass for Mr. Denis Heskin from west Waterford, a man I did not know at all. He was being promoted as the selection of the county Waterford candidates for the Dail. I was asked to help mainly because of my interest in the Young Farmers' Club and being a member of the G.A.A. and the Gaelic League I was well known as a promoter of clubs and organisation...as well as that I was a cyclist of some ability, able to cycle to Dublin and that, this was important in wartime."

"I canvassed a lot, cycling about the locality. Another chap, Phillip Power and myself managed to get a few gallons of petrol, and in Phillip Power's motor car we canvassed all along the outskirts of the area from Waterford to Dungarvan, leaving out the part in between which had been done already. We managed to get a considerable sum of money, and we got Heskin elected as an independent Farmer representing county Waterford agriculturalists. Farmers and farm workers alike contributed to the cause, though most workmen at that time were pro-Labour..."

As with Young Farmers' Club, old party allegiances intruded, and where voters would not give their first preferences to the Clann, they were asked to support the Farmers' cause after they had committed their usual party vote.

Heskin was elected as a Clann na Talmhan TD in 1943, polling 2,875 votes, and re-elected in 1944 with an increased number of votes. He later joined Fianna Fail and unsuccessfully contested the 1948 general election for that party. Michael Walsh continues...

"Mr. Heskin represented the farmers well for a period of time and we were all proud of him, but the situation in the Dail at this time was finely balanced. Mr. Heskin kept the government



THE 1918 CONGRESS OF THE IRISH T.U.C. AND LABOUR PARTY

By Colm Power.

The 1918 Congress of the Irish T.U.C. and Labour Party was held in the City Hall, Waterford on the 5th, 6th and 7th of August of that year amid widespread antagonism to British rule in Ireland and of admiration for the Russian revolution which had taken place the previous year. "The sentiment of the gathering was strongly national" according to Greaves<sup>1</sup>. World War I was still in progress, though it soon was to end with the signing of the armistice on November 11th.

Some months, prior to the holding of the Congress, the Irish Trade Union movement had gained a significant victory in the Anti-Conscription strike of April, 23rd. "The strike was a great show of strength, not only for the anti-conscription cause but for the labour movement as a whole" according to Arthur Mitchell<sup>2</sup>. Faced with this show of strength, the British Government decided not to make the Order in Council introducing conscription into Ireland. It significantly added to Labour's stature and ensured that the Waterford Congress took place at a time when the movement's morale was high. something which is reflected in the proceedings.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF AUGUST 5th<sup>3</sup>

The officers of the Congress 1917/1918 were as follows:

Chairman	-	William O'Brien (Dublin).
Vice-Chairman	-	Thomas Cassidy (Derry).
Treasurer	-	D.R. Campbell (Belfast).
Secretary	-	P.T. Daly (Dublin).

The meeting commenced in the morning, and Monday was devoted to addresses of welcome and procedural arrangements. Thomas Cassidy, (Typographical Association, Derry) and Vice-Chairman of the National Executive, presided at the opening of the proceedings. The reason for this was that there was a dispute about the right of William O'Brien, the Chairman, to be present as a delegate. (This matter will be dealt with later on). The delegates were welcomed to the City by Councillor Kirwan, in the absence of the Mayor, Councillor McDonald, through indisposition. Amongst those who attended to join in the welcome were the Rev. W.J. O'Connell, ADM., the Cathedral, E. Dalton and T. Dunne, President and Secretary of the Waterford Trades Council, T. Shaughnessy, Principal, Technical Institute and Rev. J. Kelliher, S.T.L.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Cassidy extended a special greeting to new delegates representing National Teachers and Clerks. This was a reference to the fact that the I.N.T.O. and the Irish Clerical Workers' Union had just affiliated to Congress. He devoted a great part of his speech to the need to update the constitution of the I.T.U.C. and L.P.

Thomas Dunne<sup>4</sup> (Secretary, Waterford Trades Council) was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Congress.

The following were elected to act as a Standing Orders Committee:-

Messrs. O'Farrell	(Railway Clerks Association).
D.Houston	(I.T.G.W.U.).
M.Somerville	(A.S.C. and J.).
T.C.Daly	(N.U.R.).
J.Mitchell	(Belfast Trades Council).
Messrs.T.Boyle and T.Kennedy	(Dublin Trades Council) (I.T.G.W.U.) were elected tellers.
Messrs.Duffy and Doherty	(Drapers' Assistants) (Railway Clerks Association) were elected auditors.

It was then proposed that William O'Brien take the chair. Alderman Mc Carron, Derry (Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses) opposed on the grounds that Mr. O'Brien having been expelled by the Dublin branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors was no longer eligible to be a delegate to the Congress<sup>5</sup>

O'Brien denied that he had been legally expelled. The Executive Council of the Tailors' Society had power to call upon him to resign but they had not done so. He was still a delegate to the Dublin Trades Council, which body had sent him to Congress.<sup>6</sup>

After considerable discussion, the proposition "that Mr. O'Brien do take the Chair" was carried by 159 to 38.

The meeting then adjourned.

#### August 6th.<sup>7</sup>

Congress resumed on the morning of Tuesday August 6th, this time with William O'Brien in the chair. The day's proceedings were devoted to the presentation of the Report of the National Executive and the discussion of same. The first item which was dealt with in the report was that of organisation. This was an important item, because of the big increase in trade union membership and the existence of many potential members throughout the country. This section of the report opened as follows:

"In presenting their report for the past year, the National Executive are pleased to be in a position to record the great strides which the Labour movement in Ireland has taken during the twelve months since our last Congress.

"Following the decision of last year your Executive proceeded to put in operation the Organising Scheme adopted by the Derry Congress. They issued cards and stamps as decided. It soon became apparent, however that for the development of Part II of the Scheme, new machinery was necessary to press the matter forward as it was felt it should be pressed. We were faced with the position that in many places in the country calling out for organisation there was absolutely none, gauged on the Trades Union basis. The National Executive considered the advisability of following on the lines of the American Federation of Labour in organising "mixed locals" but inasmuch as this would be contrary to the instructions of Congress the following outline for consideration and, if so decided, approval".<sup>8</sup>

What was proposed was that in small towns where there was no trade union membership, "Trades and Labour Councils" would be set up under the auspices of the I.T.U.C. and L.P. but unlike those in the cities to which branches of trade unions affiliated, individual members would join up. Afterwards these members would be grouped in sections according to industry followed, say : -

- Distributive Trades Section, Building Trades Section, Transport Trades Section, Agricultural Section, etc.

A suggested set of rules for such a Trades and Labour Council was then set out.<sup>9</sup> Also in this section of the report, there was a letter from the National Executive which was sent to several Trades Councils requesting information about the possibility of getting Labour candidates elected in the next general election.<sup>10</sup> Among the questions in this letter were the following ;

- What constituency, or constituencies, in your district does your Council consider should be contested ?
- What are the prospects of Local Labour Representation ?
- How many Labour members of Local bodies, Town or Urban Council, Poor Law Board etc. are there in your district ?
- What suggestions can you make as to how the Women voters can be organised and associated with our work as a Labour Party ?

In the Spring of 1918, around the time when it was involved in the anti-conscription campaign, it was decided that the I.T.U.C. and L.P. would put up candidates to contest the next parliamentary election.<sup>11</sup> This was greeted with dismay by the leaders of Sinn Fein. The decision to put forward Labour candidates was now being carried a stage further at the Waterford Congress.

There was a section in the report on Food Conservation. It described how the Labour representatives on the Food Control Committee had resigned from that body, which was referred to as "a fake and a fraud." Then the correspondence which took place in late 1917 and early 1918, between P.T. Daly representing the I.T.U.C. and L.P. on one hand, and leaders of the British Labour Party, Peters and Henderson on the other on the subject of the Representation of the People's Act was published in full.

There was also a section on the International Conference of socialist parties which was held in Stockholm in 1917. The Irish delegation had been refused passports to attend the conference by the British Foreign Secretary. The report then went on at length to deal with the part which the trade unions had played in the anti-conscription campaign. It was also pointed out that Thomas Johnson had been dismissed by his employer because he was involved in organising anti-conscription meetings. He was then employed full time as secretary to the Mansion House Committee.

Other sections of the report dealt with Teachers Pay and the Fair Wages Clause. In a section under the heading "Deputation to the International",<sup>12</sup> William O'Brien and D.R. Campbell reported that they went to London to make contact with the International Bureau.

"In compliance with the instructions of the National Executive we travelled to London on January 20th for the purpose of interviewing M. Camille Huysmans, Secretary, International Bureau, and other representatives, in order to forward our claim for recognition in the International Labour movement, in accordance with the decision of the last Congress. Finding that M. Huysmans had not yet arrived we waited on

M. Maxim Litvinoff, Plenipotentiary of the Russian People's Government to Great Britain to whom we were introduced by, Mr. Robert Williams Secretary, National Transport Workers' Federation. M. Litvinoff received us very cordially, and promised that the full support of the Russian movement would be given to our claim for admission as a nation to the International. He showed himself to be well-informed about Irish affairs, and mentioned that both Lenin and Trotsky were conversant with the writings of James Connolly, whose name, M. Litvinoff stated, was favourably known to the Russian Revolutionary movement.

"Learning that M. Huysmans would travel direct to the Labour Party Conference at Nottingham we proceeded to that City, on the 22nd and were fortunate in meeting him on the afternoon of that day. Having explained to M. Huysmans in detail the position of the movement in Ireland, and the claim we were authorised to make for recognition as a national entity, we requested that M. Huysmans would put our positions before the next meeting of the Bureau. In reply M. Huysmans, while showing us every courtesy and friendliness, said as an official of the Bureau, he was precluded from expressing any opinion on our claim."

"On the following day we met M. Jean Longuet, who granted us a long interview, and listened with great interest to what we had to say on behalf of the Irish Movement. He said that he took a deep interest in the Irish question and expressed keen satisfaction on learning that one of the delegates was a representative of the Belfast Trades Council. He promised his most cordial support for our claim to recognition in the International, and said it would afford him very much pleasure to visit Ireland when his engagements would permit".

D.R. Campbell

Wm. O'Brien.

The report was approved.

13

August 7th

The press was excluded from this session, during which resolutions were discussed. The resolutions on the agenda covered the following topics :

1. American Naval men in Cork doing civilian work.
2. The forthcoming Socialist International Congress at Berne.
3. Self-Determination for Ireland.
4. Nationalisation of Irish Railways.
5. Education Reform.
6. Pay of Agricultural Workers.
7. Fair Wages in Public Contracts.
8. Housing.
9. Opposition to Conscription.

Then came the election of a new Executive and officers for the coming year. Here, the feud between William O'Brien and P.T. Daly was carried a stage further. A move was afoot to remove Daly from the post of Secretary. Daly expected that his opponent would be Tom Johnson, and he and his followers campaigned against Johnson saying that "it would be a terrible thing if an Englishman became Secretary of Congress". However when nominations were taken, it was William O'Brien, himself who opposed Daly for the post of Secretary. When the vote was taken O'Brien was elected by the margin of 114 to 109. P.T. Daly had been well and truly ambushed! But then, O'Brien was a past

master at intrigue. Before the Congress had taken place, Daly had been beaten for the post of President of the Dublin Trades Council. However, later on that year he fought back and was elected secretary of that body. After that he was to use the Dublin Trades Council as a base for carrying on his feud with O'Brien.

Tom Johnson was elected Treasurer instead of D.R. Campbell who did not seek re-election. The new executive was as follows:-

- Chairman - Thomas Cassidy, Derry.
- Vice-Chairman - Thomas Farren, Dublin.
- Treasurer - Thomas Johnson, Dublin.
- Secretary - William O'Brien.

COMMITTEE

- Thomas Mc Partlin, Dublin.
- Rose Timmon, Dublin.
- Joseph Mitchell, Belfast.
- Thomas C. Daly, Dublin.
- M.J. O'Lehane, Dublin.
- J.T. O'Farrell, Dublin.
- Cathal O'Shannon, Cork.
- Michael Egan, Cork.

Congress concluded with a vote of thanks to the Waterford Trades Council for organising the event. This was proposed by M.J. O'Connor (I.T.G.W.U.) and was seconded by J.J. Redmond (A.S.E.).

FOOTNOTES:

1. Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution by C. Desmond Greaves, (1971) p.146.
2. Labour in Irish Politics 1890-1930 - Arthur Mitchell (1974) p.88.
3. The information in this section was obtained from the Report of the 1918 Congress. (I.C.T.U., Raglan Road, Dublin).
4. Thomas Dunne (1878-1966) was a tailor by trade. Secretary of the Waterford branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses 1907-1918. Secretary of the Waterford Trades Council 1909-1920. Full-time Secretary of Waterford Branch of the I.T.G.W.U. 1918-1941. Labour Party member of Waterford Corporation 1920-1945. Mayor of Waterford 1941. A friend of both Connolly and Larkin, the contribution which this man made to the Trade Union movement in Waterford during his lifetime was immense!
5. At that time, there was provision in the rules of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union for dual membership i.e. a member could also be a member of another union as well. Many of the founders of the union were members of another union as well. For instance in Dublin, William O'Brien was a member of the I.T.G.W.U. and of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, William Partridge was a member of the A.S.E. as well as of the I.T.G.W.U. and in Waterford, Thomas Dunne was a member of the I.T.G.W.U. and of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses.
6. Report of the I.T.U.C. and L.P. Congress, Waterford, 1918, p.7.

7. Report of the National Executive 1918. (National Library, Dublin.)
8. ibid. p.1 .
9. ibid. p.2 - 3 .
10. ibid. p.5 - 6 .
11. Thomas Johnson - by J. Anthony Gaughan, (1981) p.117 .
12. Report of National Executive 1918. p.31 .
13. Report of I.T.U.C. and Labour Party 1918 - I.C.T.U., 19, Reglan Road, Dublin .
14. For a detailed account of this feud see Labour in Irish Politics 1890-1930 by Arthur Mitchell, p.93-94 .
15. This was a reference to the fact that Johnson had been born in Liverpool. For further details see Thomas Johnson by J. Anthony Gaughan.

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(CONTINUED FROM p.32)

afloat...on a particular issue his vote carried the day for the government. Mr. de Valera invited him to join the Fianna Fail party and a short time later there was a general election. I was approached to promote Mr. Heskin's cause again, but I had got married in the meantime and I wasn't able to accept the invitation to work because Mr. Heskin was a party man and I have always been an independent minded man since my youthful days."

Michael Walsh was subsequently involved with Macra na Feirme and the NFA in the Kilmacthomas district, but he was not to be active in politics again until 1979 when he contested the elections for Waterford County Council as an Independent.

Interview with Emmet O'Connor at Kilmoylan, Kilmacthomas, 11 November 1981.

WILLS RELATING TO WATERFORD

by Julian C. Walton.

III. UNPUBLISHED JENNINGS ABSTRACTS: The "WATERFORD WILLS" SERIES.

INDEX OF TESTATORS. (1) A - K .

As pointed out in the previous instalment, Jennings' historical papers were acquired from his widow by J. Canon McGuirk, at whose death in 1948 they passed to the Library of the O'Connell School, North Richmond Street, Dublin. The series labelled "Waterford Wills" consists of nine exercise books, but on the cover of the first Canon McGuirk wrote: "11 bks." Two therefore are missing (they never reached the O'Connell School) - one hopes that one day they will turn up somewhere. The remaining books contain nearly 700 pages of script, made up as follows:

<u>VOL.</u>	<u>PAGES</u>	<u>DATES</u>	<u>CONTENTS</u>
1.	1-104	1582-1675	prerogative wills, many relating to Co. Waterford. The last two pages are written in pencil, and contain Waterford and Lismore wills of 1820-1821 later recopied elsewhere.
2.	105-153	1724-1731	wills and admons., Waterford and Lismore Diocese. Pages 138-153 are written in pencil, and contain abstracts for the year 1800 later recopied elsewhere.
3.	154-168		miscellaneous.
4.	169-296	1762-1783	wills & admons., Waterford & Lismore. The first entry, however, is the will of Bishop Gore, 1697.
5.	297-406	1783-1797	wills & admons, Waterford & Lismore.
6.	407-515	1797-1810	" " " " " "
7.	516-615	1810-1827	" " " " " "
8.	616-651	1827-1834	" " " " " "
9.	652-696	1834-1843	" " " " " "

Page 697 in pencil.

The series may be consulted in photocopy in the Public Record Office (call number: 1C.41.46). There is a card-index in the reading-room, in which Jennings' notes have been compared with entries in the official indexes. The date given in each case is that of probate or administration, a practice we have followed below.

This is not an easy document to use. Jennings' handwriting is difficult, his style is terse, he made frequent use of abbreviation, and in accordance with the then regulation he made his notes in pencil, which he later inked over; furthermore, the PRO copy is a negative photostat. Hence it is important, before consulting the MS, to look first at our previous instalment (in Decies XVII.), which contains an index to those abstracts (about one-third of the total) published in the Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society. What we present below is an index to the remainder.

I should like to express once again my thanks to Dr. Henry Morris, whose draft index forms the basis of my own; and to Brother W.P. Allen, who allowed me ready access to the Jennings MSS at the O'Connell School.

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(To be Continued)

(Part II)

by Georgina Flynn

The Insurrection:

On Sunday, July 23rd a major meeting was held on top of Slieve Na Mban. The members of the John Mitchell club and the Hugh O'Neill club formed a procession of 300 and marched through the streets outside the town. According to a report given to the Waterford Chronicle many extensive establishments in Carrick discontinued work to be present at the meeting. The significant aspect of the meeting was the speech given by T.F. Meagher in which he called the country to arms. It was apparent that people in almost every district had flung away the peace policy and were determined to try their strength with the government.

But though the general trend was towards setting up clubs, the members of one particular town in County Waterford were not in favour of physical force action. Attempts were made to establish a club in Dungarvan. This attempt for the most part failed. The merchants, shopkeepers and greater part of tradesmen refused to have anything to do with it. This attitude was significant in that it showed that the doctrine of physical force had not found root in Dungarvan, the members of which were prepared to remain steadfast in the principles of Daniel O'Connell.

July 26th was the date appointed for the registering of arms for the Barony of Decies without Drum. The significance of this event is found in the classes of people who came to register for possession of arms. It gives a clear picture of the people who wished to support the government with their services if and when an insurrection broke out throughout the country. There was a higher number than expected who applied for registering of arms. The applicants consisted chiefly of farmers principally of the middle classes and tradesmen. All those that licenses were granted to were told by the magistrate that they were "liable to be called upon by the government, if a necessity would arise for their services, to maintain the peace and laws of their country and thereby protect their own properties"<sup>1</sup> Many were refused the right to register arms including Edward Lonergan for renting the Nation newspaper and Christopher O'Brien who had endeavoured to set up a club in Dungarvan.

As regards English opinions of the state in Ireland at that time, it is obvious that many people of Irish origin were in support of the Young Ireland movement. These people were particularly well informed about events which were occurring in Ireland.

"The law just passed which enables the Lord Lieutenant to deprive of liberty, to consign to a dungeon, anyone who dares to think that Ireland shall be free is one which must create in the mind of any true man a determined feeling of hate for the British Misrule".<sup>2</sup>

Meetings were held frequently in London and confederate clubs were being formed. At Manchester and London the same activity was occurring. Two divisions of the Irish Brigade which consisted of 300 men were on their way from New York to Liverpool. These men were well drilled and provided with arms and two months pay and their passage to Ireland was also accounted for. In all, 5000 men were prepared to come from England and give help and guidance.<sup>3</sup>

By the last week of July the government had sent powerful forces of infantry to the areas where the urge to come out and fight was strong and where the atmosphere was tense. In Carrick-on-Suir, for example, the town was crowded with soldiers - three houses and the Temperance Hall were occupied with them. In the town of Clonmel there were "thousands of Red Coats"<sup>4</sup> and one report mentioned the fact that it was impossible to sleep at night from the heavy tramping of patrols of horse, infantry and police. The infantry were in fact very active. Mr. Jones, the resident magistrate for Carrick-on-Suir, with the aid of 500 troops, planted a cannon on the bridge. They entered the village of Carrick Beg, commenced a search for arms and succeeded in capturing thirty pike handles and two pikes. They also searched the warehouse of Messrs. Cleary and Higgins and took from them all the arms and ammunition which they had for sale and deposited them in the barracks.

In Waterford City the same activity was initiated by the Constabulary who were well numbered and well informed by direct instructions from Dublin Castle on what they should do. During the last week of July Inspector Gunn, accompanied by troops and artillery, marines, royal fusiliers, police and special constabulary, about 700 in all, proceeded in parties to different parts of the city. The principal areas of attack were the Chronicle office, Mr. Tyrell's, many ammunition suppliers' premises and the whole of the Ballybricken area in general. In addition the Ballybricken Felon Club was dissolved by the unanimous consent of the members, in consequence of the government proclamation for their suppression. The measures taken by the government were proving most effective in Waterford and this can be seen by the ready dissolution of clubs in the district of Waterford.

In an account by John O'Mahony during the autumn of that year, a clear picture is given of all the events that occurred in the valley of the Suir during that period. The beginning of the insurrection was marked by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In response to this, William Smith O'Brien and the leaders of the Young Ireland movement held a meeting in the house of Dr. Purcell, who was a resident of Carrick-on-Suir. The members of the Carrick Central Board were present and these members represented all the clubs in the districts of County Waterford. It was a common opinion among them that Smith O'Brien should leave the town altogether. The members of the Central Board wished to know why O'Brien had chosen Carrick-on-Suir as the central area from which all activity would spring. O'Brien chose Carrick because it was the unanimous decision of the leaders of Young Ireland and the people were fully organised, armed and prepared there. He also explained that he did not wish to engage Carrick in a single-handed battle against England rather "he wanted from them a body of young men armed with guns and well provided with ammunition and having sufficient means of self support to guard him and his companions while they were raising the country"<sup>5</sup> The consequences of this meeting were disappointing on a two fold basis. It is apparent that Young Ireland supporters were not prepared mentally to face an insurrection. They had not the confidence to feel secure in what they were about to do. In comparison with the government they were ill prepared. In addition Smith O'Brien knew that the leaders of the clubs were beginning to sway in the opposite direction to the leaders of Young Ireland. The meeting was concluded on the note that all forces were to be brought together for the protection of the leaders of Young Ireland. However these leaders decided later that they would leave the town of Carrick-on-Suir. John O'Mahony

was not informed of this until late in the evening, by which time he had organised a meeting of 400 members for the purpose of protecting Smith O'Brien. The fact that the leaders had not informed all members of what was happening showed a lack of professionalism on their part.

The original plan for action was to refrain from any outbreak of insurrection until the harvest was ripe. This gave leaders and the people two weeks to prepare. The following day T.F. Meagher visited the home of John O'Mahony. He explained that he was going to Waterford to organise his club of a thousand men to join with Smith O'Brien in Cashel. It was at this stage that the plan of action began to backfire. From Dr. O'Ryan, Mahony learned that he and Rev. Byrne thought the whole movement to be premature. Rev. Byrne was quoted as having said that he would have nothing further to do with Young Ireland. The clergy were of the opinion that an insurrection should be put off at least a fortnight until the harvest ripened. It was evident however, that this could lead to a non-existent insurrection.

T.F. Meagher returned from Waterford with disappointing news. On reaching Waterford he had sent for the chief men of the club and Rev. Tracy. Meagher asked whether these men were willing to march with him immediately or not. The men told him they would be unable to support him without Rev. Tracy's consent. Rev. Tracy had been the chief adviser of the clubs in Waterford and he had given the specific instructions not to partake in any activities. It appears that the hierarchy had given instructions to the priests not to adhere to the present policy of Young Ireland and to advise the people to do likewise. It was wise of the government to use the heads of the church to break up the organisation by means of those men who had contributed much in spreading it and who had, in doing so, gained the entire confidence of the fighting portion of the people. Even in Carrick, Fr. Byrne had been forbidden by his superior to meddle further in the affairs of Young Ireland. In Mullinahone, Fr. Morrissey P.P. and his curate Fr. Comerford, had been from house to house throughout the parish and had instructed the people not to stir without their specific orders. Many of the priests were instructed to tell the people that they would still lead them if and when the opportunity arose. However had the priests told the people to give up the idea of fighting altogether the people would not have believed it because, in most districts, the clergy were the men who had first told their flocks to arm and organise. Some had told them explicitly and others had led them to believe that they would themselves lead them.

The consequences of this change in attitude on the part of the clergy were crucial. Everywhere the demand for the fortnight delay was spoken of as a vital necessity. Though this new plan emanated from the revolutionary priests, it was also taken up and diligently prepared by those who held to the peaceful and loyal principles of Old Ireland.

The Riot of Ballinacorney may be termed the climax of the insurrection and though it was the high point of the revolution it was evident from the outset that failure was imminent. It is necessary to emphasise the stringent measures taken by the government to support Habeas Corpus and even more crucial that a special warrant was issued to arrest Smith O'Brien. The importance lies in the fact that the prearranged plan did not take into consideration the chance that these might have occurred and that, if so, the consequence forced to push forward the whole plan of action. It showed a strange lack of foresight in the face of a vigilant and determined group.

On Saturday, July 29th, T.F. Meagher and Dillon arrived in Carrick-on-Suir. That evening forty policemen under Sub-Inspector Cox reached the village with the intention of arresting W. Smith O'Brien. He became aware of the specific intention of the police and prepared to meet them. Both parties met outside Ballingarry. Mr. O'Brien's group consisted of five hundred men, armed with pikes and included twenty men armed with guns and pistols. The police retreated to Mrs. McCormack's house. Mr. O'Brien proceeded to the house and demanded a surrender of arms. This was refused. According to a report given in the Waterford Chronicle Mr. O'Brien fired shots into the house. The engagement itself lasted an hour, the police having fired forty three rounds of ammunition. Rev. Mr. Corcoran intervened and both groups were dissuaded from further attack. It was reported that three people were taken away and a number of people were injured. The police on their return from Ballingarry to Cashel were again attacked by a body of people. With regard to Smith O'Brien, only Terence McManus and James Stephens remained with him. Dillon headed for Athlone and attempted a rising there while Meagher himself went back to Carrick-on-Suir with Leyne, O'Mahony and O'Donoghue. O'Brien remained in hiding for a week before setting out boldly for his own county Limerick.

On August 1st, Meagher and Leyne with Cantwell and O'Donoghue and McManus arrived at the parish of Clonulty and went up the mountains around Keeper Hill. They were earnestly advised to abandon a hopeless effort and flee from Ireland, but Meagher is reported to have replied "I and my friends have made the experiment. We have found that the people are not up to the mark and from this day forward and for that very reason we carry no arms with us." Warned of impending police action, Meagher and Leyne and O'Donoghue started out by night for Thurles but were soon caught by a police patrol and arrested.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE YOUNG IRELANDERS.

The study on the events in Waterford during 1848 brings to light that certain sections of the community in Waterford aligned themselves into groups and held specific attitudes towards "Young Ireland" and its activities. In this grouping of certain sectors of the community, the success or failure of Young Ireland was determined. Even as early as February, with the advent of 1848 election in Waterford city, people began to adopt attitudes towards the group. The clergy in Waterford appeared to be united in their standing in April when they held a meeting and decided to stand with the multitude of Irish people and give forth with their strong support. But by September, their strong feelings were put to the test and the clergy were forced to withdraw their support. Here a detrimental change in attitudes can be detected and it proved fatal to Young Ireland and its plan. Waterford had a strong group of manufacturers and traders, many of whom were justices of the peace and these men remained loyal to the crown. Those who supported Young Ireland were for the most part working class men of unemployed state.

In examining attitudes towards Young Ireland it is essential that chief importance is attached to the feelings of the clergy of Waterford. The priests of the different parishes held a dominant influence over their flock. In fact the people within each parish looked to the priest for leadership. They sought guidance and direction in so far as the priest was willing to give. In the case of Rev. Patrick Byrne, parish priest of Lismore, he was willing on behalf of the clergy of



Waterford to express his feelings as follows -

"The priests of Ireland are determined to stand by and with the people; come what may the Irish priest shall be found amid the fight invoking heavens blessing upon it".<sup>7</sup>

This in itself is enough to prove that their support lay strongly and determinedly with the Young Ireland group and with their beliefs. At a meeting held in Templederry on Sunday, April 23rd, Fr. Kenyon, together with T.F. Meagher, S.O'Brien, and John Mitchell, strongly urged the crowd present to support the cause of Young Ireland.

"You have solemnly pledged yourself this day to stand by and support J. Mitchell, S.O'Brien, T.F. Meagher".<sup>8</sup>

From Fr. Kenyon's speech it is evident that he as a priest was in favour of action, armed action if necessary.

John O'Mahony, in his account of how the clergy were disposed in the south, freely admitted that many priests were in favour of the setting up of confederate clubs and even directed them.

"Rev. M. Power curate of the parish where I lived, Ballyneill, wished to establish a club in his locality"<sup>9</sup>  
In Carrick there were several clubs established, all under the patronage of Rev. M. Byrne.

Within the clergy there was conflict between the older clerics and dignitaries, and the young clergy, as to whether priests should support "Young Ireland". This conflict which had subsided temporarily in the early months of 1843 erupted again while the plan for the insurrection was in action. It is apparent from John O'Mahony's account of the insurrection that a change of attitude had manifested itself among the clergy, even those who had strongly supported Young Ireland.

"From Rev. Dr. O'Ryan I learned that himself, Rev. Byrne and all the local leaders were against the movement as premature".

In a letter written aboard the Swift to Tasmania, T.F. Meagher attempts to explain why the clergy decided to discontinue their plan.

"There is another slander too, a slander no less unjust and scandalous which I feel bound to refute. Since the affair at Ballinacorney it has been repeatedly rung in our ears the priests betrayed you. The priests did not betray us. As a body they were opposed to us from the day of the secession down to the very day on which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was announced. In not joining us therefore, in the field, in not exhorting the people to take up arms, in setting themselves against the few who rallied and warning them to their houses, in all this they did not act treacherously. They simply acted with strict consistency. I do not of course applaud them for the part they acted. With the belief that is rooted in my mind I could not do so. For I firmly believed that had the priests of Ireland preached the revolution from their altars, had they blessed the arms and banners of the people, had they gone out like the Sicilian priests or the Archbishop of Milan and borne the cross in front of the insurgent ranks, I firmly believe that there would have been a Young Nation, crowned with glory, standing proudly up by the side of England at this hour. And yet in opposing the insurrectionary movement of 1848, the Catholic Clergy of Ireland were influenced by the purest love for the people. They had witnessed the ravages of three famines,

and had seen the blood of the country turning into water, its rigorous gallant form shrivelling to a spectre. They had seen all this and could not bring themselves to bestow their sanction on a struggle in which the odds appeared so numerous against the country. I know that it was this feeling of certain brave high-minded men in parishes I could mention and in their efforts to surprise the rising they were governed by this feeling".

It is evident that Meagher had no bitter feelings against the clergy for their actions. According to Meagher the clergy had been always against the policy of Young Ireland. This feeling occupied the minds of the hierarchy within the clergy but undoubtedly it can be seen that many of the ordinary clergy were very much in favour of action on the part of Young Ireland. These priests were influenced strongly by the dignitaries who were being pressurised and thus all the clergy decided to withdraw their support from the plan.

In a letter to the editor of the Waterford News, Nov. 10th, 1848 an inhabitant of New Ross gave his own personal reasons as to why the clergy did not partake in the action of the "War Party".

"I heard some persons essaying to cast censure or blame on the Catholic Clergy for not joining in the late abortive attempt at outbreak. Those individuals ask why wouldn't the clergy join the people? Now I ask this war party why would they? Here are the reasons. Because their Holy Religion inculcates peace. Because the country was then in a most helpless condition without arms, food or money. Because they did not agree as to the sagacity of the leaders. Because the "War Party" hinted that they were independent of the clergy. Because though affecting to bond all Irishmen together they poured incessant insults on the memory of that greatest of Irishmen Daniel O'Connell thus insulting his devoted and countless admirers. Because they declared that if the altar stood between those and the object they had in view it should be thrown aside. Because they began the war without consulting the opinions of the clergy. Because the war party denominated all those who did not agree with them in opinion as "cowards".

"And why should the war party blame the Old Irelanders or the clergy for their want of success? Why call the clergy cowards? Why call people who conscientiously opposed the physical force of principle cowards? Why not on the other hand put this saddle on the right horse and say that the war party who bought guns and pikes and cursed and swore that they should have war had not the pluck. The peace party made no pledges and no promises. They looked and calmly matched the belligerents".<sup>11</sup>

Above, in bitter tones, an Old Irelander supports in full the actions of the clergy.

The election of a candidate as a new member of Parliament for Waterford city may be singled out as an event which helped to mould the opinions of different sectors of the community towards Young Ireland. During the week immediately before the election the Young Irelanders showed themselves to be strongly against the Old Irelanders. They did so by means of physical force. "The unoffending followers of Old Ireland were struck to the ground with stones".<sup>12</sup> This in itself was not sufficient but when Thomas F. Meagher realised that he would be defeated the Young Irelanders voted for the Whig candidate Sir Henry Barron

instead of Pat Costelloe, the Old Ireland candidate. The reaction on the part of many of the citizens of Waterford was to regard as base the actions of T.F.Meagher. It is evident that the Young Ireland group had taken a step in the wrong direction and had failed to gain the approval of many of leading and influential citizens of the city of Waterford. In addition it transpired that many of these dominant figures began to realign themselves in groups and declare openly their unabated loyalty to the crown.

The members of the Chamber of Commerce, which included manufacturers and traders in Waterford, in written letter declared unabiding loyalty to the crown. In so doing they expressed fear and anxiety at the revolutionary outbreaks which were occurring in the city and county of Waterford. The secretary, Thomas Hanton in a personal letter to the Lord Lieutenant pleaded to take into consideration "the present alarming crisis of the affairs in this country"<sup>13</sup>. The attitudes of the members of the Chamber of Commerce towards Young Ireland were clear. This group was adding insecurity and instability to the peace which previously enveloped the country. The merchants of the city were stricken with a similar grief but they felt that the atmosphere was heightened to a level where by external forces were necessary to provide security. They felt it necessary "to give the citizens of Waterford the advantage of one of Her Majesty's armies steam vessels to be stationed in the harbour". Many loyalists felt an impending danger in close proximity and also sent a petitioned letter to the Lord Lieutenant to send reinforcements. All of these petitions were sent to the Lord Lieutenant within a month of the Waterford election.

Before the preparation for the insurrection had begun, very influential bodies in Waterford had formed hostile opinions on Young Ireland and it was unlikely that these opinions would change. Yet despite this, the "Young Ireland Movement" did have support in Waterford. Much of this came from the lower orders of the community. Within Waterford city, T.F.Meagher regularly visited the miserable cabins of the poor. At first because of his upper crust English accent, acquired at Clongowes and at Stoneyhurst, the people distrusted him. They could not understand why a wealthy young man should interest himself in changing their status. Many remembered Daniel O'Connell's sell out of the same people and they also knew that the father of this young man was an ultra conservative.

T.F.Meagher and the Young Ireland group was determined to win the support of this sector of the community. Many of these people were too ignorant of the politics to form any stable opinion of the group. But they supported Young Ireland in an attempt to change the status quo. Many men showed their support and enthusiasm by attending mass meetings. At a meeting held in Templeberry on April 23rd "there were about a thousand people present at it".<sup>14</sup> In addition the fact that many of the priests were setting up clubs encouraged many of the doubtful to join. For many people looked upon the parish priest as a leader in his own right, and were willing to take his advice and follow his example. T.F.Meagher's arrest on July 12th shows the enthusiasm of these people to prevent the arrest of their leader. From the report given in the Waterford Chronicle it is clear that the armed pikemen from Ballybricken would have seized T.F.Meagher from the constabulary had not Meagher himself prevented it.

CONCLUSION:

In conclusion, it must be noted that it was a very bad time to even consider rebellion. Famine stalked the land and survival took precedence over all other considerations. In addition, the ideas of the Young Ireland movement were ahead of their time and this led to eventual failure on their part. It is to be questioned whether had the clergy supported the Young Ireland movement to the end, there would have been a new nation. But it is evident that the clergy played a major role in the activities of Young Ireland in Waterford. The Waterford election of 1848 had a dominant influence over the attitudes taken towards Young Ireland on the part of some important sectors of the community.

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BOOK REVIEW

IRELAND: A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY. 1922-1979.

by Terence Brown. Fontana Original. 1981. \$3.50 in U.K. /  
£5.17 Ireland.

Between the scholarly tomes on history which are frequently referred to but rarely read in full and the large format coffee-table, photo-book, in which there is little to read, lies a third category. Such books tend to concentrate on a reasonably popular theme not previously explored in a cohesive fashion. Peter Beresford Ellis's book on the history of the Irish working class is an example. Terence Brown's book on the social and cultural history of this state since independence also fits comfortably in this category.

Agriculture, industry, religion, housing, sport, education, the arts, and government policies are all covered. Obviously with such a broad canvas one cannot expect too many brushstrokes to be applied to each topic. What one can expect is a degree of equality and in this, one is disappointed. Literature is made the dominant element and Brown has little new to offer in discussing post-independence Irish writing.

The dependence on literature as an intellectual backdrop distorts the book because he opts for the O'Faolain/O'Connor perspective rather than O'Donnell /O'Flaherty. Both Sean O'Faolain and Frank O'Connor have cheerfully changed the past. Frank O'Connor even rewrote his creative works, a practice which stirred O'Faolain to accuse him of forging cheques already cashed. In fact the metaphor ideally suits both men's habitual rewriting of Modern Ireland's history from a cosmopolitan and cynical viewpoint where the dominance and reality of a peasant past is swept aside in favour of a shabby gentility.

Both Peadar O'Donnell and Liam O'Flaherty were born and reared on the Atlantic seaboard and wrote with authenticity about the area. That the same place was the object of a romantic ideal expressed by major figures (such as de Valera) is not their responsibility. Brown links them with this romanticism and complains that, "they both seem tempted by the vision of an Irish rural world that exists beyond political reality," which he considers especially peculiar since they, "wrote their novels with a vigorous socialist concern to unmask social injustices in the Irish countryside". The obvious answer is that there is and was a different form of society along the western seaboard. The fact that the backward glances of O'Faolain dismiss it does not alter reality. Deriving from the idealistic conception of this society an attempt to justify conservative and insular nationalism was made by the founding fathers of the state. To say, as Brown does, that the depiction of such a reality in the works of O'Flaherty and O'Donnell "makes their works less radical than they perhaps thought they were," is to fail to understand that for socialists the truth is the most radical expression of the reality of a society.

In comparison to O'Faolain, who can adjust his writing to suit even Playboy, O'Donnell is weak at constructing plots. In the world in which the action occurs, he is adept at piercing through the veneer of middle-class respectability with which O'Faolain coats society. Brown's attitude is even more absurd in that he admits later in the book that the Gaeltacht Commission, "confirms

the authenticity of Peadar O'Donnell's literary conclusion in his novel "Islanders" (1928) where the hero and heroine at the end of the book reject the possibilities of mainland life in the east of the country to remain on their island, even though their life there will be one of privation and stringency". Brown's target should have been the misuses of that reality, not a denial of its existence.

The second major failure of understanding is Brown's approach to the ingrained conservatism of Irish society. He ascribes it to the conservatism filtering through the offspring of the peasantry into the small trader class and priesthood. He suggests this trinity's opposition to change was an accurate reflection of, and response to, the existing society and while they collaborated in maintaining an unadventurous society, the people as a whole bore ultimate responsibility. This interpretation is misleading as it omits the politicians, the most important force in the Irish state. Because of proportional representation and other factors, Irish public representatives based their activities on treating their constituents as clients while acting as brokers. This system, with its accompanying paraphernalia of clinics, copies of official letters, and contact-men, still thrives, and its existence made T.D.'s messenger boys rather than legislators. The result, in terms of social history, was that the political leadership which could have provided the inspiration and practical proposals for change, instead tended to settle at the level of local clientilism.

Despite these deficiencies, there are many situations described in this book which deserve an airing. An instance is his sympathetic approach to the problems of Southern Protestants immediately after independence. So insecure were they that they sent a delegation from the Synod to Michael Collins to enquire if they would be allowed to remain in the new state.

Another fascinating section describes the early stages of the Irish Language restoration policy. It shows that the early concentration on educational, rather than economic, aspects killed Irish in the hearts of the children and destroyed the Gaeltachts.

A minor criticism is that the Roman Catholic Church is erroneously treated as a monolith up to 1950. There were dissenting voices. An outstanding example is Father O'Flanagan who pressed the cause of the legitimate Spanish Government and the democratic rights of its people at a time when Franco was a very popular figure in many Irish eyes.

On a lighter note the book is ideal for browsing. Interesting snippets such as the fact that 80 per cent of Irishmen between the ages of 25 and 30 were bachelors in 1926, are plentiful in this history. It is packed with interesting excerpts from speeches, magazines and documents. Many theories are explained and explored. Perhaps its greatest claim to attention is as a guide to the diverse facets of Irish cultural and social life. Many will find it useful as a starting point for deeper study of a particular aspect.

## BOOK REVIEW.

Edmund Rice. The Man & His Times.

Desmond Rushe.

Gill & Macmillan. 1981. £10.35.

During the past year the Irish Christian Brothers have received attention from a variety of artistic sources. Two plays, 'The Silver Dollar Boys' (Neil Donnelly) and 'The Christian Brothers' (Ron Blair) were produced in Dublin, and a film, 'Our Boys' (Cathal Black) received its premiere. A new biography of the order's founder, Edmund Rice, The Man and His Times., was written by Irish Independent journalist Desmond Rushe and is now available.

Since the first biographical note appeared in the Complete Catholic Directory in 1845, at least 25 publications on the life of Edmund Rice have been available, though some were written for private circulation only. Perhaps the most widely known in recent years were, Eamann Iognaid Ris. le Nollaig O Gadhra. Foil Nais. Teo 1977. and Steadfast in Giving. W.B. Cullen C.F.C., A.L. O'Toole C.F.C. Veritas. 1979.

We are told by Desmond Rushe, in his Introduction, that he was invited by the Irish Christian Brothers to write this new biography. One wonders why? The very title of the book, Edmund Rice, The Man & His Times, raises a number of questions. Firstly, why write another biography if nothing new is presented? Secondly, why write yet another general history of 18th and 19th century Ireland? Another question arises as to the category into which it might be placed. It claims to be a book of serious historical research and yet is without notes, references or bibliography. Can it be classified as Social History, History of Education, Church History or even Hagiography? The author says that he didn't set out to write the definitive biography, and that's unfortunate. After 25 publications its' long overdue.

What Desmond Rushe has given us is a readable, general biography, set against a lightly sketched social historical background. A good narrative style holds one's attention throughout, even though the sequence of chapters is not strictly chronological. Unfortunately, there is little real evaluation. The book has far too many quotations and extracts from correspondence followed by the author's commentary. Neither is it an objective study. There is no doubt throughout the book as to where the author's sympathy lies. The portrait of Edmund Rice that we get is one of a man devoid of faults - one might say even, a 'saint'. He is a man without warts, and anything less than a kind, loving, moral and honourable man is caused by misrepresentation, lies and jealousy on the part of others. At no point in the book does the author point to any action or attitude of Edmund Rice that does not conform to the 'saintly' image. At times one gets the impression that Desmond Rushe, having consulted the sources, saw Edmund Rice as a 'saint' and then set about writing the biography. Nevertheless, the qualities of the man, his business success, his piety, his dedication, his vision and his love are unmistakable and impressive.

Edmund Rice was born in June 1762 at Westcourt, Callan, Co. Kilkenny, the son of well off farming parents. He was reared and educated in a Catholic ethos and on completing his secondary education came to the busy commercial centre of Waterford to run his uncle's provisions business. Having married, tragedy struck and his young wife was killed in a fall from a horse.

A daughter, born prematurely was mentally handicapped and had to be provided for. Edmund Rice was a religious and charitable man and he decided that the poor of Waterford could best be helped by a total dedication of his life to their needs. He set about founding an order of lay brothers who would educate the poor boys of Waterford.

Desmond Rushe's treatment of Ireland during the Penal Days is rather too general, though he does concede that the Penal Laws did vary in their application and severity in different areas of the country. In fact there was a very high degree of religious tolerance in Waterford at the time. It was common for Catholic and Protestants to attend funerals of the opposite denominations, and in 1797 a pastoral letter of Dr. T. Hussey, attacking educational institutions with proselytising emphasis, was denounced by some Catholics as intolerant, reprehensible and imprudent. At the time of Edmund Rice's birth Callan had seven priests and two churches. Similarly, the notion of there being no schools for Catholics is false. Records for 1824 show that there were thirty-eight Catholic day schools for 1,550 pupils in Waterford.

However, it was those who could not pay that Edmund Rice had in mind when he established his first school in a converted stable in New St., Waterford. Much to the surprise of his business associates he sold off his business interests and property and moved in to live over the converted classrooms. He wished to build a full congregation with the members taking vows and being recognised by the Holy See. The following year, 1803, a new and larger school was built on the site of the old Faha chapel and having blessed the school, the bishop, Dr. Hussey suggested the name Mount Sion.

This book describes the origins and early development of the Irish Christian Brothers and the Presentation Brothers from these humble beginnings at New St. up to the death of Edmund (Brother Ignatius) Rice in 1844. But what will provide most interest to local Waterford historians perhaps, is the account the author gives of the role of a number of Waterford Catholic bishops and clergy in many of the important events in Edmund Rice's life and in the development of the order. Almost every development was controversial, and caused bitterness, rancour, and at times personal enmity between the personalities. Extracts from correspondence illustrate the depths of the exchanges. During some of the controversies, Edmund Rice, while Superior of the order, was referred to as 'a common butcher', 'a public fornicator', and later as 'old and stupid'. Surprisingly, these charges were made by Dr. R. Walsh, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Paul Cullen (later Cardinal), respectively. The first major controversy arose over the fundamental nature of the order and the Brief that would be obtained from Rome. Some brothers wished to elect their own superior general and be independent of the bishop of the diocese, rather like the Jesuits, while others wished to be under the directions of the local bishop. This controversy about the Brief (which led to an early split in the order and the resulting foundation of the Presentation Brothers) was played out against a background of a major scandal involving the priests of the diocese over the appointment of a successor to Dr. John Power (d.1816) as bishop of the diocese. Forged letters to the Holy See, threats of public exposure, allegations of collusion concerning simonial practices, armed protection of nuns in Dungarvan, were aspects of this controversy until Rome eventually interceded. Desmond Rushe is undoubtedly at his best in these chapters; rather like



like a good journalist telling a good story. Further controversies arose over the issue of Pay Schools, the mission to Gibraltar, the National Schools and finally the holding of Chapters and the election of a Superior General when Edmund Rice retired in 1838.

The type of education provided by Edmund Rice and the brothers was primarily religious. It was a Catholic education for a Catholic people and this has always been fundamental to their approach. In terms of curriculum it was surprisingly innovative. Along with the usual graded classes in the three Rs, pupils were also taught book-keeping and navigation. Night classes were held for the parents of pupils and one of the first lending library services was instituted at Mount Sion. Aptitude testing and career guidance were also part of the service. Food and clothing were also supplied to needy students. The brothers saw their role as social workers, not only as educators, and visited jails and cared for the sick. Though the author describes the curriculum of the brothers and the Catholic education envisaged by Edmund Rice, he treats far too lightly the famous 'hedge schools', and later the general debate on the setting up of the National Schools in 1831. He dispels none of the myths surrounding the 'hedge schools', unfortunately.

In the interests of accuracy it should be pointed out that the famous Callan hedge-schoolmaster, Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin, author of Lín Lae Amhlaoibh was born not in Kilkenny as stated, but rather in Killarney, Co. Kerry. He then moved to Waterford and later to Callan.

Desmond Rushe informs the reader that there is an almost total lack of personal material on Edmund Rice's thinking and feelings, though the book was based on the vast amount of material in the possession of the Brothers. Unfortunately, he doesn't indicate these sources. Hopefully, this new biography was not based entirely on the biographies already written.

This new book then, is a general biography of a long, varied, controversial and productive life. It is not a history of the Irish Christian Brothers, nor an evaluation of the education they provided and their role in Irish society. Such a book would have been of great value. They may have been a significant force in the shaping of modern Irish society. Lamentably, much of the criticism they have received has been too emotive and derogatory to be of any real value. To-day, with numbers in the order declining, their future might be unclear.

Which brings us back to the question raised at the outset - why did the Christian Brothers invite Desmond Rushe to write this book at this particular time? In the final chapter there are vague references to Edmund Rice being thought of as a 'saint' in oral tradition, particularly in the Waterford area. And in 1910 the cause for his canonisation was begun. Therein, perhaps, lies part of the answer.

A City and County Guide to Kilkenny and South Wexford, both by Patrick Mackey and published by S. E. R. T. O. 1981 at £1 each.

These continue Mr. Mackey's commendable series of popular guides to the South East. While they are primarily intended for the tourist market, they do neatly encapsulate the main places of historical interest in Kilkenny and south Wexford and will serve as a useful checklist of places worth investigating for local people.

The first seven pages of the Kilkenny guide give a resume of the history of the city and an account of thirteen buildings of historical interest there, plus some suggested walks. The next eleven pages explore the county by means of three day-drives from the city with a brief history of places of interest and their surroundings. "South Wexford" follows a somewhat similar pattern although the approach tends to concentrate on topography and amenities such as Rosslare Harbour, Kennedy Park, the Sloblands etc.; but where possible these are placed in their historical context. However, all the main historical sites receive mention, with a brief background to each, south of a line from New Ross to Wexford town and including both.

Both books are well printed and nicely presented with delightful line drawings. They are very good value for a pound. Once again Mr. Mackey is to be congratulated on his initiative and thanked for facilitating not only tourists but locals to find and appreciate the historical heritage of these two areas.

Des Cowman.

THOMAS S. FLYNN     The Dominicans of Rosbercan (1267-c.1800).  
(St. Mary's Priory, Tallaght, Co. Dublin. 1981)

In this nicely produced and well written booklet of fifty pages Fr. Flynn traces the fortunes of this minor and hitherto little known Dominican foundation situated at Rosbercan, Co. Kilkenny opposite New Ross. He appends useful biographical notes and lists of individual Dominicans associated with the house along with descriptions of the abbey itself. The text is copiously footnoted and the reference material is completed by the inclusion of a select bibliography. In addition the booklet is illustrated by photographs and an engraving, and includes map reproductions.

The name Rosbercan derives from 'Ros' (meaning either wood or plain) and 'Ibercan', the name of a local tribe. Rosbercan was the nineteenth house of the Dominican order to be established in Ireland in the thirteenth-century. The abbey was apparently founded in 1267 by the Anglo-Norman families of Grace and Walsh. From the very beginning Rosbercan was a small and not very significant Dominican house. It suffered from the effects of warfare and plague in the fourteenth-century, and was suppressed in 1539 like other religious houses in Ireland. The Dominicans did not return to Rosbercan until c.1680 and their existence there remained precarious up to the 1750s when we last hear of them. The ruins of the abbey were demolished c.1812, so that for the observer nothing remains to indicate the former Dominican presence in Rosbercan. All those interested in the history of

religious houses in the South East of Ireland will welcome this publication as a useful addition to the subject.

T.P.

The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels, written and published by Sean and Sile Murphy, 1981, about £2.

This is subtitled "Story of Deise Brigade I.R.A., 1914-'24" and its eighty eight pages are generously sprinkled with relevant contemporary photographs. While this period is still close in time and still closer in political implication this book does avoid many of the more blatant aspects of bias which one would expect from such a "story" told mainly from a single point of view. Although the nature of the available evidence must necessarily have precluded an impartial historical account, this publication provides an invaluable addition to local history being based largely on oral accounts given by the survivors. These are correlated from contemporary newspaper accounts so that the narration is placed in chronological order, most of it dealing with the period 1918-'23.

Some interesting issues emerge. The Volunteers, it seems had been actively preparing for armed rebellion since January 1918. Attacks on the R. I. C. however were somewhat sporadic up to mid 1920 when the arrival of the Auxiliaries coincided with the formation of a full-time "flying column" based on the Comeraghs. The attacks then appear to have grown in intensity up to the cease-fire of July 1921. The I. R. A. used this lull to import arms (landed at Checkpoint and Helvic) and to impose what they called a "Levy" on all houses from which it could be extracted. After the signing of the Treaty the local I.R.A. pursued the military who were retiring from Dungarvan barracks and at Kilmacow "confiscated" from them three Crossley tenders and their guns. A further import of arms was made through Helvic in April '22.

The Murphys have gathered evidence from both sides for the sad and destructive period of the Civil War. Blame for "most of the looting and seizure of goods" was pinned on the I.R.A. brigade from Cork who had come to "augment" the Irregulars' garrison at Dungarvan. One delightful letter (no source given) is quoted. It is from the steward at Whitfield to Lady Dawney, then in India. "There was a terrible battle here today between the Staters and the Irregulars. They were shooting at one another all day and it was a terrible battle. They stopped for a cup of tea and both sides greatly admired your Ladyship's antirrhinums"!

All in all therefore, this is a most worthwhile book. The Murphys are to be congratulated on their research and thanked for presenting it so attractively.

Des Cowman.

1. Waterford County Museum.

Efforts to establish a County Museum are continuing and the Committee is now appealing for financial assistance. £35,000 is needed from voluntary contributors to renovate the 18th century mill which will house the museum. Kilmacthomas has been chosen as the location for the venture. A wide range of items has already been donated, and on completion exhibits will vary from books to farm machinery. Those who wish to assist, financially or otherwise, should contact the Secretary, Waterford County Museum, Kilmacthomas.

2. Waterford Arts Centre.

The recent announcement by the Corporation that the present Courthouse and Municipal Library buildings are to form the new Arts Centre is to be welcomed by all local bodies concerned with culture. To-date, the Arts for All festivals have included items of historical interest and featured prominent O.W.S. members. Hopefully, this connection with the arts will be further developed under the auspices of the Arts Centre. This Society should have many claims to make on the Centre, for facilities to hold meetings, mount exhibitions etc.

3. Waterford Labour History Group.

The W.L.H.G. has affiliated to the Irish Labour History Society for 1982. The Group is now mid-way through its 1981/82 programme. Next term's speakers will be Francis Devine (I.T.G.W.U.), and Dr. Arthur Mitchell (Professor of Modern History, University of South Carolina). Details of these meetings will be announced in the press.

4. Errata.

In "The Labour Movement in Waterford City 1913-1923" pp.17-32 Decies XVIII it is stated that Waterford dockers were organised by the London based Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union. This ought to have read the Liverpool based National Union of Dock Labourers. Also, the caption for the group photograph on page 25 should have read "The Reception Committee 1918", (not 1920). This error was in the original document and unwittingly reproduced.

5. Oral History.

In order to promote interest in this branch of the subject it is hoped to devote one issue of Decies in 1983 entirely to oral history. A pioneering development of this kind, unique in Irish historiography, would require very careful preparation well in advance of publication. Members or readers interested in assisting in any way should contact the editorial committee.

6. Outings.

Many members will doubtless recall last Summer's trip to Clonmacnoise. Roger Power's verses may recapture the magic of the occasion and inspire interest in the forthcoming trip to Loch Gor, Co. Limerick.

When I saw historic Clonmacnoise,  
'Twas in a mist of Summer balm,  
Famed resting place of Saint and sage,  
Seven churches and mystic calm.

Clonmacnoise - cradle of the word  
Where Shannon's shine lies unperturbed,  
In Offaly where Christians read  
The storied gravestones of the creed.

MEMBERSHIP OF OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY 1981-'82

Those names marked \* have paid their subscription for 1982. All other subscriptions of £3 for 1982 are now due and may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer of the Old Waterford Society - Mrs. R. Lumley, 29, Daisy Terrace, Waterford. New members welcome.

Aylward Mrs. N. Rocklands, Ferrybank, Waterford.

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OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

SPRING PROGRAMME, 1982.

Lectures will be held in the Teachers' Centre (Order of Malta Hall), The Quay Waterford at 8 p.m.

Feb. 19th : Lecture Waterford Elections in The First Half of the 19th Century.

Dr. Donal McCartney, U.C.D.

March 12th : Lecture Four Seiges of Waterford.

Mr. Jack O'Neill (Member).

March 16th : Annual General Meeting. Notice will be sent to members.

April 16th : Lecture Political Philosophy of Wolfe Tone

Mr. Thomas Dunne, U.C.C.

May 2nd : Outing to Glasshouse and Drumdewney.

Speaker - Mr. Des Cowman.

Meet at City Hall at 2.30 p.m.

May : Decies XX will be sent to members.

May 20th : City walk with Mr. Frank Heylin.

Meet at St. John's Church, Parnell Street at 7.30 p.m.

June 13th : Annual Coach Trip. Further details at Annual General Meeting.

June 27th : Outing to Portlaw and Kilbunny.

Speakers - Mr. Charles Jacob and Frank Heylin.

Meet at City Hall at 2.30 p.m.

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Those who have not yet paid their 1982 subscription may do so at any function of the Society. Intending members are welcome to these meetings. The sub. for 1982 remains £3.00. This may be sent to Hon. Treasurer of the Old Waterford Society:

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

Correspondence re DECIES should be sent to:

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

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