Old Waterford Society

DECIES

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FRONT COVER:

Our cover illustration shows Jerpoint Abbey in Co. Kilkenny. One of the most important and spectacular Cistercian monasteries in Ireland, it was founded in the twelfth century, though the great square tower of the church was not added until the fifteenth century. It is justly famed for the excellence of its sculptured cloister and tombs.

We wish to express our sincere thanks to Waterford Corporation and to Waterford Regional Technical College for their valued assistance in the production of this issue.

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Only a few years ago, the study of local history was regarded as a hobby suitable only for small and generally (but not always) amiable groups of mildly eccentric enthusiasts. This situation is rapidly changing. The public at large is learning through the mass media of the potentially disastrous consequences of neglect of the environment on the one hand and of unplanned development on the other.

This change of attitude is to be seen at a number of different levels. The importance of making future generations aware of their debt to the past is reflected in the emphasis on local studies in the new Junior Certificate History syllabus. There has been a spate of local histories and personal memoirs emanating from the Waterford area in recent years (one is reviewed in this issue). Parish history societies and heritage centres (Ardmore and Tooraneena are examples in this county) are using the past to create a new esprit de corps for the present. The developing interest in tracing one's ancestors is bringing a higher profile to the Waterford Heritage genealogical centre in Jenkin's Lane. The past year has seen the formation of a Waterford Civic Trust and an East Waterford Development Committee. Our local authorities, frequently the target of criticism, have also been playing their part, and the role of Waterford Corporation has been particularly impressive in recent years. Our county and municipal libraries have local history sections of which any library could be proud (see Patricia Fanning's article, below).

To be sure, there is also a strongly utilitarian aspect of this change in attitude towards the past. However, as our economic prospects become ever more uncertain it is only commonsense to bring greater numbers of tourists to our county by making its towns and countryside more interesting and enjoyable to visit.

The battle on behalf of the past is, of course, far_ from won. Sometimes public attitudes hardly seem to have changed at all. Even as we go to press our local papers tell us of the shameful pollution of Tramore beach and of a controversial new road to be built in the Comeragh mountains.

It is surely the function of our Society to involve itself on one side or another in all that affects our past. Our heritage needs our support, and we in turn need to renew our strength by the addition of fresh recruits. Many of our most active members are now battle-scarred veterans, and we need to go out and tap the immense goodwill that undoubtedly exists towards our aims in the younger generations.

The production of a local historical journal does not become any easier. From humble beginnings, DECIES grew impressively in size and quality, but to maintain this standard for three issues per year, published on schedule, has proved increasingly difficult. This will be the only issue for 1991. It is intended to bring out two issues in 1992. Meanwhile, happy reading.

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Plus ce change......1891 - 1991

Life has changed radically for Waterfordians in the last hundred years - or has it? The following notices appeared in our local papers during the year 1891.

EMIGRATION. Important notice to emigrants. Assisted passages to Western Australia £7.0s.0d. Passage to Sydney, Melbourne or Adelaide £13.0s.0d. Passengers booked to any Railway Station in America at lowest rates and by best ships. Call or write: JAMES McGRATH, Passenger Agent.

ALL MEN WHO WISH TO MARRY, and be happy, should see the MAGIC MIRROR. It may concern them. Impediments to marriage, on account of ill health etc. removed, and words of advice and warning of importance to all men. Sealed in envelope, any address, on receipt of one stamp. Address: Mr. Howell, 4 Fitzallan Square, Sheffield.

THE FAVOURITE SOAPS

<u>Davis's best Tallow Crown</u>. Contains no injurious ingredients; will not injure the most sensitive skin nor the most delicate fabric; contains superior washing qualities. It defies competition.

<u>Davis's Saturday</u>. Is a cheap soap, a hard soap, and a good soap. It will not run away in the wash tub, it lathers freely, contains no deletrious ingredients, and is far superior to the ordinary cheap soap sold at the same price.

FRENCH SPECIFIC TREATMENT. For the speedy and certain cure of all nervous affection, blushing, bodily weakness, lowness of spirits, and want of muscular strength, and general debility; also loss of brain and nerve power; these and various ailments easily cured by the new French mode recently introduced into this country. Full details on receipt of stamped addressed envelope. All persons can procure the remedy, which is prepared as a lozenge, at a small cost, and by this means and following the hygienic rules laid down, which are simple, restore themselves to a perfect state of health and vigour.

PLAGUE OF RATS. Thousands have been killed by SANDFORD'S RAT POISON, which is said by Farmers, to be the best and most effective ever introduced. Mr. Bliss, farmer, Helsthorpe, Leighton, writes: "That from one dressing he found 136 dead rats next morning". J. Long Esq., of Carlton, states he found over 300 rats killed by using a tin of the poison. Price 1s.2d., 2s., 3s., and 5s. per tin, of Sandford & Son, Sandy, Beds. A trial solicited. Save your wheat ricks by dressing them with Sandfords Mice Poison.

los. REWARD. Strayed from the Fair of Dungarvan, 17th Dec. 1890, a 1½ year old heifer. Description. Red yellow, having several large white spots on her sides, with one immediately behind the fore-leg on the milker's side, and another on the opposite side, reaching upon the hip (before the hip); a white spot about the middle of the tail, with thick short horns for her age. Any person who may have her in possession will please give information to the owner: John Kett, Pulla Parish of Dungarvan.

Waterford Diocese, 1096 - 1363 (Part 11)

Sr. Assumpta O'Neill.

CHAPTER TWO:

Episcopal Succession (1135 - 1222).

In 1152, seventeen years after the death of Waterford's first bishop, the synod of Kells met. It was at Kells that final form was given to the work begun at Cashel (1101) and continued at Rathbreasail (1111), the pallia were presented to the four archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, and the number and extent of the suffragan sees fixed. Thus the plan laid out nearly fifty years earlier by Gilbert of Limerick in his treatise 'De statu ecclesiae' had at last materialised.3 The Irish church now had a central authority vested in the metropolitans, with the archbishop of Armagh as their primate directly subject to the Pope. The lack of such a central authority had been the main weakness of the eight-century reform in Ireland which left the constitution of the Irish church precisely as it had been. 4 At the synod of Kells there were present the bishops of Lismore and Waterford. 5 This means that after the death of Malchus the arrangement made at Rathbreasail, constituting a single diocese of 'Lismore or Waterford' had been set aside. The bishop of Lismore at Kells was Giollachriost O'Conairche, a Cistercian monk, one of those whom St. Malachy had sent to Clairvaux for training in 1139-41. On his return to Ireland he became the first abbot of Mellifont, and in 1151 or 1152 was appointed bishop of Lismore by Pope Eugenius III who had been a monk with him at Clairvaux.6

Tostius, bishop of Waterford in 1152:

Of the bishop of Waterford at Kells we know nothing beyond his name - Tostius - from which Ware concludes that he was a Dane. We do not know when or where he was consecrated. As late as 1145 the Danes of Limerick sent Patrick, successor of Gilbert, to Canterbury for consecration but we have no evidence of a similar move by the Danes of Waterford in the case of Tostius.

The separation of Waterford and Lismore was ratified at Kells when two distinct dioceses were named, both subject to Cashel. This arrangement was probably acceptable to both parties concerned. A similar situation obtained in the Danish cities of Dublin and Limerick at that time. Even this settlement at Waterford and Lismore left problems unsolved, for Ardmore too claimed that it should have a bishop. In 1172, twenty years after Kells, the suffragan sees of Cashel included Lismore, Waterford, and Ardmore. The latter diocese, which must have been very small in extent, was still in existence in 1210, but after that nothing is heard of it. The manor of Ardmore' henceforth appears only as a bone of contention between Lismore and Waterford.

The initial stage of the Irish reform was now successfully completed. The implementing of the programme would no doubt have given rise to many minor problems even in the normal course of events. But the movement was disrupted less than twenty years after the synod of Kells when 'there came into Ireland, Henry son of the Empress, most puissant king of England and he came to land at Portlairgi.'12

The Norman invasion, reported by the annalists in so detached a manner, had an adverse influence on the Irish reform movement, since it introduced into the ecclesiastical as into the political sphere a divisive principle - that of racial discrimination where strength could come only from unity. This effect was not immediately discernible, and in the early years of Normar infiltration, Irish and Norman ecclesiastics seem to have of Norman co-operated with each other in working out the programme of reform!3 This is not surprising in view of the fact that from the beginning, Norman influence had been effective in shaping the policy of the reformers. 14 Malchus, first bishop of Waterford, had been trained at the Benedictine monastery at Winchester and it was to him that St. Malachy came for guidance before taking his place as reform We can safely say that the reforming bishops before the invasion were on amicable terms with their Anglo-Norman brothers and that this state of affairs continued for some time afterwards. The Norman influence on the reform policy must not, however, be exaggerated. It has been pointed out that the reformers in England were merely applying the principles that Cluny had been teaching for nearly 200 years. 15 But 'the Cluniac movement, like other similar developments in history, accomplished what it did because it found everywhere large numbers in a frame of mind prepared to act on its suggestions. So it was in Ireland. Inspiration, advice, example, may have come from abroad, but the driving force which effected the ecclesiastical revolution of the twelfth century came from within the Irish church'. 16

The Norman invasion also introduced into ecclesiastical life the disharmony arising from the struggle for possession of land - a particularly invidious situation when the major part of the income of almost all bishoprics and abbacies was drawn from landed property. 7 Anglo-Norman bishops did their best to absorb the lands of neighbouring Irish dioceses, and in Waterford this aspect of the situation became particularly troublesome in the thirteenth century. In Waterford too the new orders introduced by the invaders - Templars and Hospitallers- became extensive landowners and their houses centres of Norman influence. 18

Augustin O'Sealbaig (1175-82):

Waterford became very early a Norman centre. It was at Waterford in 1175 that Pope Adrian's bull, the famous "Laudabiliter", was read for the first time in Ireland together with the confirmatory brief of Pope Alexander III. 19 There was a meeting of bishops for the occasion, but we do not know the name of the bishop of Waterford at the time. It is, in fact, likely that the see was vacant, as in the autumn of that year King Henry II appointed at the council of Windsor an Irishman, Magister Augustin, and sent him to Ireland with St. Laurence O'Toole to be consecrated by the archbishop of Cashel. 20 This was the first occasion on which a king of England exercised his authority in the appointment of an Irish bishop. 21 Lanigan points out that Henry on this occasion acted very judiciously by not placing a foreigner over the church of Waterford and by not having Augustin consecrated in England but directing him to the metropolitan whose suffragan he was to become. 22

Augustin's surname was 0'Sealbaigh 23 , which leads us to believe that he was a member of the ecclesiastical Cork family of that name. 24 His title 'magister' means that he had obtained a master's degree, perhaps at Paris or possibly at 0xford which was just then beginning as a university. In 1177 Bishop Augustin was a subscribing witness to the charter of Henry II granting to Robert Fitzstephen and Milo de Cogan the kingdom of Cork. 25

In the same year he witnessed the foundation charter of the Abbey of St. Thomas near Dublin, a house of Victorine canons founded by William FitzAldelm, Henry's representative in Ireland. 26 He also witnessed an undated grant of lands in Crook by Gilbert of Essex to the Cistercian abbey of Dunbrody, a grant which later brought about a lawsuit between the Cistercians and the Templars. 27 In 1179 Augustin was among the six Irish bishops who attended the Lateran council and in his journey through England had to take an oath that he would do nothing prejudicial to the king or his kingdom. 28 This bishop's death is recorded by the Ulster annalists in 1182.

Anonymous Bishop (died c.1199):

For eighteen years after Augustin's death, we have no record of the name of any bishop of Waterford. We know that the see was vacant at some time during those years, 29 but in January 1200, Giraldus Cambrensis, preaching before Innocent III, recalled that 'a good Irish bishop who is now dead' had testified in his favour the preceding year. 30 As Waterford is the only see known to have been vacant in 1200, the reference is probably to a bishop of Waterford. This anonymous bishop initiated the controversy with Lismore, 31 which continued with varying intensity for more than a century and a half and was not satisfactorily concluded until the union of the sees in 1363. This bishop died before 1200, probably 1199. 32

Robert I (1200-22):

Bishop Robert I was appointed to the see of Waterford sometime before 1200, and on August 24 that year was one of the witnesses to the marriage of King John at Angouleme. 33 In September of the same year he witnessed a charter of John at Alencon. 34 The name of Robert occurs again in a grant which he made as Bishop of Waterford to the canons of St. Mary Oseney, near Oxford, of the church of Kiltinan. 35 The grant is undated and attempts at dating it have not been altogether successful. 36

Relations between Waterford and Lismore deteriorated during Robert's episcopacy, particularly on the accession to Lismore of Malachy, a Cistercian monk.³⁷ Bishop Malachy was elected about 1202 or early in 1203. The reaction of Robert is described in a letter of Pope Innocent III dated 5 November 1203. It is addressed to the archbishop of Tuam and the bishops of Kilmacduagh and Ferns.³⁸ We learn from this letter that when Malachy as bishop-elect of Lismore was preparing to visit the apostolic see, the bishop of Waterford violently seized him, despoiled him wickedly, personally struck him 'even to the shedding of blood', and, as a final humiliation, had him imprisoned, fettered and beaten.³⁹ The Pope, since he 'cannot or should not dissimulate about the audacity of such presumption' pronounces sentence of excommunication and adds that Robert is to be compelled to restore to Malachy peaceful possession of the church and diocese of Lismore.

The Pope's letter makes it clear that not only Robert himself, but also his predecessor, had invaded and occupied the diocese of Lismore. But it seems clear from this letter that when Bishop Felix of Lismore resigned in 1202, 40 the papal legate at the time, Cardinal John of Monte Coelio, entrusted the see of Lismore, at least temporarily, to Bishop Robert. 41 There is a discrepancy here between the decision of the legate and the reversal of that decision by the Pope, who had Malachy consecrated, and sent confirmatory letters to the dean and chapter of Lismore. 42 Pope Innocent certainly seems to have been favourably impressed by Malachy, and was also, no doubt, influenced by the account of the shocking behaviour of the bishop of Waterford, whom he could hardly have considered fit to rule one see, still less two.

The ambiguity arising at this stage occurs again later when successive bishops of Waterford produce, in support of their claims, letters purporting to be those of the legate, and the bishop of Lismore with equal emphasis declares them to be forgeries.

The acrimonious dispute thus initiated continued with varying intensity for the next century and a half. The story sounds scandalous, perhaps, to modern ears, and it is important to view it in its setting. The conflict between Lismore and Waterford was political as much as, or perhaps more than, ecclesiastical. The Danish see of Waterford had become an important centre of Norman influence, and was acquiring ever more

power and importance from continued royal patronage. Lismore, on the other hand, represented the Irish tradition, and had, besides, the advantage of size and of ancient prestige. The aim of Waterford was to expand into and absorb the diocese of Lismore, as Dublin succeeded in doing in doing with Glendalough Lismore temporalities constituted an attractive lure for the considerably poorer see of Waterford. It is true that Waterford at the time was the second port in Ireland (Ross being first) and handled an extensive trade with England and the continent. And Nevertheless a comparison of the valuations of the two sees as given in the taxation lists of the end of the century reveals a vast difference in their resources. Total valuation of Waterford amounts to £125-17-8, while that of Lismore comes to £711-8-2.46

There is no record of the death or resignation of Bishop Robert, but on 19 October 1204, the king gave his assent to the election of David, cousin of the justiciar, Meyler Fitz Henry, provided he be one of those named. 47

David (1204 - 1209):

David, the new bishop, was a cousin of the justiciar, Meyler Fitzhenry. 48 In the year before his election, King John had granted him the church of Dungarvan. 49 In the winter of 1204, a busy one for John, David witnessed several of the King's charters as the elect of Waterford. ⁵⁰ In September 1205 he appears again as witness, but had been consecrated bishop in the meantime. 51 We know nothing however, of the place and circumstances of his consecration, but we find that he vigorously pursued his predecessor's policy towards the diocese of Lismore. Again Pope Innocent III gives the details. The relevant letter is dated 26 June 1212, when Bishop David was already dead and the controversy had reached a new peak of intensity under his successor. The Pope opens his long letter by giving a resume of the progress of the dispute under David's episcopate. "When the dispute arose between our venerable brother of Lismore and David, then bishop of Waterford, we entrusted it in a manner agreed upon, to our venerable brothers the bishops of Killaloe and Cork and our beloved son the archdeacon of Cashel." 52 (The letter here referred to, written while Bishop David was still alive, was not registered and is not extant). The Pope goes on to describe how the judges-delegate, "desiring to execute our mandate diligently", cited the bishop of Waterford to appear before them and answer the charges made against him by the bishop When the time came, Bishop David produced letters, of Lismore. purporting to be written by Cardinal John, excommunicating Bishop Malachy of Lismore. The latter, says the Pope, was able to prove that these letters were in fact forgeries. This he did " by comparing them with other letters of the Cardinal". Having he this much of the dispute, the judges appointed another day for Having heard the further hearing of the case. Before the appointed day came, however, Waterford was once more vacant, the bishop having been killed, as the Pope expresses it, "at the instigation of the devil by some of Satan's satellites". We know from the annals that the assassination of David was carried out by one of the Ui Faolain of Decies. 53 Neither the Pope nor the annalist gives any hint as to the motive behind the act, and it remains an open

question whether it was connected with the dispute or not. The death of David closed this stage of the controversy. The judges could do no more for the time being. The forged letters' used by David appear again at a later stage, in the hands of his successor. The events of Bishop David's episcopate concerning the dispute are not dated in the Pope's letter. We know that David died in 1209, and therefore the preliminary hearing probably took place in 1208. From a continental source, we learn that in 1207 the bishop of Lismore, Malachy, stayed at the monastery of Zwettl in Austria on his way back from Rome 4 probably had with him the letter of Pope Innocent containing the nomination of the judges. We have no evidence of the circumstances of the election of Robert II nor of his consecration. In the letter already quoted, dated 26 June 1212, Innocent, having mentioned the death of Bishop David, goes on to say:

Afterwards when the clerk Robert had been elected to the church of Waterford and our venerable brother, the archbishop of Cashel, wished to consecrate him, since the said elect, following in the footsteps of his predecessor, had invaded the occupied territories with the help of lay power, the bishop of Lismore, in order to safeguard his rights made his counter-claim against the said elect. But the archbishop answered that he was consecrating him to the church of Waterford only, and not to that of Lismore." 56

Already, says the Pope, Robert II had invaded the territories of Lismore, hence the objection raised against his consecration. Nevertheless, he was consecrated by the archbishop of Cashel, and shortly afterwards was cited to appear before the judges and "answer to the bishop of Lismore for the possessions wickedly occupied by his predecessor." On the day appointed, Robert duly appeared but sidetracked the issue by starting a discussion on the canonicity of the citation. His objections being ruled out, he was "indignant at this and appealed to the Holy See, but did not fix any time limit to his appeal, and giving no other just cause for his appeal, he contumaciously left their presence". The judges decided that since the terms of their commission from Rome did not allow for appeal, they would continue the hearing Witnesses from the Lismore side were heard on two of the case. points: that "from time immemorial Lismore had been a Cathedral church" and "on the canonicity of the election of the bishop". On a third point - the excommunication of David, the late bishop of Waterford - they decided that "it seemed inhuman to heap odium on a person already dead."

The attestations of these witnesses were sent to the bishop of Waterford and a date named on which he should appear before them to object if he so desired, to the witnesses themselves, as he was legally entitled to do, or to their statements. In fact, he neither appeared himself nor sent any suitable representative. The judges then proceeded to publish the attestations they had themselves received, together with others belonging to an earlier stage of the dispute. On these and on letters of former judges in the case, and "with the advice of wise men and lawyers" they made their judgement. "The church of Lismore with all its appurtenances" was to be restored to the

bishop of Lismore, and the bishop of Waterford was to pay damages to the amount of 160 silver marks.57

One would expect this to be the end of the case, but Bishop Robert was not to be easily deterred. The Pope's letter goes on to describe the next move,

"When a short time afterwards the bishop of Lismore was solemnly conferring orders on the Saturday when 'Sitientes' is sung (the Saturday before Passion Sunday) certain friends of the bishop of Waterford, together with Roger Christopher, his seneschal, having been appointed for this by the bishop, wickedly laid siege to that church for some time; and at length they rushed on him as he came out of the church clothed in his sacred vestments, and violently despoiled that church both within and without, and with sacrilegious hands tore the vestments, from him, and then cruelly led him captive, together with two priests, until by roundabout ways they came to the castle of Dungarvan, where the bishop of Waterford was. This same bishop of Waterford, putting aside episcopal modesty, and assuming the ferocity of the executioner, placed the iron fetters on his feet and helping the smith to lock the fetters, handed him over to close imprisonment."

This fresh atrocity called for further action on the part of the judges, who accordingly met at Cashel in the cathedral of Domhnall Ua Lonargain, then archbishop. The bishop of Waterford was present and gave his assent to the course of action adopted, which was that of the judges, "with lighted candles solemnly imposed the bond of excommunication on the authors of this iniquity, and on all those who consented to it". If we are surprised that Robert gave his assent to this, we find the explanation a few lines further on when we are told that "the bishop of Waterford denied that this crime had been committed with his assent". The judges obviously were not impressed by this denial, since they again cited the bishop of Waterford to appear before them (the bishop of Lismore had in the meantime escaped from Dungarvan). This time he obeyed the summons, and did not invoke canon law in his own favour. Instead he 'rashly uttered many threats against them on behalf of the King of England, and contumaciously withdrew from their audience'. In view of the fact that Bishop Robert was now pleading 'not guilty' to the charge against him, witnesses were again heard !with due solemnity'. Again the depositions were sent to him and a day fixed 'so that if he thought any objections should be made against the witnesses or their depositions, he might come to their presence to do so'. Once more he appeared and 'heaped threat upon threat and added injury to those he had already inflicted'.

Of the next episode the Pope remarks that it was done 'at the instigation of the devil'. 'When the bishop of Lismore was standing at the door of the church of Limerick, Thomas (a clerk of Waterford) putting aside the fear of God, boldly laid rash hands on him, and unsheathing his sword, tried to cut off his head; but the bishop of Lismore through divine power escaped the blow which he had fiercely aimed and which carried against the door, leaving there traces which will last forever'.

The pope makes it clear that this attempt on Bishop Malachy's life was made at the instigation of the bishop of Waterford. The judges, who actually witnessed the crime, strictly forbade Bishop Robert to communicate in any way with Thomas, whom they publicly denounced as "subject to anathema" The bishop, however, ignored the order and "was not afraid to communicate with him at both the corporal and spiritual table that same day and afterwards." The judges now appointed a second day, then a third, and even a fourth to give Bishop Robert an opportunity to prove his own innocence. As on a former occasion, he refused to appear or even to be represented. The result was a public excommunication for himself and his collaborators, and an order to the clergy and people of Waterford not to obey him. The clergy, however, according to the report sent to the Pope, "presumed to associate with the said bishop and were unwilling to show the archbishop of Cashel that reverence enjoined upon them". Accordingly the archbishop decided to excommunicate them also, a sentence which the judges later decided needed papal confirmation. The Pope ends his letter by comm anding the new judges of the case to enforce all these sentences and to send the bishop of Waterford to Rome in person. The newly-appointed judges were "the bishop of Norwich, living in Ireland, and the bishops of Clonfert and The events described in this long letter probably took place in 1211, as the letter itself is dated June 1212. 'The bishop of Norwich, living in Ireland' was John de Gray, then justiciar and a trusted ally and adviser of King John. We have no evidence of the manner in which the new judges dealt with the case, nor even if they ever opened it. John de Grat was particularly busy in 1212, and by July 1213 was back in England.

In 1215, Innocent III discussed the matter of Waterford and Lismore with the Irish bishops and archbishops, then in Rome for the Lateran Council. On learning from them that Robert had seized Lismore by force, the Pope passed sentence against him and imposed on him a ban of perpetual silence on the affair. 58In 1216 a new bishop of Lismore, Thomas, was consecrated in Rome by the archbishop of Cashel, Donnchadh O'Lonargain. ⁵⁹ Pope Innocent died in July of that year. In 1218 Robert de Bedford received the royal assent to his election to the see of Lismore, vacant by the death of Thomas. At the time, Robert of Waterford was in Carlisle for the consecration of its bishop. On his return, he protested vigorously, producing letters which he declared were written by Cardinal John of Monte Coelio (legate in Ireland 1202-3).60 These are probably the letters formerly used by Bishop David of Waterford. With these as his warrant, the bishop of Waterford occupied the territory of his neighbour. bishop and chapter of Lismore appealed to Rome. Late in 1219, Honorius III wrote two letters, one to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops or Rochester and Norwich, and the other to Robert de Bedford and his chapter of Lismore. In the first letter he commands all unlawful holders of the Lismore territories to be removed and the bishop of Waterford to answer personally to the Pope. To the bishop and chapter of Lismore he sends reassurance, and confirmation of Innocent's decision that, whatever Waterford might say, Lismore was, as it has ever been, a The three English prelates to whom the Pope cathedral church. entrusted the case carried out their charge faithfully, for in August 1220, a royal mandate was issued to the justiciar ordering the restoration of Lismore to its rightful bishop. 61

Robert of Waterford incurred the papal displeasure for other things besides his unlawful occupation of Lismore. In 1218, he was one of three bishops who consecrated for Killaloe Robert Travers, intruded into the see by his uncle, Geoffrey de Marisco, the justiciar. The Pope ordered the new bishop to be removed and his consecrators punished. 62 In 1219, the same three bishops consecrated to Ardfert a priest intruded by the same justiciar. This time the three bishops are to be suspended and sent to Rome. 63

Whether Robert ever obeyed these two summons to Rome we do now know. Sometime before April 1223 he died – of grief, according to one authority. 64 If this was indeed the cause of his death, it was doubtless the grief arising from the failure of his repeated attempts to swallow up the native Irish diocese contiguous to his own. It seems to be generally assumed that Bishop Robert I had died before the election of David in 1209. Yet it is at least a possibility that he was still alive and can be identified with Robert II who ruled the see from 1209, (when David died a violent death), to 1222. The 'first' Robert was sentenced to excommunication by Innocent III, 5 November 1203. In the following October, David received the royal assent to his election. In the intervening eleven months, Innocent's letter had come from Rome and presumably the sentence of excommunication had been enforced. I believe this had something to do with the temporary disappearance of Robert from the Waterford scene. Both Robert and David were in the king's service, as witness their signatures to many royal charters, and John's assent to David's election was sent before, not after, the election. In other words, David was a royal nominee, however the outward appearance of free election was given to the proceedings. After David's death in 1209, the see of Waterford again came under Robert's rule. Our knowledge of the event is based on Innocent III's letter of 1212. This letter has several points worth noting. In the first place the Pope mentions that before his consecration, the new bishop had already invaded the diocese of Lismore. I suggest that this refers to the events of 1200-3, during Robert's first term of office, before the accession of David. The Pope also makes it clear that the reaction of Lismore to the consecration of Robert was immediate and unfavourable. In order to allay the fears of Lismore, says the Pope, 'the archbishop answered that he was consecrating him to the church of Waterford only, and not to that of Lismore.'
Here it is well to remember that the 'first' Robert had obtained from the legate, Cardinal John of Monte Coelio, custody of both sees, and his re-appointment to Waterford would naturally arouse apprehension in Lismore. The archbishop's answer could mean that whereas Robert could formerly claim jurisdiction in Lismore, the position was now changed and his authority confined to Waterford only. The coincidence of name and character of the two Roberts lends weight to the above argument but of course cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence.

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A.U.

N O T E S

List of Abbreviations:

A.F.M. Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.

The Annals of Loch Ce.

The Annals of Ulster.

A.L.C.

Cal.Docs.Ire. Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland.

Clyn's Annals The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling.

I.E.R. Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

Proc. R.I.A. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

Report D.K.R. Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland.

R.S.A.I. Jn. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

Waterford Arch.Soc.Jn. Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society.

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1. 2.

Keating, Foras Feasa, iii. 315. See A. Gwynn, S.J., 'The Centenary of the Synod of Kells' in <u>I.E.R.</u>

(series 5) 1xxvii, 161-76, 250-64 (March-April 1952).
Text in Ussher's Works, iv, 500-10. Dating in Kenney, Sources, p.764;
Gwynn and Gleeson, Killaloe, p.144; A.J. Otway-Ruthven, Medieval Ireland 3.

4.

5.

Hughes, The Church in Early Irish Society, p.193.

Keating, Foras Feasa, iii, 315.

Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i. 19, no.5, note I. In 1171, Henry II, shortly after landing in Ireland, went to Lismore 'probably for an interview with Christian O'Conairche', says Orpen, 'for he was anxious to secure the support of the clergy.' (Ireland under the Normans, ii.260). 6.

Ware, Irish Bishops, p.527. Lynch, De Praesulibus, ii. 103. 7. Begley, Diocese of Limerick, p.79. Glendalough and Dublin were not 8.

united until 1216. (Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, p.38). Gesta Henrici Secundi, i. 27; Chronica R. de Hoveden, ii. 31. 9.

Cal. Papal letters, i. 35; Phillips (ed.) History of the Church of 10.

Ireland, i.80; Gwynn, The Twelfth-century Reform, p.57.
Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, iv. 120; Cal. docs. Ire. iii. 11. 176, no.396.

12. 1171. ' AU.

Otway-Ruthven, <u>History of Medieval Ireland</u>, p.129. 'But', says Watt, 'racial bitterness was ever latent, often open, and always a poison to 13. aggravate wounds inflicted in quarrels about other things'. ('English Law and the Irish Church: the reign of Edward I' in Medieval Studies

Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., p.137).
Kenney, Sources, p.758; Hughes, Church in Early Irish Society, p.259. 14.

15. Kenney, op.cit. p.745.

(NOTES) Contd.:

- 17. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, History of Medieval Ireland, p.128.
- 18. ibid., p.121.
- 19. Gir. Camb. Opera, v, 316. Texts of both these documents in Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i, 15-23. See English trans. of Laudabiliter in Appendix.
- Gesta Henrici Secundi, i, 103; Hoveden, ii, 85. Ware mistakenly 20. calls Augustin an Englishman. (Irish Bishops, p.527).
- 21. Gesta Henrici Secundi, i. 103, note 9.
- 22. Lanigan, Eccl. History of Ireland, iv. 227.
- 23. A.U. 1182.
- See J.T. Collins, 'Cork Diocesan History', in I.E.R. lxxii (1950) 24. 50-4, who points out that a twentieth-century bishop of Waterford, Dr. Daniel Cohalan, was a member of the Ui Cochlain of Clann tSealbaigh.
- 25. Ware, Irish Bishops, p.527.
- 26. Bodleian MS. Rawlinson b.499 fol.l.
- 27. Cal.docs. Ire. iii. 331, no.666 .
- 28. Chronica R. de Hoveden, ii.85.
- 29. Gir. Camb. opera, i.140; iii.338.
- 30. de Invectionibus, (ed. Davies) p.87.
- 31. 'He violently invaded the diocese of Lismore', according to Innocent III. (Cal. Papal letters, i. 15; Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i.125.)
- Handbook of British Chronology, p.334. Neither Ware, Irish Bishops, 32. p.527, nor Lynch, de Praesulibus, ii,103, acknowledged the existence of this bishop.
- 33. Richardson, E.H.R. ccxli, (1946) 304-5.
- 34. Rot. chart. p.74.
- 35. Cal. Ormond deeds, i.7, no.14.
- Prof. Curtis dates it c.1195, but see Dunning, 'Innocent III and the 36. Waterford-Lismore Controversy' in Irish Theol. Quarterly, xxviii (1961), 218, who considers 1195 too early.
- 37.
- <u>Cal. papal letters</u>, i. 15; Sheehy, <u>Pont.Hib</u>. i.124.
 The archbishop of Cashel, Ua h-Enni, had been suspended for his part in 38. the Ardfert election dispute, and in Sept. 1202, the pope refused the request of the legate to grant him absolution.
- 39. Cal. papal letters, i.15; Sheehy, Pont.Hib. i.125.
- Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i.124. 40.
- 41. The judges are ordered to reinstate the bishop of Lismore, 'non obstante quod dilectus filius noster, J.tituli sancti Stephani in Coelio Monte presbyter cardinalis, tunc apostolicae sedis legatus, ei diocesim commiserat Lesmorrensem'.
- , i, 5; Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i, 124, no.57. 42.
- 43. Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i, 125, note.5.
- John F. Burke, Industrial History of Ireland, p.28. A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 44. Medieval Ireland, p.123.
- 45. <u>Cal. docs. Ire.</u> v.303.
- 46. See infra. Chapter vi.
- 47. C.D.I., i, 36, no.233.
- C.D.I., i, no. 233. Lynch calls him David Breatnach, i.e. David the 48. Welshman. 'de praesulibus' ii p.103.
- C.D.I. i, no.184. 49.
- C.D.I. i, No.237, 240,241. 50.
- 51.
- C.D.I. i, no.273.
 C.P.L. i, 37; Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i, 152, no.73. 52.
- A.U., A.I., A.L.C. 1209 A.F.M. 1208. 53.
- 54. See Dunning, loc.cit.
- 55. Migne, P.L. 216, col.652 for this letter.
- Cal.Papal Docs. i, 37. Sheehy, Pont.Hib., i, 152, no.73. 56.

(NOTES) Contd.

- A mark = 13/4. 57.
- Letter of Honorius III, dated 10 Nov. 1219, printed in Sheehy, 58. Pont. Hib. i, 215 no.128.
- Letter of Honorius III, dated 9 Dec. 1219, printed in Sheehy, 59. Pont. Hib. i, 219, no.132.
- 60.
- 61.
- 62.
- Cal. docs. Ire. i, nos.878, 885, 886, 991.
 Cal. docs. Ire. i, 143, no.948.
 Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i, 196; C.P.I., i, 50.
 Sheehy, Pont. Hib. i, 210; C.P.I. i, 68; Theiner, Vetera Mon. p.10. 63.
- Lynch, de Praesulibus, ii. 105. 64.

As Others Saw Us.

Presented by Julian C. Walton.

Travellers' tales of long-ago visits to familiar places have fascination of their own and form an especially valuable class of primary material for the local historian. This journal has published several such accounts, the most recent being that of Bishop Pococke in 1752¹. The narrative presented here gives us a colourful impression of conditions in Waterford in the decade before the great rebellion of 1641.

Sir William Brereton visited Ireland at the end of a year's travelling which had taken him to Holland, the United Provinces, England and Scotland. He and his companions left Port Patrick for Carrickfergus on 4 July 1635, and made their way via Belfast, Newry, Dundalk and Drogheda to Dublin. After five days in the capital they continued over mountains and through forests to Hacketstown in Co. Carlow. In counties Wicklow and Wexford they were entertained by several of the gentry through whose lands they passed, and on 17 July they reached Wexford town. Here they spent three days lodging 'att the signe of the Wind-milne, att the house of Paul Bennett'.

They had intended to continue to Waterford via New Ross, but were advised by a cousin of Brereton's named Mainwareing to go instead via Ballyhack and Passage, the countryside near Ross being infested by rebels: 'hereof hee said there were about 6 or 8, and these furnished with some pieces, pistolls, darts, and skenes, and some of them most desperate spiritts, and soe cruell, that the inhabitants of the countrie dare scarce travell that way'.

They left Wexford for Ballyhack on 20 July, but that day's journey only brought them as far as Tintern Abbey, where they were 'exceeding kindly and courteously entertained'by Sir Adam Colclough. They were fortunate in not attempting to cross to Passage that day, for the estuary 'was soe much troubled and soe rough, as my Lord of Kildare was in great danger there, and himself and servaunts constrained to cutt the saile ropes and jacklines'. Of Tintern and his host Brereton commented: 'This is a verye faire long stately house, and of great receipt, he keeps a good house and hath a great estate here, and his ladye is a dainty, compleate, well bred woeman'.

Brereton's stay in Waterford, his excursion to Carrick and premature return via Tibroughney were dominated by his digestive problems, which elsewhere in his narrative are reported in revolting detail. However, his experiences also gave him ample scope for comment on the social and economic conditions he encountered. His observations on the state of Irish agriculture anticipate those of Arthur Young over a century later. Unlike so many commentators of the Tudor and early Stuart periods, he did not have propaganda as his main purpose in writing, and his political and religious views are remarkably enlightened; the general toleration of Catholic worship in the towns, for instance, elicited from him surprise rather than condemnation.

Some of Brereton's views, for example those on the excellent docking facilities at Waterford were shared by other writers of the time. But in other respects the insights he provides are unique; for instance, his criticism of the neglect of Carrick in general and the Ormond estate in particular; his corresponding praise of the developments at Tibroughney; and above all his amazing voyage back to England on a naval vessel escorting a flotilla of no fewer than fifty boats heading out from Passage (despite the danger of storms and pirates) for Bristol and St. James's Fair.

July 21: Wee went hence about 8 houre, and came to Ballihack, a poor little village on this side the passage, over the river of Waterford, which here is the broadest passage said to bee in Ireland, and a most rough troubled passage, when the wind is any thing high. Here last day the boate, wherein my Lord of Kildare came over, was in danger to bee runne under water, by carrying toe much sayle, and running fowl uppon the passage boate. Downe this river come all the shipping for Waterford. Here wee saw the 9th whelpe lying att anchor, to guard the fleete which now is readie to goe hence to Bristoll faire, Sr. Beverly Newcomb is Capt. of hir, and is now att Waterford. They say there are about 50 sayle to goe to St. James faire att Bristoll.

The Irish here use a verye presumptuous proverb, and speech, touching this passage, they alleways say, they must bee att Bristoll faire, they must have a wind to Bristoll faire; yea though the faire bee begun, and the wind still averse, yett still doe they retaine their confident presumption of a wind.

Itt is most safe here to hyre a boate to pass over in, nott with horses, which is rowed over with 4 oares, I paid for the hire of itt 2s. This is a full mile over. The passage boate, which carryes your horse will nott carrie att one time more than 2 or 3 horses: here is farr better comeing into the boate and landing them att Port Patrick, butt less, and worse boates.

On Munster side is good lodging, and accommodation. This day wee passed over the land of a gentleman whose name is . He died about 7 days agoe of a gangreen, his fingers and hands, toes and feete rotted of ioynt by ioynt, he was butt a young man of £1000 per annum, and married an old woman, a crabbed piece of flesh, who cheated him with a £1000 shee brought him, for which he was arrested within 3 days after his marriage.

Waterford: Wee came to Waterford about 3 houre, and baited at the Kings Head att Mr. Wardes, a good house, a verye compleate gentlemanlike host. This towne is reputed one of the richest townes in Ireland. Itt stands uppon a river (called Waterford River,) which maintaineth a sufficiently deepe, and safe channell even to the verye key, which indeed is nott onely the best and

most convenient key which I have found in Ireland, butt itt is as good a key as I have knowne either in England, or observed in all my travells. A shippe of three hundred may come close to these keyes. This key is made all along the river side, without the walls, and divers faire, and convenient buttresses made about 20yds. long which goe towards the channell. I saw the river att a spring tide even with the toppe of this key, and yett neere unto the key, a shippe of 300 tunne full loaden may floate att a low water. Uppon this river stand divers forts and castells which command itt, att the mouth of the river is there a fort called Dunkannon, wherein lyeth my Lord Esmonds companye, consisting of 50 good expert soldiers; there is allisoe a companye of 50 soldiers which are under the command of Sr. Geo. Flowre, an auntient knight, these are disposed of in the fort which is placed without the gate towards Caricke, a prettie little hold, which stands on high, and commands the towne. There stands uppon this river, the Caricke 12 mile hence, and Clonmell about 8 mile thence; hither (as I have heard) the river flowes. There is seated upon this river allisoe Golden Bridge, and there is a passage by water from Cullen and Limbrecke. This is noe barred butt a most bold haven; in the mouth whereof is placed an eminent tower, a seamarke to be discerned att a great distance. Hence went a great fleete to Bristoll faire, who staide long here waiting for a wind.

This cittie is governed by a Maieor, Bayliffes, and 12 Aldermen. Herein are 7 Churches, there have been many more; one of these, Christ Church, a Cathedrall: St. Patricks, Holy Ghost, St. Stevens, St.John, &c. Butt none of these are in good repaire, nott the Cathedral, nor indeed are there any Churches almost to bee found in good repaire; most of the inhabitants irish, nott above 40 English, and nott one of these Irish goes to Church.

This Towne trades much with England, France, and Spain, and that which gives much encouragement hereunto is the goodness of the haven. This towne double walled, and the walls maintained in good repaire. Here wee saw weomen in a most impudent manner treadeing cloathes with their feete, these were naked to the middle allimost, for soe high were their cloathes tucked uppe about them. Here the weomen of better rank and qualitie weare long high laced cappes turned uppe round about, these are mightye high; of this sort I gave Willm. Dale money to buy mee one. Here is a good handsome markett place, and a most convenient prison that I ever saw, for the woemen a part, and this is a great distance from the mens prison. Herein dwells a iuditious Apothecarye, who hath been bred att Antwerpe, and is a traveller, his name is (as I take itt) Mr. Jarvis Billiard, by whose directions, and good advice I found much good, and through Gods mercye recovered from my sickness. After I had dined here, I went about 4 or 5 houre towards Caricke where I staied att a ferrie, about a mile from Waterford a whole houre for the boate, wherein wee and our six horses were carried over together.

Here to Caricke is accounted 9 miles, good large ones, butt very faire way, and verye readie to find. Wee came to Caricke about 9 houre, wee lodged att the signe of the 3 cupps, at Mr. Croummers, where is a good neate woeman: here my disease encreasing, I wanted good accommodation.

Here is my Lord of Ormonds house daintiely seated on the river banke, which flowes even to the walls of his house, which I went to see, and found in the outter court 3 or 4 haystacks nott farr from the stable doore, There are allisoe two other courts, the one a this court is paved. quadrangle. The house was built att twice, if his land was improved and well planted, itt would yeald him a great revenew, for itt is daid he hath 32 Mannours and Mannour houses, and 18 Abbeyes. This town of Caricke is seated uppon the banke of a fine pleasant navigable river, butt is a most poor place, and the houses many quite ruinated, others much decayed. Here is noe trade att all. This has been a town of strength and defence, itt is walled about and with as strong a wall, and that to walk uppon as is at Chester. The Church is in noe good repaire, nor any of the Churches in this country, which argues their general disaffection unto religion. Here in this towne is the poorest taverne I ever saw, a little low thatched Irish house, nott to bee compared unto Jane Kelsalls of the green att Twixt Waterford and this towne are many spatious sheep pastures, and verye faire large sheepe, as most in England. The greatest part of the land hereabouts is converted into this use.

July 22: From this towne I returned back to Waterford, fearing indeed least the country disease should soe farre prevaile uppon mee, as to disable mee to endure, whereas indeed immediately after my departure I did begin by degrees to recover, and was within a few dayes, and before my departure out of that Kingdom perfectly recovered, and whereas I feared faintings by reason of sickness, I thank God I was nothing subject thereunto; Though I was never well at sea. Here by promise Mr. Needham of Hacquetts towne stoode engaged to meate mee, and send in his steade Mr. Robert Cooke an English gentleman, who lives about 1 or 2 miles from this towne, uppon a farm called Tibruchne (as I take itt) which is my land, hee is my Lord of Ormonds unckle. Hee paies £120 rent for his farme, and paid an £100 fine, his terme in itt is 20 yeeres or thereabouts. The quantitie of the ground hereunto belonging hee valueth and esteemes itt to bee about 1000 acres English measure, butt upon my view and survey thereof, I could nott iudge itt to bee less than 1200 or 1400 This is all good land, and a great part march land lyeing along the river, in common and nott enclosed, which if itt were butt divided and enclosed, would yeeld more then the rent of the whole; and this would bee a small charge to make only ditches. This is commodiously watered and enriched by this navigable great river which runnes all along this ground a mile, or two. This was this day overflowed with the tyde, by reason of a strong east wind concurring with this St. Jame's floode. Here abundance of fowle in winter. Here is a verye faire hansome English stone house new built, and allidoe a castle, to both which there comes uppe att every tyde in a deepe lough or channell, sufficient water to carrie a boate, and when the tyde is gone out, this is drie, soe as if a nett bee placed in the mouth of if (which is butt narrow) you may bee thereby furnished with salmon, flooks, and other fish sufficient. There is now an Englishman tenant who lives in the castle, who keeps a dairie, and rents 30 kine from him, who keepes them summer and winter; for every cow hee is to pay £1.10s. per annum, and half of the calves, all which are to bee reared. I tasted of their milke, butter and cheese, and itt was excellent good: I never drunk soe good buttermilk. Here the milke is soe good, as they churne that in the evening which was milked in the morning, soe as the buttermilk is much sweeter, and wholesomer. They never yett sold any chesse, onely butter at 4d. a pound. Here I saw abundance of cheses. There is a towne hereunto belonging inhabited by Irish, who have noe longer estate then from yeare to yeare, they pay neither here nor elsewhere noe rent in money, onely plow the ground and allow the landlord a 3rd part. This is soe sloathfully and improvidently ordered, as the ground is much impaired, and yealds much less then if well husbanded.

Butt these unprofitable commodities may be removed att pleasure, and without any manner of inconvenience, exclamation, or exception. Mr. Robert Cooke who dwells here, affirmed that this farme woyld keepe 120 kine and their increase, sufficiently plentifully, both summer and winter. There is now one tenant uppon another part hereof, who will take the whole one half of the farme, soe much as is grazing ground for the cattle, and will pay £90 per annum, and indeed Mr. Cooke is soe honest a gentleman as I cannott butt beeleeve his report. Hee saith itt will allsoe keepe 5 or 600 sheepe, as good faire sheepe, as are Leicestirshire or Northamptinehire, and sufficient good corne land may be reserved as will employ two plowes. Besides, the moor which is a rich march like Saltney will keepe abundance of young cattle, horses, and colts, and in my judgement this march land cannott bee less than 400 acres. Herein, although the salt-water this day overflowed in my view, yett oulers grow and prosper well. Hence you may goe conveniently enough to Caricke to Church, the Church in this towne beeing in decay. Mr. Cooke will part with his interest herein, and demands his £100 fine, and the rent of £120 per annum. The reason why he will part with his interest is because hee hath a kinsman of his name partner with him, who fayles in the payment of his part of the rent, for which his cattle was distrayned.

July 23: This day I rested att Kingshead, att Mr. Warde's, and prepared barley water, cordialls, and perfumes to take to sea, to preserve me from fainting, whereunto I was nothing subject (I thanke God,) att sea or land. Herein I made use of, and spent most of the afternoone with Mr. Jarvis Billiard the Apothecarye, who showed mee the best Mercator that ever I saw in my life; and indeed before my departure hence I was freed from my indisposition.

July 24: Next morneing I went downe to the passage, which was soe thronged as I could not bee furnished with convenient lodging; hard bed, without curtaines, fire, or casements, a corner roome. Wee lodged att the Bell, 6d. ordinary, a most unquiett house att this time. The wind stoode well for them (if they could have gotten out to sea) 2 or 3 dayes before, but itt was soe strong as they durst not adventure out of the river for feare of beeing throwen uppon some of the crooked points in this river.

July 25: Butt uppon St. Jame's day, the wind was sufficiently calmed, and stood faire, and they in the Whelpe discharged a piece of Ordinance to summon us aboard verye early, soe I was constrained to goe aboard without my breakefast, there I bought half a mutton, cost 3s., and Eggs 7 a pennie, and 3 pullets at 3d. a piece, butt wanted a stomacke to make use of any save some eggs and pulletts. About 6 houre I went aboard one of the King's shipps called the Ninth Whelpe, which is in the Kings bookes 215 tunne. Shee carryes 16 pieces of Ordinance, 2 brass sakers, 6 iron Demiculverin Drakes, 4 iron whole Culverin Drakes, and 4 iron-Demicanon Drakes. They are taperboared in the chamber, and are tempered with extraordinarie metall to carrie that shott. These are narrower where the powder is putt in, and wider where the shott is put in, and with this kind of Ordinance his Majestie is much affected. This shippe is manned with 60 men. The Captain is Sr. Beverly Newcomen; Leiftenat, John Newicemen; Maister, Willm. Brooke; Maisters Mate, Willm. Purser, who hath lost an arme, a temperate, well governed and well affected man. Maister Gunner, Joseph Dudley; Boates-wayne, corruptly called Boscan, John Green; Pursor, Tho. Morgan; Sergeant, Nathaneel Gibson. And indeed the most of the better sort of the rest , civilized and well governed men, and divers of them I observed attentive , and diligent att praier. Wee had (through Gods mercy) a quicke, pleasant and daintie passage, for within 26 houres after wee parted with Ireland

the uttermost point I mean of Irish shoar, wee were landed att Minehead in Sommersettshire.

This is a most daintie steadie vessell soe long as shee carries sayle, and a most swift saylor, able to give the advantage of a top saile to any of the rest of this fleete, for whom wee made many stayes, and yett could nott keepe behind them: soe as they did nott putt uppe all their sayles as they otherwise might, butt suited their course to the pace of this fleete, whom they waited uppon to waft over from Waterford to Bristoll faire, and to guard them from the Turkes, of whom there was here a feare, and rumour that they were verie busic uppon the coast of France. These are full of men, ordnaunce, and small shott. This day wee caused match to be made readye, and prepared, and looked for them about Lundye next morning, butt saw none. Onely itt was the Captains care to see all the sayle before him, for which end staying often, the vessell then (as allisoe when shee wanted sayle) tottered, and rolled intollerably; this did make mee vomitt extremely, and much more sea sicke then otherwise.

Here the Captain's cabin was taken uppe by Alderman Joanes of Dublin, and Dr.

Deane of Christ Church in Dublin, who came in her by sea from Dublin to Waterford, and soe thence for Bristoll: and the Captain himself lodged in the Maisters cabin, soe as I could not bee accommodated with any more convenient cabin, then the maister gunners cabin in the gunn-room: butt I could nott endure under hatches, nor was I any longer in this cabin than about 4 hours in the night, during which time I could nott rest, the shippe tossed so exceedingly, soe as I thought itt had been tempestuous, and yett was itt verye calme, faire, and moone-shine night; and sometimes the waves flashed into the shippe at the loupe-holes att sterne, soe as I could nott endure in bed longer than one watch from 10 to 12 houre. I then arose and went to the hatches, and presently wee discovered Lundye, which seems like a high rocke in the sea, and is an island, this is accustomed to be the pirates harbour, and shelter; butt now wee could not discover any.

CONCLUSION

The civil wars in England had a dramatic effect on Brereton's personality. The keen-eyed, enlightened commentator whose travels were so often curtailed by the misbehaviour of his bowels became a tough, uncompromising general in the parliamentary forces. His military prowess brought him rich rewards, including a grant of the archiepicopal palace at Croydon. A political tract commenting on his possession of the palace describes him bitterly as 'a notable man at a thanksgiving dinner, having terrible long teeth and a prodigious stomach, to turn the archbishop's chapel at Croydon into a kitchen; also to swallow up that palace and lands at a morsel'. It was at Croydon that he died shortly after the Restoration.²

Brereton's account of his travels has appeared in print several times. It was first published in its entirety by the Chetham Society in 1844, edited by Edward Hawkins. Previously, however, most of the Irish section had appeared in The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine vols. II and III (1826), of which there is a set in the library of Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford. Here it was seen by our diocesan historian, the Rev. W. H. Rennison, who transcribed the Waterford section into his (as yet unpublished) history of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, where in due course it came to the notice of the present writer.³

REFERENCES:

1. See DECIES No.IIXL, Winter 1989, pp.26-32.

 For more information on Brereton and his Irish tour, see Constantia Maxwell, 'The Stranger in Ireland' (London, 1964), pp.88-94, and John P. Harrington, 'The English Traveller in Ireland (Dublin, 1991), pp.111-118.

3. MS in Library of Church of Ireland Representative Body, Dublin; microfilm in Waterford Municipal Library.

The Down Survey Maps of Co. Waterford.

The victory of the Cromwellian army over the Irish and royalist forces in the 1650s led to the confiscation of the estates of virtually all Catholic landowners who were deemed to have been responsible for starting the rebellion and for the alleged massacre of Protestants in 1641. The dispossessed landowners were generally compensated with lands in Connacht, and their lands were granted instead to disbanded soldiers and 'adventurers' who had financed the parliament's Irish campaign.

Such a massive transfer of land ownership required the compilation of detailed descriptions of every part of the country. This was accomplished in the Civil Survey of 1654-56, the work of local juries composed of 'the most able and ancient inhabitants' of each barony. The records of fourteen counties survive in whole or in part, and these have been published in ten volumes by the Irish Manuscripts Commission, Waterford taking up most of the sixth volume.

The government, however, required also a series of maps and a more accurate computation of the acreage of each tract of land than could be produced by the local jurors. This huge task was accomplished by Sir William Petty and his teams of surveyors, and the results are known as the Down Survey. Petty agreed to have the field-work done 'within one year and one month, provided the weather was agreeable and the tories quiet'. His surveyors were expected'to endure travaile, ill lodging and dyett, as also heat and colds, being also men of activity, that could leap ditch and hedge and could also rustle with the several rude persons with whom they might expect to be often crossed and opposed'.

The Down Survey maps are arranged by parishes and generally drawn to a scale of forty perches to the inch, with an index map for each barony on a smaller scale. Each parish map is accompanied by a description or terrier giving details of land quality, use and ownership. Together they form a uniquely important record of 17th-century Irish land settlement.

The fate of the Down Survey has been somewhat turbulent. The barony index maps were on their way to England when they were captured by the French; they are now in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. They have been published by the Ordnance Survey. Many of the parish maps were destroyed in a fire at the Surveyor General's office in Dublin in 1711, and the remainder were blown up in the Public Record Office in 1922. Fortunately the maps and terriers of sixteen counties, Waterford being one, had been copied in 1787 for the then Surveyor General; these copies are now in the National Library of Ireland and may be consulted on microfilm.

Copies of the third great record of 17th-century Irish land forfeiture, the Books of Survey and Distribution, survive for the whole country. Most of County Waterford remains unpublished, but a summary of the baronies of Gaultier, Middlethird and Upperthird appeared as an appendix to Canon Power's 'Waterford and Lismore: A Compendious History (Cork, 1937).

The Down Survey of Co. Waterford includes only the baronies of Gaultier, Middlethird, Upperthird and Glenahiery; the remainder of the county, being mainly unforfeited land, was not surveyed. In this article we present the maps and terriers of Gaultier barony. We wish to thank the Trustees of the National Library for permission to reproduce them; also the compilers of the Sites and Monuments Record for Co. Waterford - M.Gibbons, D.Alcock, T.Condit and M.Murphy - for obtaining the copies we have used.

REFERENCE:

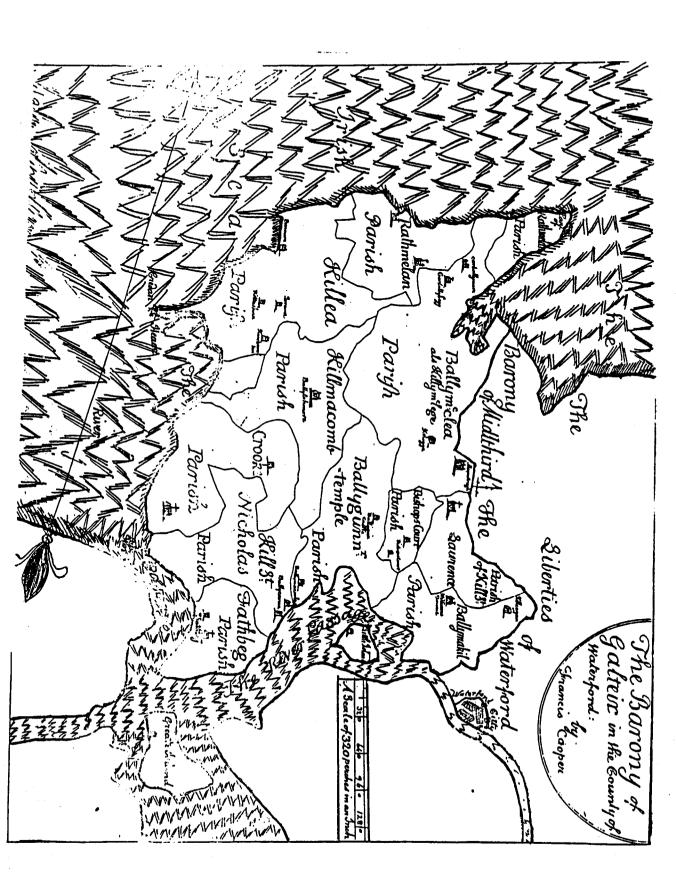
1. Cited in W. Nolan, 'Tracing the Past (Dublin, 1982), p.53.



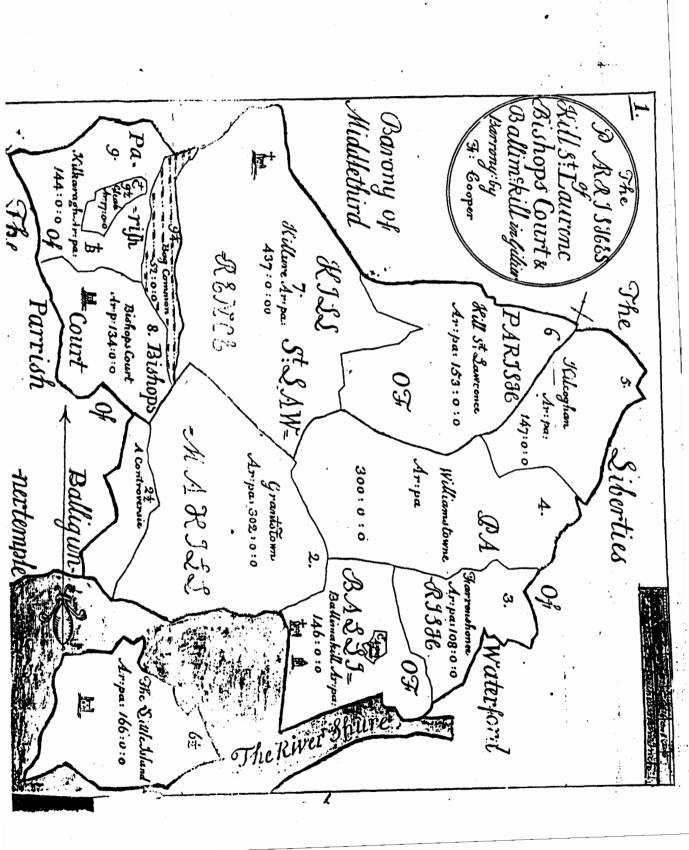
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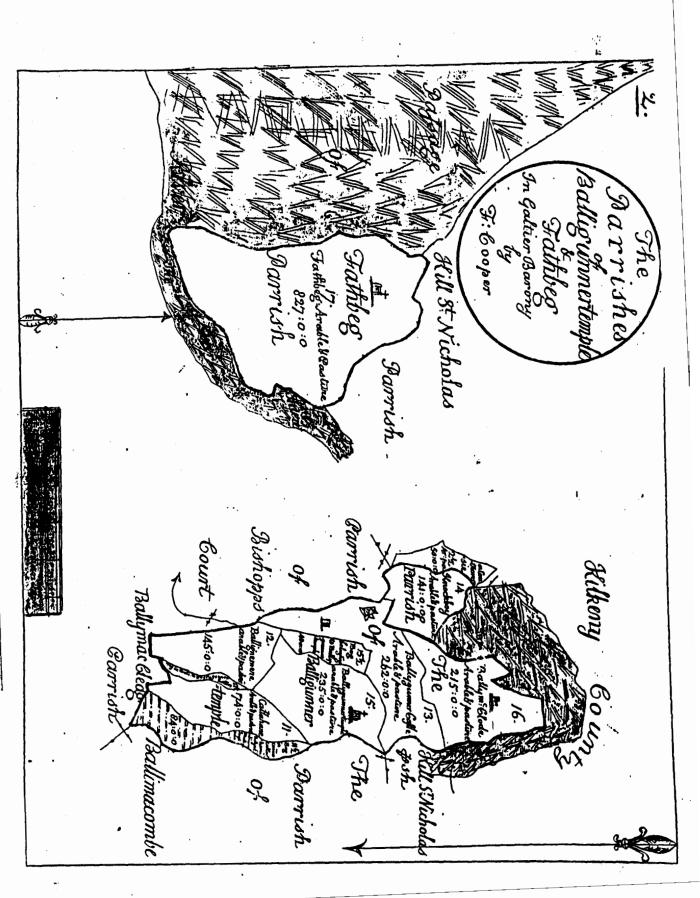
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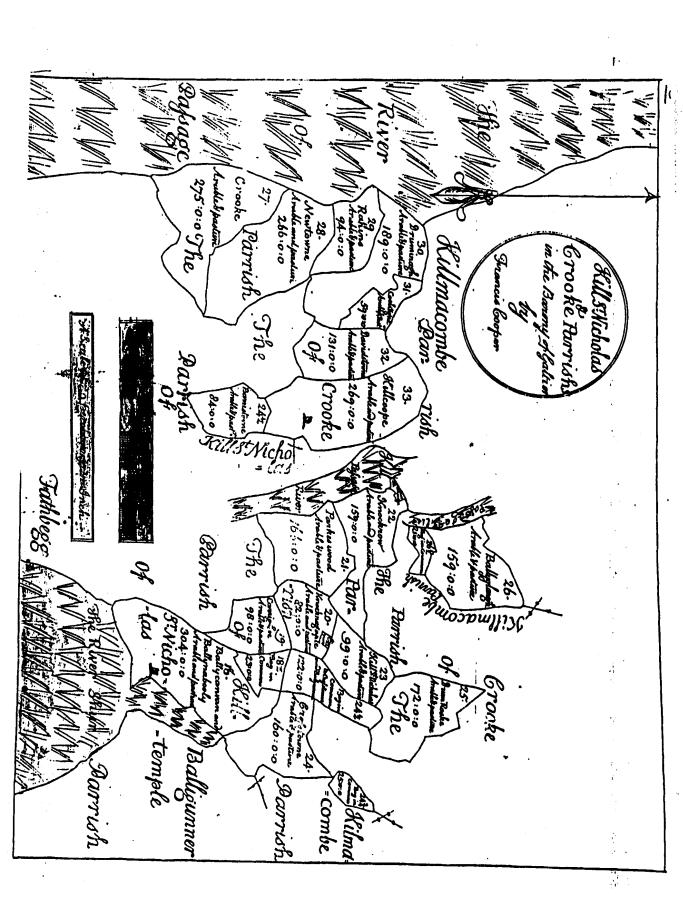
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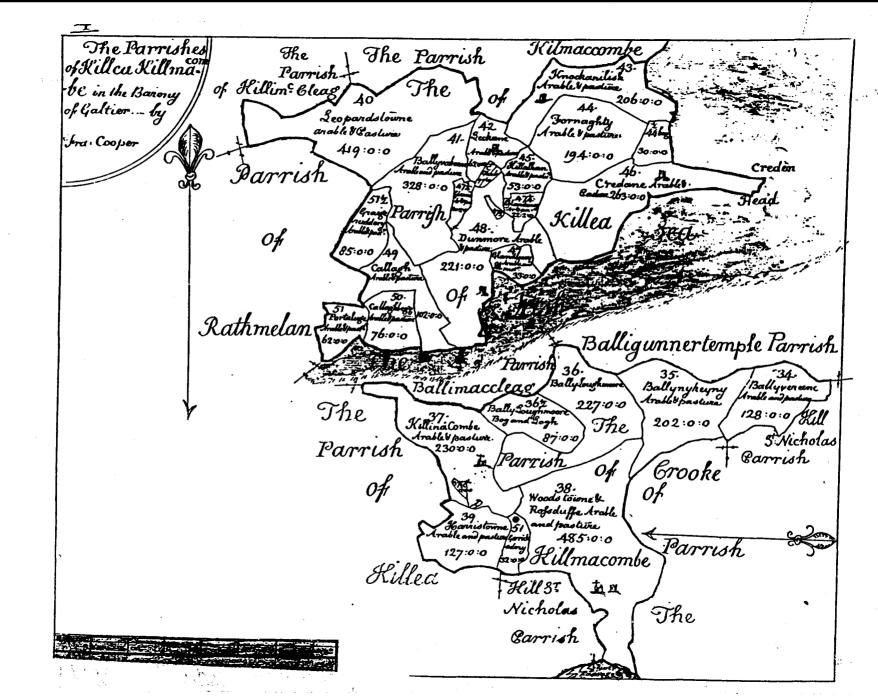
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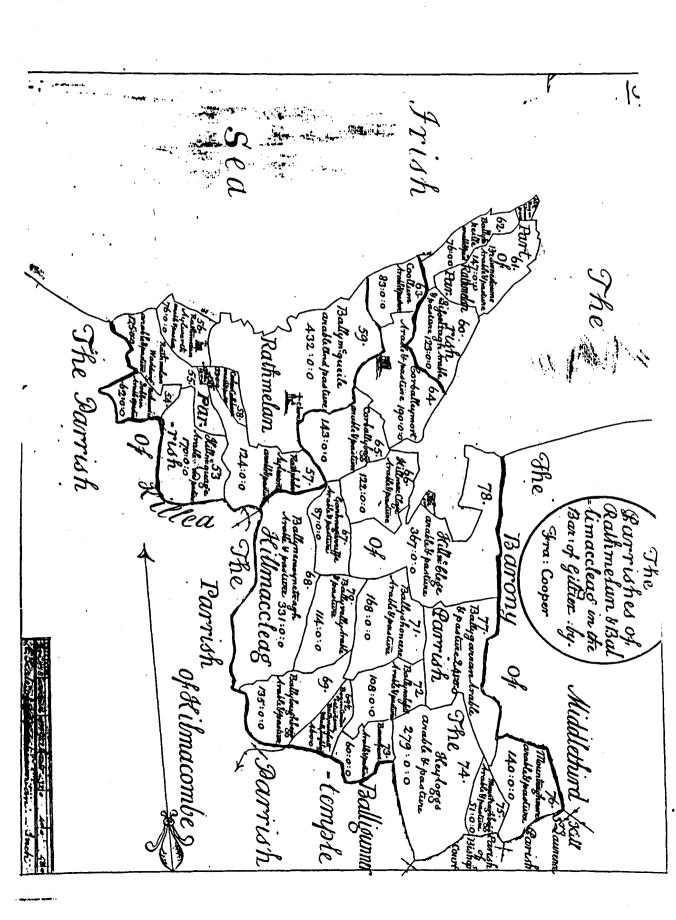
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Wm Retty.

The Waterford Room.

Summary of a lecture given to the Old Waterford Society on 10th October 1989 by : Miss Patricia Fanning, former City Librarian.

I wish to invite you all to come for a stroll with me down memory lane.

There was always the nucleus of a Local History collection in the Waterford City Library but because of staff shortage, lack of time and facilities it could only be made available to a small number of serious researchers. The books and other material were stored for safe keeping in back rooms and attics and the very limited nature of the material did little or nothing for the researcher. Having to advise such people to go to Dublin was soul-destroying so the day Mr.J.S. Carroll came in and said that , since he had retired and had some time on his hands, he would be willing to help organize the collection, was indeed an answer to a long-felt need. We all know that Mr. Carroll's second love, after his work for the City, was his love for local history.

At this stage I doubt if Mr. Carroll realized that this project was to almost take over his life for the next few years.

The Library was then housed at the building now known as Garter Lane I and there we had three rooms on the third floor which we rented out for meetings. We took over the smallest room, a cold, dusty almost unfurnished room and in here Mr. Carroll collected the books and material from other ends of the building. What a pitiful little collection it looked at first.

We both knew what our aim was, so the first decision was "what kind of index do we need". A discussion into the merits of a Register index versus a card index ended up with the vote going to the card index. So, over to Harveys, and a packet of cards and two little plastic file boxes were purchased and Mr. Carroll took out his pen and started. He listed our little collection and later one of the staff typed up the cards.

Then the real work started and he went to Dublin for days at a time. He spent hours going through the catalogues of the National Library, the Public Record Office, the R.D.S. and any other collection where material relating to Waterford may be obtained.

He came home with listings and costings and orders went out and we were happy to accept whatever format this material was supplied in. Sometimes photocopies, and sometimes micro printing.

I must at this point pay tribute to the City Manager and the Finance Dept. of the Corporation for their interest in the project. Funding was immediately made available and has been available ever since. If we wanted an extra expensive item we only had to ask and we were not refused.

Soon the table and the few chairs we had were piled high with papers so the day we had some lino put down and two cupboards installed was a milestone. We

didn't exactly crack open the champagne but it was a Red Letter day. Our growing collection made us realize that our indexing system was all wrong. A multi-entry card was impossible to keep in alphabetical order and the cross-references and headings were a greater hindrance than a help.

Round table conference No.2 and we decided to start again with a single entry card on a 3x5 card, which of course is the index type we use in the Library service anyway.

Why this apparent obsession with an index? Well, you could have a storeroom full of books and chests crammed with paper all useless to you if you can't
find the item you need. Any collection is only as good as its index. We were
faced now with a huge number of single sheets of paper, small numbers of sheets
of papers stapled together, small pamphlets, photographs etc., all impossible to
shelf.

Round table conference No.3:

Decision; we will use box files but how is one to find something in these boxes? I'm always convinced that the simple method is the best. Number the boxes, put each item in a manilla folder, number the folder consecutively and as long as your index card shows the correct location there is no problem.

For example: - A reader asks for information on Waterford's Bridges. You go to your index - Bridges, Waterford: and find there is a book, a reproduction of an article from The Irish Builder, an article from DECIES No.20 and two photographs. The book is on the shelf in alphabetical order, the article is in Box 15/13: the DECIES are housed together and if the photographs are not on the wall they are in Box 9/10.

We have had other Librarians and historians admire the simplicity of this arrangement and are using it in their own establishments.

Mr. Carroll donated his own collection of maps and copies of his own lectures, mainly of shipping interest. Mr. Kennedy, caretaker of the Library, undertook to do an index of the 42 years of the "Waterford Mirror" which has been widely used because that particular paper is extremely difficult to read.

We put a modest little name tag "Waterford Room" on the door and now we felt we could admit such members of the public who could work away without supervision.

We moved back to Lady Lane in 1982 and now we had slightly better facilities. The collection is now outgrowing the space available but the advent of Micro-printing is helping with that problem. Years of copies of the newspapers can be stored in a tiny box instead of the huge, difficult to move volume which is one year's collection of newsprint. Micro-printing also made the exchange of information between libraries easier. e.g. the Waterford County Library undertook to put the Villiers-Stuart papers on microfilm. By arranging with other interested libraries to purchase a copy it was possible to keep the cost within reach of hard-pressed libraries.

Mr. Cadogan of the "Waterford News & Star" gave a huge collection of papers to the Waterford Room which made a vast difference to our local knowledge of the fairly recent past.

My one regret is that Mr. Carroll did not live to see the beginning of the newspaper index. We missed him sorely during his illness and words can not yet express our regret at his passing. He was such a pleasure to work with, gentle, kind and always showed his appreciation with a word of thanks for any small service we did for him.

In November 1986 a joint project by the Corporation and ANCO funded 16 young

boys and girls who combed through the papers and in 6 months produced in excess of 50,000 cards. A second smaller group in 1988 produced a further batch of almost 20,000 cards. I'm told by Richard that this project will continue starting, he hopes, next month and to continue for 12 months. Only a computer can handle this bulk of material and arrangements have been made to purchase a computer for the Waterford Room but the problem is by the time you study the hardware on the market and make a decision to purchase a particular model the next generation of computers has rendered your decision obsolete.

The Waterford Room is now equipped with a micro-film reader printer and a fiche reader and photocopying facilities. I am pleased to say that almost all the queries received from all over the globe can be answered from the collection. Visitors to the room have expressed their surprise and satisfaction at the high standard of the facilities available. There is also a high standard of co-operation between Irish Libraries and requests for help with an inquiry always get a good response.

I will give you, in general headings, some idea of the areas of information available in the Room and a further breakdown of any heading will be available on request at the Library.

CONTENTS OF ROOM:

- 1. General Histories (Egan's, Ryland, Power etc.) .
- 2. Other histories with sections relating to Waterford.
 - 3. Ecclesiastical History.
 - 4. Social History.
 - 5. Buildings and Structures.
 - 6. Commercial and Industrial History.
 - 7. Biographies and Family Histories.
 - 8. Guides and Directories.
 - 9. Traveller's Accounts.
 - 10. Journals of Historical Societies.
 - 11. Pender Transcripts and City Charters.
 - 12. Lecture Texts.
 - 13. Calendars and State Papers. (Julian Walton's extracts most helpful).
 - 14. Parliamentary Papers and Reports of Commissions.
 - 15. Census Returns and Valuation Surveys.
 - 16. Shipping Records.
 - 17. Newspapers both on film and in bound copies.
 - 18. Minutes of the City Council from 1662 to present.
 - 19. Maps, charts, plans.
 - 20. Small collection of photographs and slides.
 - 21. The Archives of Christ Church Cathedral (again presented by Mr. Walton).
 - 22. The Canadian Newfoundland Connection.
 - 23. A huge collection of miscellary.

Many people over the years have been friends of the Waterford Room and have donated items. I could not possibly name them all but some have been particularly generous and I am very happy to be able to show my personal appreciation for their generosity over my working years: -

- 1. Mr. Carroll All I can say is that the City, the Library and the Library staff owe him an eternal debt of gratitude.
- 2. Julian Walton has made available to us copies of most of his research. His generosity seems to be limitless.
- 3. Mr. Cadogan for the donation of the collection of newspapers. While we thanked him personally he never got the sort of public recognition which this donation deserved.
- 4. The Old Waterford Society for "DECIES". It answers many a query.
- His Lordship Bishop Russell for his donation to the Waterford Newfoundla connection.
- 6. The Mount Sion Brothers donated some books on the Life and Times of Bro.Rice
- 7. The Canadian Embassy have furnished some exhibitions over the years and gave us some books.
- 8. The Art Students of the W.R.T.C. who donated their well illustrated projects on the Architectural History and details of some of our buildings.
- 9. Kitty Kelly's listings have also answered many a query.
- 10. The Waterford branch of the Irish Wild Life Conservancy donate their annual reports of surveys carried out.
- 11. And lastly Richard Fennessy, the present custodian of the Library and the Waterford Room. He is not a Waterford man but his knowledge of Waterford History is now very wide and thorough. He showed such an interest in the Waterford Room over the years that I was glad to leave it to him. I'm sure that under his guidance it will continue to expand. I also hope that any person who is in a position to help with donations of suitable material will continue to do so.

Having worked with Mr. Carroll on the development of the Waterford Room I wish to say that it was a privilege to do so and I am pleased that his work is being recognized in the only way possible.

Book Review: Walled Gandens.

BOOK REVIEW

Elizabeth M. Kirwan.

Walled Gardens. Scenes from an Anglo-Irish Childhood.

By Annabel Davis-Goff.

London, Barrie & Jenkins, 1990. ISBN 0 7126 3823 7. Stg.£14.95 xi, 255pp.

This is an engaging, well researched and humorous book by an Irishwoman who has chosen to live her adult life within reach of New York, where the first edition of this book was published in 1989. Clearly, in her book, Annabel Davis-Goff has taken on board herself the motto on the Goff coat of arms, Honestas optima politia. The result is an autobiographical novel recounting the narrator's examination of her previous beliefs, following the divorce from her husband. "All that I believed came up for re-examination and some of it was found wanting I had moved three thousand miles from where I was born."

The narrator, Annabel, tells of her return home to Ireland for her father's funeral and burial. The family reunion takes place at her mother's home. She had been divorced from the deceased, Ernest Davis-Goff, 3rd Baronet, for twenty years. Going home was a journey of recognition and memory. "Shared memories are the rock on which my kind of family is built. There is no substitute; blood counts for nothing in comparison."

Walled gardens are sheltered and quiet places within high brick walls that reflect and diffuse golden light. In Annabel's childhood, a Christmas Rose was found within one such sanctuary, - "emerging as it does from the cold, bare, brown, winter earth it seems incongruous, mythic, symbolic, and infinitely valuable."

Annabel, her parent's first born, was a morbid child. She spent her first years in houses that were impossible to heat, uncomfortable to live in and that were financial burdens, - "a very Anglo-Irish choice." By the age of four, Annabel was well instilled with the British tradition of reserve and this, combined with the inherent reserve of Irish society, left her feeling unable to communicate or voice her feelings. The almost complete separation of adults from children and the adults self-censorship of their feelings, left Annabel feeling even more insecure. She was short

of friends and usually unsure of where she stood with other people. Her upbringing did not involve exposure to any folklore, poetry, or expressions that Synge had missed out on (which in fact includes most of Co. Waterford). When Annabel (born in 1942) was a child, things were judged by a standard set a generation earlier. Her first reading material was "Victorian sentimental rubbish left over from my father's childhood." The predominant attitude in her youth was "Protestant in its doomed, half-hearted lack of realism."

Annabel went to school in Waterford, where she "began to learn that I was Anglo-Irish and that we as a group were neither English nor Irish, neither accepted nor discriminated against, powerless though treated with respect. I also noticed that this respect often had a suspicion of hidden laughter in it." Later she realized that "We belonged to a stratum of society which was more than waning, it was facing extinction. Clearly the next generation would have to adapt ... I don't remember ever being taught about the wealth of literature which our own country produced ... What I lacked most at school was guidance and a kindred spirit; the specific advice a teacher could have given me about what next to read was secondary."

After 1921, the remaining Anglo-Irish found that Government jobs were no longer open to most of them since a proficiency in Irish was required. Annabel's family supplemented its income by keeping poultry and doing some market gardening. The Anglo-Irish were "usually trying to sell far from cost-effective products to people who neither wanted them nor could afford them." To her father, taking chances when the odds were against him was regarded as a real gamble - "Better to be trampled to death by elephants than to be pecked to death by ducks." His first loves were fox hunting and steeplechasing. Sir Ernest had no head for business and his brewery business collapsed. He lived on his memories, his sense of humour and his belief that his life continued through his children. For Annabel, her father's death cut a tie with Ireland, with a way of life and with a way of thinking. He believed that "the normal rules did'nt apply to us. It was an unfounded assumption with which I've had to battle all my life."

Annabel's mother, Cynthia O'Connor, "was considered a soft touch by the maids, and rather left-wing by my father's contemporaries, because she had a reasonable imagination about the lives of those less fortunate than herself." She "had framed some very pretty illustrations ... and they were for sale in the foyer of the Haven (Dunmore East). It was the first step toward a real career for her. Away from chickens and black-currants and toward becoming an antique dealer and later an expert in paintings." The reason Annabel's parents marriage became unstuck was because her father didn't pay attention and never acknowledged the validity of her mother's need for something more.

In this book, some of the most beautifully written parts remember commercial life in Waterford city, holidays spent at Annabel's maternal grandparents' home in Ballinacourty and holidays with grandmother Goff in Stradbally. Lady Goff's childhood was spent in diplomatic circles in Germany, Berne, Copenhagen and St. Petersburg. Her unpublished diary shows a "reckless disregard for spelling and punctuation ... balanced only by her carefulness not to betray any emotions, give any opinions or take a chance of any kind."

It was clear to Annabel that "An Anglo-Irish upbringing did nothing to spawn confidence in love. Although my family was a loving one, this love was never verbalised or demonstrated." The subject of sex was taboo too. "It was clear to me that no one was going to get laid in the Republic of Ireland; not if she was Anglo-Irish, at least." Her subsequent travels took her away from Waterford, Ballinacourty, Stradbally, Ballinaparka, Kinsale and Ballinakill, to Oxford, London and California, and to her present home in Connecticut.

The Annual General Meeting of the Old Waterford Society was held on Friday 3rd May 1991 at Garter Lane Arts Centre, Waterford. After a discussion of the usual Society business, the following officers and committee were elected.

> CHAIRMAN Mr. Liam Eachthigheirn

VICE-CHAIRMAN Mrs. Lisa Gallagher

HON. SECRETARY Mrs. Nellie Croke

HON. TREASURER Mrs. Renee Lumley

HON. EDITOR Mr. Julian Walton

COMMITTEE Mr. Fergus Dillon :

Miss Patricia Fanning Mr. George Kavanagh

Mr. Patrick Kenneally Mr. Patrick Kennedy

Brother Malachy

Mr. Jim O'Meara (ex-officio)

Mrs. Margaret Power

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Α.

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(C. contd.)

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Murphy Bro. Mt. Sion, Barrack Street, Waterford.

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Newbury Library, 60 West Walton St., Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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Nolan, Farrell & Goff, Solicitors, Newtown, Waterford.

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Ţ.

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₩.

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(W. contd.)

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LECTURE SEASON 1992.

Lectures will be held in Garter Lane 2, O'Connell Street, Waterford, commencing at 8.00 p.m.

"Defence Forces During Emergency". January 17th

Illustrated lecture and Visual presentation.

Commdt. Peter Young, Military Archives, Cathal Brugha Barracks.

"The Irish Wars and Elizabethan Literature". February 28th

Dr. Ciaran Brady, Trinity College, Dublin.

"Bronze-Age Gold Work of Ireland". March 13th

Ms. Mary Cahill, National Museum.

A.G.M. April 10th

"The Origin - Legend of the Deise". April 24th

Tomas O Cathasaigh, U.C.D.

Enquiries regarding DECIES to: Mr. Fergus Dillon,

"Trespan". 70 The Folly,

Waterford.

Mr.Julian Walton, The Coachman's House. Half-way-House,

Waterford.

Membership of the Old Waterford Society is open to all. Subscription for 1991 is £7, which may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer:

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

The Society is not responsible for damage or injury suffered or sustained on outings.