

DECIES

Journal of the Old Waterford Society

No. 49

Spring 1994



MacGrath's Castle, Abbeyside, Dungarvan
View from the east, c. 1900 (pages 38 - 40)

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The Journal of the Old Waterford Society

No. 49

*Local Studies .
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Spring 1994

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EDITORIAL

At the time of going to press, a fascinating exhibition of old photographs of Waterford is on view in City Square. It comprises over fifty black-and-white prints made from glass negative plates in the Poole Collection, which was acquired by the National Library of Ireland in the nineteen-fifties and remained hidden away and largely ignored - but at least preserved - until recently. There are nearly eighty thousand plates in the collection, making it by far the biggest in the country, and furthermore it is a specifically Waterford collection, so its local interest is obvious. The exhibition has been well attended, and there have been many comments not only on the improvement in living standards in the last hundred years but also on the unnecessary destruction of so much of our heritage. Particularly strong and repeated criticism has been made of the demolition in the sixties of our fine Victorian railway stations, the Tramore station being replaced by a building of almost unique ugliness.¹

This exhibition, which is doing so much to create public awareness of our heritage and the need to value and conserve what is left of it, was organised by Waterford Civic Trust, and the Trust has also been active in the campaign to preserve the sixteenth-century houses recently discovered in Exchange St. and High St. The Trust has an ambitious plan to restore the Beech Tower in Jenkin's Lane, and joined with An Taisce in protesting against the proposed alterations to the Dominican Church which included the demolition of the fine Victorian pulpit.

Other organisations are also active in the promotion of our local history. For instance, the Discover East Waterford Co-operative is organising a Power Clan Rally for the weekend of 10-12 June, and the Dungarvan Museum Society has mounted an exhibition of old maps of the area. The Society's previous exhibition last summer of the work of local photographer Richard Edward Brenan was an impressive undertaking.

During the last year the Old Waterford Society has organised an interesting series of outings and lectures. The latter have been well attended, and the Committee Room in City Hall has given added prestige to the proceedings. We have also produced two issues of *Decies*, which have put into print some of the original research being done by our local historians.

However, I feel that our Society could be doing more than this. We are the senior historical society in the region and can claim lineal descent from the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, whose centenary we recalled at our Christmas luncheon. As such, we should be playing a major role in publicising and protecting history within our community. All around us there are issues to be faced and challenges to be met as our world changes at an ever increasing pace, yet all too often the initiative is taken by other organisations and our Society is left on the sidelines.

By the time *Decies* no. 49 is published we will have had our AGM for 1994 and will have embarked on a new year in the life of the Old Waterford Society. Perhaps that year should see some debate on how our Society could heighten its profile and play a more vigorous part in studying, promoting and protecting the historical legacy of Waterford's city, county and hinterland.

1 In fairness, it must be said that the North Station was found to be structurally so unsound that its demolition was apparently unavoidable.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AT THE ABBEY, KILCULLIHEEN, FERRYBANK, WATERFORD

Transcribed by Michael O'Sullivan

PART I. Nos 1-88 (letters A to D)

Editor's Introduction

The parish of Kilculliheen takes its name from the Irish *Cill Cailchín*, the church of Cailchín, a Celtic saint whose feast is on 10 February. The Abbey church and graveyard are picturesquely situated close to the river Suir and opposite Reginald's Tower and the Mall. They occupy the site of the Augustinian nunnery of the Blessed Virgin Mary 'de Bello Portu', founded in 1151 by Dermot MacMurrough and afterwards richly endowed by King John and David fitz Milo. Alleged shortcomings in the lives of its nuns hit the ecclesiastical headlines in 1427 and again in 1532 and may have contributed to the persistent legend of a tunnel connecting the abbey with Reginald's Tower! At the dissolution, the abbey with its possessions and the advowson was granted to the Corporation of Waterford, and the civic muniments contain many records pertaining to it.¹

The parish church remained within the jurisdiction of the Church of Ireland, and serious efforts were made to maintain it as a place of worship from at least the period of ecclesiastical reform at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1693 the Rev. John Acteson was appointed vicar, and a Corporation order of February 1699 directed that 'the city do repair its share of the chancel of Kilkillihin, not exceeding £5 to Mr Acteson'.² In 1723 £4 was voted to Acteson and to Alderman Jones towards the repair of the church.³

In 1731 the bishop of Ossory reported in his visitation: 'Church very decently new built, but not perfectly finished in the floor. Wooden crosses in the churchyard to be removed. No glebe house or glebe; vicar resides at Waterford. A schoolmaster appointed but no school.'⁴ The newly built or rebuilt church is depicted in the engraving of Waterford in Smith's *History* (1746); it is quite a small building with what appears to be a bellcote (figure 1).

The visitation of 1781 reported that there were nine Protestant families in the parish; holy communion was held five times a year and there were 30-40 communicants. In 1795 the church was reported to be in good repair; 'parish is in the greater part inhabited by gentlemen of fortune, who I presume take care to have their children instructed and catechised at home'. The vicar (Joseph Poulter) resided on his own estate not a mile from the church. In 1799 holy communion was being celebrated four times a year and there were between five and fourteen communicants. Poulter reported ominously: 'I reside within musket shot of the church.' In the previous year he had spent £30.18.9 on a new roof.⁵

In 1819 it was agreed to build a new church, the cost to be £900, one-third of which was to be supplied by the Corporation and the remainder by the Board of First Fruits.⁶ The *Waterford Chronicle* of Saturday 15 January 1820 reported:

1 In addition to the standard works of reference on medieval Irish religious houses, see 'The nunnery of Kilculliheen', *Waterford & SEI Arch. Jnl.* viii (1902), pp 9-17; and John Mulholland, 'The trial of Alice Butler, abbess of Kilculliheen', *Decies*, no. 25 (Jan. 1984), pp 45-46.

2 S. Pender (ed.), *Council Books of Waterford 1662-1700*.

3 Cited in E. Downey, *Story of Waterford*, p. 284.

4 Cited in Rev. J. B. Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (1933), p. 290. The original visitation records were presumably all destroyed in 1922, as were the pre-disestablishment parish registers which dated from 1817. A minute-book dating from 1797, which was in existence as recently as 1982, cannot now be found.

5 *ibid.*

6 Corporation minutes, 29 Sept. 1819.



Figure 1. The Abbey Church in 1746, from the engraving in Smith's *Waterford*.

On Thursday the foundation stone preparatory to the building of a new church at the Abbey was laid by the Rt Hon. Sir John Newport with the usual formalities and in the presence of several ladies and gentlemen. The building is to be erected by Mr Robinson, architect, according to a very handsome design executed by that gentleman. It is to be placed nearer the river than the present church and promises to add very considerably to the ornamental views from the Quay of this city. The steeple and spire are to be 150 feet high.

However, there seems to have been some disagreement with the architect as the *News* of 24 October carried the following: 'Wanted, an architect to complete the building of the new church at Kilculliheen, as Mr Robinson has forfeited his contract.' The spire was probably never built, although it is depicted in at least one engraving of the period. The tower is inscribed: 'Eaton Edwards and Robert Briscoe Esqs Church Wardens 1821'. It was of standard First-Fruits design with battlements and pinnacles as depicted in an old drawing (figure 2). However, one of the pinnacles fell and it was decided to demolish the others as well for safety.

The new church had a seating capacity of 150.⁷ The bell is dated 1872 and was the work of Mears & Stainbank of London. In 1930 the church was restored and rearranged, memorial gifts being made by members of the White and Anderson families.⁸ There are two stained-glass windows in memory of the Bloomfield family of Newpark. A new vestry was built in 1959 to replace the original, which had been maliciously damaged (figure 3).

The present century has seen much retrenchment on the part of the Church of Ireland community. In the 1920s Kilmacow union was amalgamated with the Abbey, and when its church was demolished some years later several monuments from the interior were transferred to the Abbey. In 1985 the Abbey itself was amalgamated with Waterford and a few years later the building was bought by the Ferrybank Scouts, by whom it is at present maintained. Unfortunately the young owners were given a shocking example of 'official vandalism' when orders came from Dublin to remove all the marble and brass plaques from the interior. In the process some were broken. Protest was made to Dean Neill and from him to the authorities in Dublin, and permission was obtained to keep the remaining monuments in position.

7 *Thom's Waterford Directory, 1909-10*, p. 26.

8 Leslie, *op. cit.*

The Abbey Church and its graveyard contain over three hundred monuments, many of them commemorating the leading families of the city and environs. The earliest inscription dates from 1714 and is that of the Christian family from whom the townland of Christendom is named. A number of eighteenth-century monuments were erected to Catholic families, but from the early nineteenth century onwards the burials are those of Protestant families only. These include landed families such as the Andersons and Bloomfields as well as those connected with city trades, shipping and ship-building.

Michael O'Sullivan has performed a major service in recording these memorials. Moreover, in addition to much other research on the history of Kilculliheen he has located newspaper references to many of the deceased whose names appear on the inscriptions. *Decies* is happy to present this combination of memorial inscriptions and newspaper references, which to my knowledge has never before been undertaken for any Irish graveyard.

J.C.W.

INSCRIPTIONS AND NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS

ADAMS: See Wilson.

- 1 **ADIE:**[Carving of sailing craft] To the memory of John Adie, late master and owner of the sloop *Helens* of Limekilns, parish of Dumfarline county of Fife, Scotland, who departed this life on the 21st day of October in the year of our Lord 1822, and has left 7 children to lament his loss, in the 48th year of his age.

A few short years of evil past
We reach that happy shore
Where death divided friends at last
Shall meet to part no more.

Wat. Chronicle, Tues. 22 Oct. 1822, p.3, c.2. Melancholy Accident. A distressing casualty, which we lament to say has had a fatal termination, occurred on Thursday night the 17th instant to Capt. John Adie, master and owner of the Sloop *Helens* of Limekilns in Scotland, lying at the Scotch Quay. The vessel having come up river late in the evening of that day, there was not time to procure a proper stage for communicating with the shore, and when Adie was returning on board at night, the temporary contrivance made use of unfortunately gave way and he was precipitated from a height of 12 feet to the bottom of the pill, it being near low water at the time. His back came in contact with some stones lying in the mud, which occasioned such a severe injury of the spine as to cause an immediate paralysis from the injured part downwards, and notwithstanding the best surgical aid, he lingered in a most deplorable state of suffering until within a few hours of dissolution, which took place yesterday evening. We understand he was a very respectable industrious man and has left seven children without a mother.

- 2 **AINSWORTH:** In affectionate remembrance of Ellen second child of Thomas and Ellen Ainsworth of Newrath near Waterford, who died December 27th 1866 aged 1 1/2 years. Also of Ellen the beloved wife of Thomas Ainsworth who died May 15th 1867 aged 28 years. Thomas Ainsworth who died July 15th 1893 aged 65 years. John Harold second son of the above Thomas Ainsworth who died at Buluwayo Africa December 27th 1895 aged 21 years.

Wat. News, 4 Jan. 1867, p.2, c.3. Dec. 27. Ellen, 2nd child of T. Ainsworth Esq. of Newrath Co. Waterford, aged 18 months.



Figure 2. The Abbey Church: An old drawing showing the pinnacles on the tower.



Figure 3. The Abbey Church in 1959, showing the new vestry.

Wat. News, 17 May 1867, p.2, c.4. On Wednesday morning at Newrath Cottage, Mrs Ainsworth, wife of Thomas Ainsworth.

ALCOCK: See Price.

- 3 **ALLEN:** Sacred to the memory of John Allen, master mariner, of Portland, County of Dorset, departed this life 2nd of June 1848 aged 41 years. Erected by his affectionate wife.
- 4 **ALSTON:** Sacred to the memory of Henry Frederick Alston of Annemount, late captain of the []9th Regiment, who departed this life May 28th 1847 aged []4 years. Also Harold Alcock Alston son of the above died at Richmond Virginia April 22nd 1865 aged 49 years.
- 5 **ANDERSON:** Erected by Mrs Jane Anderson in memory of her beloved husband Capt. Benjamin Anderson of London, who departed this life the first day of March 1834 aged 47 years. Mrs Jane Anderson died Decr 6th 1864 aged 76.
- 6 **ANDERSON:** In loving memory of Robert Carew Anderson, taken from us Feb. 2nd 1885 aged 70.

Wat. News, 6 Feb. 1885, p.2, c.7. On the 2nd inst. at Suir View, Ferrybank, Robert Carew Anderson, MD, Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals.

- 7 **ANDERSON:** In loving memory of Susanna Anderson, sixth daughter of the Revd Joshua Anderson, died 14th Sept. 1911. Also of Henrietta Anderson, 5th daughter of the Revd Joshua Anderson, died 26th Jan. 1927 aged 99 years.

Wat. News, 15 Sept. 1911, p.8, c.6. Yesterday at Prospect, Ferrybank, there occurred the death of Miss Susan Anderson, daughter of the late Rev. Joshua Anderson, MA.

Wat. News, 28 Jan. 1927, p.5, c.6. The death occurred at her residence, Prospect, Ferrybank, on Wednesday of Miss Henrietta Anderson, at the age of 99 years. The late Miss Anderson, who was daughter of the late Rev. Joshua Anderson, led a quiet secluded life at Prospect. Deceased was the sister of the late Paul Christmas Anderson, Prospect, and aunt of the late Mr J. W. Anderson, Ballymountain, Ferrybank. She was grand-aunt of the late Miss Muriel Anderson, Prospect, whose death occurred very recently.

- 8 **ANDERSON:** In loving memory of William Perceval Anderson, dearly loved second son of Maj. Genl C. A. Anderson, CB, and of Ellen his wife. Born 9th July 1895. Died 11th August 1912. And his mother Lady Ellen Catherine Anderson died 2nd January 1956 aged 93 years. And her eldest son Charles Bevan Carew Anderson, Col. RAMC, OBE, FRCS, born 12th April 1894, died 17th July 1979.

Wat. News, 16 Aug. 1912, p.8, c.3. Last Sunday at Hesdigneul Station near Boulogne, Mr William Perceval Anderson, aged 18, 2nd son of General Anderson, was killed by an express train. On Wednesday the funeral took place at the Abbey, the family burial place. The chief mourners were Mr C. B. C. Anderson (brother), Colonel F. G. Anderson and Major W. P. Anderson (uncles), Mr T. W. Anderson, Dr W. J. Anderson, and Mr C. P. Bolton.

Wat News, 6 Jan. 1956, p.3, c.2. The death occurred at Gracedieu of Lady Ellen Catherine Anderson, aged 92, widow of Sir Charles Alexander Anderson, KCB, KCIE, AM, who died shortly after the end of the First World War. She came to this country from England ten years ago and resided for some time at Ballinacarriga, Fermoy, Co. Cork. She was mother of Lt.-Col. C. B. C. Anderson, Gracedieu; the late Major Noel Maurice Anderson (Indian Army), who was husband of Mrs S. L. Anderson, Gracedieu; and the late Mr William Perceval Anderson, who died in 1912. The funeral arrived at the Abbey Church at 11.30 on Wednesday, where interment took place.

- 9 ANDERSON:** To the dear memory of Brigadier General Sir Francis James Anderson, KCB, CB, late RE, of Ballydavid Co. Waterford, born Feb. 17th 1860, died March 6th 1920. Erected by his sorrowing wife. And of his beloved wife Frances Alice who died January 8th 1947.

Wat. News, 12 March 1920, p.5, c.4. Died suddenly last Saturday in London, Brig. Gen. Sir Francis James Anderson, KBE, CB (late Royal Engineers). He had only a few months ago purchased Ballydavid, Woodstown, Co. Waterford, the residence of the late Mr R. G. Paul, and had been living there for only a short time. He died at 4 Trebovir Road, London. His remains arrived at Waterford from London at 7 o'clock this morning. A private funeral took place at Ballydavid, where the remains will lie tonight. A military funeral from Ballydavid tomorrow morning will arrive at the Mall at eleven o'clock and will then proceed to the Abbey Church, where the interment will take place after the church service.

Wat. News, 10 Jan. 1947, p.2, c.3. The death occurred on Wednesday at her residence, Ballydavid House, Rosssduff, Passage East, of Lady F. A. Anderson, aged 92, widow of Sir Francis J. Anderson, KCB, RE. She was a daughter of the late Major O'Gorman, who formerly resided at Springfield. She was mother of James O'Gorman Anderson, formerly of the Chinese Customs, who predeceased her some 2 months ago in Dublin. She was sister of Mrs Carew, Ballydavid House, and was grandmother of Lady Goff, wife of Sir Ernest Goff, Bt, Glenville. Another son, who held the rank of Major in the Royal Field Artillery, lost his life in the 1914-18 War. She was cousin of Major R. H. Carew, Ballinamona House. The interment took place at the Abbey Church today.

- 10 ANDERSON:** Constance Agnes Jane, wife of Thomas William Anderson, died Aug. 19th 1881 aged 23. Thomas William Anderson passed away Sept. 5th 1925 aged 73. And his wife Ellen Carew Anderson died 6th April 1944 aged 94. James Anderson died Oct. 22nd 1867 aged 56. Susan Alice Anderson died 19th Dec. 1941. Margaret wife of James Anderson died Feby 29th 1864 aged 42. Alexander Carew Anderson, born 6th May 1856, died 5th April 1918. And his wife Margaret Winifred died 6th Feb. 1920 aged 64. James Paul Anderson, son of James & Margaret Anderson, died Sept. 26th 1860 aged 10 years & 8 months.

Wat. News, Fri. 26 Aug. 1881, p.2, c.5. On the 19th inst. at Bellevue, Waterford, Constance Agnes Jane, wife of Thomas William Anderson, Esq., JP, aged 23 years. She was daughter of the late V. Rev Dean La Touche Kirwan of Limerick. The funeral left Bellevue on Tuesday last for the Abbey Churchyard, where interment took place. The chief mourners were Thomas W. Anderson Esq. and the

Misses Kirwan (brothers and sisters of the deceased), Paul Anderson Esq., Dr Anderson, C.N. Bolton Esq., Sir R. T. Carew Esq., DL, R. H. Anderson Esq., Rev Canon Blacker, &c. The funeral arrangements were conducted by Mr S. R. Scott, Mall.

Wat. News, 11 Sept. 1925, p.1, c.1. 5 Sept. 1925. Suddenly, T. W. Anderson, Gracedieu Lodge, Waterford, aged 73 years, on Friday night. For many years he was a justice of the peace for the county and he held also the office of deputy lieutenant. As a young man he succeeded on the death of his father, the late Mr James Anderson, Gracedieu, to estates in Waterford, Kilkenny, Cork and Galway, and it is a tribute to him that when, during his administration of the family property, acts were passed whereby the tenants were allowed to purchase, he disposed of practically all but the mother building at Gracedieu to the residents on the various estates.

The deceased was a near relative of the late General Charles Anderson and of General James Anderson now of London, brother of the late Mr A. C. Anderson, Ballymountain, brother-in-law of the late General Gatacre, and uncle of Mr Paul Anderson, Ballymountain. The late Mr Anderson married as his first wife Miss Kirwan, daughter of the Rt Rev. Anthony La Touche Kirwan dean of Limerick, who was mother of his only surviving daughter Miss Susan Alice Anderson. After several years, on the passing of the Deceased Wives' Sister Act, he again married the lady who now survives him, Mrs Ellen Carew Anderson. His only sister Mrs Jean Margaret Garcia is now resident in London.

The interment of the remains took place on Tuesday, when the body was laid to rest in the family vault in the Abbey churchyard. The funeral left Gracedieu this morning at 11.30 a.m. and reached the outskirts of the city an hour later. Behind the hearse walked Mr Paul Anderson, Ballymountain, nephew of the deceased, Major Carew, Ballinamona Park, cousin, and General James Anderson, who were chief mourners. The funeral proceeded to Christ Church and after the service, which was conducted by V. Rev. Dean Meyers and Rev. Wilson, left for the interment ground. The cortege included Major Wm Anderson, Brook Lodge, Lady Anderson, Ballydavid, Sir Robert Paul and the Dowager Lady Paul, Rev. Canon Paul, Capt. Gethin, Portlaw, Capt. Jones, Waterford, Capt. Bloomfield, Bloomfield Lodge, Mr Richardson, Prospect Lodge, Mr Richardson junr, Mrs Carew, Ballydavid, Miss Bolton, Brook Lodge, Miss Jones, Mullinabro, Mrs J. Widger, Tramore, Mrs Power, Bellevue, Mr W. Robertson, Waterford, Mr T. Merry, Mr I. Torric, Mr T. F. Jacob.

Wat. News, 6 April 1944, p.3, c.4. April 6th 1944 at Gracedieu Manor, Waterford, Ellen Carew, widow of the late T. W. Anderson and only surviving daughter of Anthony La Touche Kirwan, former dean of Limerick. The interment took place at the Abbey at 12 noon on Saturday. The burial service was conducted by Dr Arnold Harvey, lord bishop of Cashel, assisted by V. Rev. J. R. Campion, rector of Kilmacow and Kilculliheen.

Wat. News, Fri. 25 Oct. 1867, p.3, c.1. Death of James Anderson Esq., JP. This gentleman, well known through Ireland but particularly in the south as a very successful and extensive cultivator of the Short Horn breed of cattle, expired at his residence Gracedieu Lodge, about three miles from this city, on Tuesday evening. The lamented gentleman was attacked about twelve days previously with Anthrax, which rapidly assumed a severe form and despite the best medical skill of this city and of Dublin, an eminent surgeon being summoned from the metropolis, he succumbed to the painful malady. The deceased, who was about 68 years of age, married a daughter of the late Robert Carew Esq. of Ballinamona and survived her but a few years. He leaves two young sons and one daughter to lament his loss. He was an honorary secretary of the Waterford Farming Society, a magistrate, and poor law guardian.

Wat. News, 19 Dec. 1941, p.4, c.2. The death occurred today at Gracedieu Manor of Miss Susan Alice Anderson, only child of the late Mr T. W. Anderson, DL. The late Miss Anderson had been an invalid for

some years. She is survived by her stepmother Mrs Anderson, Gracedieu. She was cousin of Mr Paul Anderson, Mount Prospect, and of Major Carew, Ballinamona.

The funeral took place from her residence to the Abbey Church on Monday. The remains were enclosed in a suite of coffins, the outer one being of unpolished oak with brass ring mountings. The breastplate bore the inscription 'Susan Alice Anderson, entered into rest 19 December 1941'. A short service was held at Gracedieu Manor by the dean of Waterford before the funeral left. On arrival at Christ Church Cathedral the remains were received by the lord bishop of Cashel, the dean of Waterford and Rev. Chancellor Norris, rector of Kilmacow, and they officiated at the choral service which followed, after which the funeral resumed its journey to the family vault at the Abbey.

At the graveside the lord bishop of Cashel, the dean of Waterford and the Rev. Chancellor Norris officiated. The coffin was borne into Christ Church and from the hearse to the graveside by members of the staff at Gracedieu Manor under the supervision of Mr Arthur Catton. Owing to illness Sir Robert Paul was unable to attend the funeral. The chief mourners were Mr Paul Anderson, Mount Prospect, Major R. H. Carew, Ballinamona, Mrs P. Anderson, Mrs R. H. Carew. The opening of the family vault was carried out by Mr Robert O'Keeffe, Michael Street, and the arrangements by Messrs John Palmer, undertakers, Catherine Street, under the supervision of Mr H. M. Palmer.

Wat. News, 4 March 1864, p.2, c.5. February 29 at Gracedieu Lodge, Margaret wife of James Anderson Esq., JP, and youngest daughter of the late Thomas Carew Esq., JP, Ballinamona Park.

Evening News, 6 April 1918, p.3, c.2. The death occurred yesterday of Mr Alexander Carew Anderson of Ballymountain near Waterford. The deceased gentleman left Waterford a few days ago to consult a specialist in Dublin in connection with a heart infection from which he suffered. He went into a nursing home where in spite of every attention he passed away yesterday. Mr Anderson had reached the age of 61 years.

Evening News, 9 Feb. 1920, p.3, c.3. The death occurred on Friday at her residence Ballymountain of Mrs Margaret Winifred Anderson, widow of the late Captain A. C. Anderson.

Wat. News, 5 Oct. 1860, p.2, c.4. On the 26th at Portarlinton of scarletina in the 11th year of his age, James Paul, eldest son of James Anderson Esq. of Gracedieu Lodge, Co. Waterford.

- 11 ANDERSON:** Sacred to the memory of Anne the beloved wife of the Revd Joshua Anderson who departed this life the 24th March 1851 aged 69 years. Also to the memory of Catherine Anderson, fourth daughter of the Revd Joshua Anderson, who died on the 18 day of February 1855 aged 28 years. Also of the Revd Joshua Anderson, rector of Myshall in the Co. of Carlow, who died on the 6th day of April 1859 aged 90 years. Jane Ellen Anderson, 2nd daughter of the Revd Joshua Anderson, died March 14th 1906 aged 84. Paul Christmas Anderson, 4th son of Revd Joshua Anderson, aged 90 years, died 24th Feb. 1907.

Wat. News, 31 March 1854 ,p.3, c.6. At Harbour View on the 24th, Anne, the wife of the Rev. J. Anderson.

- 12 ANDERSON:** [tablet in church] In loving memory of Alexander Carew Anderson of Ballymountain House, died Apr. 5 1918 aged 62. And his wife Margaret Winifred died Feb. 6 1920 aged 64.

- 13 ANDERSON:** [brass plate on reading desk in church] To the glory of God and in loving memory of Paul Christmas, Jane Ellen, Henrietta and Susan Anderson of Prospect. And

of Robert Carew and Jane Wallis Anderson of Suirview. This reading desk is erected by relatives to whom their memory is dear, 1930.

- 14 ANDERSON:** [inscription on wooden cross mounted on tablet in church] In proud memory of Major Francis Sainthill Anderson, MC, RHA, RFA, deeply loved younger son of Brig. General Sir Francis and Lady Anderson of Ballydavid House and grandson of Major O'Gorman. Major Anderson served in 'N' Battery RHA (the Eagle Troop) as subaltern and captain in France from April 1915 to Nov. 1917. As captain he greatly distinguished himself in temporary command of two separate RHA batteries near Lens. Promoted acting major in Nov. 1917. He was appointed to the command of a field battery which he took to Italy, returning with it in April 1918 to France, where after 3 years 8 months gallant service he was killed in action August 25th 1918 at the age of 23. This cross marked his wayside grave. In memory of GRU Major F. S. Anderson (MC), 'A' Batty 15th Bde RFA, killed in action 25-8-1918.
- 15 ANDERSON:** In loving memory of Paul Alexander Anderson of Mount Prospect, died 10th October 1942 aged 62 years. And of his wife Aileen Ann died 13th January 1944. And also of their son Lieutenant Alexander William Anderson, RN, lost at sea on active service in the submarine HMS 'Trooper' on 17th October 1943 aged 21 years.

Wat. News, 16 Oct. 1942 p.1, c.1. October 10 1942. Suddenly, Paul Alexander Anderson of Mount Prospect, Waterford. Also *Evening News*, 16 Oct. 1942, p.1, c.2. The death occurred on Saturday under tragically unexpected circumstances of Mr Paul Alexander Anderson, Mount Prospect, Co. Kilkenny. It is understood that Mr Anderson was conversing with some friends in the County Club, Gladstone Street, when he was suddenly taken ill. Dr W. Coffey was summoned by phone and arrived almost immediately. Mr Anderson, however, passed away in a very short time. The late Mr Anderson was the only son of the late Mr Alexander Anderson and nephew of the late Mr T. W. Anderson, Gracedieu. He spent a number of years in West Africa as an engineer in the service of the British Government. He returned to Ireland in 1920, and since then he had conducted a highly successful country produce business at Mount Prospect. He is survived by his widow, formerly Miss Eily Burke.

Wat. News, 14 Feb. 1944, p.3, c.4. 13th January 1944. Suddenly as the result of an accident, Mrs Aileen Anne Anderson, widow of the late Paul Anderson of Mount Prospect. The tragic story of how Mrs Anderson of Mount Prospect lost her life while attempting to save her dog, which had gone on the line before the Rosslare-Waterford train last evening, was told at the inquest which was held at Mount Prospect.

- 16 ANDERSON:** In loving memory of Muriel Louise Anderson, beloved sister of Paul Alexander Anderson of Ballymountain, went to her rest 15th Jan. 1927 aged 33.

Evening News, 15 Jan. 1927, p.3, c.3. On January 15th 1927 at Prospect, suddenly, Muriel, only daughter of the late A. C. Anderson, Ballymountain. Also in *Evening News*, 15 Jan. 1927, p.3, c.5. At the residence of her aunt. Her mother was sister of Mr Frederick Power of Bellevue. Her brother Mr Paul A. Anderson, who married a daughter of the late Mr Ulick Burke, RM, still resides at Ballymountain. Her uncle Mr T. W. Anderson, Gracedieu, died about 18 months ago. Her aunt Henrietta who still resides at Prospect is still in remarkably good health despite her advanced years. Before Christmas the deceased contracted a chill from which lung trouble developed and proved fatal, notwithstanding the earnest care of Drs Ridgeway and Coughlan.

17 ANDERSON: James Carew O'Gorman Anderson, born 22 July 1893, died 19 November 1946.

18 ANGEL: In affectionate remembrance of the daughters of Thomas E. and Deborah Angel. Mary Jane died 30th April 1849 aged 2 years. Amelia died 31st Jany 1859 aged 16 years. Elizabeth Read, wife of John Read, died 19th July 1873 aged 36 years. Also the above named Thomas Elliott Angel died 17th June 1878 aged 67 years. Also Deborah, wife of the above T. E. Angel, died 14th Sept. 1879 aged 70 years. And Sarah, wife of George Joyce, daughter of the above T. E. & D. Angel, died 7th July 1881 aged 36 years.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 5 Feb. 1859, p.3, c.3. On Monday Jan. 31st at the residence of her father, South Parade, Emilia, 4th daughter of Thomas Angel Esq.

Wat. News, 25 July 1873, p.2, c.5. On the 19th inst. at the residence of her father T. A. Angel, South Parade, Elizabeth, wife of the late Captain John Read.

Wat. News, 21 June 1878, p.2, c.7. On Monday at his residence, South Parade, Captain Angel, after a brief illness. He was for many years connected with this port as a ship-owner and merchant and latterly as a harbour commissioner, at which board his death creates a vacancy. His remains were interred in the Abbey Churchyard on Thursday.

Wat. News, 19 Sept. 1879, p.2, c.7. On the 13th at South Parade, Deborah, relict of the late Capt. Thomas E. Angel. Interment took place at the Abbey Churchyard on Wednesday.

Wat. News, 15 July 1881, p.2, c.7. On the 7th at 2 Lincoln Place, Cork, Sarah, wife of George Joyce and youngest daughter of the late T. E. Angel Esq. of Waterford.

19 ANTHONY: Sacred to the memory of William Anthony, master mariner, of Waterford, born Decr 22nd 1805, died Novr 22nd 1880. Also Robert John, accidentally drowned June 7th 1871 aged 17 years. And William Thomas died Feby 1st 1889 aged 40 years. Sons of above. Also Rebecca, wife of William Anthony, died in Cork Feby 20th 1906 aged 94 years and is interred there.

Wat. News, Fri. 9 June 1871, p.3. On Tuesday night news reached town that two young men, who with a third left for a short boating trip, had perished by drowning in Kilmacow pill, about a mile and a half above Bridge. One of the victims was Robert Anthony, son of Captain Anthony of the Glen. The deceased was employed at Messrs Jacob, Ironmongers, Merchant's Quay. The bodies were raised by drags from the bed of the pill near the Sallow Island, the property of Rev. W. P. Mackesy, on Wednesday. The jury found a verdict of 'accidental death by drowning'.

ARDAGH: See Newport.

20 AUDLEY: Sacred to the memory of Geroge Audley who departed this life April 24th 1864 aged 63 years.

Wat. News, 29 April 1864, p.2, c.5. April 25th at his residence, Parade, Mr George Audley, aged 68 years.

- 21 BAKER:** In loving memory of Sarah Elizabeth Baker, wife of William Baker of Ballinvoher, who died 23rd May 1878. Also of the above William Baker died 11th Sept 1881.

Wat. News, 16 Sept. 1881, p.2, c.5. On the 11th at Ballinvoher, Co. Waterford, William Baker Esq., aged 69 years.

- 22 BALL:** This stone was placed as a last tribute of affection by his afflicted parents in memory of William Curraghmore Ball who died 14th of August 1848 aged 4 years.

- 23 BARRETT:** Erected to the memory of Rebecca Barrett, died September 6th 1847 aged 14 years.

- 24 BARRY:** Sacred to the memory of Mr Robert Barry, master of the ship Lady Frances of Sunderland in the county of Durham, who died December the 3rd 1829 aged 33 years.

Wat. Mirror, 5 Dec. 1829, p.3, c.3. Thursday, at lodgings in this city, Mr Robert Barry, master of brig *Lady Frances* of Sunderland, a most respectable character.

- 25 BARTOLUCCI:** [brass tablet in church] In loving memory of their mother Clementina Bartolucci who died at Greenville Park in this parish 13 June 1867, these two windows are erected by her children, August 1883.

Wat. News, Fri. 21 June 1867, p.2, c.4. June 13th, Clementina wife of Vincenzo Bartolucci Esq. of Greenville Park, Co. Kilkenny.

- 26 BATES:** Here lyes ye bodys of Martha Bates & Mary her daughter, died 1737.

- 27 BECHER:** Sacred to the memory of Frances Catherine Becher who departed this life March 9 1867 aged 43 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 13 March 1867, p.2, c.3. On Tuesday at Tower Hill, Co. Kilkenny, the widow of Colonel Beecher, late of Tramore.

- 28 BECHER:** Sacred to the memory of Charlotte Elisa Becher, died 3rd March 1874 aged 21.

- 29 BEHM:** A la mémoire d'Adeline Behm, née le 3 d'aout 1865, décédée le 15 mars 1866. Albert Behm, né le 25 novembre 1866, décédé le 26 feorier [sic] 1878. Quand nous vous rejoindrons, nous serons consolés. Victor Omega Behm décédé le 21 octobre 1887 agé de 5 ans.

- 30 BENFIELD:** In loving memory of Ann Benfield, the beloved wife of John Read, who died 5th November 1861 aged 50 years. Also John Read who entered into rest 9th January 1892 aged 82 years. Also their eldest daughter Martha Jane Read who died 12th September 1908 aged 73 years.

J. R. 19th Nov. 1865

W. R.R. 16th Nov. 1878

S. S. R. 20th July 1923.

31 **BENN:** [top of headstone missing] Catharine Benn died May 20th 1865 aged 70 years.

BERESFORD: See Kovy.

32 **BEREY:** Sacred to the memory of George Berey, third son of the late Samuel Berey Esquire, of Edgehill, Liverpool, who departed this life 10th January 1847 aged 32 years. Erected by his affectionate wife.

33 **BERNARD:** This stone was erected by Richd Bernard of the city of Waterford in memory of Sarah Willcok Bernard who departed this life April the 19th 1807 in the 42 year of her age.

BIGGS: See Dowden.

BISTON: See Howard.

34 **BLOOMFIELD:** [stained glass window showing SS Mary and Joseph] In memory of Henrietta Sophia Bloomfield who entered into her rest 19 Feb. 1906.

35 **BLOOMFIELD:** [large marble tablet in church showing a boy standing at a wooden cross] Sacred to the memory of Fitzmaurice Edmund Bloomfield who entered into rest in the 12th year of his age, fondly loved and deeply lamented, the 15th of February 1871.

Wat. News, Fri. 24 Feb. 1871, p.2, c.4. 15th February, Fitzmaurice Edmond, eldest son of Fitzmaurice G. Bloomfield, JP, of Newpark, Waterford.

36 **BLOOMFIELD:** In memory of Mrs F. G. Bloomfield of New Park died February 19th 1906.

37 **BLOOMFIELD:** In memory of Godfrey H. Bloomfield died November 21st 1946.

Wat. News, 22 Nov. 1946, p.5, c.3. Captain Godfrey Herbert Bloomfield died yesterday at his home, Lisnafillon House, Ballymena, Co. Antrim. He was 82. He was the eldest surviving son of Major Fitzmaurice Bloomfield of New Park, Waterford. He was educated at Trinity College Dublin and after service with the Bengal Artillery, in which he held rank of captain, he returned to Waterford where he bred horses. When Newpark was accidently destroyed by fire some years ago he went to live at Ballymena, where he remained until his death.

38 **BLOOMFIELD:** In memory of Emmeline L. Bloomfield died 10th August 1966.

39 **BLOOMFIELD:** [stained glass window over altar showing Christ with sheep] In memory of Fitzmaurice Gustavus Bloomfield Esq. who entered into his rest the 5th of January 1894.

Wat. News, 13 Jan. 1894, p.2, c.6. 5th, at Newpark, Co. Waterford, Fitzmaurice Gustavus, 2nd son of John Colpoys Bloomfield Esq. of Castle Caldwell, Co. Fermanagh. On Monday his remains were taken for interment to the family burial place at Belleck, Co. Fermanagh.

- 40 **BOND:** In memory of Richard Bond, late of Newhaven in the county of Sussex, master mariner, who departed this life 6th March 1837 aged 59 years.

BOULGER: See Porter.

- 41 **BOURKE:** [marble tablet in church]] Sacred to the memory of the Honourable and Reverend George Theobald Bourke, for 32 years rector of this parish. He was the youngest son of Joseph Deane Bourke, third Earl of Mayo, and died on the 22nd of December 1847 aged 72 years. Also to the memory of Augusta Georgina Bourke, wife of the above, who died the 15th January 1864 aged 85.

Wat. News, 26 Sept. 1958. Waterford subscribers to *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary*, by Matthew Butler. Hon. and Rev. George T. Bourke was a son of Lord Mayo. He was educated in TCD where he took his BA in 1796, his MA in 1811 and his LLD in 1827. In 1817 he became prebendary of Clashmore, vicar of Ardfinnan in 1819, prebendary of Seskinan in the same year, and precentor of Lismore in 1827. In addition he held the rectorship of Kilmacow in the diocese of Ossory for thirty years or so, and he resided in that village. He died on 27 December 1847 aged 72; there is a monument to his memory in Kilmacow Church, as also to that of his wife who died on 15 January 1847.

His second son was Rev. John Bourke, who became rector of Kilmeaden in 1837. That Rev. John Bourke had a son, Mr A.E.D. Bourke, BL, who was a local government inspector under the English regime [sic] in Ireland. That, however, does not complete the association of the Mayo family with Co. Waterford. Hon. and Rev. George T. Bourke had an elder brother Richard Bourke, who also entered the Church, married in 1795 Frances Fowler, daughter of the archbishop of Dublin, and became bishop of Waterford in 1813.

- 42 **BOUTCHER:** Sacred to the memory of Agnes Boutcher who departed this life on the 19th of April 1841 aged 56 years.

- 43 **BRADLEY:** Here lieth the body of Eliza Bradley who departed this life the 16 of January 1830 aged 57 years.

Wat. Mirror, 18 Jan. 1830, p.3, c.3. Saturday, the wife of Mr James Barrington Bradley, Thomas Street.

- 44 **BRAMMER:** Sacred to the memory of Mrs Frances Brammer who departed this life on the 31st of May 1865 aged 73 years.

Wat. News, 2 June 1865, p.2, c.4. May 31 at her residence 4 Anne Street, Mrs Brammer, relict of the late William Brammer Esq. of this city, aged 73.

- 45 **BROWN:** In the hope of a joyful resurrection to eternal life Mrs Hannah Brown departed this life 2nd January 1849 aged 84 years at the residence of her son-in-law George Miller Esqr, Comptroller of H.M. Customs, Waterford. And on the 15th of December 1850 Emma Burnaby, the beloved daughter of the above named George Miller, aged 22 years, most deeply and sorrowfully lamented. [At foot of grave is a small tombstone with inscription: H.B. 1849 E.B.M. 1850.]

Wat. News, Fri, 20 Dec. 1850, p.3, c.6. On Sunday the 15th December at Newtown in this city, of consumption, Emma Burnaby, the youngest daughter of George Miller Esq., comptroller of customs.

- 46 BROWNE:** Frances, the beloved wife of Joseph Browne Esq. of Waterford, entered into her rest 24th July 1849 aged 59 years. Also her sister Anna, fourth daughter of the late Edward Tottenham Esqr, Gorey, Co. Wexford. She departed April 18th 1854 aged 50 years. Also Charlotte Tottenham who died March 10th 1862 aged 64 years. Also Mary Tottenham aged 62. Also Joseph Browne who fell asleep in Jesus July 16th 1869 in his 91st year. He preached the gospel for 70 years.

The Nation, 29 April 1854, p.542, c.4. April 18 in Waterford, Anne 4th daughter of the late Edward Tottenham Esq. of Gorey, County Wexford.

Wat. News, Fri. 23 July 1869, p.2, c.5. July 15 at his residence, Cathedral Square in this city, suddenly, the Rev. Joseph Browne, in the 96th year of his age.

- 47 BUCKERIDGE:** Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth, wife of Henry Buckeridge, who departed this life August 10th 1841 aged 36.

Wat. Mirror, 11 Aug. 1841, p.3, c.4. Yesterday morning Mrs Buckeridge, wife of Mr Henry Buckeridge of the Club House, Adelphi.

- 48 BULL:** Erected to the memory of John Bull of the city of Waterford by his affectionate wife Agnes AD 1828.

Wat. Mirror, 26 May 1828, p.3, c.4. Yesterday, Mr John Bull, Quay.

BURKE: See Dunn.

- 49 BURKITT:** In loving memory of Frances Mary, wife of James R. Burkitt and eldest daughter of William Morris, Bellelake, died April 2nd 1914 aged 64 years.

Wat. News, 3 April 1914, p.5, c.4. The death occurred in London of Mrs Burkitt, late of the Terrace, Dunmore East. She was daughter of the late Mr Wm Morris, Belle Lake. The chief mourners at the funeral were Miss Burkitt (daughter), Mrs John Jellicoe (sister), Capt. C. R. Morris and Capt. R. C. Jellicoe (nephews), Mr John Jellicoe (brother-in-law). The coffin bore the inscription 'Frances M. Burkitt died 2nd April 1914 aged 64 years'.

BURNABY: See Brown.

- 50 CAIN:** Erected by Edwd. Cain in memory of Judith Doran alias Macevoy who depd this life Febry 25th 1797 agd 39 yrs. Also his daughter Margt Cain who depd this life June 1st 1796 agd 5 yrs.

- 51 CAMPION:** In loving memory of John Robert Campion, canon of Ossory and rector of this parish, died May 12th 1951. And his wife Eileen Ethel died 29th Sep. 1975.

Wat. News, 18 May 1951, p.3, c.6. V. Rev. Canon John Robert Campion, rector of Kilmacow and the Abbey Church, who died in a Waterford nursing home on Saturday, was a graduate of Dublin University and was ordained in 1916. His first curacy was at Derryloran, where he remained until 1919. He was vicar choral and curate of St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, and curate of Ramon and Ballycastle from 1922 to 1925. After serving as curate in a number of other places, he became rector of Kilcoleman Union in 1926, where he remained until 1932. In 1943 he was transferred to Kilmacow in the diocese of Ossory. In 1947 he became canon and prebendary of Mayne in Ossory Cathedral.

- 52 **CANNON:** Erected by John Cannon in memory of his wife Mary Cannon alias Walsh who depd this life June 28th 1792 agd 38 yrs. Also two of their children who died young. Requiescant in pace Amen.
- 53 **CAREW:** Here lies the body of Elen Carew who depd this life Feby 2nd 1811 aged 3 years. Here lieth the body of James Carew who departed this life the 10 of Feby 1814 aged 53 years. Requiescant in pace Amen.

Wat. Mirror, 14 Feb. 1814, p.3, c.4. On Thursday Mr James Carew, Wooden Bridge.

CAREW: See Anderson.

CAREW: See Kennedy.

CAREW: See Snow.

- 54 **CARLISLE:** Sacred to the memory of Nannie, daughter of the Revd William McCance and Jane Carlisle his wife. She was born on the 13 day of January 1833 and died on the 6 day of December 1840. Mary Carlisle, widow of the late Charles Carlisle, Colonel of the Hon. East India Company's Artillery, died 30 March 1864 aged 83 years.

Wat. Chronicle, 15 Dec. 1840, p.3, c.3. In Lady Lane on the 6th, Nanny daughter of Rev. William M^cCance.

CARROL: See Peniston.

- 55 **CARROLL:** [damaged by a fallen tree] Sacred to the memory of Mr James Carroll, late of the city of Waterford, who died the 13th day of July 1846 aged [39?] years.
- 56 **CHADDOCK:** Sacred to the memory of Ann, the wife of Robert Chaddock, died 1st July 1847 aged 54 years. Also George E. Chaddock died April 27th 1836 aged 2 years. Also Robert Chaddock, husband and father of the above, died June 28th 1867 aged 72.

Wat. News, Friday 5 July 1867, p.2, c.3. June 28 at the residence of his son in Liverpool, Robert Chaddick Esq., aged 72 years, for many years master mariner sailing out of this port. His name is prominent as a most successful captain in the London liners.

- 57 **CHALK:** In loving memory of Richard Chalk who died in 1873 aged 77. And his wife Eliza died 1st May 1877 aged 62. Erected by their son Richard Chalk who died 31st January 1939 aged 84 years.

Wat. News, 3 Feb. 1939, p.9, c.3. The death took place on Tuesday at the age of 84 years of Mr Richard Chalk, who was well known in the harness-making trade in the city. The deceased, who was a native of Ballywilliam, New Ross, served in the British Army in his youth. He fought in India and in the Boer War and left the army with the rank of sergeant. He had served his apprenticeship to the saddlery trade with the late Mr Jones, 120 Quay, and on returning to Waterford opened business on his own account at Lombard St. He is survived by a nephew Mr Richard Eustace, of the staff of Messrs Graves & Co. Ltd.

- 58 CHAMBERS:** Here lieth the body of Francis Chambers, late of the city of Waterford Esqr, who departed this life on 16th day of January 1809 in the 72 year of his age. Also the bodies of four of his children, Frances, Julianna, Frances and Elizabeth who all died young.

Wat. Mirror, 21 Jan. 1809, p.3, c.4. On Tuesday morning at his house on Newtown Road, Mr Francis Chambers.

- 59 CHRISTIAN:** [coat of arms] Here lyeth ye body of Frederick Christian Esqr, Comptroller of ye Custom House of this City, who died May 1687 in ye 57 year of his age. As also ye body of his son Minard Christian Esqr, Recorder of this City, who died ye 8th of August 1714 in ye 47th year of his age. This tomb was erected by Mrs Catherine Rea, ye sd Minard Christian's sister and sole executrix.

CHRISTMAS: See Anderson.

- 60 CLAMPETT:** Josh Clampett's burial ground. Mary Clampett depd this life September 2nd 1813 aged 15 months. Sarah depd Octr 1816 agd 9 mths. Anne June 1819 yrs. Maryanne Sepr 1829 10 yrs. George Octr 15th 1845 27 yrs. The above Josh Clampett depd 1 May 1848 aged 66 years. Also Ann, the beloved wife of said Josh, dept. this life Augt 25th 1853 aged 66 years.

- 61 CLAMPETT:** Burial ground of Joseph Clampett. Sacred to the memory of Harriette Sarah, the beloved wife of Joseph Clampett, TC, merchant, Waterford, who fell asleep in Jesus on the 25th January 1876 aged 55 years. Also of her youngest son Frank Edwin who fell asleep 6th December 1865 aged 3 years. This monument is erected in affectionate remembrance by her loving husband and sons. Sacred to the memory of Robert Clampett who departed this life 17th March 1862 aged 66 years. In loving memory of Lucy Eileen Peggy, daughter of Edgar W. & Agnes L. Clampett, who died 15th August 1915 aged 3 years 8 months. In loving memory of Edgar William Clampett died December 14th 1941 in his 83rd year. In loving memory of Rowland Browning, youngest son of Joseph & Lucy Clampett, who died Sep. 25th 1880 aged four months. Aldn Joseph Clampett entered into rest Jany 20th 1895 aged 75 years. Edgar Fergus Clampett 1914-1991.

Wat. News, Fri. 21 March 1862, p.2, c.5. On Monday the 17th at an advanced age, Mr Robert Clampett of this city.

Wat. News, Fri. 1 Oct. 1880, p.2, c.7. On the 25th at 9 William St., Waterford, Rowland Browning, youngest son of Joseph and Lucy Clampett, aged 4 months.

Wat. News, 26 Jan. 1895, p.5, c.1,3. On Jan. 20 1895 at his residence, Lyon Terrace, Tramore, Ald. Joseph Clampett.

Wat. News, 20 Aug. 1915. p.1, c.1. Aug. 16th at Bellevue Terrace, Tramore, Lucy Eileen (Peggy) Clampett, daughter of Edgar and Lucy Clampett, aged 3 1/2 years.

Wat. News, 19 Dec. 1941, p.1, c.1. On Sunday 14th Dec. at his residence, Bellevue Terrace, Tramore, Edgar Williams, son of the late Joseph Clampett of Waterford, in his 84th year. He was 50 years rate collector for the Waterford Corporation. He had been ailing for some time. Before joining the rate collecting staff of the Waterford Corporation he conducted, with his father the late Mr Joseph Clampett, the business of butter merchant at Henrietta St. 49 years ago he became rate collector, and had continued in that capacity practically up to the time of his death. In his earlier days he was an all-round sportsman and was probably the oldest member of the Waterford Boat Club.

He is survived by his widow Mrs A. L. Clampett, his only son Mr Fergus E. Clampett. He was predeceased many years ago by his only daughter Miss A. Clampett. The deceased was brother of Archdeacon A. W. Clampett, St Michael's Rectory, Adelaide. He was stepbrother of Dr R. W. T. Clampett, Birkenhead, Cheshire; and uncle of Mr G. E. T. Clampett, principal of Rathmines Technical School, Dublin. The chief mourners at the funeral were Mrs Clampett (widow), Mr Fergus Clampett (son), Mr George Clampett, Dublin (nephew).

62 CLARKE: Erected by Martha Clarke of Waterford in memory of her daughter Anna Maria died March the 17th 1829 aged 16 months.

63 COATES: The burial place of George Coates & family. Erected by his affectionate granddaughter Mary Coates.

COATES: See Smith.

CODY: See Gorman.

64 COGHLAN: Beneath lie the remains of Gerald Coghlan who depd this life June 7th 1805 aged 75 years. Also his wife Mary Coghlan alias Treacy who depd this life Decbr 1 1814 aged 79 years.

COMERFORD: See Hackett.

65 CONN: This monumental record was placed here by John Lambly Conn of Mount Ida in this county in loving memory of his youngest son William Benjamin Conn who passed away on the 29th of August 1893 in the 26th year of his age and rests here. Here also rests John Lambly Conn of Mount Ida who was for many years a resident of this parish and who departed this life December 9th 1893 aged 81 years.

66 CONNEL: Here lyeth ye body of Peter Connel who decd July ye 10th 1737 aged 57 years.

67 CONNERY: Erectd by Edmond Connery of the city of Waterfd, cooper, in memory of his wife Catherine Connery alias Walsh who departd this life January 29th 1803 aged 59 yrs.

CONNOR: See Corry.

- 68 COOMBE:** In memory of Anna, the beloved wife of John Coombe of Waterford, merchant, who died January 7th 1836 aged 35 years. Also of Charlotte their infant daughter who survived her mother only a few days. Also of their daughter Augusta who died April 1st 1862 aged 27 years. And also of Alice Hawkins Coombe, granddaughter of the above named John and Anna Coombe, who died April 1st 1860 aged 4 years

Wat. Chronicle, Tues. 12 January 1836, p.3, c.3. On Thursday Anna wife of John Coombe Esq., Queen St.

Wat. News, 18 April 1862. Recovery of the body of Miss Coombe. The remains of Miss Augusta Coombe, daughter of John Coombe Esq., merchant, Harbour View, whose loss in the *Mars* steamer, under the most melancholy and painful circumstances, caused the deepest regret in this city, having been washed on shore near the fatal spot where the lamentable disaster occurred, were conveyed here on Wednesday morning from Milford in the steamer *Courier*, and thence brought to the residence of her sorrowing brother on John's Hill. On yesterday the funeral took place, when the remains were conveyed to the family burial place at the Abbey Church, followed by a large and respectable concourse of sympathisers for the affliction this sad event has brought into the bosom of this respected family.

- 69 CORMIE:** Here lyeth the body of Hugh Cormie of the city of Waterford, merchnt, who deprd this life 4th March 1800 aged 82 years.

- 70 CORRY:** Sacred to the memory of Ann Corry who died Decr 28 1869 aged 92 years. Her daughter Mary Connor who died Feby 3 1858 aged 43 years. Also her granddaughter Anna Maria Connor who died in 1844 aged 1 year.

Wat. News, Fri. 31 Dec. 1869, p.2, c.6. On Tuesday at the Burchall Asylum, Beresford St., at an advanced age, Mrs Connors, mother of George Connors, formerly confectioner in this city.

COSTELLOE: See Howard.

COVEN[E]Y: See Palmer.

CRAIG: See Lawrence.



- 71 CROKER:** In loving memory of Thomas George Croker, Abbey House, 1923-1959. Seamus Murphy. RHA, Cork.

- 72 DART:** Beneath are interred the mortal remains of John Dart of Waterford died Dec. 8th 1819 aged 51. Also of Martha his wife died March 26th 1834 aged 58. Martha, eldest daughter of John & Martha Dart, died Dec. 4th 1813 aged 14 years. Robert Dart died June 7th 1815 aged 2 1/2 years. Grace, third daughter of John and Martha Dart, died in Liverpoi Feb. 19th 1836 aged 32 years. Her remains are interred beneath.

Wat. Mirror, Sat. 1 Dec. 1819, p.3, c.3. Wednesday evening at his house on the Quay, after a lingering and painful illness, Mr John Dart, boot and shoe maker, leaving an amiable and interesting family, consisting of a wife and ten children, to deplore the irreparable loss of an affectionate husband and truly indulgent father.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 29 March 1834, p.3, c.4. On Wednesday at her son-in-law's (Mr Kelly of Whitfield), Mrs Martha Dart, relict of the late Mr John Dart of this city.

Wat. Mirror, 6 Dec. 1813, p.3, c.4. On Saturday Miss Martha Dart, eldest daughter of Mr John Dart, Quay.

Wat. Chronicle, Thurs. 25 Feb. 1836 p.3, c.3. On the 19th in King Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool, in the prime of life, Grace, 3rd daughter of the late Mr John Dart of Waterford.

- 73 DART:** Erected by Edward Henry Dart in memory of his beloved mother Sophia B. Dart who departed this life July 5th 1863 aged 61 years.

Wat. News, Fri. 10 July 1863, p.2, c.3. On Sunday the 5th at her residence, the Quay, after a long and painful illness, Mrs Sophia B. Dart.

- 74 DAVIES:** Erected by Robert Davies of Swansea in memory of his wife Elizabeth Davies who depd this life 21st June 1839 aged 44 years. Also their infant son David Robert Davies.

Wat. Mirror, 22 June 1839, p.3, c.2. Yesterday morning, Mrs Davies, wife of Capt. Davies of the schooner *Clonmel*.

- 75 DAVIES:** In memory of William Davies of Haverfordwest in the county of Pembroke, mariner, obit 22 August AD 1823 aged 41 years.

- 76 DAVIS:** Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth, the beloved wife of William Davis. She departed this life 29th December 1855 aged 71.

- 77 DAY:** Sacred to the memory of Captain James Day of Appledore in county of Devon who departed this life Decr 26th 1819 aged 53 years.

Wat. Mirror, Mon. 27 Dec. 1819, p.3, c.4. Yesterday Capt. James Day of the British Isle of Appledore.

- 78 DeCOURCY:** Sacred to the memory of Charles, the beloved husband of Anne DeCourcy. He fell asleep in Jesus Decr 31st 1862 aged 42. Erected by his widow.

- 79 DeCOURCY:** In loving memory of Mrs Dominick DeCourcy, Miss Sarah DeCourcy, Miss Hannah De Courcy.

- 80 DeCOURCY:** Sacred to the memory of William Henry, the beloved child of John & Eliza DeCourcy, who died Jany 24th 1861 aged 14 years. Also Eliza, the beloved wife of John DeCourcy, who died Augt 16 1869 aged 56.

DELAHONT: See Howard.

- 81 DENNY:** [vault] Sarah Denny, the beloved wife of Henry Denny, died Feby 9th 1855 aged 69 years. Also Henry Denny, husband of the above, who died January 3rd 1870 aged 80 years. Family Vault of Henry Denny, Waterford.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 10 Feb. 1855, p.3, c.4. At 11 Queen Street on Friday the 9th, Sarah the wife of Henry Denny Esq. of this city.

Wat. News, Fri. 7 Jan. 1870, p.2, c.5. On the 3rd at Cliff Cottage, Tramore, Henry Denny Esq. in his 81st year. He at one time or other held a position on nearly all our public boards, and in 1854 he was mayor of Waterford. As secretary to the Fanning Charity, he was most attentive to that noble instruction.

- 82 DILLON:** To the dear memory of William Dillon, late of Galway, who entered into rest March 24th 1945 aged 81 years. And his wife Sarah who entered into rest November 26th 1955 aged 78 years. To the memory of Thomas Dillon, Cathedral Square, Waterford, who died August 17th 1859 aged 71 years. To the memory of Sarah Dillon, wife of Thomas Dillon, who died March 27th 1869 aged 82 years.

Wat. News, 29 March 1945, p.5, c.6. The death occurred at his residence 5 South Parade of Mr William Dillon. He was proprietor of the well known jewellery firms under his name in Galway and Athlone. He retired from business about 16 years ago, and lived for a number of years in Waterford. He was related to the owners of the present Waterford firm of jewellers trading under the name of J. W. Dillon, being uncle to the late Mr William Dillon.

Wat. Chronicle, Sat. 20 Aug. 1859, p.3, c.6. On Wednesday morning Thomas Dillon Esq., DVC (Waterford Branch of Guardians), at his residence Cathedral Square.

Wat. News, Fri. 2 April 1869, p.2, c.4. March 27th at Cathedral Square, Mrs Sarah Dillon aged 82 years, widow of the late Thomas Dillon Esq., formerly actuary in the Savings Bank and agent to D. F. Fortescue.

- 83 DIVINE:** Here lieth the body of Anthony Divine of [] Street in the city of Waterford who departed this life 18[]9 aged [blank] years. Also two of his children.

DOBBS: See Wallace.

DONNELLY: See Kenedy.

- 84 DOOLITTLE:** Sacred to the memory of Jane Stuart, the beloved wife of the Revd Thomas Wade Doolittle, Wesleyan Minister, who departed this life at Waterford the 23rd of February 1836.

Wat. Chronicle, Thurs. 25 February 1836, p.3, c.3. On the 23rd at the Methodist Chapel, Quay, the wife of Rev. Mr Doolittle.

DORAN: See Cain.

- 85 DOWDEN:** Erected to the memory of Miss Mary Dowden of Cathedral Square in the city of Waterford who departed this life 18th of September 1872 aged 87 years. Also to the memory of Matthew Wade Biggs Esq. of Manor Street who departed this life 9th of November 1872 aged 65 years. And also of his beloved wife Elizabeth Jane Biggs who died 9th June 1873.

Wat. News, Fri. 20 Sept. 1872, p.2, c.5. September 18 at her residence Cathedral Square, Miss Dowden, aged 88 years, daughter of the late Isaac Dowden Esq., Bandon.

Wat. News, Fri. 15 Nov. 1872, p.2, c.5. On the 8th at his residence, the Manor, Matthew Wade Biggs Esq.

Wat. News, Fri. 13 June 1873, p.2, c.7. Tuesday morning at her residence Manor Street, Mrs Biggs, relict of the late Matthew W. Biggs Esq.

86 DOWNEY: Sacred to the memory of Mary Downey late of Castlecomer [rest of inscription too worn to read]. Plaque erected over worn inscription. The burial place of John Downey and family.

87 DUNN: This stone was erected by Patrick Dunn of the city of Waterford, baker. Here lieth the body of his father Laurence Dunn who departed this life Feby the 13th 1768 aged 44 years. Also the body of his mother Mary Dunn alias Burke who departed this life May the 20th 1769 aged 40 years. Also the body of his brother William Dunn who departed this life June the 9th 1770 aged 19 years. May their souls rest in peace Amen. Also the above Patrick Dunn who deptd this life Feby 7th 1786 aged 30 yrs.

Wat. Chronicle, Fri. 10 Feb. 1786. Last Wednesday in High Street, Mr Patrick Dunn, baker.

Finn's Leinster Journal, 17 Feb. 1768. Died, Mr Laurence Dunn, baker.

88 DUNN: Beneath this tomb lies interred the body of Mr Michael Dunn of the city of Waterford who departed this mortal existence Feby 16 1823 with the hope of a glorious resurrection. He was sincerely lamented by a numerous circle of relatives and friends, and deeply regretted by the poor in general who were ever the partakers of his charity and benevolence. By the sacred decree of a merciful providence he was torn in the prime of life and 35th year of his age by a malignant fever from the endearments of a dutiful family of five children and from the bosom of an affectionate wife, who as a dutious tribute to his memory has erected this monument. Requiescant in pace Amen. Mattw Carew fecit.

(To be continued)

WATERFORD DIOCESE, 1096-1363
by Sister Assumpta O'Neill

Part six: APPENDICES

Appendix A: biographical note on the signatories to the Waterford letter of 1096

I, Muirchertach, king of Ireland, have signed.

The first name in the list of signatories is that of Muirchertach O Briain, here designated king of Ireland. He succeeded his father Turlough in 1086 and from then until his death in 1119 was active in two spheres: in the struggle for the high-kingship, where his greatest rival was Domhnall Ua Lochlainn of Aileach, and in the cause of church reform. In the latter he was continuing the work of his father Turlough, a grandson of Brian of Clontarf.¹ Turlough had been, in 1074, the recipient of a letter from Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, which is addressed '*magnifico Hiberniae regi Terdelvalco*'.² The concluding paragraph of this letter, because it portrays so well the close relationship between the secular and the ecclesiastical authorities, is worth quoting. Having listed the abuses which he believes exist in the Irish church, Lanfranc concludes:

The more these practices are detestable in the sight of God and his saints, the more earnestly must you forbid them by your orders without delay, and if what you have forbidden is not corrected, you must punish the offenders by the strict severity of your awe. For you can offer no greater nor more pleasing gift to God than your zeal to rule all things, human and divine, by good laws. Being mindful, therefore, of the Divine Judgement at which you must render an account to God of the kingdom he has entrusted to you, order the bishops and all religious men to come together; preside over their gatherings in your own person with your nobles; and strive to banish these evil customs and all others which are forbidden by the church's laws from your kingdom, so that the king of kings and lord of lords, seeing your royal majesty subject to his commandments in all things, and seeing that you are meek towards his servants and towards his faithful for fear and love of him, and that you are opposed with holy zeal to the enemies of his divine religion, may himself hear in mercy your prayers and the prayers of your loyal subjects who cry to him; that he may crush your enemies, and grant you lasting peace in this world and life everlasting in the world to come.

This appeal of Lanfranc did not fall on deaf ears, for a local synod was held in Dublin in the reign of Turlough, who died in 1086.³ Even before the death of Turlough, Muirchertach ruled Dublin under him, in succession to the Danish King Guthric, whom Turlough had banished across the sea.⁴ After Turlough's death, Muirchertach's hold on Dublin loosened somewhat during the years when he was struggling for the high-kingship. By 1095, however, Muirchertach was firmly established as king of Munster and ruler of the Norse-Irish kingdom of Dublin. In 1096 at Dublin he presided over the election of a new bishop to replace Donnus who had died in 1095. The choice fell on Samuel Ua h-Aingli, nephew of Donnus. After his consecration by Anselm at Winchester, 20 April 1096, Samuel returned to Dublin, bearing a letter to Muirchertach from the archbishop of Canterbury. The letter is very much on the same lines as that of Anselm's predecessor Lanfranc to Muirchertach's father Turlough and ends with this exhortation:

1 For the part played by the O'Briens in church reform see Gwynn & Gleeson, *Diocese of Killaloe*, ch. 11.

2 Ussher, *Works*, iv, 492.

3 A.U., 1086.

4 A.I. 1075.

I beg you, I pray and counsel you, as one whom I much love, and whose good I desire in all things, to take counsel with good and wise men in your kingdom and strive to correct these and any other abuses that you in your wisdom and greatness may know to need correction; and I pray God that you may pass from this earthly kingdom to the kingdom of heaven. Amen.⁵

It must have been very soon after the receipt of this letter that Muirchertach presided over the synod at Waterford, for Samuel returned to Dublin in the summer of 1096 and the first bishop of Waterford was consecrated in December of the same year.

Church reform, however, was not Muirchertach's sole interest and in the following year (1097) we read of a great hosting by him against Domnall Ua Lochlainn 'until the successor of Patrick prevented them'.⁶ Similar entries are given for the years following. Muirchertach's great defeat by the men of the north came in 1103, when they 'returned with great triumph, and with many treasures besides'.⁷ In 1105 we find the successor of Patrick 'in Ath Cliath to make the peace between Muirchertach and the son of Lochlann, so that he took illness there and was carried in his illness to Domhnach of Airthir-Emhna. There he was anointed and was carried after that to Damliac (Duleek) and he died there. And his body was carried to Ard Macha'.⁸ His successor Celsus took up the work of keeping peace between north and south.

Meanwhile, in 1101, Muirchertach presided over the synod of Cashel:

A meeting of Leth Mogha was held at Cashel by Muirchertach Ua Briain, with the chiefs of the laity, and Ua Dunain, noble bishop and chief senior, with the chief of the clergy; and on this occasion Muirchertach Ua Briain made a grant such as no king had ever made before, namely, he granted Cashel of the Kings to religious, without any claim of layman or clergyman upon it, but the religious of Ireland in general.⁹

In 1111, we find Muirchertach again presiding over a synod, this time of Fiadh-Mic-Aenghusa in Uisnech.¹⁰ In 1114, the annals tell us, 'a fit of heavy illness seized Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Ireland, so that he wasted away and parted with his kingship. But Diarmuit took the kingship of munster without permission'.¹¹ This Diarmuit is of course the second signatory of the letter to Anselm, in which letter the men of Waterford style him 'our duke'. Possibly Diarmuit ruled Waterford as Muirchertach's representative, just as Muirchertach had at first ruled Dublin as representative of his father Turlough. In 1115 Muirchertach recovered and took back his kingship, though when Diarmuit died in 1118 he is styled by the annalists 'king of Munster and of Leth Mogha'.¹²

In the following year (1119) we find the obit of Muirchertach himself: 'Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Ireland, tower of the splendour and principality of the western world, died after the victory of kingship and penance on 13 March'.¹³ According to Keating, he died at Ard Macha and was buried at Cill Dalua.¹⁴

I, Bishop Dofnald, have signed.

This is Domhnall Ua h-Enna, bishop of the the Dal Chaid, sometimes called archbishop of

5 Ussher, *Works*, iv, 520.

6 *A.U.* and *A.L.C.*, 1097.

7 *A.U.*, 1103.

8 *A.U.*, 1105.

9 *A.F.M.*, 1101.

10 *A.U.*, 1111.

11 *A.U.*, 1114.

12 *A.U.*, 1118.

13 *A.U.*, 1119.

14 *Foras Feasa*, iii, 311.

Cashel.¹⁵ This changing terminology is indicative of the changing customs of that particular time, when bishops who were comarbs of some saint and attached to some particular tribal group were being slowly replaced by bishops with territorial jurisdiction. The term archbishop here does not denote a canonically constituted metropolitan, but simply an eminent bishop. In Ware's list of the archbishops of Cashel Bishop Dofnald's name appears on the list as 'Donald or Dafnald O Hene, died in 1090 or 1097'.¹⁶ At the same time his name is found first in a seventeenth-century manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy, where the first two named listed are 'Domnoll O Heindi and Moron O Dunain'.¹⁷ The Dalcassian territory was, of course, the nucleus of the diocese of Killaloe.¹⁸

The annals call Bishop Dofnald a 'doctor of Roman and Gaelic law',¹⁹ and his interest in secular as well as religious learning is further indicated by a letter which he is known to have sent to Lanfranc. Though the letter itself is not extant, Lanfranc's reply is, addressed to 'the venerable bishop of Ireland, Donaldus, and to those who sent letters to Lanfranc'.²⁰ It appears from the letter that Lanfranc had been questioned by the Irish bishops as to whether the view was held in England and elsewhere that newly-baptised Christians who died without having received the Body and Blood of Christ lost their right to life everlasting in heaven. Having answered in the negative, Lanfranc proceeds to mention some questions concerning secular learning. We do not, however, learn from him what the questions were, since he dismisses them by saying: 'Long ago we spent our youth in these studies, but once we had entered on the care of souls, we thought necessary to abandon them'.

In the above letter, Dofnald is called bishop of Ireland. He is also regarded as first bishop of both Killaloe and Cashel, and his name appears first among the bishops who attended the synod at Waterford. It is obvious that he was a leading spirit in the Irish church at the time and that he and Muirchertach Ua Briain worked hand-in-hand in the cause of church reform. The *Chronicon Scotorum* tells us that he was in his seventy-sixth year when he died.²¹ The date is given by the Annals of Loch Cé as 1096, but the year usually accepted is 1098, as given in the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters: 'Domhnall Ua hEnna, eminent bishop of the west of Europe and fount of the generosity of the world, doctor of Roman and Gaelic law, after most excellent penance, finished his life happily on 22 November.'²²

I, Idunan, bishop of Meath, have signed.

Maolmuire Ua Dunain, 'noble bishop and chief senior of Ireland'²³ was papal legate at the synod of Cashel (1101). After Domhnall Ua hEnna's death in 1098, O Dunaan took his place as Muirchertach Ua Briain's principal collaborator in the work of reform. His name appears second on the list of Killaloe bishops mentioned above, so it is probable that he moved south to Munster where the reform was making greatest headway, a move reminiscent of Lanfranc's move to Canterbury to collaborate with William the Conqueror. Ware gives Ua Dunain's name and next to Domhnall Ua hEnna in his list of archbishops of Cashel thus: 'Miller or Maelmuire O Dunain died at Clonard 24 December 1118, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.'²⁴ Again the term 'ard-easpog' which Ware found in the annals does not denote a metropolitan but an eminent bishop. In fact Ware himself adds a note saying: 'All these (the first four bishops on his list), though before the use of

15 Lanigan, *Eccl. History of Ireland*, iii, 455.

16 Ware, *Irish Bishops*, p.467.

17 MS 3.A.11, f.1, quoted in *Killaloe*, pp 159-60.

18 See Gwynn & Gleeson, *Killaloe*, ch. 2.

19 A.U., 1098.

20 Ussher, *Works*, iv, 495.

21 C.S., 1094, recte 1098.

22 A.U., 1098. See Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iv,15.

23 A.F.M. 1101.

24 Ware, *Irish Bishops*, p. 467.

the pall was introduced, are by our historians called archbishops'.²⁵ Fr Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., thinks it likely that Maelmuire began his religious life at Clonard, where he died.²⁶ The annals of Ulster record his death in 1117:

Maelmuire Ua Dunain, learned bishop of the Irish, and head of the clergy of Ireland and steward of the almsdeeds of the world, consummated the most excellent course of his great religious life in the seventy-seventh year of his age on 24 December.²⁷

I Samuel, bishop of Dublin, have signed.

Bishop Samuel of Dublin, an Irishman named Uaa Angli, was elected in 1096 and consecrated by Anselm on 20 April.²⁸ He ruled the see of Dublin in succession to his uncle Donngus. Before consecrating him, St Anselm kept the bishop-elect some time with him, to instruct him in the duties of the state he had now accepted.²⁹ Samuel returned to Dublin about the summer of 1096, bearing with him letters to King Muirchertach and to the clergy and people of Dublin.³⁰ As bishop of Dublin, Samuel was a suffragan of Canterbury, for he had taken the oath of obedience to Anselm. He did not, however, behave in a manner befitting a subordinate and Anselm found cause to reprimand him on three separate charges.³¹ Since Bishop Malchus of Waterford was charged with delivering this rebuke to Samuel, this incident is described in Chapter 1. Samuel's contribution to the work of reform is negligible and his death in 1121 is briefly recorded as follows: 'Samuel Ua Angli, bisshop of Ath Cliath, *in pace quievit*'.³²

I, Ferdornach, bishop of the men of Leinster, have signed.

All that has come down to us of this last signatory is the record of his death in 1101, when he is termed 'bishop of Kildare'.³³

25 *ibid.*

26 A.Gwynn, 'Papal legates in twelfth-century Ireland', in *I.E.R.*, lxi (June 1944).

27 *A.U.*, 1117.

28 Minge, P.L., 159, col. 393.

29 *ibid.*

30 *ibid.*

31 Ussher, *Works*, iv, 530.

32 *A.U.*, 1121. For a further account of Bishop Samuel, see A.Gwynn, S.J., 'Bishop Samuel of Dublin'.

33 *A.U.*, 1101.

Appendix B: Memorandum of the goods and chattels of Stephen, archbishop of Tuam, formerly bishop of Waterford, justiciar of Ireland³⁴

At Tuam in the wardrobe

1 silver ewer of the weight of 4 lb.
 1 silver gilt cup with a cover of the weight of 40s.
 3 cloths of gold
 12 stripped cloths for esquires.
 1 cloth for men of trade
 1 cloth for grooms
 33 furs with lambskins
 4 score and 9 ells of linen for tablecloths
 10 towels
 11 pairs of silken shoes
 5 score lb of almonds
 30 lb of rice
 1 frail of figs
 1 frail of raisins
 10 lb of dates
 2 pieces 'de cidone'
 4 ells de 'carde'

In a chest

2 cups of silver
 1 white coverlet
 2 capes
 1 large bible

In another chest

100 lb of silver
 half a black cloth for the use of the archbishop
 4 entire black cloths for knights and clerks, with fur

Pantry of buttery

1 silver salt-cellar
 3 gold spoons
 12 large silver spoons and 12 smaller ones
 5 silver plates
 1 silver dish for alms
 2 large silver ewers
 9 silver pots with covers
 1 gold plate with a gold cover
 3 gilt silver cups with legs
 2 smaller silver ewers

Kitchen

2 large silver dishes and 3 smaller ones
 13 smaller silver dishes and 18 silver salt-cellars

Armoury

6 halberds and 2 coats of mail
 3 pairs of iron cuirasses
 3 pairs of new trappings and 2 pairs of old

34 *Cal. docs Ire.*, iii, 180, no. 406.

Stables

- 1 large white palfrey and another called Hackney
- horses called Lyvet, Jordan, Feraunt of Trim, Bancan, Blanchard of London
- 2 large horses called Constable and Bendur
- 2 sumpter horses for the wardrobe
- horses called Scampane, Black Obin, Ferraunt and Durnyng

Athlone (in the chapel)

- 1 principal vestment
- 1 chasuble with a cross of pearls
- 2 mitres and a crozier
- 1 chalice of silver-gilt
- embroidered copes
- a vestment for holy days
- 1 silk frontal for the altar
- 1 silk cope
- 4 towels
- 1 missal and 1 noted breviary
- 1 noted graduale
- 1 book of the dedication of churches and another book of blessings
- 1 small bible
- 1 silver censer
- 1 silver vase to put myrrh in
- 1 silver vase to put holy water in, with a silver sprinkler
- 2 silver ewers
- 1 portable altar
- 6 choir copes of baudekin³⁵ and 3 of silk
- 3 tunicles with a red chasuble and 3 surplices.

(Concluded)

35 Baudekin = rich embroidered silk fabric, originally woven with a wrap of gold thread (*Century Dictionary*, London 1899).

THE OSTMEN IN POST-NORMAN WATERFORD

by Ciaran Parker

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to provide an exploration of the historical experience of the descendants of the Norse settlers in Waterford after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. The history of the Ostmen after this was, by and large, an account of their attempts to come to terms with a radically changed environment where they had been deprived of their former, albeit local, pre-eminence and in which the status they were entitled to by law and royal edict was often in stark contrast with their daily experiences in local society. The Ostmen in the post-Norman epoch have rarely received their due in terms of historical research and, to a great extent, they have been relegated to the status of a historical footnote - an irrelevant residue of the past that was unable to make any impact on the political scene apart from initially violent acts of resistance. The most irksome research problem facing all medieval historians, namely a relative dearth of sources, is partly responsible, but those sources that do survive can be exploited to provide a picture, admittedly in many places vague, of the history and status of the Ostmen.

Viking Waterford

The Ostmen were firmly established within Waterford city and its vicinity before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. After all, the name of the city and later the county is of Norse origin, probably deriving from the Norse *Vedhrafjördur* or 'weather-harbour'.¹ Waterford was founded at some time in the mid-ninth century by close relatives of the Norsemen of Dublin.² The tenacity of this settlement is witnessed by occasional references to their involvement in the local struggles of the kingdom of Osraige during the late ninth century.³ The date 914 for the foundation of the city is based on an entry in an Irish annalistic fragment.⁴ This deals with a raid by the Norsemen on Port Láirge which was the epilogue to an attack by Danish raiders from Brittany on southern Wales and the Severn estuary.⁵ Apart from the annalistic references to Norse activity prior to this date, the violent nature of this event is not a good indication of an urban foundation. Nevertheless, some of these raiders may have settled in Waterford: nearly four centuries later, in 1311, one William MacGillemorry recounted that his ancestors had come to Waterford from Devon.⁶ Some of the activity of the leaders of the raid, the brothers Harold and Ohthir, had occurred in Devon, while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that before reaching Ireland the residue of the raiders had gone to Dyfed (*Deomedum*).⁷ It is possible that the two areas had been confused, either by later Ostmen or by the fourteenth-century scribe.

- 1 See J. O'Donovan's note in *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* (Dublin, 1848-51), I, p. 492, note P. Charles Smith mentioned the date 853 for the foundation of the city by one Sitric, but unfortunately he does not cite any reference for this. (C. Smith, *Antient and Present State of the City and County of Waterford* (Dublin, 1746, p 113.)
- 2 See the genealogical table in A. P. Smyth, *The Scandinavian Kingdoms of Dublin and York*, II (Dublin, 1979), p. 316.
- 3 J. O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, I, pp 492-3, 550-1.
- 4 J. F. Radner (ed.), *The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978), pp 180-1
- 5 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, edited by B. Thorpe (London, 1861), I, pp 188-91
- 6 *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls, Ireland, 1308-1314*, (Dublin, 1956), p. 187. Hereafter cited as *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*
- 7 In 878, a group of Norsemen who had wintered in Dyfed unsuccessfully attacked Devon. See W. H. Stevenson (ed.), *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904), p. 43.

While the city of Waterford formed the heart of their political and commercial power, the Ostmen spilled over into the surrounding region, as can be demonstrated by the survival of place-names such as Ballygunner, to the east, and Balitrokil (now Ballytruckle) to the south of the city respectively. This was accompanied by a growth of political control over an area represented by the extent of the medieval diocese of Waterford.⁸ However, Canon Patrick Power was not wholly correct in stating that this represented the total extent of Norse settlement in the Decies.⁹ The sheriff of Waterford in 1235 accounted for the rents of the Ostmen within the manor of Dungarvan.¹⁰ As in the east of the county, place-name survivals can provide some assistance in pinpointing areas of Norse and Ostman settlement, although such associations are not beyond question. Professor Edmund Curtis suggested that Ballymaccas near Kinsalebeg may have been derived from the Norse personal name Maccus or Magnus.¹¹ Ballynagoul or Baile na nGall, despite the anecdote concerning its name related by Canon Power, may identify another location inhabited by Ostmen.¹² Further east along the coast lay the vill of Duffach or Dufflagh (probably the modern-day Duagh in the parish of Drummannon), held in 1262 by John MacGillemorry and in 1299 by his kinsman William.¹³

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Norsemen and Ostmen of Waterford city played an active role in the politics of the south-eastern region. A common theme of their actions was one of alliance with the rulers of Osraige against those of Leinster. This led them, in 1035 for example, into conflict with the Ostmen of Dublin.¹⁴ A related feature of such conflict was that they were followed by retaliatory raids by the rulers of Leinster against Waterford. In 1037 Diarmaid Mac Mael na mBó attacked the city, while nearly a century later, in 1134, his example was followed by his descendant, Diarmaid Mac Murchadha.¹⁵

The most long-lasting side-effect of their involvement in Irish politics was a significant degree of acculturation. By the twelfth century the Ostmen had adopted an Irish form of their personal names while retaining personal names of Scandinavian origin. Thus the Irish prefix 'mac' had replaced the Norse patronymical element 'són'. Some personal names also suggest a degree of acculturation. The ancestor of the last ruler of Waterford city was one Gillemor or Giolla Máire, while a son of a tenth-century ruler of Waterford who was killed in 982 was Giolla Pádraic, which reflects contacts with Irish families of Osraige.¹⁶ Intermarriage between the 'foreigners' or *galls* and their neighbours no doubt occurred, and this was probably the origin of the surname 'Galgeyl' that occurred in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁷ The term had a more definite meaning to one ninth-century annalist who described the *GallGaidil*

- 8 A detailed map of the medieval diocese is to be found in A. O'Neill, 'Waterford Diocese, 1096-1363: Pt IV, The diocesan chapters and extents of the diocese' in *Decies*, 46 (1992), p. 28
- 9 P. Power (ed.), 'Obligaciones pro Annatis Diocesis Waterfordensis' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 12 (1946), p. 12.
- 10 *Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (hereafter cited as *P. R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep.*), no. 35, p. 36.
- 11 E. Curtis (ed.), 'Sheriffs' Accounts of the Honour of Dungarvan, of Twescard in Ulster and of County Waterford' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXXIX C (1929), p. 13.
- 12 He recounts a picturesque story rooted in local folklore that it was named after Algerian corsairs who landed there in the seventeenth century. See P. Power, *The Placenames of Decies* (Cork, second edition, 1952), p. 101.
- 13 E. Curtis, 'Sheriffs' Accounts', p. 3; H. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland*, IV, p. 263.
- 14 J. O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, II, pp 830-1.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp 832-3, 1046-7
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp 714.5
- 17 See, for example, *Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire. 1305-7* (Dublin, 1914), p. 520; *Ibid.*, III, pp 176, 178, 180-2, 184-5. Many of those named Galgel or Galgeyl lived in the Dungarvan area.

as being Irishmen, some of whom had been fostered by the Norsemen and who had renounced their Christianity and were commonly called Norsemen because they had acquired their customs.¹⁸ The incidence of gaelicised surnames indicates that Irish had become a vernacular although, as Dr Sommerfelt has argued, this did not mean that Norse had been eschewed altogether but rather that many Norsemen remained bilingual for a number of generations.¹⁹ The linguistic commerce was not one-way as a number of words especially linked with shipping, trade and warfare retained their Norse forms while passing into the Irish language.²⁰

The fate of the Ostmen in post-Norman Waterford

The impact of the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1170 was catastrophic for the Ostmen. They were less numerous than the Irish and their initial resistance did not enhance their position in the eyes of the new rulers. The ruler of Waterford, Reginald or Ragnald MacGillemorry, had attempted to prevent access to the city by means of a barrage. This proving futile, he was imprisoned along with his ally, Muirheartach O Fealáin, the most important Irish chief of eastern Waterford, while two other prominent Ostmen named Sitric were hanged. According to Giraldus, Reginald's own life was only spared thanks to the intercession of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha on his behalf.²¹ While his influence was considerably curtailed, he obviously retained some authority and in October 1171 he was one of the chieftains who submitted personally to Henry II at Waterford.²²

The repercussions of the advent of Anglo-Norman rule in Waterford city for its inhabitants is unclear. In 1311 a descendant of the MacGillemorries stated that they were expelled *en masse* after their arrival, although this source, apart from factual inaccuracies, later contradicts itself on this point by specifically referring to at least one Ostman who was allowed to reside in the city.²³ Some inhabitants may have suffered forfeitures and expulsions; others may have been forced to abandon the city for areas further inland. In any event, in 1174 resentment boiled over into a rebellion in which the *custos* of the city, Fretellus, was assassinated.²⁴ The decisive factor in the revolt's defeat was, according to this early fourteenth-century source, the loyalty of Gerald MacGillemorry who had retained possession of a strategically sited stone tower along its walls. Indeed, Giraldus Cambrensis states that the rebellion was only suppressed because of the retention of Reginald's Tower. Retention of this site would certainly have allowed access to the port and permitted reinforcements to flow into the city. However, Giraldus does not mention the MacGillemorries, and the details related in 1311 were spoken by one who was anxious, if not desperate, to demonstrate the continuous loyalty of his ancestors to the Anglo-Normans. It should be borne in mind at the same time that this later account, while erring on the side of propaganda, may contain important elements of truth. Gerald MacGillemorry was related to the pre-invasion rulers of Waterford, and he demonstrated by his actions that the treatment of the Ostmen had not been so universally severe as to engender a collectively violent response. It is also possible that Gerald was not the only member of his community to respond in such a manner.

18 *Fragmentary Irish Annals*, pp 104-5.

19 A. Sommerfelt, 'The Norse influence on Irish and Scottish Gaelic' in B. O Cuív (ed.), *The impact of the Scandinavian Invasions on the Celtic-speaking Peoples, c. 800-1100 A.D.* (Dublin, 1975), p. 75.

20 M. ó Murchú, *The Irish Language* (Dublin, 1985), p. 19.

21 *Expugnatio Hibernica, The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, edited and translated by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), p. 67. (Hereafter cited as *Giraldus, Expugnatio*).

22 *Chronica de Rogeri de Hoveden*, edited by W. Stubbs (London, 1869), II p. 30.

23 *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, III pp 185-8.

24 *Giraldus, Expugnatio*, p. 141

The Ostmen in 13th- and 14th-century Waterford

The fidelity of at least some of the MacGillemorries led to a dichotomy in the subsequent history of the Ostmen. Gerald's descendants remained at the apex of their community in Waterford throughout the rest of the medieval period, although their position was far from easy or secure. According to his descendants, Gerald was rewarded by Henry II with a grant 'as well as to others of his parentage Ostmen of Waterford, that they from that time should have the law of the English and be judged and treated according to that law'.²⁵ It was also stated by William MacGillemorry, the head of the family in the early fourteenth century, that he held 'all his lands of the king in chief in the said county, by paying scutage to the county of Waterford ... and ... John [MacGillemorry, William's kinsman] ... heretofore was accustomed to be put on juries and assizes like all other English of the county'. The claim regarding their feudal position was borne out in March 1322 when Sir Richard MacGillemorry, either a son or a brother of William, was amerced for failing to travel to England to perform his fealty to the king.²⁶

The MacGillemorries were as aware as some of their less socially exalted kinsmen that the grant and confirmation of charters did not lead to routine acceptance among the ranks of the king's liegemen. As a result of this vulnerability they cultivated links with the most powerful Anglo-Norman baronial family of the region, the le Poers. Among the payments due to the holder of the honour of Dungarvan in 1282 was one of seven shillings which 'the tenants of the vill of the Ostmen, near Waterford, yearly render for the advowson by the hands of the baron of Donoil'.²⁷ This was probably a payment that had been made directly to the king before the successive grants of the honour of Dungarvan to Thomas Fitz Anthony in 1215 and John fitz Thomas of Desmond in 1259. When the above mentioned Richard MacGillemorry was amerced for his non-performance of fealty, baron John le Poer of Donoil stood as a pledge for its payment.²⁸ The le Poers were also helpful in providing protection from legal redress, as demonstrated in 1319, when Roger MacGillemorry obtained a pardon for his misdeeds, probably at the instance of Sir Arnold le Poer.²⁹ An extension of this relationship was the marriage of a daughter of the MacGillemorries to Sir Nicholas le Poer of Kilmeaden in the 1390s.³⁰ This was all the more important as it underlined that the MacGillemorries were viewed as acceptable marriage partners by the most important section of the le Poer lineages in the late fourteenth century.

The MacGillemorries, while being the pre-eminent Ostman family within Waterford, were not the only members of their community to play a role in local society. At some time between 1236 and 1250 the sheriff of Waterford was one John Harald.³¹ His position was far from insignificant, as in the first half of the thirteenth century the sheriff of Waterford usually held the office of sheriff of Cork as well. It is unclear whether he was related to the more famous Haralds of the Vale of Dublin, as the surname was probably a patronymic derived from

25 *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, III p. 186.

26 *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep.* no. 42 p. 40.

27 *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, II p. 253; H. Sweetman (ed.), *Cal. Doc. Ire.*, II, no. 1921, p. 426.

28 See above n. 26.

29 Similar pardons were granted to numerous members of the le Poers, including baron John fitz Peter le Poer and Sir Roger le Poer, implying that the pardons were procured through the intercession of Sir Arnold le Poer. E. Tresham (ed.), *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellarie Hibernie Calendarium* (Dublin, 1828), p. 24, no. 137.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 143, no. 55.

31 A charter granted during the time when Geoffrey de Turberville was treasurer of Ireland was witnessed by John Harald, sheriff of Waterford. (*Ibid.*, p. 3, no. 35.)

the personal name of an ancestor.³² The statement by Philip MacGothmund, an Ostman of Waterford, in 1290 that there were those who were envious of his lands and goods, implies that he, perhaps in common with other Ostmen, maintained a certain degree of wealth, perhaps due to involvement in overseas trade. The fact that he was able to petition the crown without any manifest backing from more powerful elements in local society signifies considerable financial resources. Others maintained their wealth through other means. In the early 1270s Reginald (Raghnaid MacKottir or MacCottir, who was described as a citizen of Cashel, was accused of being a usurer and his chattels forfeited.³³

The Legal Status of the Ostmen

The key to participation in local society was the right to use, and if necessary be judged by, the English common law. Unlike the great majority of the Irish, the Ostmen were never specifically excluded from its enjoyment, but as an ethnic group separate from the Anglo-Norman settlers they often found themselves in the same position as the Irish, especially since they had undergone a degree of acculturation and were thus hardly distinguishable from them. In 1295, the jurors in the justiciar's court at Clonmel claimed that one William O'Moleyn was an Irishman, even though he rebutted this assertion by claiming that his real name was William MacMackus and that he was related to an Ostman family of Limerick city.³⁴ This confusion may well have been due to malice on the part of the jurors, or simple ignorance.³⁵ The legal position of the Ostmen was ambiguous. Although some, such as Gerald MacGillemorry, had been granted the use of English law, many others, including some of his descendants, found it necessary to seek confirmation of these or completely new grants. The example of a certain MacOtir who wrote to the king's council in Ireland from 'the end of the world' requesting English law demonstrates that it was a right that needed constant reassertion and which could not, in practical terms, be taken for granted.³⁶

In this regard, the picture painted by Philip MacGothmund is of interest. In 1290, he sought a royal charter spelling out that the Ostmen were indeed Englishmen and worthy of enjoying English law. This demand was caused, so Philip complained, by the actions of those who were greedy of his lands and goods.³⁷ MacGothmund also complained that when any member of the Ostman community was killed, thirty marks were levied from his relatives, while all his chattels were forfeited. It is not clear who exactly enforced such amercements or forfeited the goods, but the implication was that this had been done by either the burgesses of the city of Waterford, who in normal circumstances enjoyed extensive legal and juridical autonomy as part of their municipal liberties, or the sheriff of the county. MacGothmund was astute enough to employ a tactical argument which overcame any opposition proposed by local

- 32 See P. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967), pp 118-120. The name 'Harold' originated from the old Norse *Hrǫuldr*, signifying a prosperous freeman (P. Wilson and D.M. Foote, *The Viking Achievement* (London, 1970), pp 84-6.).
- 33 *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-1279*, p. 18; G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council* (Dublin, 1979), pp 6-7; P. M. Connolly (ed.), 'Irish material in the Public Record Office, London' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 34 (1988), pp 98, 105. I am indebted to Mr Gerard McGrath for bringing these references to my attention.
- 34 *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, I, p. 59.
- 35 Dr Geoffrey Hand's interpretation of William's position, namely that he was the son of an Irish father and an Ostman mother, is also plausible. (G. J. Hand, *English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 211.
- 36 Sir H. Cole (ed.), *Documents illustrative of the history of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries* (London, 1844), pp 69-70.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp 68-9. The status of the MacGothmunds before this is unclear, although in 1269 John fitz Andrew Macasmund claimed that his father had been enfeoffed of three carucates of land by bishop Griffin Christopher of Lismore. (P.R.O.I. 7/1, p. 421).

interests, namely, that it was to the king's advantage to have as many liegemen in Ireland as possible. A royal charter was subsequently issued.

The ability of such confirmations to improve the lot of the Ostmen was limited, as was shown by the experience of the MacGillemorries in the early fourteenth century. In October 1283, John, William and Gillecríst MacGillemorry and other *Ostmanni* of the city and county of Waterford were granted a confirmation of their rights to use English law following an inspection of a charter of King Henry II.³⁸ At an uncertain date, possibly in the late thirteenth century, the aforementioned Gillecríst MacGillemorry was killed by Robert fitz Watyn le Poer, who claimed benefit of clergy in his defence.³⁹ The fact that le Poer was indicted at all and was forced to seek this privilege demonstrates that the status of the Ostmen as liegemen was recognised. Dangerous confusion still existed, though. Before 1311 one Yvor MacGillemorry was killed by Robert le Waleis. The latter claimed in his defence that the status of the Ostmen and Irish were one, and he had not therefore committed a felony. The cultural ambivalence of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland towards the Ostmen was betrayed by the writer of the account of the trial, who referred to the 'parentage' (*parentela?*) of the MacGillemorry.⁴⁰ This term, while being applied to the extended families of the Anglo-Normans, was also used to refer to Irish lineages.⁴¹ This record, which is one of the most important documents relating to the history of the Ostmen, is incomplete and we do not know the outcome of the case. However, in the light of previous confirmations, as well as the evidence marshalled by the MacGillemorries in defence of their political status, it is doubtful that le Waleis escaped censure for his crime.

The Ostmen and the local church

The Ostmen's position in the church was relatively insignificant in the later medieval period, though by no means non-existent. Waterford was among the first Irish sees to be created in 1096 on the basis of a territorial diocesan structure.⁴² The diocese that was subsequently created was based on the fairly limited area of eastern Waterford over which the city exercised political control. According to Canon Power, the new see took as its patron saint one Oteran or Odhran, possibly a missionary saint of the ninth century.⁴³ The parish of Killoteran to the west of Waterford city bears his name, and this church may have been founded by the saint or subsequently dedicated to him before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. Interestingly, a degree of continuity of Ostman associations with the church persisted into the early fourteenth century when its vicar was one John MacGillemorry.⁴⁴ The lands in Killoteran were listed among the temporalities of the see of Waterford in 1274,⁴⁵ and it would appear that it represented a parcel of territory which remained a part of the temporalities of the diocese of Waterford after

38 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281-1292*, p. 78.

39 *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, III, pp 187-8.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 187.

41 See, for example, the indenture agreed in 1336 between James le Botiller, earl of Ormond, and Ruaidhrí O Cinnéide and his *parentela*. (E. Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, (Dublin, 1932), I, p. 289, no. 682.

42 For a discussion of the creation of the bishopric of Waterford, see A. Gwynn, 'The origins of the diocese of Waterford' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 59 (1943), pp 286-295; and A. O'Neill, 'The diocese of Waterford, 1096-1363, Pt. I, The foundation of the diocese of Waterford' in *Decies*, 43 (1990), pp 13-24.

43 Canon Power refers to a 'controversy' concerning the saint's ethnic background, although he fails to cite any references for this. (Power, *Placenames*, pp 365-6.). It seems, though, that the name was a form of the old Norse Othtere.

44 *Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ire.*, III, p. 250

45 National Library of Ireland, MS. 760, p. 14.

the Anglo-Normans had established domination of the see.

As the example of John MacGillemmorry demonstrates, this family had extended its pre-eminence into the ecclesiastical sphere. Its involvement in the church continued in the fifteenth century. In 1421 Walter Macgillemmorry was named as a collector, on behalf of the chapter and clergy of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, of a subsidy granted to James, earl of Ormond.⁴⁶ The involvement in the church of individuals from other Ostman families occurred. Richard MacSitroge was vicar of the church of Lisnakill in the 1460s.⁴⁷ It is noteworthy, in the context of a discussion of the legal status of the Ostmen, that the legal restrictions against Irishmen holding benefices were never applied to them.⁴⁸

The Tradition of Violence

So far, we have spoken of the upper strata of the Ostmen - those who, in spite of the uncertainty of their legal and political position, aspired to, and sometimes attained, a respectable level of participation and acceptance with a society dominated by Anglo-Norman families. This is only one aspect of their history and many, including the relatives of this group, made a more destructive contribution to local society.

The clearest example of such behaviour is provided by the family of MacSitric. They had succeeded in holding onto some of their lands in county Waterford until July 1236 when these were granted by the king to the Irish chancellor, Geoffrey de Turberville.⁴⁹ Having been thus denied their landholding base, their descendants turned to violence. Much of the disorder that was so prevalent in Waterford, as elsewhere in the medieval lordship, was not of a random and unco-ordinated nature but was carried on with the connivance and assistance of the local baronage and gentry, including the le Poers. However, the threads linking the ordinary criminal and members of the social and political élite were always heavily concealed in the accounts of the judicial processes against the former, and it is only through the pursuit and elucidation of other more tenuous links that they can be discerned at all. In October 1306 the king's peace was granted to six members of the MacSitrics at the instance of Roger fitz John le Poer, the head of the most prominent cadet branch of the lineage which frequently acted as sheriffs within county Waterford.⁵⁰ In 1311 Philip MacSitric was a member of the retinue led by the baron of Donoil to rescue Margaret of Desmond, the mother of the future first earl of Desmond, from his kinsman Stephen le Poer.⁵¹ In the following year Gillepatric MacSitric was among those who received grants of the king's peace for involvement in the murder of Sir John le Grant at his manor near Waterford city.⁵² This event formed part of a local feud of indeterminate cause between the latter and the aforementioned baron of Donoil. In 1313 Griffin MacSitric was accused of 'wandering through the country with his mastiffs and greyhounds demanding sustenance and beating those who refuse him'.⁵³ The jury, which included two members of the le Poers' lineage, naturally acquitted him. It is possible that Griffin was not acting on his own but as a member of either baron John's or Sir Arnold le

46 H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Parliaments and Councils of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1947), II, p. 136.

47 *Calendar of Papal Letters*, XII, p. 776; P. Power (ed.) 'Obligaciones pro Annatis Diocesis Waterfordensis' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 12 (1946) p. 14.

48 See, for example, the legislation contained in the Statutes of Kilkenny. (H. F. Berry (ed.), *Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V* (Dublin, 1907), pp 443-4.

49 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1234-1237*, p. 365.

50 *Cal. Justic. Rolls. Ire.*, II p. 293.

51 *Ibid.*, III, p. 190.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 263.

53 *Ibid.*, pp 180-1.

Poer's retinue, on whose behalf he was demanding illegal exactions. In 1318 Sir Arnold obtained a grant of English law for Griffin's kinsman Richard MacSitric, one of those included in the pardon of 1306 referred to above.⁵⁴

The activities of the MacSitrics during the first two decades of the fourteenth century are known thanks to the survival in a calendared form of the justiciary and plea rolls of that period. Sadly, such judicial records are almost non-existent for the rest of the fourteenth century. The 1320s were marked by an intensification of internal feuding between the le Poers and the Geraldines of Desmond, which led in 1327 to the invasion of the le Poers' lands and the flight of baron John and Sir Arnold le Poer.⁵⁵ The MacSitrics may have played some role alongside the le Poers in these disturbances, for in 1331 the mayor and community of Waterford city owed two marks for the goods of John MacSitric which had been forfeited for felony.⁵⁶ The MacSitrics were not the only Ostmen to involve themselves in disorderly activity, and others committed crimes such as ordinary common thefts. In February 1314, John Olayve or Olaf, a fisherman of the *villa Ostmannorum*, was accused and acquitted of stealing two cows from two of his neighbours, an Irishman and an Anglo-Norman.⁵⁷

It would be too facile to state that the Ostmen involved in acts of violence, whether on their own or others' behalf, were all descendants of the dispossessed. Adam MacGillemorry, who was accused in 1314 of being a common thief, was the son of the vicar of Killoteran, one of those Ostmen who had some status in local society.⁵⁸ While the MacSitrics figure prominently in the early fourteenth-century sources as malefactors, a fifteenth-century descendant held the minor but no less responsible position of a parochial vicar.⁵⁹ The descendants of the only Ostman to become sheriff, John Harald, were also involved in disorder. In Michaelmas term 1308 John fitz Ralph Harald was accused of belonging to a mixed group of ruffians that had waylaid David le Poer on an isolated road near Rathcormack.⁶⁰ There is no indication that the fortunes of sheriff Harald's family had suffered a reversal such as dispossession.

The Ostmen, at least the MacGillemorries, did not suffer the decline into oblivion attributed to them by Professor Curtis.⁶¹ Some were able to maintain a degree of relative social prominence as late as the 1390s, as demonstrated by the marriage of the daughter of an Ostman to Nicholas le Poer of Kilmeadan. It is also clear that their status did not undergo any significant deterioration in the fifteenth century. We have already mentioned the involvement of two Ostmen in the church during this century. In 1470 both John and William MacGillemorry were residents of St Michael's Parish in Waterford city,⁶² while as late as 1597 one John MacGilmor held some land near Waterford city in the parish of St Patrick.⁶³ Others who belonged to a lower level and who resided further away from Waterford city were

54 G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Affairs of Ireland*, p. 81; P. M. Connolly (ed.), 'Irish material in the Public Record Office, London' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 34 (1988), p. 47.

55 R. Butler (ed.), *Annals of Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling* (Dublin, 1849), pp 19-20.

56 *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep.* no. 42, p. 40

57 *Cal. Justic. Rolls. Ire.*, pp 313-4.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 313.

59 See above, n. 47.

60 *P.R.O.I. R.* 7/13, p. 81.

61 E. Curtis, 'English and Ostmen in Ireland' in *English Historical Review*, 23 (1908), pp 209-19; Geoffrey Hand's assertion, based on Curtis, that in the thirteenth century 'the Ostmen ... were rapidly losing their identity' is obviously incorrect. (G. J. Hand, *English Law in Ireland, 1290-1324* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 210.).

62 G. Mac Niocaill (ed.), 'Registrum Cantariae Sancti Salvatoris Waterfordensis: (B.M. Harl. 3765)' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 23 (1966), pp 210-11.

63 *P.R.O.I. Dep. Keeper's Rep.*, no. 17, p. 43.

able to retain something of their cultural distinctiveness, if only in the preservation of a distinctive Norse christian name, as exemplified in 1413 by one Olav the fuller who lived in Dungarvan.⁶⁴

Cultural distinctiveness and acculturation

Lack of more detailed sources denies the historian an opportunity to assess how far the Ostmen had retained a sense of their separateness as an ethnic grouping. The simple division of the inhabitants of the lordship between Anglo-Normans and Irish, between those who used English law and those who were denied it, and finally between liegeman and rebel, forced the Ostmen to associate with the former of these categories and to utilise all means at their disposal to consolidate this alignment. Yet their protestations of Englishness and loyalty to the English king did not signify that they identified culturally with the Anglo-Normans or that they had eschewed their own traditions. No doubt they maintained Irish as their vernacular. Yet it is probable that this was a form of Irish that was unique and which was influenced for many generations by old Norse words, phrases and grammatical structure. Indeed, Professor Carl Marstrander, who studied the linguistic impact of the Norsemen on the Celtic languages, argued that Scottish Gaelic had been influenced in its pronunciation by old Norse.⁶⁵ It is surely noteworthy that Nicholas le Poer's wife was named 'More Makellesmarsdochtir', a name which, while heavily gaelicised, maintains the Norse patronymical appendix '-dottir' still found in modern Iceland.⁶⁶

The Ostmen were in a far more advantageous position than the native Irish who were normally excluded from both the enjoyment of English common law and the right to participate in local governmental activities. However, many exceptions to this rule occurred, some as a result of the ability to purchase charters of denizenship entitling their holders to the use of English law, and others through the establishment of links with the local political élite. It is possible to argue that the position of some Irishmen was superior to that to which they were normally entitled. In contrast, many Ostmen pursued a long struggle to re-establish the legal status which had been granted to their ancestors and which they were often denied.

Conclusion

The history of the Ostmen in the post-1170 period is thus a complex subject. It is important in itself that it is possible even to speak of the Ostmen as possessing a history after the traumatic events surrounding the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. They did not disappear from the Irish landscape in a wave of emigration, nor were the few who remained, according to such a scenario, condemned to a decline into eventual oblivion. Instead, they remained a fairly resilient community with a strong sense of identity.

These observations are based solely on an examination of the Ostmen of Waterford and may not hold true for those of other communities such as Dublin, Cork or Limerick and their relationships with their rural hinterlands. All of these locations are situated on or near the coast, but their involvement in the societies of areas further inland, such as in thirteenth-century Tipperary, should not be overlooked. Confident generalisations on the place of the Ostmen community in later medieval Ireland must of necessity await the completion of studies in these areas.

64 K. W. Nicholls (ed.), 'Abstracts of Mandeville Deeds' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 32 (1985), p. 17.

65 A Sommerfelt, 'The Norse influence on Scottish and Irish Gaelic' in B. O. Cuiv (ed.), *The Impact of the Scandinavian Invasions on the Celtic-speaking Peoples, c. 800-1100 A. D.* (Dublin, 1975), p. 75.

66 See above n. 30.

MacGRATH'S CASTLE, ABBEYSIDE, DUNGARVAN

by William Fraher

MacGrath's Castle was situated at Friar's Walk in Abbeyside, Dungarvan, near the Augustinian abbey (figure 1). It was a typical tower-house of six floors, two of them supported by stone vaults. The MacGrath family is said to have built it, and it is called MacCragh's Castle in the Civil Survey of 1654.

The MacGraths were based in the Slieve Gua area of County Waterford. They came from Co. Clare in the first half of the 15th century and rented lands at Mountain Castle from the Fitzgeralds of Knockmaun Castle. In the ruined chancel of the Augustinian abbey at Abbeyside is an arched recess housing the tomb of 'Donaldus Macrat', and the inscription states that he died in the 1470s (figure 2).¹ A Donal MacGrath was living in Mountain Castle in 1537, and in 1618 a later Donal of Mountain Castle arranged for his 'castle and other lands in Doungarvan' to be the jointure of his wife.² In 1628 his son Philip MacGrath built a fortified house at Sleady near Mountain Castle. Philip received a grant of his lands from the Commission for the Remedy of Defective Titles in 1637, and the patent included 'a castle and six tenements adjoining in the borough of Dungarvan, in the tenure of his mother Honor ny Cragh'.³

Early in 1642 the castle was garrisoned by the Irish, and it is mentioned in the Rev. Urban Vigors's account of the attack on Dungarvan by Sir William St Leger in March of that year.⁴ Vigors states that St Leger ordered his troops to burn the houses in Abbeyside as well as in the town, and 'those that were in the castle on the other side of the Towne had quarter to depart only with their lives and wearing cloathes'.

The Civil Survey of 1654 has the following details on the castle:⁵

The prmisses is bounded on the east with the heighway leadinge through the strand to Dungarvan; on the north with Hores-land; on the west with the heighway called stradne mrahir. There is on the prmisses a smale castle formerly called MacCragh's Castle wch is stronge and defensible and now possessed by Capn James Oldfield in pursuance of an order graunted by Lt. Collonel Francis Foulkes, then Gournor of Dungarvan, grounded upon direcons from Collonel Sankey, confirmeinge a lease made by Mrs Ellin Boyton Alias MacCragh of the premisses for 7 years onto the sd Captain Oldfield.

The castle stood on one acre and the proprietor was 'Philip McCragh, Irish papist, of Curragh nesledy, deceased'. He also had 83 acres of land nearby called MacCraghs Land of Burgery. The 'census' of 1659⁶ gives James Oldfield as owner of the Abbeyside lands, and the Books of Survey and Distribution note that by the late 17th century the lands of Abbeyside, consisting of 407 acres, were divided between Matthew Hoare (45 acres), John Nugent (120 acres), and Sir Richard Osborne (242 acres). The Osborne portion included the castle.

By the mid-18th century the castle was still in a good state of preservation and retained its roof. Charles Smith writing in 1746⁷ had little to say of it except in relation to the Augustinian Abbey: 'The persons who endowed it are said to have been the McGraths, by whom the adjacent

1 *Jnl of Irish Memorials Assn*, IX (4) (1915), f.p. 366; rubbing by Lord Walter FitzGerald. See William Fraher, *The Augustinians in Abbeyside 1290-1990*, Dungarvan, 1990.

2 Mansfield MSS in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 20, p. 93.

3 NA, Lodge's Records of the Rolls, V, 465.

4 Carte MSS in Bodleian Library, Oxford, VIII, 29-30. Published in *Waterford & SEI Arch. Jnl*, XV, p. 95.

5 VI, pp 37-38.

6 p. 341.

7 *Antient and Present State of Waterford*, p. 89.

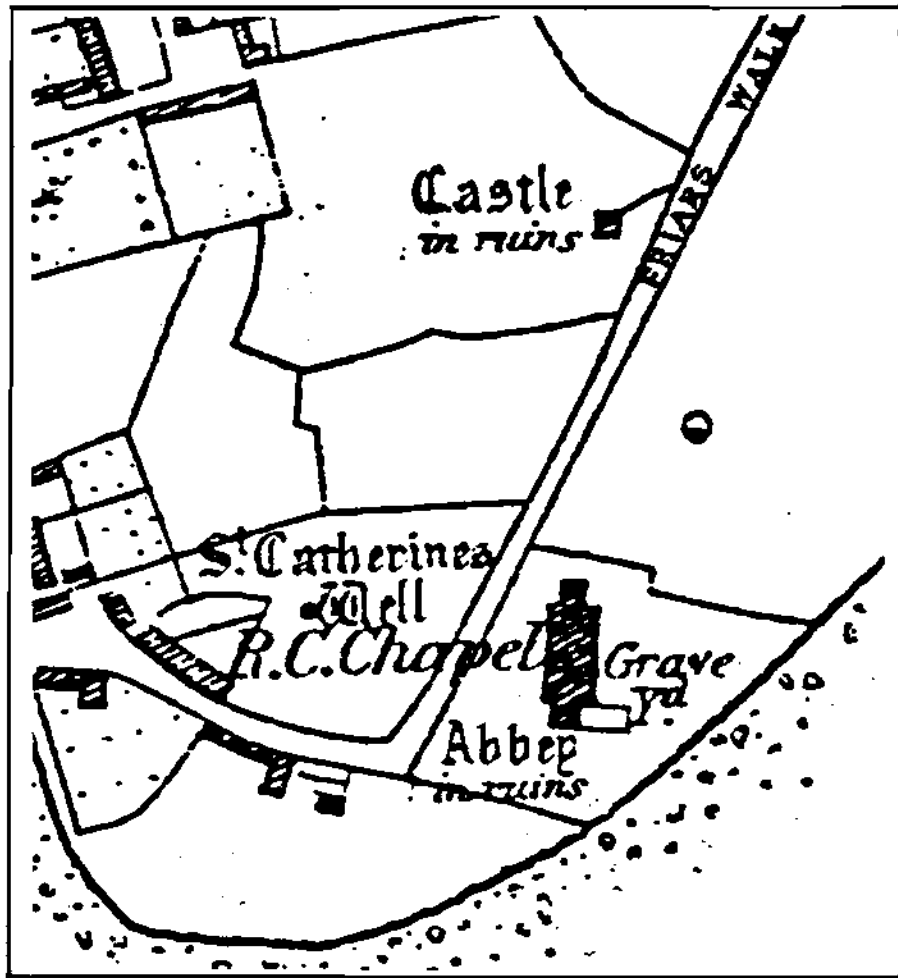


Figure 1. Location map showing Abbeyside Castle and Church

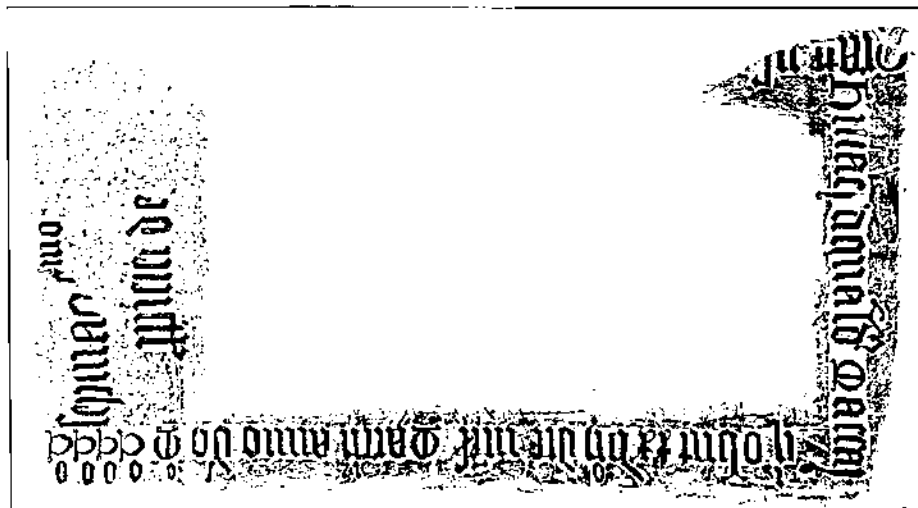


Figure 2. Rubbing of the tomb of Donaldus Macrat, Abbeyside Church.

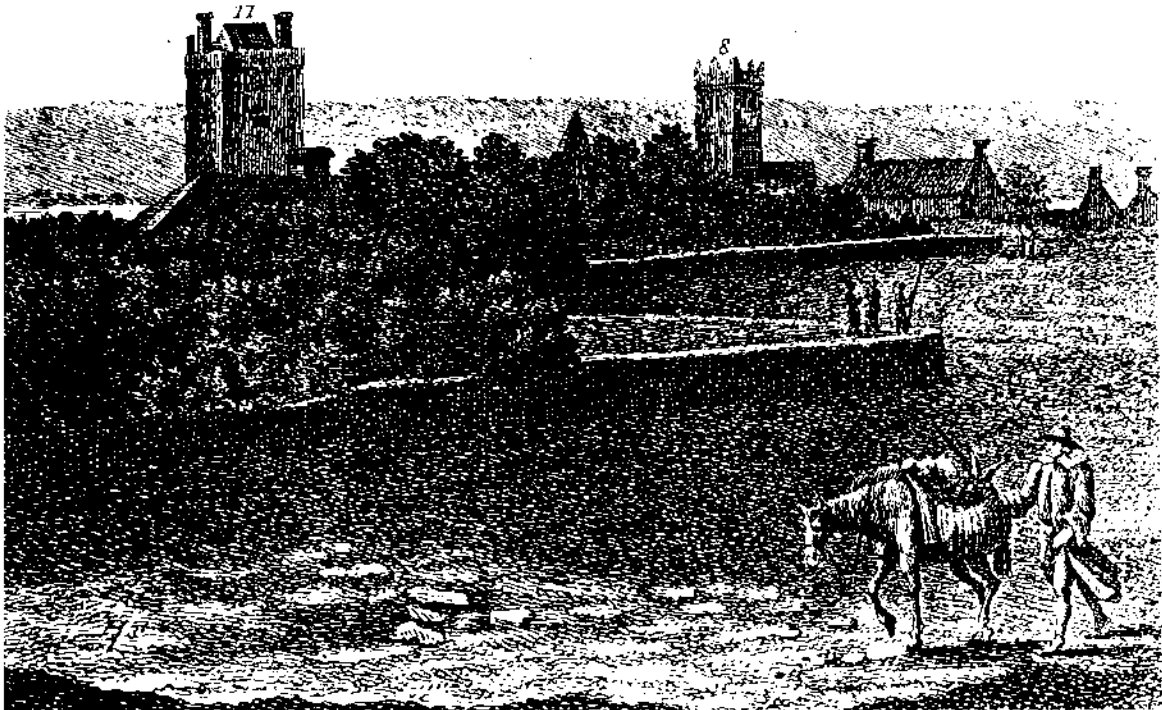


Figure 3. Abbeyside Castle and Church in 1746, from the engraving in Smith's *Waterford*.

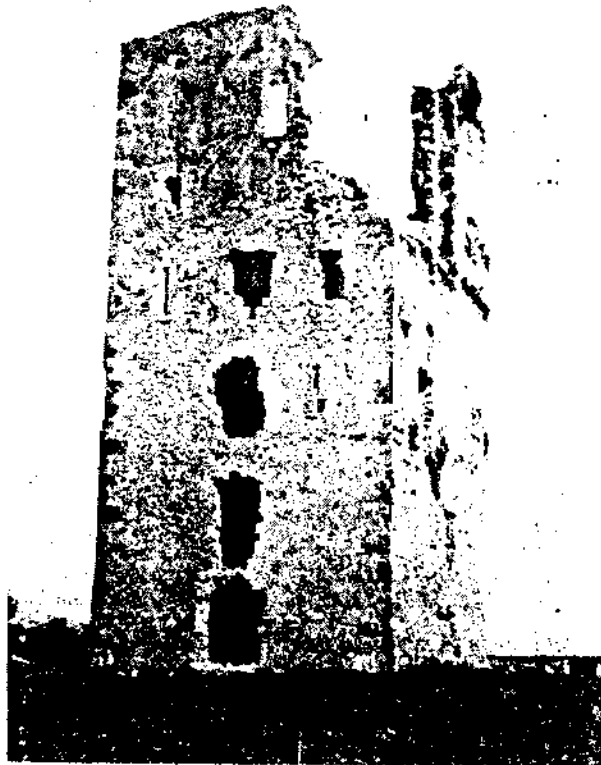


Figure 4. MacGrath's Castle: west and south walls.

castle, with some lands contiguous were given'. More important is the engraved plate of Dungarvan which Smith included in his book (figure 3). The engraving depicts the south and east sides of Dungarvan sketched from Abbeyside. MacGrath's castle is also depicted, with its roof and two large chimneys on the east and west sides. The parapet remains but without its crenellations. We don't know if the castle was used as a residence at this period.

John O'Donovan in his Ordnance Survey Letters of Co. Waterford (1841)⁸ gives a more detailed description of the castle:

It is a lofty square building measuring on the outside 38 feet from east to west and 31 feet 6 inches from north to south and its walls are well grouted and eight feet in thickness. It is six stories high and had two stone arches supporting two of its floors. The quoin stones are chiselled sand stones and all its windows are narrow and quadrangular and formed of chiselled sand stone. Its east side is destroyed to the ground, but the other sides are in good preservation and not less than 90 feet in height.

The following entry appears in the minute-book of Dungarvan U.D.C. for 1 May 1885:

Ordered that the borough surveyor serve the necessary notice on the owners of the land at Abbeyside on which the old castle stands, to take down the portion of the wall at the top of the castle which is in danger of falling at any moment.

In 1907 Michael Beary the borough surveyor sent the following report to the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society journal:⁹

Mr E. O'Shea, a young classical student home on vacation, has discovered a date (12-18) cut on one of the quoins of north-east angle of the old Abbeyside Castle. I do not know that it has been quoted or referred to by any of the historians yet. I walked round it twice before I found it, although the scoring is fairly sunk and figures 2 1/2" high. They were covered with a grey film or lichen, and not easily seen. The figures have the appearance of 14th-century script.

Fortunately several photographs of the castle were taken early this century by local photographers such as Edmond Keohan and Richard Edward Brenan. Our cover picture shows the collapsed east side with the two vaulted ceilings exposed. A newspaper photo (figure 4) shows the west and south walls; on the top floor can be seen a double ogee-headed window. Figure 5 is a postcard view showing the north side and a section of the bawn wall (?) to the left. Figure 6 shows the south wall and Friar's Walk. A postcard view by Keohan (figure 7) shows the ruins after the collapse of January 1916, with only the south wall left standing.

In 1916 Edmond Keohan published a booklet on the castle.¹⁰ The publication was prompted by the collapse of most of the castle on the night of 17-18 January 1916. He noted that 'the day before, Mr John McGrath, Acting Engineer to the Urban Council, reported that the castle was in a dangerous condition. On the following night, Mr M. F. Lynch, V.S., who lives close by, heard during the early part of the night a rumbling noise, and in the morning he saw the cause of the rumblings in the ruins of the fine old castle. Now all that stands is the south wall.' He adds that a coin dated 1133 was found in the ruins. 'The young lad that found it exchanged it for sweets and

8 p. 44

9 X, pp 335-6. Whatever the significance of this inscription, it can hardly be a date - arabic numerals were introduced into Ireland at a much later period.

10 Edmond Keohan, *Abbeyside Castle, Historical & Descriptive Sketch*, Waterford News, 1916.



Figure 5 - MacGrath's Castle : north side and bawn wall.



Figure 6 - MacGrath's Castle : south side and Friar's Walk.

now it is not to be found. Many of the Abbeyside and even the Dungarvan people have carried home pieces of oakwood found in the debris, and these they will keep as souvenirs.'

Keohan states that the east wall had largely collapsed about thirty years earlier. He has some further comments on the building: the front or east wall 'was connected with a portion of an ancient wall that now lies in a leaning position beside the roadway. The entrance to the castle lay by a doorway resembling a chimney, and situated some feet from the ground. A circular stairs led from the base to the top; the staircase has long since fallen away.'

He also says that the castle was used for the celebration of notable events: 'Bonfires blazed on its summit to celebrate the victory of Frank Hugh O'Donnell over Henry Matthews. And again, when there were universal illuminations for the declaration of doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the Abbeyside boys were not backward, for they had tar barrels blazing on the summit, a favourite feat of daring on such like occasions.'

Fragments of the walls remained up until the early 1960s, but unfortunately these were removed and now there are no remains visible above ground. Keohan's words were prophetic when he ended his booklet with the following comment: 'It may not be long until it is wholly demolished and when it is gone, one of the most striking landmarks of the Harbour will have passed away.'



Figure 7. MacGrath's Castle after the collapse of January 1916.

**AN MAOR AGUS AN MEIRLEACH
(THE MAYOR AND THE OUTLAW):
A POSTSCRIPT TO THE CARRICKSHOCK AFFRAY, 1831**

by **Richard Lahert**

Dramatis Personae

The greater part of this article can be said with absolute truth to have been written one hundred and sixty-two years ago.¹ It can also be described as a phase in the lives of three individuals named A, B, and C or, to give them their proper names, Alcock, Badge and Cane (also Kane, Keane, Kean, Cain). Aspects of the wide-scale search for William Keane, the principal leader in the tithe-war battle at Carrickshock, are revealed by a series of letters from the pen of the mayor of Waterford, Henry Alcock, in 1832, his informant being one Charles Badge. These letters are to be found in the Outrage Series of documents in the National Archives, Dublin. The following paragraphs are introduced simply to provide a background to the better appreciation of Mayor Alcock's letters, which might otherwise be difficult to place in context. It is not intended to analyse these letters or to pass judgement on Charles Badge in his guise as 'secret agent', nor to censure Mayor Alcock's apparent ingenuousness, except for an odd brief comment. Readers will, no doubt, draw their own conclusions.

The Alcock family needs no introduction to those interested in the social and political history of Waterford.² The name Charles Badge will hardly ring any bells, but to some extent Mayor Alcock's letters help to 'reanimate' him, though he does not emerge as a very likeable character, less still as dependable, despite the Mayor's repeated assertions to the contrary.

The third character, the hedge schoolmaster William Keane, arrived in the Ballyhale area in 1830, having come from the Gowran district. He is believed to have been a native of either Co. Kerry or Co. Carlow. The vicar of the union of Knocktopher, Dr Hans Hamilton, in evidence before the Select Committee in Tithes, 1823,³ stated that Keane's father was 'chapel clerk in some chapel in the barony of Iverk' and that his son William 'was a man of bad character and was transported in the rebellion of 1798..... He set up a school himself in Ballyhale; he lives about at different farmhouses'. Dr Hamilton confirmed that Keane came into the district in the summer of 1830 and immediately began to stir up trouble - a common occupation of hedge schoolmasters! He 'denounced tithes in general, and church tax, and denounced myself, and said I ought to be torn limb from limb.... He influenced the minds of the people.' On Sundays Keane was to be found at the Carmelite church in Knocktopher, perched on a table, from which he harangued those who wished to listen, 'making use of the most inflammatory language' and preaching hatred of parsons, proctors, tithes and church cess. The youth of the area appears to have been particularly attracted to him. Sub-constable William Keegan, then stationed in Hugginstown ('my liver was bad and I was stationed there for three years'), removed an illegal notice posted on the chapel gate in February (1831). Keane lost no time in proceeding to the barrack and warning Keegan that the day would come when he would have his revenge.

1 Outrage Papers (Chief Secretary's Office), National Archives. I would like to thank the staff of what was then the State Paper Office for making the letters available for consultation some eight years ago.

2 See, for instance, T. P. Power, 'Electoral Politics in Waterford City, 1692-1832' in Nolan, Power and Cowman, *Waterford History and Society*, Dublin, 1992, pp 227-264. [re Alcock]

3 *First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the collection and payment of tithes in Ireland*, H. C. 1831-2, i, q. 44-49.

The 'Affray' at Carrickshock⁴

About noon on Wednesday 14 December 1831, eleven of the County Kilkenny Constabulary, their officer Chief Constable James Gibbons, a press-server named Edmund Butler, and three local men lay dead on a Carrickshock boreen in the Walsh Mountains, a few miles from the village of Knocktopher, midway between Kilkenny and Waterford. An estimated 2,000 men, women and children from the surrounding areas had answered the ringing of the chapel bells, intent on punishing the obnoxious butcher-cum-process-server employed by Dr Hamilton's tithe agent, James Bunbury, in serving processes for tithe. His insulting behaviour on the previous two days had exasperated the long-suffering peasants beyond endurance.

Dr Hamilton was regarded by his parishioners, Catholic and Protestant, over a thirty-year period, as a charitable and humane gentleman of the 'black coat' class. Like him or not, they had to put up with him! He collected his tithes in the rich union of Knocktopher, composed of five parishes, in the amount of £1,700 per annum (the second highest in the diocese of Ossory), with remarkable zeal and regularity. He was creative of a spirit of resentment and animosity among his parishioners (in which category Catholics were included) by reason of his arrogance and resistance to compromise on the position of tithes in two of his parishes, Knocktopher and Aghaviller. In addition, he built an unnecessarily high wall about a new church in Knocktopher, proposing to levy the cost on parishioners. They objected, forcing Dr Hamilton to dig into his private funds. Dr Hamilton justified the high wall as a precaution against stone-throwing youths; most parishioners believed it necessary to save him from being shot while at prayer!

The affray at Carrickshock was over in a matter of five or ten minutes from the bayonetting of James Treacy by two policeman, as he endeavoured to drag the process-server from among the police ranks, and his instant shooting by Capt. Gibbons. The latter and the process-server were immediately struck down, Gibbons killed instantly, Butler lingering on for a few hours. The police fired some twenty rounds but could not reload their carbines, so great was the pressure exerted on them by the mass of people, and were forced to resort to their bayonets, which were snatched away as a hail of rocks and stones were showered upon them. Primitive weapons - sharpened pitchforks, scythes, wattles, mallets and hurleys - were now used to inflict terrible injuries and death. The affray ended as suddenly as it had begun. Wounded and uninjured policeman, together with peasants, were fleeing side by side from the scene of carnage - even helping each other in at least one instance.

The 'Carrickshock affair' contrasted sharply with other tithe-war 'battles', in which the inevitable outcome of unarmed peasants coming into conflict with trained and well-armed police, military and/or yeomen was a brutal massacre. The police party at Carrickshock suffered a rout, a humiliating defeat. It is generally accepted that the attack was unpremeditated, though the suspicion remains that William Keane, prominent in glazed peak cap and coloured scarf, and a close-knit clique of loyal friends, were intent in their resolve to mete out punishment and even death to the process-server. The massacre of the police was largely attributable to the incompetence and gullibility of Capt. Gibbons, by all accounts a gentle, brave and well-regarded old soldier.

The search for the alleged perpetrators of the slaughter of the police was instantly undertaken. The entire area about the scene was saturated with the Kilkenny aristocracy, magistrates, dragoons and troops - police were conspicuously absent. It is at this early stage, the day after the affray, that the mayor of Waterford makes his entrance. One must ask why. The massacre did take place about twelve miles from Waterford and it was most likely that the perpetrators would go 'on the run' and seek refuge in the fastness of the Walsh Mountains. Mayor Alcock was a justice in the commission of the peace with jurisdiction in Co. Kilkenny as well as in Waterford. Perhaps he was now presented with an opportunity to display his loyalty to the Castle authorities, from which he might derive benefit anon. The affray had taken place in the district of

⁴ For detail and context see Michael O'Hanrahan, 'The Tithe War in County Kilkenny' in Nolan and Whelan, *Kilkenny History and Society*, Dublin, 1990, pp 498-9.

the popular J.P., William Morris Reade, Rossenarra House, Kilmoganny. He was a member of the well-known Waterford family of Morris. His father William, also a J.P., married firstly Jane Hackett, by whom he had a daughter Martha Jane, who married M. A. Alcock. He married secondly, in 1785, Mary, daughter of Shapland Carew, M.P., Castleboro, Co. Wexford. Their eldest son was William Morris, who married Martha, daughter of Richard Reade of Rossenarra and assumed the name of Reade in order to claim his inheritance.⁵ This marriage connection between Alcock and Morris, as well as the families' long political relationship in the affairs of Waterford Corporation, may help to explain Mayor Henry's almost paranoid obsession with the capture of the 'sash man', William Keane. Had he succeeded in his ambition, his reputation would have been greatly enhanced.

The Mayor's Mission⁶

On 15 December 1831 Henry Alcock, mayor of Waterford, informed Col. Sir William Gosset, Under-Secretary of State, of his prompt assiduousness in the search for the alleged murderers. He wrote:

I beg leave to inform you, for the information of the Lord Lieutenant, in consequence of information received by me from the neighbourhood of Mullinavat in the County Kilkenny, distant about seven miles from this city, as to the excited feelings of the county people there; at which place the serjeant of the party of police which yesterday met with so horrid a fate as I at present understand the only individual of the party who had escaped being [murdered] had arrived very badly wounded. Under these circumstances I have deemed it advisable to order one hundred rank and file of the 77th Regt at present quartered in this city, with the usual number of officers, to proceed to that village to aid if necessary the civil power in the prosecution of the peace.

His next communication with the Under-Secretary is dated 10 January 1832. It reads as follows:

There is a publican residing in the county of Kilkenny near this city [which subsequent reports named as Charles Badge] who has offered to set William Keane, the schoolmaster of Ballyhale, against whom I have a warrant for being the leader of the party that murdered the police in that neighbourhood on the 14th December last, so that he, Keane, may be arrested, provided Government will (in the case of his being found out as the person who gave such information, which would oblige him to fly the county) promise to provide for him, by giving him a situation of from £60 to £70 per annum, such as that of tidewaiter or the like. The man who can be induced to give this information is a person that I think may be depended on. He was formerly in the police but resigned from that body. He was originally a Protestant but has changed his religion. The reason, he states, for his doing so is solely that he would not get custom in the way of business where he lives did he not do so. Under these circumstances, the person I above alluded to possesses the entire confidence of the lower orders and consequently can and will, I am persuaded, give much useful information on the present unfortunate state of the county of Kilkenny, provided his terms be agreed to. As mayor of Waterford and a magistrate for the county of Kilkenny, I shall be always ready to carry into effect the wishes of Government, and I beg leave respectfully to urge the necessity of an early reply to this communication.

5 See H. F. Morris and T. Reade-Duncan, 'The Reades of Cos Tipperary and Kilkenny', *Irish Genealogist*, vol. 8, parts 2 and 3 (1991, 1992), esp. pp 26-44.

6 All quotations from Outrage Papers (Chief Secretary's Office), National Archives, as per dates given.

A further letter followed two days later, again addressed to Sir William Gosset:

Since writing to you on the 10th inst. I have received the following intelligence from the same informant as mentioned by me in that letter, that William Keane wrote a few days ago through the post office of New Ross to some attorney in Dublin, enquiring from him if he could procure for him a safe passage in any vessel from Dublin. My informant also states that, should a favourable answer be returned to my application to Government in his behalf, that he will engage to go to the Castle in Dublin, should Keane have left this county, and give such information to you as will ensure his arrest there. I am sure I need not urge dispatch in answering this letter, as you must see the absolute necessity of doing so, if it be the intention of Government to act on the information it contains. My informant also states that, in company with another man, whom I also believe can be depended on, [he] went a few nights ago, each with a gun, to a lake near their residence for the purpose of shooting wild ducks, and in passing a forge, they saw a light in it, and believing from the state of the county that it was pikes that were making in it, one of them, in order to ascertain the fact, fired a shot near the forge, when immediately the fire in said forge was put out and there was not a stir to be heard inside it. They then proceeded and on their way passed another forge, into which they looked and there saw three persons in it making a pike. This information I firmly believe to be true and since I last wrote to you I have additional reason for believing that my informant is a person who can be depended on, and one who I believe would come forward without any remuneration whatever, were he in any manner independent of his circumstances.

The Under-Secretary replied to Mayor Alcock on 13 January, saying:

Having laid before the Lord Lieutenant your letter of the 10th instant respecting a conditional offer made by a publican residing in the county of Kilkenny near Waterford, to set William Keane the schoolmaster of Ballyhale, whom you have a warrant for, being the leader of the party in the murder of the police in that neighbourhood. His Excellency in reply directs me to acquaint you that the moment the man is in custody upon the information of the publican to whom you allude, the latter shall receive the sum of one hundred pounds and the service will be borne in mind, but no stipulation can be made on the part of the Government.

Alcock's letter was endorsed as follows:

Thanks for his communication. If informant is not satisfied with the terms proposed by my letter, the Mayor is authorised to enter into the best he can for the object in view, which will, there is no doubt, meet His Excellency's approbation. With regard to the manufacturing of pike heads, it is very important that the information should be obtained, so as to make seizure. This matter can be arranged upon the arrival of the informant in Dublin. Of course, the payment of the reward must be upon the condition of the success of the arrest of Keane. Done. W. G[osset].

A sum of £100 was being offered generally for information leading to the capture of Keane. The castle was not outdoing itself in generosity in the offer made to Mayor Alcock, but it brings to mind the words written by Chief Constable Kiely: 'I have ever found that very little good can be effected without [money]'. Kiely and Major Thomas P. Vokes, a stipendiary magistrate, had been drafted into the Co. Kilkenny area, both being of the 'heavy gang - special branch' class (!), who had been involved in the nefarious 'Doneraile conspiracy' trial (see Canon Sheehan's

Glenanaar). Vokes wrote: 'We could never succeed in obtaining information without approvers.'

Mayor Alcock's next letter is post-marked 'Waterford, Jan. 18, 1832'. It was addressed as usual to Sir William Gosset, Under-Secretary of State. It reads:

Waterford. Wednesday evening. Eight o'clock. This moment, the bearer, who is the publican I have written lately to you about, whose name is Charles Badge, has discovered that William Keane has left this neighbourhood on this day for Dublin, in order to effect his escape from that city. The bearer has also found out where Keane stop't when he was lately in Dublin ever since the Hugginstown affair, as well as every other circumstance of which he is possessed he has directions from me to inform you. All I shall say is that I firmly believe he can be depended upon. He will use every exertion to arrive in Dublin before Keane, and the moment he arrives he will wait on you with this letter. I have advanced him ten pounds to pay his expenses. The bearer can give some very useful information on the present state of the County Kilkenny.

N.B. On second thoughts I send you this by post. The place where Keane stop't was at Pierce McDaniel's, No. 2 Dawson Lane, Dublin. You may expect Charles Badge very shortly after you receive this.

In all probability a letter or two was exchanged with the Under-Secretary in the period between 18 January and the next on record, dated 22 February, in which the mayor of Waterford went on to say:

I beg leave to inform you that Charles Badge since his arrival from Dublin has been actively engaged in seeking for intelligence respecting the present disturbed state of the County Kilkenny, and from what he has lately learned there can be no doubt that Keane was in Dublin the exact time that Badge was with you at the Castle, having gone there and returned by the canal boat, and was with Mr Costelloe in that city.

Patrick Costelloe was a solicitor resident in Dublin and a partner in the Kilkenny firm of Kelly, Poe and Costelloe. He was attorney for the Carrickshock prisoners, doing everything that 'well tried ability and zeal' could do to secure their liberation. He had acted also for the Newtownbarry peasants. To continue the Mayor's letter:

Badge yesterday went to Ballyhale, in the neighbourhood of which place Keane now is, having some reason to think that he will be enabled to give Mr Burke, Chief Constable of Police of that station, such information as will ensure his arrest. Badge has latterly mixed much with the lower order in the County Kilkenny, whom he represents (when the question of tithes is settled) as determined to legislate about rents by compelling landlords to set them ground for what they may choose to offer. This I have reason to believe correct from information I have rec'd from various quarters.

I shall thank you to remit me at your convenience ten pounds, which sum I advanced to Badge on his going to Dublin.

It would be well to watch the canal boats, for should Keane go again to Dublin, which I don't think unlikely, before the assizes of Kilkenny, he will in all probability go there by that conveyance.

On 27 February, the Under-Secretary replied to the Mayor: 'I beg to thank you for the useful information you have given respecting Keane, and agreeably to your request endorse ten pounds for Badge.' Others besides the Mayor were claiming expenses at this date. Major George Browne, Inspector of Police, writing from Kilmoganny to the Under-Secretary on 17 March,

acknowledged 'the first half of £10 to indemnify Chief Constable Burke for expenses attending the search for Cane and others concerned in the attack on the police at Carrickshock'. Browne had to remind the Under-Secretary four days later that 'the second half of the note has not yet been received'. He must have been a very relieved man when the missing half of the bank post bill arrived on the 21st!

Mayor Alcock's next communication with the Under-Secretary is dated 19 March. He wrote:

I beg leave to inform you that Charles Badge was in company with Cane the Ballyhale schoolmaster on Tuesday evening at the rere of Mr Arthur Belcher's house in the county of Kilkenny. He also saw [Nicholas or Nick] Murphy of Kiltorkan, another of the leaders at Carrickshock. He has also seen, in the forge at Barthw Kehoe or Shalloloe, when passing at night, 15 or 16 men in the same forge with a quantity of firearms in their possession, amounting to at least 7 or 8 stand, which were brought there for the purpose of being repaired. The forge is within about three miles of this city and which I beg leave to appraise you I should now search, having reason to believe that should I do so by night I would succeed in obtaining several stand of arms and perhaps arrest some bad characters in it, but fearing that doing so would induce Cane to leave the neighbourhood and consequently prevent my being able to arrest him here, which I have strong grounds for believing I shall be shortly able to effect.

The Under-Secretary replied on the following day - compliments of a fine postal service!

I have this moment received your communication of the 19th instant. The apprehension of Cane is of so much importance that I do not consider it advisable to take any steps which might render his capture less probable. I however think that a search warrant in the case of Barthw Kehoe should be in your hands, to be made use of whenever you think proper.

P.S. I enclose you a form which upon being filled and signed by two magistrates of the county and returned to me, no time will be lost in forwarding the Lord Lieutenant's warrant for the proposed searching of Kehoe's premises when that proceeding shall be deemed advisable.

On 22 March the Mayor was again in communication with the Under-Secretary in the following terms:

I yesterday received your letter enclosing a form of certificate to be signed by two magistrates of the county of Kilkenny, to ground a warrant from the Lord Lieutenant to me to search the premises of Bartholomew Kehoe (a smith, whom I have represented to you as a person in the habit of repairing firearms and making pikes for the disaffected peasantry of said county). In answer thereto I beg to inform you that as I have at present in my possession the late Lord Lieutenant's warrant authorising me to search for arms in, within, and throughout the baronies of Iverk and Ida in the county of Kilkenny, in the latter of which Kehoe resides, I do not think it necessary to make use of the form you have forwarded me.

Since I last had the honour of writing to you I rode incog. to reconnoitre the premises of Bartholomew Kehoe, and never did I see a place better adapted for carrying on the purposes with which has has been charged. However, great caution must and

shall be used in stirring in this business as I consider it very secondary to the arrest of William Cane, of whom I trust I shall have to give a good account ere long.

The correspondence between the two gentlemen continued, but the capture of the *meirleach* Keane by Charles Badge was unlikely to succeed. The Mayor's next missive to Col. Gosset after a lapse of only two days, is dated 24 March. It states:

I think it proper to communicate to you that William Kane was in this city last night, but I am sorry to add that he has for the present evaded justice, having this morning returned to the Co. Kilkenny. I beg leave also to inform you that a party of police, accompanied by two of Mr Dillon's sons who went to Cane's father's house on Thursday for the purpose of searching for his son, were very near being murdered, for had they remained a quarter of an hour longer in the house they would, I am persuaded, have been so, as a thousand men met at the foot of Tory Hill on hearing the circumstances and proceeded to the house for that purpose, but very fortunately the police party had left it a quarter of an hour before they arrived at it. The night after, that is last night, between two and three hundred men met at the same place and had at least 50 stand of arms with them and vowed vengeance against Mr Dillon [Bartholomew Dillon, J.P., Ballyquin] and his family, which under the circumstances I have this day communicated to that magistrate, Mr Dillon residing about seven miles from this city in the county of Kilkenny. As I don't know how deeply concerned Murphy of Kiltorcan is in the Carrickshock affair, I would wish to know from you whether you would think it advisable to arrest him before Cane is taken. [Nick Murphy was never arrested] I don't like to do so, fearing it might in any measure prevent the capture of Cane.

I think it right also to mention that a letter appears in the *Waterford Chronicle* of this day purporting to be from William Cane and dated Liverpool, March 13th, and directed to a friend of his at Knocktopher, stating his arrival in that town on his way to America, which letter I have reason to know was yesterday evening sent by Cane himself when in this [country] for publication.

The *Waterford Chronicle* of Saturday 24 March carried the following report to which the Mayor had referred:

By the subjoined extract of a letter which we have received this day it appears that Kane of Hugginstown celebrity has given the slip to the police, who have been scouring the country for him in every direction during the last two months:

'Liverpool, March 13, 1832.

My dear John, I have, thank God, reached this in safety, and will before this reaches you be on my way to America. I have taken my passage on board the ---- bound to ----- and hope in six weeks from this to be in the land of Liberty, where parsons, police and their bloody doings are unknown. Immediately on my arrival there I will write to you. Remember me to the poor boys of Carrickshock, and in particular to ----- whose attentions I will never forget.

I am, dear John, ever yours, William Kane.

To Mr John -----, Knocktopher.'

On the following day Mr Henry Harrison Briscoe wrote direct to the Lord Lieutenant as follows:

I have been informed on what I consider good information that Cain the Carrickshock leader is to be sent in a chest on board some of the vessels that is to leave Waterford or Ross for America or Newfoundland. There are some ready to sail, only waiting for a fair wind. If your Lordship agree with me, I think some Government warrants ought to be got to authorise the arrest of any vessel or place whatsoever and the detention of such vessel. If the warrants are directed generally we will put them into the proper hands, and as several must be on the look-out six or seven would be necessary and ought to be obtained immediately. May I thank your Lordship to direct me under cover to Mr Morris Reade, Mall, Waterford, not wishing any communication of any importance to pass through the Piltown post. Cain has been in this neighbourhood for several days, but not now; we had made arrangements to take him.

William Morris Reade, the Kilmoganny Justice of the Peace threatened with death after making several arrests of 'murderers' of the police at Carrickshock, was suffering from depression and anxiety. His brother, the Rev. Benjamin Morris, J.P., wrote (without informing William) to Lord Ormonde, Lieutenant of Co. Kilkenny, explaining the position and requesting the appointment of a temporary stipendiary magistrate in the Kilmoganny area. The request was granted and Wm. Morris Reade retired pro tem. to Waterford, where his wife was already in residence as a safety precaution.

Mr Joseph Greene, Resident Magistrate of Co. Kilkenny, in a report to the Under-Secretary, 28 March, wrote: 'Kean not apprehended yet. Lord Ormonde has given me the enclosed note to enquire if the law advisers will direct such warrants as are required to Mr Morris Reade.' The Under-Secretary replied on the following day enclosing a bench warrant for the apprehension of Cane and advised Mr Greene 'that you use every exertion for the apprehension of Cane'.

On the same date Mayor Alcock wrote to the Under-Secretary:

I have now to communicate to you that Charles Badge has this moment informed me that William Cane is gone to Cork accompanied by his sister for the purpose of embarking there for either America or Newfoundland. Cane is dressed in a black frock coat, black pantaloons, new hat with crape on it, and has lately shaved off all his whiskers, and wears powder in his hair. Should you wish Badge to go to Cork in order to have him arrested there, he would wish you to get Mr Taylor, in your office, to write to him enclosing the letter to me, stating, as the clerk to Sir Josiah Coghill Coghill, he was desired to go to Dublin at once as there was some prospect of Sir J. C. C. getting him a situation. Badge wants this letter to shew his wife as an excuse for quitting his home, and to prevent, perhaps, hereafter there being any suspicion of his going to Cork after Cane.

N.B. Should you wish Badge to go to Cork, let me hear from you by return of post

The letter was endorsed: 'Dublin Castle, March 30, 1832. Mr Taylor has to acquaint Mr Badge that Sir Josiah Coghill Coghill wishes him to come to Dublin immediately, as Sir Josiah expects to be enabled to get him a situation', and a letter of the same date reads: 'Sir William Gosset presents his compliments to the mayor of Waterford and altho' he has no expectation of Badge getting Cane - still he would lose no chance. I think he had best go to Cork.'

Sequels and acquittals⁷

At this stage the Castle had obviously come to the conclusion (which others should already have reached) that Badge was an embarrassment. The elusive schoolmaster was variously reported in Waterford, Dublin, Cork, New Ross, Ballyhale, 'on the banks of the Suir between Piltown and the city of Waterford', in Co. Tipperary, and in his father's house. If we are to believe the contents of a letter which appeared in the *Dublin Times*, Keane seems to have had nerves of steel:

The conflict over, he returned to the village and the public house (i.e. that of William Voss of Hugginstown) with the air of a conqueror. He remained until the authorities were approaching, when, as the military entered one door, his escape was favoured by many who knew him. and he continued to be sheltered by his friends, although a reward is offered, it is said, for his apprehension.

On 20 April the *Pilot* assured its readers that 'it is now past a doubt that Kane ... has left Ireland and is a considerable way on his voyage to America' The *Morning Register* of 3 May, under the title 'A Kilkenny Con', riddled: 'How has the escape of Keane of Carrickshock fame been aided by the highest legal office in the Empire? Because he sailed on the Henry Brougham!', Brougham being then Lord Chancellor.

Meanwhile, on Ash Wednesday 1832, John Kennedy, one of the Carrickshock prisoners, had been tried at the Spring Assizes in Kilkenny. Collections throughout the country and further afield made it possible to secure the services of Daniel O'Connell to defend the prisoners. To the great annoyance of the authorities, Kennedy was not convicted. This was on the basis of two flimsy affidavits. One purported to prove that intimidation was so rife in county Kilkenny that an honest jury could not be found there (this being only a half-truth). The second affidavit related to a ballad which was being sung on the streets of Kilkenny lauding the Carrickshock 'murderers' in a way that might influence jurymen. Perplexed by this unexpected set-back, the authorities deferred further trials until the Summer Assizes but refused bail to the prisoners. O'Connell then left Kilkenny for Clonmel.

This may have caused Mayor Alcock to redouble his efforts, as immediately prior to the next Assizes he wrote to the Under-Secretary, again quoting Charles Badge, who

has informed me that he has been told by a person residing in the county of Kilkenny that all the pikes and arms for use of the ill-disposed peasantry of the county are buried in a certain place in the said county and that I have been offered to be shewn where they are so buried provided he, Badge, will consent to be sworn as a member of the Whitefeet ---- - [so that] he will be able to give such information as will lead to the seizure of a very considerable number of arms and pikes

The Under-Secretary replied by return (6 June), fatalistically (perhaps) giving Alcock the go-ahead.

Nevertheless, when the postponed hearing came before the July Assize in 1832 John Ryan got off a second time. This reportedly was because of the illness of a juror. However, the same happened a third time! Billy Voss, publican and cooper, of Hugginstown was likewise acquitted. The Crown would then appear to have abandoned the trial and all the Carrickshock prisoners were set free. At this stage the mayor must have given up, because there is no more on file from him and thus the egregious Badge disappears back into obscurity.

Nevertheless, the events of that December day in 1831 lived on in folklore. It was

⁷ References here as per dates given are taken from the following newspapers: *Kilkenny Journal*, *Kilkenny Moderator*, *Morning Register*, *Pilot*, *Waterford Chronicle*, *Tipperary Free Press*.

believed, for instance, that Keane was smuggled out to America thanks to the good offices of Lady Esmond of Ringville (per Rev. S. C. Foot, curate there briefly in 1832, in a letter of 4 Dec. 1884 describing to a friend the events of fifty years earlier). At about the same time a local committee erected an obelisk on the site commemorating the locals who had fallen. Equally noted were the Catholic clergy of the 1880s who had been involved in its erection.⁸ Ignored were the unfortunate Irishmen in Queen's uniform who were massacred in attempting to keep law and order. However, the victors dictate their own version of the past as is enshrined in a poem titled 'Farewell' in local circulation which is attributed to Keane:

I did escape before their face,
 They hunted me from place to place.
 A great defeat the tithes we gave
 And how we laid them in the grave ...

Farewell unto the loyal stock
 Who stood and fought at Carrickshock.
 I do implore my friends at home
 To agitate whatever come ...

The tithes arrears ne'er to pay ---
 Let each support his own.

⁸ At the base of the monument, as if inserted as an afterthought, appears the comment: 'Olso [*sic*] in memory of William Keane who was out standing [*sic*] in this cause.' Hon. Ed.

THE BLUESHIRTS IN WATERFORD 1932-1934

by Eugene Broderick

Part Two

The Blueshirts were very active, nationally and locally, for much of 1933 and 1934. O'Duffy estimated the membership at over 120,000 in 1934, though this figure was disputed. The Minister for Justice, P. J. Rutledge, claimed that the movement never numbered more than 20,000.¹ Whatever are the merits of these conflicting claims, it is clear that the Blueshirts did make an impact on the politics of Waterford city and county. But what kind of people joined or supported the organisation at local level, and what were their concerns?

Nature and concerns of the members and supporters

Eoin O'Duffy himself gave an analysis of national membership, declaring that 'over eighty per cent of the members are the sons and daughters of farmers with less than 10 acres of land, of agricultural workers and town workers'.² This statement was a gross misrepresentation of facts. The truth is that the Blueshirts generally attracted 'the disgruntled lower middle class, the fearful upper middle class, and anxious graziers'.³ Their ranks were composed mainly of wealthy cattle farmers and their families, not workers and peasants.⁴ John Healy, the journalist, remembering the period in Mayo, wrote:

Gradually you discovered that the Blueshirt people were all families of substance: they never got the free beef There was something of a tribute (however pejorative it sounded) in being called a Blueshirt.⁵

There is no reason to believe that the nature of the membership in Waterford differed dramatically from the national picture. However, the Blueshirts may have been stronger in Waterford city than in other places, due to the old Redmondite tradition and the association of Mrs Redmond with the organisation.

There were at least four factors which influenced people to follow O'Duffy. The government's conduct of the economic war was the main one. A meeting of farmers from all over Waterford, held in the Granville Hotel in March 1934, passed a resolution 'directing the attention of the government to the serious plight of the farming community owing to the fact that cattle are now unsaleable and that the majority of farmers have no cash reserves'.⁶ Most of those who were in the Blueshirts, alarmed at the implications of Fianna Fáil policy, would have identified with the sentiments of a Cumann na nGaedheal TD, spoken in Aghlish, and would regard them as an articulation of their motives for joining the organisation:

[It is] time for people who had a scrap of commonsense and spirit and courage left to come out into the open and with no uncertain voice to assert themselves against the prevalent pseudo-patriotism that is bringing the country to desolation and ruin.⁷

1 Ibid., p. 135.

2 *United Ireland*, 6 Oct. 1934.

3 K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800: Conflict and Conformity* (New York, 1989) p. 181.

4 Bew et al., *Dynamic of Irish Politics*, pp 48 -49.

5 J. Healy, *Death of an Irish Town* (Achill 1988), p. 24.

6 *ME*, 16 Mar. 1934.

7 Ibid., 4 Aug. 1933.

The Blueshirt-supported anti-rates campaign, which was strong in Waterford, also attracted members to O'Duffy's organisation.

The second factor was that Blueshirts were convinced that there existed a serious threat to the enjoyment of free speech by opponents of the IRA, in view of that organisation's declared hostility to Cumann na nGaedheal, and later to Fine Gael. A speaker at a Fine Gael meeting at Carrick in November 1933 thanked the Blueshirts for their loyalty and continued: 'It is quite certain that but for them we could not have a free election'.⁸ Patrick Lindsay, a former TD and Blueshirt activist, has written in a recent publication:

If it had not been for the presence and support of the Blueshirts, public meetings organised by Cumann na nGaedheal could not have been held in 1932 and 1933, such was the ferocity of the organised conspiracy against these meetings. The supporters of Fianna Fáil and the IRA, many of the latter just recently released from jail, some of whom had been convicted of very serious offences, set out deliberately and with malice to smash up these meetings The Blueshirts were born out of a need for self-defence. No less. No more.⁹

A deep distrust of Fianna Fáil was another motivation for donning the blue shirt. This attitude to the government party was a legacy of the bitterness of the civil war. Cumann na nGaedheal supporters were reminded during the 1932 election campaign of the unrest, disorder, destruction and anarchy of ten years before,¹⁰ while de Valera's role in the civil war and the destruction wrought by that struggle were highlighted a year later.¹¹

This fear of Fianna Fáil was exacerbated by the belief, commonly held by the party's opponents, that it enjoyed a close relationship with the IRA. In the Dáil, Cumann na nGaedheal accused the government of being impregnated with IRA doctrines¹² and taunted it with the allegations that any person who wished to know the Executive Council's next decision could read it in the pages of *An Phoblacht*, the republican organ.¹³ A 1932 election advertisement claimed 'the Gunmen want a Fianna Fáil government.'¹⁴ The penumbra of violence, even anarchy, was attached to de Valera's party. At a Cumann na nGaedheal election meeting in Broad Street during the 1932 campaign, a letter was read out, which it was claimed had been received from a priest in Ardmore. It stated that Sean Mansfield, a Fianna Fáil candidate, had said that in the event of a defeat for de Valera, guns would be brought out; he (Mansfield) had fought Cosgrave's party before with guns and would do so again.¹⁵

It was the firm conviction of many Blueshirts that the government's partiality towards the IRA was evident in the unfair enforcement of law. Undue severity was applied to those associated with the activities of Fianna Fáil's opponents, while IRA supporters appeared to enjoy an immunity from prosecution. The heavy-handed justice meted out to nine Gaultier farmers was deplored, de Valera being accused of having his own variety of the Cheka (Russian secret police) to harass his political enemies.¹⁶ A striking contrast was noted when it was claimed, at a Fine Gael meeting, that murderers, assassins and bombers went unpunished, while ACA members were imprisoned, their only crime being the fact that some document was on them bearing the letters ACA or the words National Guard.¹⁷

Finally, members of the Blueshirts were influenced by a fear of a communist threat and

8 *Ibid.*, 24 Nov. 1933.

9 P. J. Lindsay, *Memories* (Dublin, 1992), p. 53.

10 *ME*, 12 Feb. 1932.

11 *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1933.

12 *Dáil Debates*, 47, 1 June 1933, 2165.

13 *Ibid.*, 49, 9 Aug. 1933, 1556.

14 *ME*, 12 Feb. 1932.

15 *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1932.

16 *Ibid.*, 13 Oct. 1933.

17 *Ibid.*, 6 Apr. 1934.

the urgent need to counter it. Dr O'Higgins, speaking at an ACA convention in Dungarvan, declared that the organisation was formed 'to oppose the spread of communism and its principles, whether it is called communism or is communism concealed by patriotic cries or labels'.¹⁸ At a Cumann na nGaedheal meeting a few weeks later, a speaker suggested that 'they should deal with the two-legged musk rats of the IRA and the communists'.¹⁹

While the economic motivation of membership was reasonable and understandable, what of the other factors which caused people to join the Blueshirts? Was there any truth to the claim of a communist threat, and to the variety of allegations involving the IRA and Fianna Fáil?

The reality was that there was no communist threat. De Valera informed the Dáil that police reports showed that the number of communists in Ireland was negligible.²⁰ He argued that 'this country is not a natural breeding-ground for communism and everybody knows it. It is opposed to our religion; it is opposed to our whole scheme of life'.²¹ Impartial contemporary observers agreed with him. An American political scientist, Warner Moss, commenting on Irish society, wrote that the communist movement was weak and 'in fact was little more than a handful of intelligentsia and a body of labour extremists'.²²

Yet this fear of communism was widely and sincerely held. This was due to the fact that Marxism was one of the major clerical fixations of the 1930s. Highly coloured evidence, presented to a pious and conservative people, appeared convincing to many. And there was no shortage of dire warnings! Canon Byrne warned of the stark menace of communism, 'the ugly monster which has already blown some poisonous breath through our land'.²³ In September 1933, the bishop of Waterford, Dr Kinnane, while on a visit to the convent of the Little Sisters of the Poor, spoke of the danger of the dissemination of the pernicious doctrine of communism.²⁴

If the fear of communism was misplaced, what about Blueshirt concerns that the IRA represented a threat to free speech? Many republicans were very hostile to Cumann na nGaedheal and did attack party meetings throughout 1932 and 1933. Such violence gave rise to legitimate fears among opposition supporters that the exercise of their political and constitutional rights was under threat. Normally, it is to the government they would have looked to vindicate these rights, but as Cumann na nGaedheal and Fine Gael saw it, Fianna Fáil was an ally of the IRA.

An examination of certain events and pronouncements during the period under review suggests that the Blueshirt perceptions of an association between de Valera's party and the IRA were understandable. Fianna Fáil released IRA prisoners on gaining office. At a party meeting in Waterford during the 1933 election campaign, which was addressed by de Valera, contingents of the IRA were reported as having been present.²⁵ Sean Goulding, commenting on the Fianna Fáil success in that election, stated that it was due to a great extent to the soldiers of the Legion of the Rearguard, a splendid body of men who had fought for Ireland when men were needed to fight.²⁶

At a meeting of the Pádraig Pearse (Barrack St.) Cumann in September, the following resolution was adopted:

That owing to the pro-British elements in the country banding themselves together under the name of the United Ireland (Fine Gael) Party, we appeal to all sections of the Irish People to defeat the unholy alliance; and we make a special appeal to the IRA to throw

18 *Ibid.*, 5 May 1933.

19 *Ibid.*, 30 June 1933.

20 *Dáil Debates*, 50, 1 Mar. 1934, 2496-2499.

21 *Ibid.*, 2500.

22 Quoted in D. Nevin, 'Radical Movements in the Thirties', in T. D. Williams (ed.), *Secret Societies in Ireland* (Dublin, 1973), p. 173.

23 *WN*, 10 Mar. 1933.

24 *Ibid.*, 1 Sept. 1933.

25 *ME*, 20 Jan. 1933.

26 *WN*, 3 Feb. 1933.

their lot in with us, and thus help, by a united front, to free the old country from its life-long usurpers.²⁷

Regarding allegations of impartial enforcement of law, the Blueshirts could point to the fact that the bulk of cases heard before the Military Tribunal in 1934 related to their organisation.²⁸ In those tension-filled days it was not unreasonable to have seen this as victimisation and persecution. However, the charge of government partiality in enforcing the law was inaccurate. During the same year, the rate of arrest and conviction of IRA members increased. De Valera's rapprochement with that movement had ended in 1933.²⁹ Extreme republicans were unimpressed by Fianna Fáil's moderate republicanism, while the government was no longer willing to tolerate the threat to its authority represented by the existence of the IRA. However, while he had changed his attitude to the Legion of the Rearguard, de Valera was unchanged in his determination to smash the Blueshirts. His continued efforts in this regard obscured his change of heart towards his erstwhile allies and explains why it was not apparent to Blueshirt supporters. In any case, O'Duffy's organisation was seen by de Valera and others as a very real threat to Irish democracy in 1933 and 1934. In the eyes of many of its opponents, the Blueshirt movement was fascist.

Allegations of fascism

The allegations that the Blueshirts were advocates of fascism and were seeking to establish a dictatorship were commonly hurled at O'Duffy's followers by their political enemies. *An Phoblacht* warned that the Blueshirts contained gentlemen who believed they were 'embryonic Hitlers'.³⁰ The communist *Workers' Voice* greeted the establishment of the National Guard with the observation, 'Fascism is here!'³¹ Labour Party and Fianna Fáil politicians were equally trenchant in their accusations of fascist leanings. De Valera described the Blueshirts as 'this new fascist movement'.³² Senator Johnson of Labour warned that 'the National Guard under the leadership of General O'Duffy was a new fascist organisation, a new Hitlerite organisation, with Irish associations.'³³

Waterford opponents of the Blueshirts reiterated these allegations. Frank Edwards was convinced of the danger of fascism developing from the blueshirt movement.³⁴ P. J. Little claimed that O'Duffy had started an organisation analogous to the movement in Germany.³⁵ *The Waterford News*, commenting on the formation of the National Guard, accused it of attempting to achieve by force the power which the people had denied it at the ballot-box.³⁶

The most vocal critics were activists in the labour and trade union movement. In March 1934, the Waterford Workers' Council adopted a resolution calling attention to the danger of fascism being preached from Fine Gael party platforms. A letter to the council from the National Executive had warned that the return to power of that party can, therefore, be confidently looked forward to as the precursor of fascism in this country with all its attendant misery and slavery for the workers and suppression of their trade unions, as well as abolition of democracy.³⁷

A labour demonstration was held on the Mall on 31 May to denounce fascism. It was described in the *Waterford News* as very large and successful. The various speakers denounced

27 Ibid., 29 Sept. 1933.

28 Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 130.

29 Ibid., p. 129.

30 *An Phoblacht*, 22 June 1933.

31 *Workers' Voice*, 5 Aug. 1933.

32 *Dáil Debates*, 17, 28 Sept 1933, 1934.

33 *Seanad Debates*, 17, 22 Aug. 1933, 1165.

34 U. MacEoin, *Survivors* (Dublin, 1980), p. 9.

35 *WN*, 11 Aug. 1933.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., 24 Mar. 1934.

what they termed the fascist policies of Fine Gael and one speaker declared that the labour movement would fight the fascist movement to the death.³⁸

Not surprisingly, these allegations of fascism were rejected by Blueshirt supporters. Mary Redmond dismissed the idea that she or any member of her party stood for anything which was not constitutional.³⁹ Patrick Lindsay has written of the alleged Blueshirt fascist tendencies thus:

As for the charge of fascism - that's total nonsense. Most of us [Blueshirts] did not know what it was and had we known we would have been totally opposed to it. We felt, and indeed we still feel, that our democratic credentials were impeccable.⁴⁰

Were the Blueshirts, in fact, fascists? The vast majority were not. In Professor J. J. Lee's opinion they 'were simply traditional conservatives, decked out in fashionable but ideologically ill-fitting continental garb'.⁴¹ These conservatives were reacting to economic circumstances and IRA threats, not seeking to promote an alternative social and political order. Pudgy middle-aged businessmen in blue shirts howling about cattle prices were not the stuff out of which revolution - even within a ballot-box - was made.⁴²

Why then was the allegation of being fascists directed at O'Duffy's followers? In the opinion of their opponents, the Blueshirts had a sinister aspect when viewed from the perspective of events in various European countries. Fascism was rampant on the continent. Ireland's shirt-wearers were seen as coming from the same mould as Mussolini's Blackshirts and Hitler's Brownshirts. The perception was articulated by Eamon de Valera:

We have not been unmindful of developments on the continent and elsewhere and we have not lost sight of the fact that apparently certain people in the country are organising themselves with a certain model in front of them.⁴³

The reality was that O'Duffy's organisation had adopted the methods and symbols associated with fascism and dictatorship in other countries. It was not unreasonable for their opponents to assume that the Blueshirts might have similar objectives and to accuse them accordingly. Moreover, in the hurly-burly of politics the accusation was the more frequently made because it was such a damaging one and was exploited by O'Duffy's enemies to good effect. They were little concerned about the accuracy of their political terminology; inflicting political hurt was their primary purpose.

Why the Blueshirts failed

Three factors were of significance in the failure of the Blueshirts. Eoin O'Duffy's leadership was one. In Professor Ronan Fanning's words, he displayed 'a wild, opinionated and bombastic style of leadership'.⁴⁴ Lindsay has written that it was a mistake to make him leader of Fine Gael; he never regarded the general as a man of judgement or one who could be trusted to stick to his script in a speech.⁴⁵ O'Duffy seemed unable to control his mouth. He displayed a certain verbal and political maladroitness, for example, in his predictions of success in the local elections and in his advocacy of the anti-rates motion in 1934. A comment in the *Waterford News* in August

38 *Ibid.*, 1 June 1934.

39 *ME*, 6 Apr. 1934.

40 Lindsay, *Memories*, p. 54.

41 J. J. Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 181.

42 Bell, *Secret Army*, p. 116.

43 *Dáil Debates*, 48, 16 July 1933, 2783.

44 R. Fanning, *Independent Ireland* (Dublin, 1983), p. 115.

45 Lindsay, *Memories*, p. 54.

1933 on the newly elected Blueshirt leader displayed great perceptiveness:

The doings of General O'Duffy still command attention. As a leader, he lacks foresight; nor does he always realise the implications of his words, as witness his bombastic pronouncements....⁴⁶

Later in the month the same paper wrote:

It is well known in Dublin that O'Duffy says far more to the journalists than what they actually publish; in fact he asks them not to publish certain of his statements.⁴⁷

The accusations of fascism directed at the Blueshirts did them incalculable harm. While the vast majority of members were not disposed to fascist doctrines, nevertheless they belonged to a movement the style of which was unmistakably continental, there being no shirted tradition in Ireland. The uniform, the salute and military structures were distinctive features of Blueshirt political identify and expression, one which they had adopted from, and shared with, anti-democratic forces in Italy and Germany. A belief in democratic values was an essential characteristic of Irish political culture. Any contrary suggestion was accordingly viewed with alarm. The opponents of the Blueshirts presented the organisation as fascist and anti-democratic, thus inflicting major political wounds on O'Duffy's movement.

Finally, the Blueshirts capitalised on one paramount issue - the impact of the economic war on farmers. However, the espousal of this cause was not calculated to win O'Duffy long-term support. There were three reasons for this. The Blueshirts were identified with the more prosperous farmers and there was little popular sympathy for this section of the agricultural community, which was characterised as being composed of rich ranchers. The championing of their cause, therefore, met with considerable popular indifference, even hostility. Second, the anti-rates campaign, with which the Blueshirts were associated, was resisted successfully by the Fianna Fáil government. This weakened the appeal of the campaign's supporters. In any case, that particular activity caused unease among the more traditional Fine Gael followers, who regarded it as unworthy of support by a party proud of its adherence to constitutionalism. Third, any improvement in the economic climate would weaken Blueshirt appeal. This improvement began, however gradually, in 1935, with the so-called Coal-Cattle Pact, whereby Britain accepted an increased number of Irish cattle in return for increased use of British coal in Ireland. Any movement towards a resolution of the economic war had an adverse impact on Blueshirt support.

Conclusion

The intensity of the political activity in Waterford in the three years 1932-1934 can only be understood in the context of the hatred and bitterness which were the bequest of the Civil War. One comment serves to illustrate the extent to which politics had been poisoned. Local condemnations by opponents of Fianna Fáil of the killing of calves were dismissed with the following observation - one replete with all the vitriol of a deeply ingrained animosity:

The sacredness of human life never troubled the conscience of any minister in the Cosgrave government nor any of his followers. Seventy-seven men were executed for the crime of loving Ireland. Is a calf worth more in the eyes of a Blueshirt than Erskine Childers, Rory O'Connor or Cathal Brugha?⁴⁸

46 *WN*, 11 Aug. 1933.

47 *Ibid.*, 18 Aug. 1933.

48 *Ibid.*, 18 May 1934.

The hostility which existed between the supporters and opponents of de Valera was heightened by the dramatic circumstances in which he came to power and by his government's pursuit of the economic war and other policies. Pent-up hatreds exploded. For the next three years, the struggle of the previous decade was restaged, fortunately in a relatively bloodless manner. To quote F. S. L. Lyons:

The coshes and knuckledusters, the programmes and slogans, the posturing of O'Duffy, the gang warfare between the Blueshirts and the IRA, were the last convulsive spasm of the fever that had been wasting the land since 1922 - they were the nemesis of Civil War.⁴⁹

This study has attempted to trace the history of a turbulent period in the life of Waterford. Though the Blueshirt interlude was of short duration, bitter memories lingered on, fuelling conflicting political passions and prejudices long after O'Duffy's movement had ceased to be of any significance. The passage of time allows for a more objective and dispassionate view of the early thirties, and enables us to understand and appreciate the actions and motives of the various protagonists in the events which made the politics of the city and county so exciting and dangerous in the years 1932-1934.

(Concluded)

49 F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (London, 1971), p. 536.

REVIEWS

THE WALLED TOWNS OF IRELAND, by Avril Thomas. Irish Academic Press, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1992. Vol. I, pp 197, £35.00; Vol. II, pp 257, £45.00.

Urban history is still very much the Cinderella of medieval historical studies in Ireland. It is only in the last ten to fifteen years that detailed studies in urban history have been undertaken and even then they have been confined to a handful of the more important towns and cities on the island. Avril Thomas's two-volume study of the walled towns of Ireland should rank with G. Mac Niocaill's *Na Búirgéisí* as an invaluable reference work for students of medieval Irish urban history. While Mac Niocaill deals almost exclusively with charters and other legal documents, Thomas's work concentrates on the urban defensive walls from the Viking period to the end of the seventeenth century, assessing and comparing their construction, function, design and cost.

Volume I provides a comparative study of the walled towns of Ireland, reviews the conceptual basis of towns and considers the nature and problems of the evidence available. The distribution of walled towns throughout Ireland is also examined from an historical and geographical viewpoint. This volume, which draws on both surviving structures and documentary evidence, provides a comprehensive investigation of site, shape, size (walled area and circuit length), structure (curtain walls, gates, towers, fosse, ramparts, castles, forts and harbours) and construction, including length of time and financial arrangements. Defensive and other uses for the walls are also considered.

The overall approach taken is that of a geographer interested in spatial relationships which are based in a historical context. No attempt has been made to date structures by examining the archeological or architectural evidence available. This does not, however, detract from the value of the work, which is by any standard a major undertaking. The text is interspersed with copious tables and lists and some 33 maps which are invaluable to any student studying the development of urban centres in Ireland.

From a Waterfordian's viewpoint the work makes many interesting observations. Firstly, the author claims that the six remaining towers in Waterford comprise the best collection of medieval towers in the country. In the comparative study the point is made that one cannot judge the importance of a settlement by the size of the area enclosed by walls. For example, Waterford was similar in size to Southampton, one of medieval England's most important south coast ports. Comparisons in the Irish context reveal a very interesting anomaly - the circuit of walls enclosing Dublin encompassed an area of only 20 hectares while the walls of Waterford (both sections) enclosed 23 hectares; however, the walls of New Ross, a town established in the early 13th century, enclosed 39 hectares.

The author's very plausible explanation for this is that new towns like Ross were prone to over-optimism while old cities like Waterford and Dublin were more interested in protecting what already existed. The case of Athenry tends to substantiate this theory. In the later middle ages the townspeople of Athenry built a wall which divided their town in two - the half nearest the castle continued to be inhabited by the townspeople while the remainder reverted to farmland and is still used for farming purposes today.

Volume II provides a gazetteer of 91 sites drawn up with standardised entries. Waterford occupies over ten pages packed with details relating the physical, map and documentary evidence relating to the city's walls. Starting with Reginald's Tower, each section of wall is described and both the primary and secondary sources which refer to that section under discussion are cited. The sheer quantity of sources mentioned is phenomenal and for this reason alone these two volumes deserve to take pride of place on every medieval historian's bookshelf.

Despite the almost exhaustive list of sources provided, there has been one omission which in the case of Waterford must be mentioned. The inquisition of 1224 from the Miscellanea of the Exchequer edited by K.W. Nicholls and published in *Analecta Hibernica* no. 27 is very important as it refers to Colbeck Gate, St Martin's Gate and Arundel Gate. Had this document been available to Ms Thomas she would not have dated St Martin's Gate to the second half of the 13th century. Another minor error is when she states that 'at Waterford shale is interspersed with the predominant limestone'. With the exception of St John's Gate, limestone is only used for the purpose of dressing door and window opes. Shale and old red sandstone are in fact the types of stone most commonly found in the walls in Waterford. The claim that the Waterford map dated 1673 is from the Dartmouth collection housed in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, is also incorrect and the Museum has denied all knowledge of it. The map's origin is still a mystery, nonetheless I would continue to doubt the suggestion forwarded by some historians that it is a 19th-century forgery.

All in all, these two volumes are a marvellous achievement and represent a major step forward in our understanding of the development of the walled town in Ireland. They will no doubt become handbooks for both medieval historians and archeologists alike and for this achievement the author deserves to be warmly congratulated.

Eamonn McEneaney

THE UNITED IRISHMEN, REPUBLICANISM, RADICALISM AND REBELLION. Edited by David Dickson, Dáire Keogh and Kevin Whelan. Lilliput Press, Dublin, 1993, pp 378 (cased £25.00, paperback £15.00).

Few events in Irish history have provoked as much historical writing as the United Irishmen and the 1798 Rebellion. Publications on how they were perceived by their enemies, how they saw themselves, and supposedly dispassionate accounts are numerous. Orange, green, red, and blue tinted glasses have all focused on the United Irishmen and their rebellion. Subsequent generations of Irish republicans have traced their political and ideological ancestry to Wolfe Tone and reinterpreted the 1790s to suit current political circumstances. The variety of pilgrimages to Bodenstown, Co. Kildare, is testament to the diversity of the appeal of the United Irishmen.

So much has been published on the troubled decade of the 1790s that all but the dedicated can get lost under the weight of paper. This need no longer continue; this book can lift the overburden of cant, polemic, political distortion and personal bias. The 1790s are of central significance for the history of Ireland over the past two centuries. The events of this decade ensured Ireland would never be the same as before; some have argued that since that decade it has never been much different. The trauma of the 1790s set in stone the fundamentals of Irish political life with which we still live.

This volume in twenty-two short chapters explores the United Irishmen from a variety of standpoints during the years preceding the rebellion. The first chapter by Tom Bartlett disrobes Wolfe Tone from the layers of garments later generations attired him in. Five articles examine the international influences and context of the United Irishmen, from John Brims's piece on the influence of Scottish radicalism to Martin Burke's study of the writings of United Irish exiles in America. Kevin Whelan's article 'The United Irishmen, the Enlightenment and Popular Culture' is a tour de force and at twenty-eight pages is the largest contribution in the book.

Other authors concentrate on the Irish context of the movement, such as W. H. Crawford's study of the Belfast middle class, and 'The Politics of Dublin Corporation 1760-92' by Jacqueline Hill. The internal structure and politics of the Society are examined in two fine articles by Louis M. Cullen and Tommy Graham. The role of the key individuals both within the movement and outside it is well explored with articles on Edmund Burke, John Fitzgibbon, Archbishop Troy and Tom Paine.

While the United Irishmen have endured repetitive reinterpretation over two centuries, the Defenders have suffered from massive misrepresentation or summary dismissal. Marianne Elliot's article on 'The Defenders in Ulster' goes a long way to redress this imbalance.

The contributors from five different countries and a variety of backgrounds illustrate the growing interest in this period of our history. Unusually for a volume which is the proceedings of a conference it reads very well, and while different readers will find various areas of more interest to themselves, they will not find a bad chapter within this volume. If you were to buy one book on this period, this is it and at £15.00 paperback it is competitively priced.

Jack Burtchaell

THE OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

The Society aims to encourage interest in history and archaeology in general, with particular reference to Waterford and the adjoining counties, and to promote research into same.

Lectures on appropriate subjects are arranged for the autumn, winter and spring.

Visits to places of historical and archaeological association are arranged for the summer.

The Society's periodical publication *Decies* is issued free to all members. Back-numbers of issues 1-48 (1976-1993), when available, may be obtained from Waterford Heritage Genealogical Centre, Jenkin's Lane, Waterford.

Membership of the Society is open to all. The subscription for 1994 is £10, payable direct to the Hon. Treasurer.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE FOR 1993-94

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OLD WATERFORD SOCIETY

Programme for Summer 1994

Sunday afternoon outings will depart from City Hall at 2.30 p.m.

Evening outings will meet at venue at 7.30 p.m.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| Sunday 8 May | Outing to Kilkenny Castle (meet at the Castle at 3.30 p.m.)
Guide: Mr Ben Murtagh |
| Sunday 22 May | Annual Coach Trip. Venue: Trim and Kells, Co Meath
A separate notice will be sent to members |
| Thursday 2 June | Evening visit to Christ Church Cathedral
Guide: Mr Eamonn McEneaney (member) |
| Sunday 19 June | Outing to Wexford County Museum, The Castle, Enniscorthy |
| Monday 27 June | Special outing to Aras an Uachtaráin
(for limited number of members) |
| Thursday 7 July | Evening visit to Carrick-on-Suir Heritage Centre and walk around
Carrick
Guide: Mr Michael Coady |
| Sunday 17 July | Outing to Kilmacthomas and environs
Guides: Mr Seán and Mrs Síle Murphy |
| Sunday 11 Sept. | Outing to Dunmain House and Berkeley Forest House near New Ross |

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

Lecture

The last lecture of the season, entitled 'Redmond Anthony - the forgotten antiquarian', will be given by Ms Mary Cahill of the National Museum of Ireland at 8.00 p.m. on Friday 22 April in the Committee Room, City Hall, Waterford.

Subscriptions

The subscription for 1994 is £10.00. Payment should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs Renee Lumley, 'Formby', 28 Daisy Terrace, Waterford.

Power Clan Rally

This will be held during the weekend of 10-12 June 1994. Details available from Mr Michael Power, Passage East, Co. Waterford. Phone 051. 82677.

THE BOOK CENTRE