Old Waterford Society

# DECIES

NO. XXVI.

SUMMER, 1984.

## DECIES

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# Summer, 1984.

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# COVER

A prospect of Waterford by J. Fisher 1772, showing medieval cathedral.

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The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland is to be congratulated on the publication of their booklet "Monuments in Danger", in which they draw urgent attention to the rate at which ancient monuments have been disappearing over the past 30 years or so. The loss of ringforts and other earthworks has been particularly severe - many counties show a loss of from 30 to 40%. Deep ploughing and the easy removal of ancient fences is, of course, the primary cause.

Inevitably,too, urban renewal and suburban expansion have caused or speeded up the disappearance of many monuments and have sealed off sites that had potential for archaeological investigation. In recent years, however, enlightened planning and the emergence of grants for conservation work have reversed this tendency. Here in Waterford we have evidence of this, especially in the stance taken by the Corporation in connection with the discoveries at Lady Lane/ Spring Garden Alley and their conservation work at Blackfriars. It is very heartening to find that the Corporation has an imaginative programme for future works that will include

- (a) a comprehensive redevelopment of the Railway Square area involving the opening up and restoration of the Watch Tower, provision of a Craft Centre within the Grady's Yard site whereby the city wall, which forms the south boundary of same, will be exposed;
- (b) restoration of the Double Tower at Castle St. and exposure of the north side of same by the formation of a "pocket park" extending from Manor St. westward,following the demolition of a number of the Parliament St. houses;
- (c) conversion of historic buildings to Corporation and public use, including the Deanery, the surroundings of the Bishop's Palace and the former temporary courthouse in O'Connell St.(originally Alderman Barker's 18th century house).

J. S. Carroll.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society took place at the A.T.G.W.U. Hall, Keyser St., on Friday, the 13th April. After the adoption of the Hon. Secretary's and Hon. Treasurer's reports, the Chairman, Mr. Noel Cassidy, announced that he did not wish to offer himself for re-nomination. Mr. Fergus Dillon was thereupon elected Chairman for 1984/5. Mrs. L. Gallagher was re-elected Vice-Chairman, Mrs. N. Croke Hon. Secretary, Mrs.R.Lumley Hon.Treasurer and Mr. D. Cowman Hon.Editor.

Mr. D. Holman was elected Hon. Press and Public Relations Officer.

Apart from officers, the incoming Committee consists of the following : -

Mr. Noel Cassidy (ex officio)	Mr. Frank Heylin
Mr. Stan Carrol	Mr. Patrick Kenneally
Miss Niamh Crowley	Mr. Jim O'Meara
Mr. Dan Dowling.	Mrs. Margaret Power
	Mr. Albert Thornton.

No. 10 of the Society's Rules was modified to make it acceptable for notice of a forthcoming A.G.M. to be conveyed to members by way of "DECIES" as an alternative to postal notification.

Notwithstanding the healthy financial state of the Society as revealed in the Hon.Auditor's (Mr. P. Brazil's) account,which was circulated, it was felt that it would be prudent to provide for an increase in the annual subscription. It was resolved, accordingly, that the latter should be increased from 5.00 to 6.00 with effect from the lst January, 1985.

Following the business meeting, the members present were entertained to a most interesting video film entitled "The emergence of the Decies" in which the narration was spoken by Mr. Des Cowman, who also had scripted and narrated it. The excellent photography was by Mr. Eddie O'Keeffe.

It was the unanimous opinion of those present that the film displayed a very high standard of professionalism and the promised sequel is eagerly awaited.

## QUESTIONNAIRE CORRESPONDENTS NEEDED

From time to time, the Department of Irish Folklore sends out questionnaires to a network of regular correspondents throughout the country. These questionnaires deal with various aspects of Folklore and are answered entirely at the convenience of the correspondent. The answers thus received are then bound and kept in the archives of the Department.

At the moment, we have only four questionnaire correspondents to cover the entire county of Waterford. Many more correspondents are needed. We are constantly trying to expand our network of correspondents and we welcome all newcomers. If you think that you would be interested in helping the Department of Irish Folklore in this particular aspect of its work, please write to :

> Rionach Ui Ogain, Department of Irish Folklore, University College, Belfield, Dublin 4.

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## KING JOHN AND THE CITY OF WATERFORD.

# by Eamonn Mc Eneaney.

John ruled both England and Ireland from 1199 until 1216. In English history he is best remembered for Magna Carta, the great charter of rights which the barons forced him to grant at Runnymede in 1215. In the history of Waterford John's importance lies in the Charter of Incorporation granted to the city in 1215. This (charter) was the first in a long series of charters granted to the city by English monarchs which bestowed upon the citizens rights and privileges that helped to make Waterford one of the most important settlements in the Anglo-Norman Lordship.

King John's relationship with the city of Waterford was not confined merely to the issue of various grants and charters. He took a personal interest in the well-being of the citizens and even visited the city on two occasions. He first visited Waterford in 1185 as Lord of Ireland. When he made his return visit in 1210 he was both Lord of Ireland and King of England. John, the youngest of Henry II's sons, was made Lord of Ireland in 1177. At this stage Henry seems to have envisaged the creation of a separate kingdom in Ireland which John and his successors would rule.<sup>1</sup>

John arrived in Waterford on the 25th of April 1185. Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh chronicler who accompanied him, noted that he neglected to pay the customary visit to St. David's Shrine in Wales and saw this as an ominous sign for the success of the visit. As far as the people of Waterford were concerned Giraldus's misgivings were well founded. John brought little luck to the Irish of the Decies who came to Waterford to pay homage. The princes were treated with derision by John's Norman retinue, some of whom pulled at the long beards of the Irish and ridiculed their style of dress. Melaghlin O'Faelain, Prince of the Decies, and his party immediately left Waterford and began to broadcast to the other Irish princes how their reception committee was rudely treated by 'The King's son, a mere stripling, surrounded and counselled by striplings like himself'.<sup>2</sup>

This was not, however, the only humiliation which the Irish of Waterford were subjected to. In the only real military measure known to have been undertaken by John on this trip he built three castles at Tibberaghny, Ardfinnan and Lismore. The purpose of these castles was to hold firm the Decies and use it as a base from which to advance into Munster. Clearly, John saw his function in Ireland as not only to consolidate the position gained by his father but to expand the Norman sphere of influence.Giralcus, however, was highly critical of John's treatment of those whom he called"our own Irish".He maintained that since the first invasion, undertaken by many of his own relatives, these same Irish had remained indisputably loyal. Giraldus's sympathy did little for the Irish of Co. Waterford. Nor indeed did John's action provoke more than silence from the majority of the Irish chiefs. They failed to unite against John and his party and their only protest seems to have been to ignore the prince and leave him to his own devices. What John did with the lands in Waterford is not very clear. The lands had always been part of the royal demesne and in the custody of Robert Le Poer until 1170.<sup>3</sup> Robert was killed in a battle with the Irish in that year and his lands and probably the custody of the county passed to his brother,William. Giraldus maintains that the lands in County Waterford were taken from the faithful Irishmen and given as a reward to those of his followers who accompanied him to Ireland. It is, however, possible that Waterford was created a shire at this time, although we have no direct evidence other than that two years before John's return visit in 1210 a Sheriff of Waterford was accounting for the county.<sup>4</sup>

The city does not seem to have fared any better than the county at the hands of John and his Norman retinue. Giraldus tells us that the custody of the maritime towns was given by John to men " who instead of using the revenue for the public good and the detriment of the enemy squandered it on excessive eating and drinking and that his followers staying within the seaport towns gave themselves up to wine and women, abandoning the countryside to the enemy".<sup>5</sup> How true this is we do not know. John did come to Ireland to seek adventure, having been bitterly disappointed by his father's refusal to allow him to go to the Holy Land.<sup>6</sup> While the stories of the excesses may be true it is possible that they were exaggerated and that John's good points were ignored by Giraldus. It must be remembered that Giraldus was related to the early settlers of John's father's time and he felt that the only good Normans in Ireland were those who predated John's visit. They were the only ones, to his mind, who knew how to deal with the Irish and run the country properly. John one time sarcastically remarked to Giraldus that he would be anxious to visit Ireland, if only he had as many relatives there as Giraldus!

John left Waterford sometime in 1185 and did not return until 1210. By this stage Richard I, his older brother, had died and John had become King of England in 1199. The possibility of Ireland becoming a separate kinguom from England had now vanished. In the meantime John made some important grants to the inhabitants of the city. In the year of his coronation he made a grant to the Hospital or Priory of St. John near Waterford. Among the privileges granted to the Benedictine monks there was one which stated that they could trade both within and without the city free from tolls or any other charge.<sup>7</sup> This was a very important privilege to any community living in a medieval town whose life blood was trade. The city's actual trading facilities were also enhanced in 1204 when John granted the city the right to hold an annual fair from the first to the eighth of August.<sup>8</sup> This was a very important privilege as it gave royal protection to persons going to or coming from the fair, thus The fact that the fair was held on certain dates helping to encourage trade. meant that merchants could note it in advance and thus organise the bringing of foreign traders to the city.

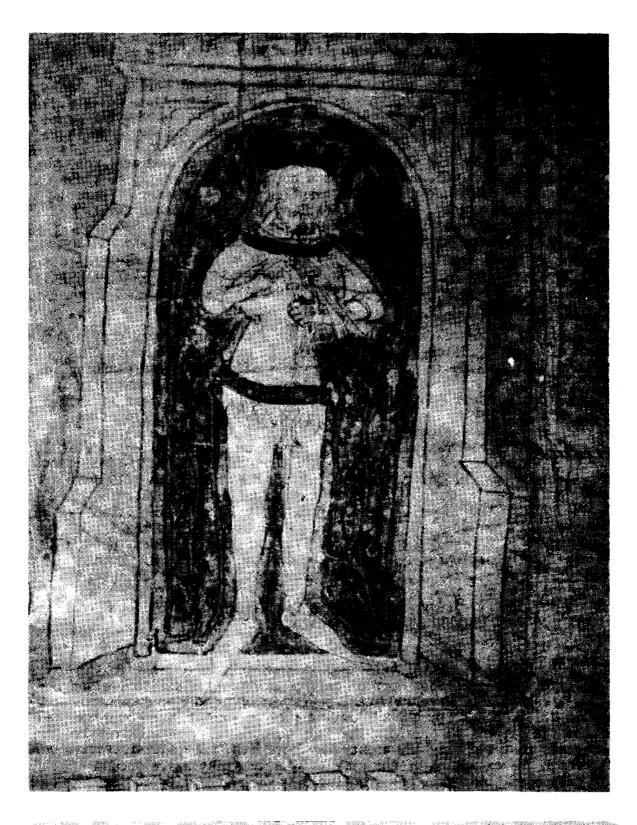
John returned to Waterford in 1210. His visit on this occasion was prompted by a desire to subdue the Norman magnates who were beginning to act independently of him.<sup>9</sup> Having landed in Crooke, John seems to have spent only one day in the city.It was probably on this occasion that he ordered the building of the city walls, for the account (dated 1212) of the Sheriff of the county of Waterford records that "The citizens owe £144-5-8 from the aid for fortifying Waterford".<sup>10</sup> The city may also have been extended at this time as Henry III's Charter of 1232 refers to grants of land made by John outside the city walls but within the city limits.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the wallbuilding activities being paid for in 1212 were prompted by the need to give some form of protection to the inhabitants of the extended city.

The greatest of John's gifts to the city was the Charter of Incorporation granted in 1215.<sup>12</sup> This very important Charter created the city as a separate entity from the county; made the citizens themselves responsible for the administration of justice within the city and granted the city a monopoly which forced all ships entering Waterford Harbour to unload at Waterford. This Charter is regarded as a forgery by many scholars. The Historian, A. Ballard. maintains that the charter as confirmed by James I in 1618 is incorrectly dated and that it contains a few unusual clauses which would not be found in an early 13th century text.  $^{13}$  G.H. Orpen agrees  $^{14}$  with Ballard and G. Mac Niocaill has omitted the Charter from his collection of Medieval Borough Charters in''Na Buirgeisi." Clearly there is a necessity to investigate these charges before we can credit John with the granting of this Charter. There are three areas to be examined. Firstly, what independent evidence exists which would prove that John issued a charter to the city in 1215? Secondly, is there any logical reason why the Charter was never enrolled on the Charter Rolls of King John and subsequently never referred to in any later Medieval Charter. Finally, it must be explained why the Charter is incorrectly dated and why in certain passages 14th century terminology is used.

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The independent evidence for the existence of a charter is very convincing. John is noted in English history for his interest in urban development. His charter to Liverpool in 1206 is the first conscious effort at urban planning in England since Roman times.<sup>15</sup> Waterford was the second most important city in John's Irish Lordship.It was a Royal Town, so it was only natural that it should receive similar attention as the Royal Towns in England had. The closer we get to 1215 the more evidence comes to light. In 1215 John was in serious trouble in England with the Barons. The King of France had the allegiance of many of the English Barons, and civil war stalked the land. Having lost his French possessions, Ireland was the only loyal area of his dominions. In 1215 John seems to have deliberately set about further consolidating the loyalty of his Lordship. The city of Dublin was granted a Charter in 1215.<sup>10</sup> The Irish Exchequer was told to buy scarlet cloth to make robes as gifts to the Irish chiefs<sup>17</sup> and Thomas FitzAnthony was made hereditary sheriff of County Waterford in 1215,<sup>18</sup> the first position of its kind to be created in Ireland. Much of John's show of interest during this troubled year must be seen as an insurance policy in the event of a forced retreat to Ireland to regroup for an attack on England - a possible strategy which was, in fact, discussed by John and his chief adviser, the Earl Marshal, Lord of Leinster.

On two accounts the events of 1215 suggest some sort of a grant to the city. As Waterford was the first port of call on any Royal visit to Ireland, its loyalty was essential. More important still is the grant to Thomas FitzAnthony in 1215. Under its terms Thomas was given jurisdiction over the county but not the city of Waterford. The fact that the city was expressly excluded suggests that the city and county had formed the same administrative unit up to this date. The exemption of the city left an administrative vacuum which could only be filled by either granting custody of the city to some Norman official, for which no evidence exists, or by a Charter of Incorporation, for which evidence does exist. Events which took place after the alleged grant of the charter are even more convincing. The charter gave the city monopoly rights to all trade entering the Harbour. It was issued on 3rd of July 1215. By 20th August John had issued an order allowing ships to land at New Ross provided no injury should result to the City of Waterford.<sup>19</sup> Surely such an order would never have been issued unless a charter existed which disadvantaged the Town of New Ross as the 1215 Charter to Waterford did. Clearly the political administrative and economic evidence suggests very strongly that a charter was granted to the City of Waterford in 1215.



An Illustration from the Great Parchment Roll, believed to be King John. (Courtesy Corporation of Waterford).

The reason for the absence of the Charter from the English Charter Roll and the lack of any reference to it ir subsequent medieval charters is to be found in events taking place in England between 1215 and 1219. The Lord of New Ross was William Marshal, the King's most loyal and faithful supporter.<sup>20</sup> It was probably William who raised the objection to Waterford's charter, having realised the consequences of it for his vill of New Ross. John did not revoke the right granted to Waterford but the mandate of the 20th of August suggested that an enquiry would be held. Clearly John was trying to placate William. The next we hear of the issue is in January 1219<sup>21</sup> when the Justiciar of Ireland was ordered to allow ships to ply through the lands of William Marshal, the Earl of Pembroke, the King's Guardian. This mandate shows that the Earl, by having Waterford's monopoly ignored, took full advantage of the position he now held in England. Before John died in October 1216 he asked William to forgive him for his transgressions and to take charge of his dominions until his son Henry III was old enough to rule. However, the Earl did not reign long in his exalted position, for he died in May 1219<sup>22</sup>, and by August the issue of Waterford's monopoly was again attracting attention. The Justiciar of Ireland on this occasion was ordered simply to prolong from Michaelmas to the ensuing Feast of All Saints (1st Nov.) the term which was granted to the Earl for ships to touch at New Ross.<sup>23</sup> This extension was given so that it might be ascertained whether or not ships could touch at New Ross without hindrance to Waterford. The death of the Earl Marshal paved the way for an inquiry and it was not long before a decision was reached. On the seventh of November, only six days after the extension to the Earl had expired, the King ordered that all ships shall as they used to, diverge at the Port of Waterford.<sup>24</sup> The removal of William Marshal from his prominent position in the English administration had cleared the way for the Citizens of Waterford to exercise their monopoly. However, all was not plain sailing for the city, as its monopoly rights were continually challenged by New Ross during the thirteenth century.

The lapse of four years between the grant of the monopoly rights to the city in June 1215 and the city's right to exercise that monopoly in November 1219 may explain the absence of the Charter from the Charter Roll. The Charter may not have been enrolled in 1215 because of the Marshal's objections its enrollment would have pre-empted the findings of any inquiry. Such an inquiry may never have taken place but, if it did, it was probably ignored because of the political turmoil caused, firstly, by the Barons and, secondly, by the death of John in October 1216. In the intervening three years complaints from the City of Waterford would have fallen on deaf ears. The Mandate of 1219 shows that the Charter of 1215 was ignored by the English administration over which William Marshal held great influence. The four year delay caused by the dispute over the monopoly rights probably resulted in the Chancery clerks forgetting to enroll the 1215 Charter. The fact that it was never enrolled would explain why it was never referred to again in documents issued by the Medieval English Chancery.

Finally, it must be explained why the Charter is incorrectly dated and why in certain passages 14th century terminology is used. In 1618 James I gave to the City of Waterford a charter in which he confirmed all the previous charters granted to the city.<sup>25</sup> Among the charters was one granted to the city by King John in 1215. This is the first official reference to King John's Charter. The only surviving official copy of it is printed in <u>Chartae</u> <u>Privilegia et Immunitates</u>. The source of the charter is given as E. Pat.Roll 15 James I M.5. p.5. The original English Patent Roll of 15 James I does not contain the charter.<sup>26</sup> Indeed the index to the James I Patent Rolls does not record any mention of a charter granted by James I.<sup>27</sup> The Irish Patent Rolls of James I were destroyed in 1922. Fortunately, a calendar was compiled during the 19th century. It was started by the Record Commissioners who unfortunately. stopped their work in 1830 when dealing with the 15 th year of James I.<sup>28</sup> When the work was recommended those responsible only recorded that the Charter of King John had been confirmed by James I. The reason for the omission probably rests on the fact that by 1830 the Irish Record Commission had printed the charter in <u>Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates</u>. The John Charter contained in this collection was obviously taken from the Irish Patent Roll of 14 James I.

The origin of the charter as contained in the patent roll of 15 James I helps to explain some of the mystery surrounding it. The King John charter which was confirmed by James was in all probability sent to the King by the citizens of Waterford. The Waterford Corporation possesses a roll containing many of the charters granted to the city by the Kings of England during the middle ages.<sup>2</sup> This roll includes the charter of King John which is identical to the charter confirmed by James in all respects save that the date given is 1215. This is the correct date as it agrees with the list of witnesses at the foot of the charter. The Henry III charter also confirmed by James I seems to owe its origin not to the English charter rolls but to the roll of charters which was in the possession of the citizens of Waterford. A comparison of the Henry III charter confirmed by James  $I^{30}$  and the original charter as contained in the calendar of charter rolls will reveal this. The charter of Henry III which was confirmed by James I contains the titles Provost or Bailiffs. The calendar of charter rolls contains only Bailiffs. The roll of charters preserved in Waterford contains the term Provost or Bailiffs. There can be little doubt that before the citizens of Waterford received the charter from James I they sent to Dublin the charters which they wished the King to confirm.

A. Ballard, G.H. Orpen and G. Mac Niocaill have ignored the Waterford roll of charters. By examining the roll an explanation can be found for the unusual clauses in the charter of King John. The roll is believed by J. T. Gilbert to have been compiled to commemmorate one of King Richard II's visits to the city during the 1390's.<sup>51</sup> The unusual feature of the roll is that it contains no reference to a Richard II charter. J.T. Gilbert maintains that Richard gave four charters to the city and he suspects that the charters were removed when Richard was deposed.<sup>32</sup> This is very likely as the roll is incomplete, having some of its end membranes removed.

I would suggest that the citizens removed Richard's charters shortly after he was deposed. On the 24th November 1399 the city had its charters confirmed by the new King Henry IV but none of Richard II's charters were confirmed. $^{33}$  When Henry IV refused to confirm the charters of Richard II the citizens probably decided that, rather than lose the privileges he had given them they would insert them in an earlier charter. The obvious charter for such an insertion was that of King John, as it was the oldest and naturally the one that the least was known about. The interpolations seem to be late 14th or early 15th century. Indeed the charter given to the city by Henry IV in 1413 contains references to waifs and strays and to the escheator.<sup>34</sup> It is not unlikely that one of the charters given by Richard II was similar to the Henry IV charter of 1413. This would explain the use of these phrases. Indeed there can be little doubt that the interpolations were late 14th or early 15th century, for the John charter contains terms such as "English rebels and Irish enemies", terms which would not have been used during the 13th or early 14th centuries .<sup>35</sup> The clauses inserted in the King John charter are probably a garbled version of a grant made to the city by Richard II. It is interesting to note that they are all contained in the second half of the charter. The roll of charters kept in Waterford has many signs of being interfered with. Apart from the fact that the Richard II charters seem to have been removed, many of the illustrations have the signs of having been removed and re-sewn. The top of the charter has a drawing of the city of Waterford but

on closer examination it becomes apparent that the drawing covers writing The original John charter may in fact be covered over by the underneath. paint of this drawing.

The critics of John's charter have placed too much emphasis on the 14th century interpolations and have ignored the positive evidence in favour of the charter, i.e. the administrative necessity for it; the monopoly rights it contains and the fact that it mentions the grant of an annual fair in 1204. The evidence as it presents itself suggests that only part of the charter was forged in the late 14th century. There is so much evidence for the authenticity of the remainder of the charter that we must give John the credit for giving the city its legal identity and helping it on its way to becoming one of the most prosperous towns in Anglo-Norman Ireland.

The charter of King John has given rise to much controversy in the past. As late as 1603, when Queen Elizabeth I died, it was still a contentious document when the Lord Deputy of Ireland went to Waterford to proclaim the accession of James I. When he arrived in Waterford with his army the Mayor refused entry to all except the Lord Deputy and his retinue. As authority for this refusal the Mayor referred to King John's charter, which he claimed gave the city the right to refuse entry to the army. The Lord Deputy was well aware that no such clause existed and he proceeded to threaten the Mayor that he would cut the charter of John with King James sword if he persisted in his refusal. The sword was, however, mightier than the pen, for permission was given and the army entered the city.<sup>30</sup> The 1215 charter which is the Birth Certificate of the city was saved and confirmed by James I 15 years later. This same charter which has caused so much controversy in bygone times is preserved in Reginald's Tower as a testimony to Waterford's proud and turbulent past.

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- 7. Wyse Manuscripts, Green Book, p.1.
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- G. H. Orpen, New Ross in the Thirteenth Century, p.8. Sir Maurice Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p.2. 19.
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- 21. C.D.I., 1171-1251, No.862.
- 22. Sir Maurice Powicke, op.cit., p.17.
- 23. C.D.I., 1171-1251, No.890.
- 24. C.D.I. 1171-1251, No.912.

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List of Abbreviations

- C. D. I. Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland.
- Cal. Pat.Rolls. Calendar of Patent Rolls.
- P.R.O.L. Public Records Office, London.

R.C. Record Commission.

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# by Rita Byrne.

The following words have been noted from conversation with various people in the Fenor area. In some cases the spelling is doubtful or there seems to be several pronounciations for the same word. While many of the words are widely used in Munster and Leinster, there are some local applications. These are indicated by reference to the standard useage given in Dineen's Irish-English dictionary. The List is probably not comprehensive and it is hoped that in future issues of DECIES others will contribute new words, or varient uses.

ainghis:	miserable,cold,consumptive. (Dineen: Aingceis-peevish; aindeis – wretched or miserable.
ainghiseoir:	a miserable looking person, in bad health. (Dineen: Aindeiseoir - an unfortunate person or thing)
Aileán:	a fool - "isnt he the right ailean". (Dineen: aillean - a good-for-nothing person).
amadan:	a fool.
amal,amlach:	awkward (Dineen: amal - a simpleton; amaille - a mischief).
amlóg:	a foolish woman.
Amlaish Night:	Hallowe'n "Are you going out amlaish tonight?".
Amalorum:	He's a right amalorum - half wit. Awkward person.
	(Dineen: Amaloir - a silly person).
Aghaidh fidil:	(pronounced "i-fiddle"): a mask or "you're a right
	i-fiddle with that on you", i.e. clown.
Beart:	a number of e.g. " I caught a beart of rabbits".
Buail-amach:	a shouting argument - 'Did you hear the bhail-amach between
~	Haughey and Fitzgerald on T.V. last night".
Ban:	small field near the house, calf field, haggard.
	(Dineen: a plain, lea ground, dry pasture land, a yard).
Boreen:	boisin - a lane.
Bogán:	an egg with a soft shell.
Buachalan bui:	rag-worth.
Brus:	small bits of sticks. "Go out and get some brus to start
	the fire".
Breagan:	a rocky, overgrown outcrop of rock.
Bóráns:	cow dung, dried and used for fuel for the fire when turf
	or coal was scarce in April and May.
Bothan:	hut or small house thatched - usually a hen house.
Baib:	a sour person (Dineen: badhbh - a vulture, a scold, a curser).
Baibh:	a ghost or bean-shee (often male).
Caibais:	caip-bais: "To put the caibaish on something" i.e. to
	be the cause of destroying it.
Caibi: (Kaw-bee),	caipin; a cap or hat.
Calamán:	"He's got a big calaman from America i.e. a legacy.
Ciotog:	left hand or left-handed person.
Cipin:	"Cipins for the fire", i.e.bits of sticks or brus.
Cish:	basket.
Clach glas:	a small green crab.
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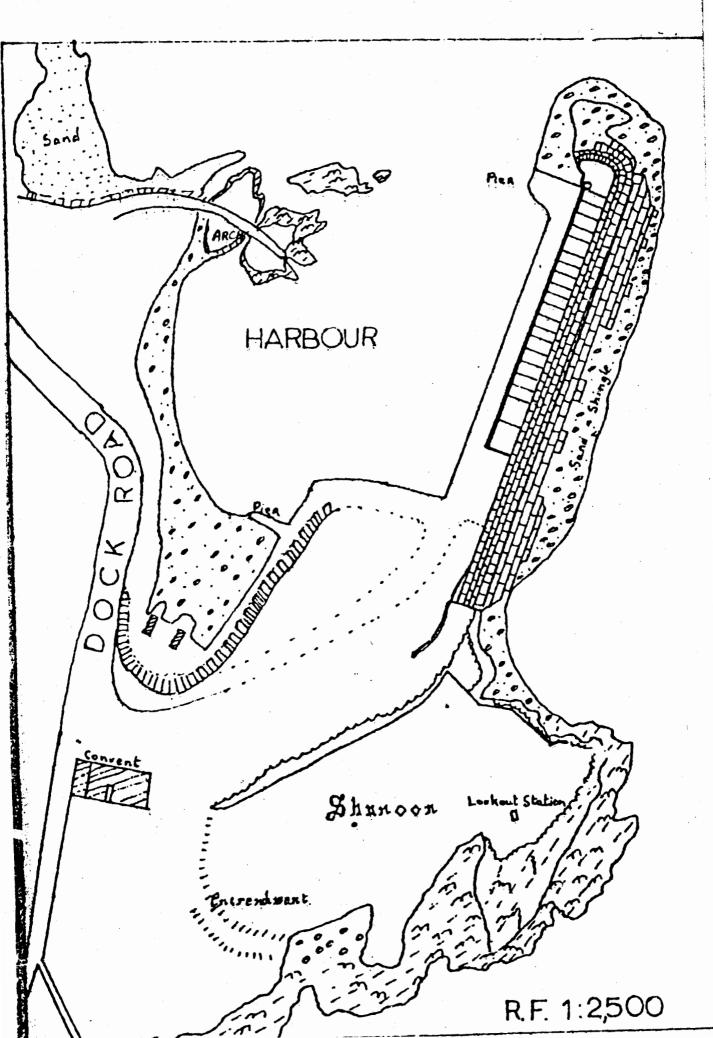
Cruibin: pig's foot. Cruiscin: a jug. core of an apple. Crit: Dabhar(dower): "There's no dower on that" - it looks good appearance. wrong Deorum: a drink of whiskey or punch, usually at a wake. (Dineen: a tear, a drop). Dearagadae1: a cock chafer beetle or beatle with pincers at the end of his tail. It bends up its tail like a scorpion if touched. School children chant -"Daragadael cock up your tail or we"11 be here till Sunday morning. (Dineen: Darbh-dao1 - a "devils coach horse"). dromán: a strap on a horses back. Druidin: a clay pipe (white). Usually called a "duidin". a box in the ear "She gave him a dudog". Dudog: Duiric: A fat slug found in venters which leaves a hole like a giant woodworm. (Dineen: diuiricin - a shipworm). Duachadan: "Dont be such a duchadan", a fool, silly person. (Dineen: dubhradan - an insignificant person). Flathúl or generous. flaithiul: Flathulach or a generous person. flaithiulach: "Giving it away for fata". Giving things foolishly away, buying drink for the house, throwing money away foolishly. Fata: very hungry. "There's a fiorgorta on me" - I'm ravenous. Fiorgorta: Fag'n dil é: leave it to the devil (said when something is going against you.) Geatch or Geatsai: "Did you see the geatch of her", said about a woman putting on airs and graces. Giodán: "He gave him a kick in the giodan". i.e. tail -end. "Scared the giodan out of him". (an insulting term.) "He made a glam at her". - made a grab at her. glam: Grainneog: hedgehog. Griosheach or ashes with sparks in it (embers). griosach: Gruimach: bad tempered. Gaillseach: an earwig or sometimes a woodlice. Gabhlog: a forked stick (still used by County Council workmen when "scarting " the hedges.) a rotten egg or an infertile egg. Gluger: Grafann: a pick with a wide top. Gurramu.Gurrucha, Gurramucha1 a legendary figure that stalks the beach at Tramore when there is a gale blowing. a blow (usually on the face or head). a Liadog: A ludog: used to describe a person living off other people, e.g. a person who does 'nt work but lives off his relations. A liudar: "I got a ludar of a ball in the chest". i.e. a blow. Luban: a bundle of clothes or twine or tangled rope. Lanawaile or full or plenty. lan-a-mhala: "Not a mairg on her". Not a thing wrong with her. Mairg or marr-ig: "She had no meas on it". - did'nt value it. Meas: Mi-adh: misfortune. Muchan: a large rock in a field on which small stones are dumped, which have been gathered during potato picking or planting. Paircin: small field. Palltog: blow on the ear. plover or lapwing - "The pilibin-meeks are down off the Pilibin-meeks: mountain - a sign of bad weather.

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Piseoga: superstitions. Plamas: flattery. Praiscin: A bag apron (used for spreading seed). Praiscadi: A yellow weed. Also 'To make a praiscadi of it'' - To make a mess. Ramais or raimeis: nonsense. Scarting: trimming the hedges and cleaning the ditches at the side of the road - normally done by the County Council workmen. Sceach: whitethorn or other such bushes. a wind that blows from the fourth to the thirteenth of Sean-Riach: April; days borrowed from March or "the borrowed days"; time to kill, skin and bury an old cow. Searus: sarcasm and sourness. Si-gaeith: a blast of wind usually on a fine day in summer; a fairy wind. Siobhra or Sheera: a little wizened person who makes a nuisance of himself, a small thing (Dineen: - a fairy, goblin or spectre). Seacran or shockmitching from school. (Dineen: wandering straying, astray on the wrong road.) rawn: Siocan: someone who is always complaining of the cold. a clumsy foot. "He had two big spags on him" - said about Spag: a fellow at a dance. Sciortan or a tick or blood-sucker. scartan: being terrified. Sconrafdearg (Scannradh?): Sugan: a hay rope. Sop (of hay): a knot of hay to light the fire. Scollop: a hazel stick used in thatching to hold down the straw. Sciollans: pieces of potatoes for planting, slits, seed potatoes. Slamhachan a seaweed boiled and eaten in Spring, supposedly good for (Slough-kann): the blood. Stellian: a stone shelf in the kitchen of farmhouses for holding crocks of water. The crocks with wooden covers would hold two or three buckets of water. It was also used to hold crocks of milk gathering cream. (Dineen: "Stilling" a bench for barrels.) Smidirin small bits "Broken into smidirins." Stookaun: a stubborn person. same as "Fag'n dil e." Tabhair'n dil e: a saying used in front of children to indicate that Ta si ag teacht abhaile: somebody is pregnant. Trainin: a small thing, a blade of grass. A taoibhin: a patch on the side of a shoe or on the toe. value (meas). Tor: a few "Go out and get a taosgan of potatoes for the dinner." Taosgán: Tralach: pain or weakness in the wrist. a worm that eats corn plants by cutting off the young shoots Tran(thrawn): under the ground. The fields used to be blessed with Easter water to protect the corn from trans. Tilly (tuile): an extra drop added after a measure of milk, etc. has been poured out. Tanna bugger: a swallow hole, a soft spot in the middle of a dry field, a marshy soft spot, a place into which an animal or tractor would sink. These were usually very dangerous. It is said that there are three in Fenor bog (Seana-bogaire? - an old soft place?). pieces of wood, logs, timbers blown in on the beach. Venters:

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DIAGRAM OF 1826 PIER CONSTRUCTION.



## NOTES TOWARDS A MARITIME HISTORY OF DUNMORE EAST.

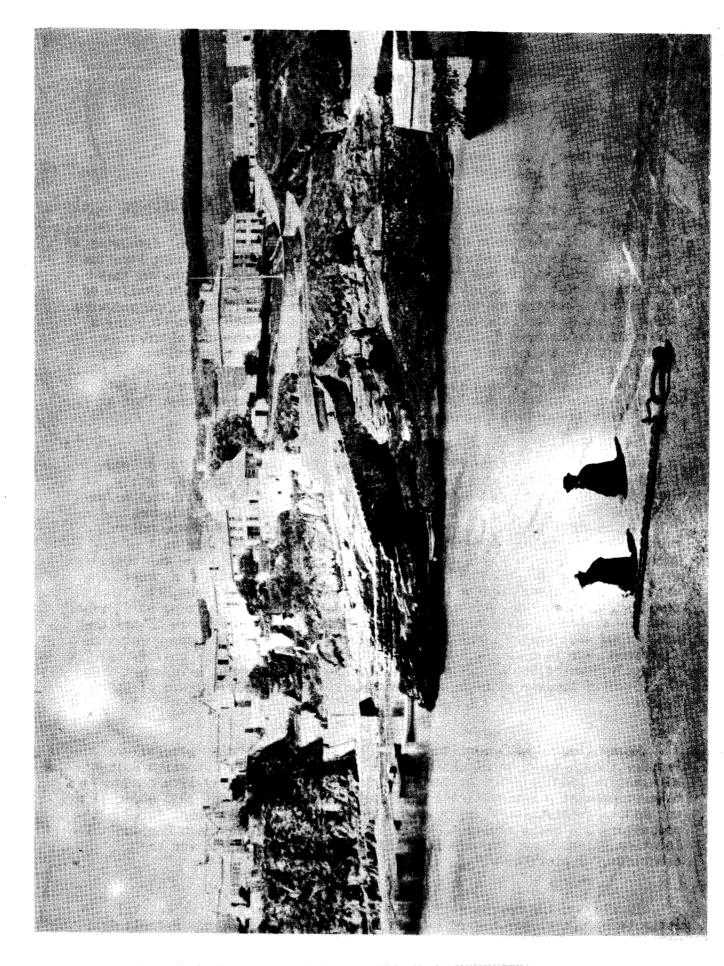
#### From June Fennelly.

Surviving records indicate the existence of a manor of Dunmore in the 13th and 14th century, but the first mention of maritime activities seems to date to 1382 when John Butler received rent from cottiers and fisheries.<sup>1</sup> However, there is no evidence of Dunmore being an important fishing location up to the 18th century and most maritime traffic to Waterford during this period seems to have landed at Passage East. Possibly fishermen availed of the shelter from the south-westerlies off Dunmore and frequently congregated there. This is the inference from a reference of 1642 to "Dunmore being a place wherein diverse fishing boats are used to rendevous and shelter themselves".<sup>2</sup> Around 1650 the population given for the townland was only five people ( as distinct from Credan with 37 and Leperstown with 55),<sup>3</sup> while the Civil Survey at that time mentions only " the stump of a ruined castle".<sup>4</sup> Nearly a century later Smith has nothing to say of Dunmore except that it is still "only frequented by boats".<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, it appears that up to about 1750 Durmore was not a landbased centre of maritime activity. Twenty five years later, apparently, it was. How the change came about must await further evidence, although we may speculate as to what the relationship might be between the development of a fishing industry here and the prosperity resulting from the Newfoundland trade. Arthur Young visited the area in 1774 and said "eighty sail of fishing ships now belong to this small port". He described how the boats averaged from eight to ten tons each with an average of six on a crew. In explaining how the fishermen divide up their catch, he mentions,"their only new fishing is that of herring". Commenting on a glut of herring in 1775 he says the fishermen of Dunmore " had more than they could dispose of and the whole town and country stunk with them!' and adds "among the poor people, the fishermen are in much the best circumstances; the fishing is considerable".<sup>6</sup> Strangely,however,Doyle's chart of 1787<sup>7</sup> shows no settlement here apart from the Circular Tower - perhaps an indication of the inferior nature of the houses.

Meanwhile, shipping continued to by-pass Dunmore, landing generally at Passage, though for a short while in the late 18th century Cornelius Bolton's alternative landing point at Cheekpoint was used. The early 19th century, however, brought a rationalization of such services and about 1812 a decision was made at Westminister to create an entirely new landing point for passengers and mails coming to Ireland from London and southern England. The location selected was Dunmore East and £18,000 was set aside for the erection of a pier there.<sup>8</sup>

In view of the costings, it is interesting to know that the initial estimate by contractor Roger Slattery of 29 Beresford St., (now Parnell St.), was  $\$19,085.^9$  Work commenced about 1815 and by 1821 the cost had risen to \$42,000 and it doubled over the next three years. The cost of quarrying the stones in 1824 alone, for instance, was nearly half the original estimate.<sup>10</sup> The final completion cost was in the region of about \$100,000. Something of



Photograph of Dunmore East circa 1860, by S.D. Goff Esq. This photograph and that on Page 20 by courtesy of Mr. Roger Shipsey. the scale of the operation may be judged from two contemporary descriptions  $^{11}$  which mention a railway to transport the stone and the use of diving bells to secure the foundations.

While the new harbour was in operation by 1824, work went on until about 1825. Dummore had now become a place of some importance with steam paddle boats crossing daily to and from Milford-Haven, landing mails and passengers which were transferred by coach to Waterford and thence to their final destinations. This coincided with the growth of Dunmore as a holiday resort so that by 1824 Ryland could refer to it as "formerly a place of resort for fishermen but now a fashionable and delightful watering place".<sup>12</sup>

However, fishermen did use the new facility - or were trying to by 1836 when 219 men were recorded as being employed as fishermen on 3 hookers, and 34 yawls.

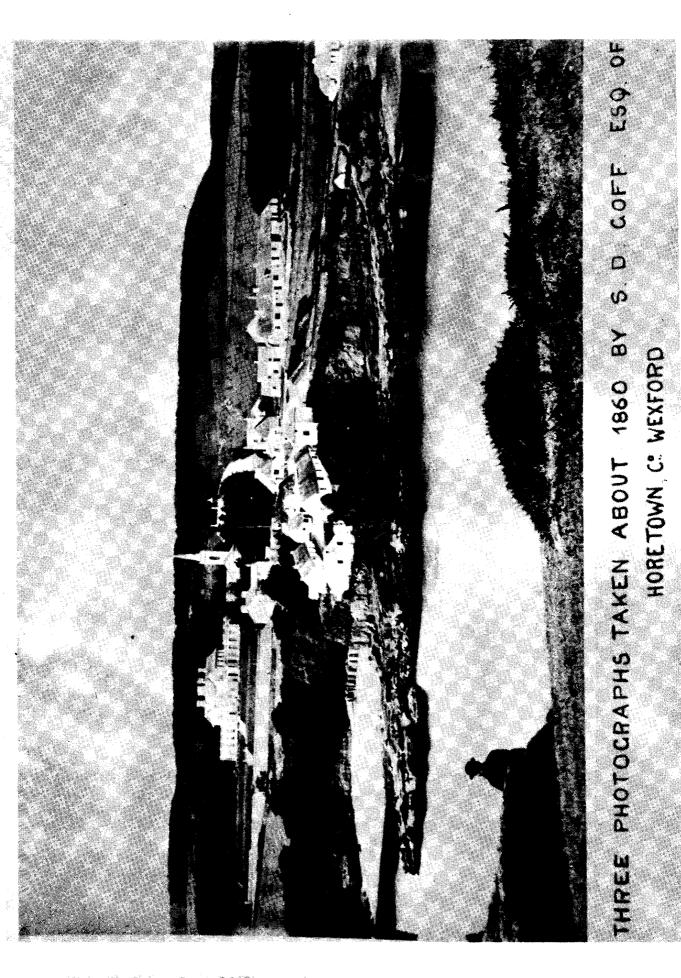
Herring were the main fish netted while cod, ling , hake and haddock were caught by hand lines. These were sold locally and exported by an Edward Galgay to Bristol,Dublin and sometimes Liverpool. The pilot master there,however,said the Dunmore fishermen lacked capital and enterprise which he attributes partly to their "great addiction to ardent spirits". Galgay said mackerel were never enough for lack of proper gear. The following table completed by the Coastguards puts the Dunmore fisheries into local perspective;

Coastguard area	Hookers		Yawls		Rowing boats		Total Fishermen	
	No.	Men	No.	Men		Men		
Ardmore	-	-	-	-	43	252	252	
Helvic	94	564	7	35	80	400	999	
Bonmahon	. –	-	9	54	39	166	220	
Island Ikean	· -	-	-	-	18	72	72	
Ballymacaw	4	16	2	8	60	240	264	
Dunmore	3	15	34	204	. –	-	219	

The Ballymacaw figure probably includes Portally which specialized in lobsters. Likewise, the Helvic figure probably includes Dungarvan where Galgay bought haddock.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1830's however, something very drastic and indeed inexplicable seems to have happened to Dunmore to judge from the census figures:<sup>14</sup>

Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	Population
1821	725	1851	313	1881	345
1831	631	1861	312	1891	391
1841	302	1871	383	1901	355
		1			

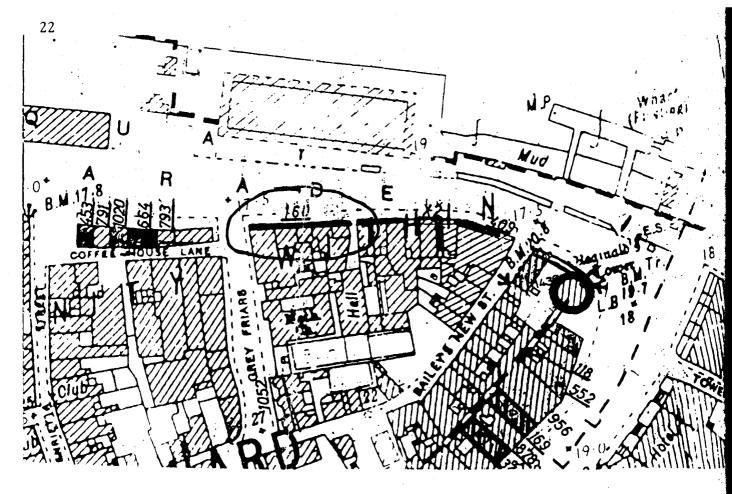


View of Dummore East circa 1860.

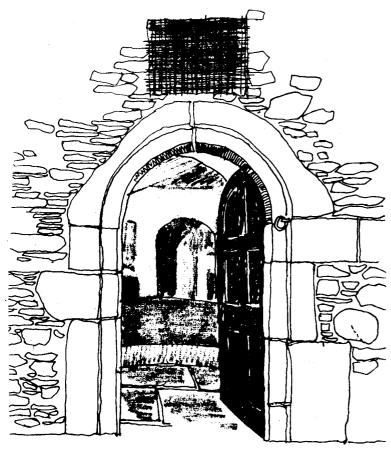
The census of 1821 was not too reliable and the population was probably swollen anyway by those working on the harbour, so that the 1831 figure is probably more accurate, the village consisting of 93 houses and 102 families. What then happened is difficult to account for. It seems there was increased use of paddle steamers in the early 1830's and these could proceed directly to Waterford independent of wind and tide.<sup>15</sup> Also, reportedly, the harbour at Dunmore was silting up so that in 1837 the decision was made to by-pass it and proceed directly to Waterford.<sup>16</sup> That this should have caused a halving of the population of Dunmore over the next four years is hard to credit, however, especially as 219 men there in 1836 were earning a living as fishermen rather than being dependent solely on the packet trade. The fact that the numbers then remained fairly static for the rest of the century seems to indicate a stable economy then emerged based presumably on fishing and on summer visitors - the situation as at present.

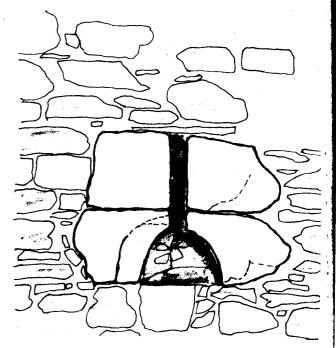
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- 2. Thorpe, A., Collection of Tracts, re 27th June 1642.
- 3. The Census of 1659, I.M.C. 1939, p. 347.
- 4. The Civil Survey, Vol. VI, I.M.C., 1942, p.158.
- 5. Smith, C., The Ancient and Present State ..... of Waterford, Dublin, 1746.
- 6. Young, A., Tour in Ireland, 1776.
- 7. On wall in Reference Section, Waterford Municipal Library.
- 8. Ryland, R.H., History ..... of Waterford, London, 1824, p.242.
- 9. "Proposal for Erecting Harbour near Dunmore", copy in Waterford Municipal Library gives detailed costings.
- 10. "Account of the Post Master General ..... for one year from 6th January 1824 ", copy in Waterford Municipal Library.
- Ryland, op.cit., p.238-242, gives details of cost and construction. See also "From the Memoirs of Richard Rorke" in DECIES XVIII, p.31-32.
- 12. Ryland, op.cit.
- 13. Report of the Commissioners on Irish Fisheries, 1836. (copy of this Parliamentary Report in Waterford Municipal Library).
- 14. Abstracts and General Tables of Census Returns, 1821 to 1901.
- 15. This is evident from the <u>Waterford Mirrors</u> beginning September 1833 when the steam-boat sailings were advertised; by the end of that year three steam ships were offering services from Waterford.
- 16. Lewis' Topographical Dictionary, 1837 is the sole source of this.



Part of City Estate Map showing tangential junction of City Wall with Reginald's Tower.





ABOVE: This loop, now only about 2 feet over pavement level, probably overlooked tidal water at a much lower level. LEFT: The front door, with its dressed Timestone surround neatly inserted into the surrounding masonry. It is difficult to date this door.

## by J. S. Carroll.

#### Origin and Name:

Reginald's Tower has long been the focal point of interest for visitors to Waterford, not only because of its prominent position and striking appearance, but also because of the bold assertion, as recorded on the 18th century plaque over the door, that it was erected in 1003. Appearances belie this, for, though it is obviously of venerable age, it has many features that would proclaim it to be of the Norman period. Yet, while not accepting that the structure goes back to 1003, it is hard to rebut certain evidence that it predates the Norman invasion .

To deal first with the claim that it was built by Reginald Mac Ivor, all we know is what the Annals of Tighernach tell us, namely that in 995 Olaf, ruler of Dublin was succeeded by Ivor, ruler of Waterford and that Ivor died in the year 1000, leaving the Waterford succession to his son, Reginald. So, at least there was a Reginald, presumably still alive in 1003, who, being a ruler, could have built himself a tower of some sort in an unrecorded location. Whether or not it was on the site of the present tower is a matter of conjecture.

This first tower may well have been of timber. If so, it would hardly have survived the many occasions in the succeeding two centuries on which Waterford was burnt down, so it is reasonable to assume that at some period it was replaced by a structure of stone. It can hardly be questioned that the Ostmen were capable of building in masonry, at least within the third century of their occupation of Waterford, when one realises that they had their own Christ Church and St.Olave's within the walls and St. Catherine's Abbey outside them. They must have had a city wall of masonry, too, if we are to believe Giraldus's account of the invasion, so why not a masonry tower for defence?. In fact, we have quite a definite account left to us by Giraldus of those who led the defence of the city and how, after a stout **resistance**. they were taken prisoner in Raghnall's Tower.<sup>1</sup> Foremost among these leaders were the two Sitrics and a later Reginald or Raghnall. While it is true that Giraldus was writing at least 13 years after the invasion, he was doing so on the word of some of the principal participants. Maurice Regan, McMurrough's Secretary, bears out Giraldus's account of Raghnall's leadership.<sup>2</sup> Giraldus says that all three leaders were condemned to death but that Raghnall's life was spared at the intercession of McMurrough.

Orpen seeks to identify the captured Raghnall with "Renaud Mac Giolla Muire, the officer of the port" described in the Annals of Tighernach as having been seized when the city was taken.<sup>3</sup> Gilbert, quoting from a Plea Roll of 1310, describes Renaud as having lived in " a castle near the port of Waterford where in the lifetime of the jurors (who heard the plea) there was an ancient deserted mote".<sup>4</sup> This Renaud was said to have been hanged by Henry II because of his attempt to prevent the landing of that monarch by the expedient of throwing a chain across the estuary from the lands of Dunbrody to (it is thought) the beacon site at Cheekpoint, the supposed site of his "castle". Possibly Raghnall and Renaud were one and the same person spared by Strongbow only to be hanged by Henry two years later.

The next mention of the tower in the Giraldus account is in connection with the imprisonment of Fitzstephen there in 1172.<sup>5</sup> We are told that Henry II, after berating Fitzstephen for having adventured beyond his brief" consigned him to Raghnall's Tower for safe keeping". A different account, however, states that " in 1172 King Henry II ..... lodged in Reynold's Tower there. He took journeys thence to sundry places but made his chief dwelling in the said tower." <sup>6</sup> Here again we have evidence of a structure sturdy enough to be used as a royal residence and as a State prison. Incidentally, the tower seems to have been reserved to the Crown from the earliest days of the invasion and it remained Crown property right up to 1861.

Furthermore, Giraldus mentions the tower as the place in which the English defended themselves and from which they later regained control of the city when, after Raymond had left the city to quell trouble in Wexford, the Ostmen of Waterford rose against their captors.<sup>7</sup>

Next must be considered the fact that the tower was used as a mint as early as 1185.<sup>8</sup> That the mint was first located in the tower is not positively documented but is strongly to be inferred from the fact that in the warrant for a subsequent minting of coin by Edward IV the location of the Waterford mint is given as "Dondory alias Reginald's Tower."<sup>9</sup> It is highly unlikely that there would have been any other secular building capable of being adapted for use as a mint only 15 years after the invasion and about 20 years before the major Norman walling took place. In this connection it should be noted that the tower has a great flue running throughout its height whereas in nearly all Norman castles the flue ran from the first floor only.

Perhaps the strongest visual evidence that the tower predates the invasion arises from the fact that the face of the wall along the Quay from Greyfriars eastward followed the line of the present building frontage, so that the face of the wall ran tangential to that of the tower and the wall tapered in thickness as it made contact with the curve of the tower wall.<sup>10</sup> Such an awkward arrangement would certainly not have been adopted if the tower and the wall had been built together or if the wall had been there first.

As to when the tower might actually have been built, Leask points out that while there is no evidence that the Norsemen began to build stone towers in their own lands as early as the 11th century, their relatives in Normandy were practised in building strong works of stone at an even earlier date and that the custom may well have found its way to the Ostmen of Waterford.<sup>11</sup> Mackey suggests that the design of the tower may have been influenced by that of the Irish round towers or even by that of certain towers in the Orkneys,Shetlands and Hebrides.<sup>12</sup>

The idea comes to mind, of course, that the tower may be a 13th or 14th century reconstruction in the Norman style. Such a reconstruction could have taken place, for instance, between the closing of the mint in 1253 and its reopening in 1280, but if it did, the reconstruction must have amounted to a virtual replacement, since the ground area must have remained the same and since such basic features as the embrasures and the staircase within the thickness of the wall could not be mere modifications. The whole question of the origin of the tower is one which could profitably engage the attention of architectural historians.

The linking of Reginald's ( or Raghnall's ) name with the tower does not seem to have survived the Norman period. In Plantagenet times it was Dundory or Dondory, though there is no reference to it under that or any other name in the "Acts and Statutes of the City 1365-1525" as transcribed and translated by Gilbert from the Great Parchment Book. Later, it was known simply as the Ring Tower. There are several references to it as such in the Council Minutes  $1662-1700.^{13}$  The revival of Reginald's name seems to be attributable to the historian Dr. Charles Smith, who, writing in 1746 speaks of "Reginald who built the tower called after his name and now by corruption called the Ring Tower". It was still the Ring Tower on Richard's and Scale's map of 1764 but had become Reginald's on Leahy's map of 1834 and this name seems to have acquired the stamp of authority by 1841 when it appeared on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map.

#### CONSTRUCTION:

The tower is 54 feet high from pavement to parapet and 42 feet diameter at base. The walls are 10 feet thick and vertical for a certain height above which the outer face tapers uniformly. Offsets in the inner face (for floor support) combine with batter on the outside face to reduce the wall thickness to about 7 feet at the top. There is a spiral staircase and a number of vaulted embrasures (one of them a garderobe) within the thickness of the wall at each floor. Between the conical roof and the parapet there is an alure or wall-walk that leads to a look-out. This wall-walk (now surfaced in mastic asphalt) was originally drained through apertures at the base of the parapet. It was surfaced in outward-sloping stone slabs with the joints covered by saddle-stone.

The small windows probably have been developed from loops. Such loops as remain are of a primitive type except for one that is only 2 feet over-pavement level. This one is edged in limestone and has a well-cut semi-circular recess at the base. The tower has three doors - one at the front and two at the rear, one above the other. The earliest of these is undoubtedly the upper rear door but how access was gained to it is uncertain. Probably it was by a ladder as in the case of the ancient round towers but it is clear that at some stage access could be gained from the top of the wall along the Quay. Also, access to the upper door was gained via an external flight of stone steps that followed the curve of the tower from the Quay pavement.

According to a Council Minute of 1670 concerning a request to be allowed to erect a building against the wall near the Ring Tower, it was decided that " if it will not prejudice the wall or the passage thereon" petitioner was to be given permission, "leaving the same way and passage on the wall that now is."<sup>14</sup> In 1716 a lease was given by the Corporation to John Farrell, Merchant, of "that part of the city wall lying between the stairs going up to the Ring Tower and the passage leading to the Tower Gate on the wall measuring 30 feet in length".<sup>15</sup> The lessee was to"pull down the stairs at the east end of the wall" and to"make a sufficient new stone stairs 4 feet broad to lead up to the door of the Tower on the wall, leaving a passage to it." He was also to construct a gate 7 feet wide and to make a passage to lead to the lower gate or door of the Tower in the yard. It is difficult to reconstruct any clear picture from these scant records. The curved steps were there up to 1955.

The front door is more recent than the others, though it is obviously quite old. Probably it is contemporaneous with the 17th century blockhouse or battery - an oval structure that projected out into the river opposite the tower. The existence of a door in the outer face of a defensive tower would be a surprisingly weak feature to find at any earlier period. The limestone surround has been inserted so neatly into the rubble masonry as to appear part of the original.

#### LATER USES :

The tower played a prominent part in the defeat of Perkin Warbeck when in 1497 he attempted to seize the city. It holds a ship's gun of the period dredged up from the river mud opposite.

From 1663 onward it was used for the storage of military equipment in connection with the battery but when this was dismantled in 1711 and its guns transferred to Duncannon Fort, the tower reverted to use as a storehouse for other purposes under the control of the Government.

In 1819 it was handed over to the police establishment for use as a bridewell. It was re-roofed and altered internally to make it suitable for that purpose. The embrasures on the ground floor became cells, each heavily barred, and cast iron doors were hung throughout the building. It was in this condition that it was taken over by the Corporation in 1861 and, except for certain internal partitions of lath- and - plaster, it was still in that condition when in 1955 it was decided to convert it into a civic museum.

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- 11. Leask: Irish Castles, p.111, Dundalk, 1951.
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#### THE LAST VOYAGE OF THE "MENAPIA" OF WATERFORD, 1836

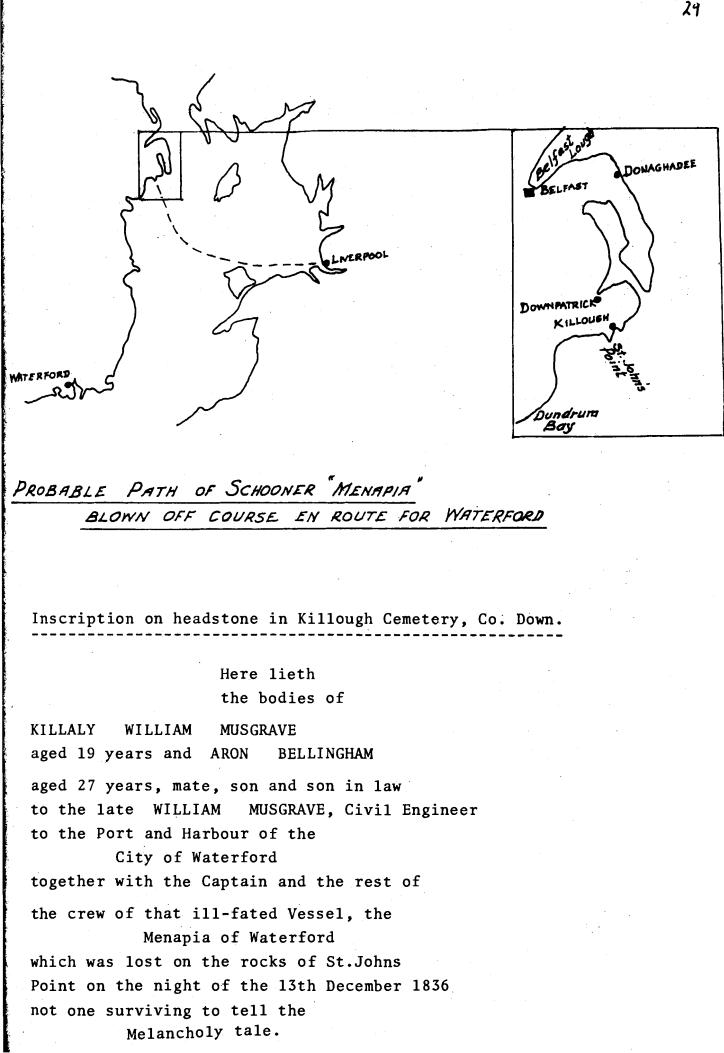
#### by Des Cowman.

About the year 1826 the schooner "Menapia" was launched from an unidentified Waterford dockyard. <sup>1</sup> Presumably it coped with the usual hazards of the sea over the next ten years.<sup>2</sup> On the 11th or 12th of December 1836 the Menapia left Liverpool with a cargo of sugar and salt, bound for Waterford.<sup>3</sup> The six members of the crew, no doubt,were looking forward to being home for Christmas. The mate Aron Bellingham was particularly anxious to be back with his newly acquired wife. Travelling with him was his young brother-in-law, 19 year old Killala Musgrave, son of the engineer to Waterford Port. The Captain was William Morgan and there were three other members of the crew whose names are not known.

Captain Morgan presumably set course for the north coast of Anglesea but a strong southerly gale bore him northwards towards the Isle of Man. As the wind stiffened into a south-easterly storm he found himself trying to beat back against it while daylight faded about 4.30.p.m. For the next six hours all hands fought the push of the howling wind which was beating them relentlessly north-west. About 10.00 p.m. they were off the Down coast, although whether they knew that or not we will never know. If they knew, perhaps they considered their best hope of safety was to round the Ards Peninsula and gain the shelter of Belfast Lough. At any rate, about 10.30.pm, there was a sickening jar and side-ways heave as the Menapia impaled herself on rocks off St.John's Point.

Somebody on land heard the ship strike. The word spread quickly amongst the sea-faring folk of the parish of Killough and they made their way to the headland, lashed by the gale. They couldn't see the schooner in the dark but they could hear the terrified calls of the crew. Somebody sent word to Captain Brown, the local landlord and he came hurrying to the cliff-top. He realized that the crew stood no chance in that pounding sea and stated that their only hope lay in launching a boat from the shore. Local seamen demurred. He offered ten guineas to each man of the crew of any boat that would reach the stranded schooner but was told that to attempt to do so in daylight would be madness, while to head out into the howling darkness .....

About 1.00 a.m. they heard a rending sound. The seamen guessed what it was - the masts were gone. Those who had clambered down to the water's edge realized that bits of planking were being thrown in on the waves and by 4.00a.m. decided the unseen ship was now "totally in pieces". They stayed there until the wintry dawn in the dying gale allowed them to see the schooner completely over to one side and a jagged gap where the other side should have been. They had been wrong about the masts which were still salvageable, as were the spars,rigging etc.; Of the crew there was no sign. Captain Brown and many of the local people remained there



helplessly looking at the wreck. Perhaps somebody had survived ?

During the course of the day two bodies came ashore - probably captain and mate. Captain Brown was proud of the fact that none of the tenantry had pilfered the watch from the Captain or the 26/- from another. He communicated his pleasure to the Belfast Chronicle. By the second next day two more bodies were picked up with the sixth body appearing within the next five days.

Evidence on bodies and from the ship enabled it to be identified through the shipping lists. Within three days the first news had reached Waterford, probably a letter from Mr.Brown. A second letter from him arrived two days later with further news, and by Christmas part of the report in the "Belfast Chronicle " was carried on the shipping news of the 'Waterford Mirror." After that the wrecking ceased to be news. William Musgrave who had lost a son and seen his daughter widowed announced his intention of marking the tragedy with a headstone in Killough to them both and to the rest of the crew. He died before it could be done but his wife, presumably, went ahead with the project and the headstone now stands there as indicated on Page

1. The first report of the accident in the <u>Waterford Mirror</u> 17th December 1836 states "The Menapia was launched from the Waterford dockyard about ten years since and like all the craft that own the same parentage was remarkable for elegance....". This dockyard seems to be hitherto unrecorded.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

- 2. "Shipping News" in various <u>Waterford Mirrors</u> of the 1830's mentions it fairly frequently as plying between Waterford and London,or Bristol or Swansea. The captain's name is given as Moyse.
- 3. The remainder of this article is an imaginative reconstruction of the shipwreck based on reports carried in <u>Waterford Mirrors</u> of 17th,19th and 24th December 1836, as well as the information on headstone in Killough cemetary,Co.Down. For a rubbing of this inscription I am grateful to Mr. Enda Burke of Cheekpoint.

# by <u>Terence O'Reilly</u>.

On July 21st,1922 in an action of the Civil War, "Urba Intacta" - the Unconquered City - fell to the Pro-treaty Army at the cost of only ten lives. From Waterford the Pro-treatyites could strike west and take Carrick and Clonmel, forcing the Anti-treatyites to give up conventional fixed-line fighting. The fall of Waterford may have shortened the first phase of the Civil War and made it easier to roll up the east flank of the Anti-treaty line.

Why did the city fall? The Anti-treatyites were outnumbered but the Suir prevented their stronger enemy from using their full numbers. The Protreatyites possessed the heights overlooking the city but how important were they? Did artillery win the battle? Did the Anti-treatyites have the support of the city inhabitants and if not, why not? Did superior experience carry the day? Was it reluctance on the part of the city defenders to fight their countrymen? Hopefully, the following article may cast light on the fall of "Urbs Intacta" (The Account in"Irelands Civil War" - see Note 9 - is somewhat inaccurate) and answer these questions.

By the second month of the Civil War, a line stretched across the country from Limerick City in the west to Waterford City in the East.

All ground south of this was under the Anti-treaty control. In Dublin the Four Courts had fallen and the Pro-treaty Army were on the offensive while the Anti-treatyites under Colonel-Commandant Pax Whelan prepared to defend Waterford. Whelan had joined the Volunteers in 1913 and had been O.C. West Waterford Brigade in January 1919.<sup>2</sup> He took command of all I.R.A. forces in Waterford in May 1921 and was a member of the Anti-treaty Executive set up in April.<sup>3</sup> Under him were 300 men,<sup>4</sup> including the first Cork Brigade.<sup>5</sup> They were armed mainly with revolvers but they also carried rifles, Lewis machine-guns and Thompson sub-machine guns,<sup>6</sup> and wore commandeered Pro-treaty uniforms with civilian caps.<sup>7</sup> Cars, provisions and clothing were commandeered, as was wireless equipment from ships in port. This was installed in the Military Barracks.<sup>8</sup> The drawbridge across the River Suir was raised<sup>9</sup> and the G.P.O., the Jail, the Artillery Barracks, the Infantry Barracks, ( their headquarters), the Adelphi Hotel, the County Club, Reginald's Tower, the Granville Hotel, the 'Munster Express' offices, Farrell's Corn Store, J. and S. Phelan's Stores, Breen's Hotel, Hall's Store, Hearne & Co. and the Imperial Hotel, (which was used as a hospital),<sup>11</sup> were all occupied. However, certain weaknesses were apparent. Firstly, the Anti-treatyites were unpopular in Waterford. Apart from a strong Redmondite influence in the city, the Corkmen gained little support, as they were "foreigners" to begin with, and they seemed to show little regard for the locals.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, the defences were not even secret; an unofficial reconnoitre by a Tommy Ryan in early July, now in Kilkenny, had put paid to that. $^{13}$  Thirdly, and most important, was the defence plan. Overlooking Waterford, from which they are separated by the Suir, loom the heights of Mount Misery. No troops were posted on them as they would have been exposed, and it would have been hard to retreat from them. With the bridge raised, they would be virtually useless to attacking infantry.

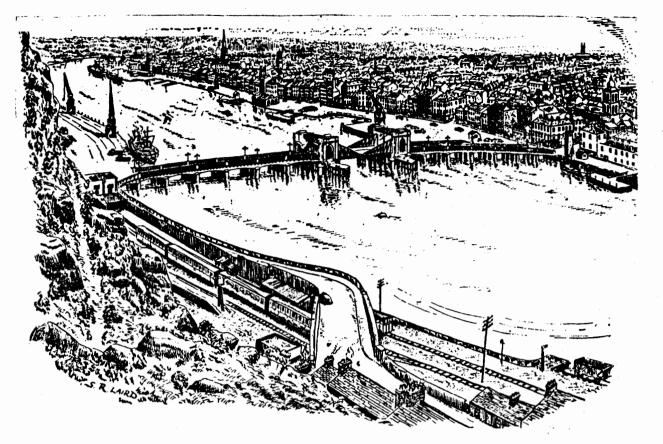
However, the Pro-treatyites were yet to play their trump card.

Meanwhile, in Kilkenny, Colonel-Commandant Prout planned his offensive. Prout had fought in France in the American Army during the Great War and had served on the French Command Staff, winning the Croix de Guerre. Afterwards he served as a Divisional Instructor in the I.R.A.<sup>14</sup> Under him were Commandants Heaslip and Paul. Paul was a native of Waterford who had joined the I.R.A. in 1919 , quickly became O.C. of an east Waterford battalion and later commanded the East Waterford Brigade.<sup>15</sup> He had 600 to 700 troops,<sup>16</sup> many of whom had fought at Blessington and Dublin.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the Pro-treatyites generally had better combat experience and numbers. Using horses and requisitioned civilian transport the column left Kilkenny, towing the trump card - an eighteen-pounder artillery piece.<sup>18</sup> On July 18th, after pausing at Kilmacow for general absolution<sup>19</sup> and negotiating obstructions on the roads, they had arrived at the north of Mount Misery. Three columns were formed and horse transport discarded. The eighteen pounder was hitched to a Crossley lorry and Prout sited his H.Q. at Fleming's Castle.<sup>20</sup> On the south of the river, the Anti-treatyites waited. The stage was set. The actors entered.

The first shots of the battle were fired at 6.50pm from the Jail at a reconnaissance party of five crossing the heights.<sup>21</sup> The first casualty was Volunteer Costello, fatally hit in the lung before he could dive for cover. Sniping then broke out from both sides. By eight o'clock small parties of Pro-treatyites had reached the railway line. Darkness fell and halted the proceedings.<sup>22</sup>

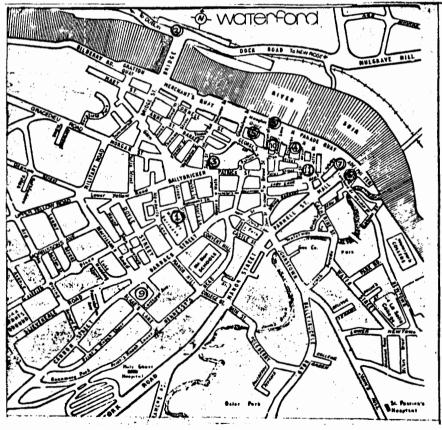
Wednesday , July 19: After dawn, sniping resumed. The trump card was then played. The eighteen-pounder was brought across the Golf Links, to a rock overlooking the city and placed the city under "devastating fire"  $^{23}$ from 10.40a.m. . Only the gun shield protected the crew. The two main factors that won the battle now became apparent. The eighteen-pounder provided the greatest firepower in the area and, thanks to the heights, it was within sight of the city and could shell with great accuracy. The opening rounds were of shrapnel<sup>24</sup> and then high-explosive rounds began raining down on both Barracks and on the Jail, most being direct hits, though local. At least five shells hit the jail,<sup>25</sup> but only the roof was damaged. According to local tradition, however, the Free State gunner managed to hit his own house!<sup>26</sup> A house in Jail Street and another near the Infantry Barracks were badly damaged, and more shells exploded at Bunker's Hill, two in the Ursuline Convent grounds<sup>27</sup> and one in Lady Lane.<sup>28</sup> Thirty-six shells were fired in all.<sup>29</sup> Small arms fire was prevalent during the shelling and it intensified when shelling ceased<sup>30</sup> Most of the fire came from the Post Office, and the return fire made it impossible to cross the streets leading to the Quay.<sup>31</sup> Here also, civilians suffered. Joseph Dwan from Portarlington was shot dead near the Franciscan Church, as was William Long near the Catholic Cathedral.<sup>32</sup>

When shelling resumed at five pm.<sup>33</sup> Colonel-Commandant Whelan must have been worried. A counter-attack from Carrick under Dinny Lacey along the north side of the river, planned for this day, had not materialised.<sup>34</sup> Its failure to do so was a deciding factor. Perhaps here we can find a clue to any reluctance in either side to fight their countrymen. Ammunition expenditure must have been colossal, yet only one combatant had died. The small number of civilian deaths was mainly due to luck and the artillery's accuracy. Markmanship was not lacking: one sniper shot a cap propped on a rifle butt from half a mile while an Anti-treaty troop convoy on the Tramore Road was reportedly upset by fire from a machine gun a mile and a half away.<sup>36</sup>



33

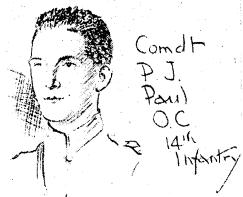
View of Waterford from Mount Misery.



1.Infantry Barracks 2.Railway Station 3.The Jail 4.Post Office 1 5.Granville Hotel 1 6.Adelphi Hotel

7.Reginald's Tower 8.Clock Tower 9.Artillery Barracks 10.Catholic Cathedral 11.Protestant Cathedral

(Map by courtesy of S.E.R.T.O.)



Above: Comdt. Paul who was reported to have shelled his mother's house by accident.

<u>Right:</u> Comdt. Prout, Officer commanding the attack on Waterford.

(Source: An t-Oglach, 14th & 30th July 1923).



Below: An 18 pounder, such as that which played such a crucial part in the attack on Waterford.



The renewed shelling continued until after nine o'clock and concentrated on both barracks,<sup>37</sup> causing the Anti-treatyites to burn them before evacuating. The subsequent flames were seen miles from the city.<sup>38</sup> The Infantry Barracks was entered by looters, but their activities were halted at midnight when a terrific explosion ,possibly the ammunition magazine, fatally injured a man and severely injured three teenagers.<sup>39</sup>

After nightfall, a hundred Pro-Treaty troops under Captain Mackey<sup>40</sup> landed in rowing boats from Gile's Quay <sup>41</sup> and began working down the bank, dodging a small patrol.<sup>42</sup> Their main objective was to seize the buildings commanding the Quay and to lower the bridge. They were virtually unopposed.

Thursday, July 20: After resting, Mackey's troops were ready. At 1.45am, they entered a house behind the County Club and posted a machine gun to command the Adelphi Hotel. The County Club was then entered from the rear, the sentry surprised and the building captured. The Adelphi and the adjoining Steamship Offices were captured by the same tactics, along with twelve Anti-treatyites. Reginald's Tower, then empty, was also occuped. Mines, shotguns and ammunition were found in the Adelphi Hotel and Reginald's Tower.<sup>44</sup> Headquarters were set up in the Imperial Hotel.<sup>45</sup> A foothold was gained.

The Anti-treatyites had by now lost their main strategic advantage, and while the Pro-treatyites in the city were outnumbered, they had artillery to support them in any attack along the Quay. Considering that they had no senior officer training, the Anti-Treaty leadership did not seem too incompetent - they had provided for a hospital and radio equipment but they had reckoned without artillery, while the Pro-Treaty leaders had far better experience. Also, bad sentries had lost three buildings, demonstrating deficient military training among the men. Without infantry to occupy ground, the Pro-Treaty artillery might have had to continue shelling Anti-Treaty positions, resulting in higher civilian casualties.

By 11.30am, the Anti-Treaty garrisons had received general absolution. Because of accurate small-arms fire from it, an attack was made on the Post Office. It commanded a wide, open area, and the nearest the Pro-treatyites got to it was twenty yards. Between 4.00 and 5.00 pm, under Anti-Treaty fire, the eighteen-pounder was placed on the railway lines and six shells were fired directly at the Post Office. They went straight through the building but caused the evacuation of the upper floors. The Pro-Treaty infantry then attacked, and captured their objective.<sup>46</sup> During the battle, Anti-Treaty Volunteer John Doyle was fatally injured,<sup>47</sup> dying on August 5th.<sup>48</sup> After vigorous firing, the Granville Hotel was captured with eighteen prisoners, including Anti-Treaty Commandant Gerry Cronin. Bolger's premises were also captured.<sup>49</sup> A mine found in the Granville was defused. Looting continued in the city, and Pro-Treaty troops captured two men with a sack full of jewellery.<sup>50</sup> Sniping continued through the night.

Friday, July 21: The only resistance offered to Pro-Treaty troops by now was sniping from the Jail, from houses in Ballybricken and Barrack Street, from the Protestant Cathedral and from positions on the Quay and lower part of the city, which continued until afternoon. Anti-Treaty troops were now retreating to Carrick<sup>52</sup> and Dungarvan<sup>53</sup>. The eighteen-pounder was brought along the railway to the bridge to fire on the Jail, but the Jail got the first shots in,<sup>54</sup> and the mufti-clad gun crew<sup>5</sup> again had to shelter behind the gun shield. However, a bullet found a gap in the armour and slightly wounded Gunner Kavanagh in the throat. A Lancia armoured car was detailed to cover the field gun, a tactic used at the Four Courts, and in turn came under fire. Sergeant Howlett mounted a Lewis machine gun, stood up in the car, and opened fire on the Jail. Even though he came under heavy fire, he continued firing until he was shot in the eye. He died instantly.<sup>56</sup>

The first shots of the battle nad been fired from the Jail and still the garrison of fifteen were holding out. After the battle it was discovered that the cells had been " admirably adapted" as sniper's posts.<sup>57</sup> Several cartridge cases lay on the floors, and bullet holes on the walls opposite the windows testified to the accuracy of return fire. The garrison's fight was now nearly over. Five shells slammed down on the building and the order was given to evacuate. No sooner had the gates opened than a horde of looters armed with handcarts and sledgehammers invaded the building, stealing anything portable. According to the newspaper account at the time, nothing was too bulky to be taken - even the prison bath. (Five thousand pounds worth of damage was done, it seems). The Pro-Treaty troops approaching to intervene were fired on by a sniper, and Volunteer MacCarthy was slightly wounded in the knee. A man from Skibereen, Pat Hutchinson (civilian or Cork Brigade?) was fatally shot in the lungs near the building.But by now the Jail had fallen. It was the last stronghold of Anti-Treaty resistance.<sup>58</sup>.

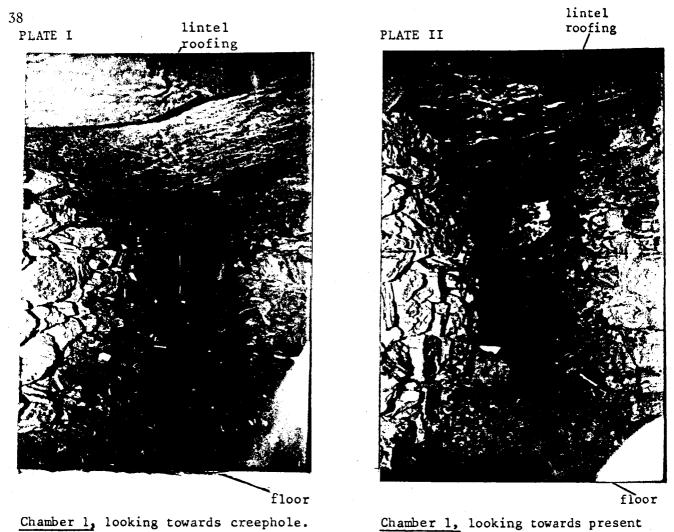
Only isolated shots sounded through the city as Pro-Treaty troops began lowering the bridge. The job was done by hand, as vital machinery had been removed. The bridge was lowered at 9.00pm, to a long volley and a great cheer. It was finished.<sup>59</sup>

## SOURCES:

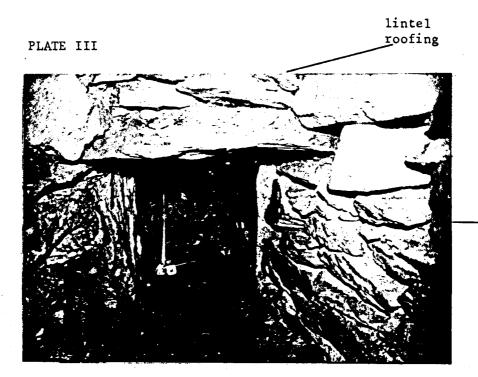
- 1. The Irish Republic , Dorothy Macardle, Corgi Books (p.693).
- I.R.A. in the Fight for Freedom, The Kerryman Ltd. (P.18). Pax Whelan's own account of "the troubles" is given in <u>The Survivors</u> (ed. Mac Eoin), Dublin 1972 though he has little about this episode.
- 3. ibid., with corroboratory detail in typed statement by Thomas Brennan, a contemporary, in possession of Brennan family, Tramore. I am grateful to them for allowing me to use this.
- 4. Munster Express, Saturday, July 29th, 1922.
- 5. The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels, Sean & Sile Murphy, Clonmel 1982, (p.64).
- 6. Munster Express, July 29th, 1922.
- 7. The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels, (p.59).
- 8. Munster Express, July 29th, 1922.
- 9. Ireland's Civil War, Carlton Younger, (p.377).
- 10. Munster Express, July 29th, 1922.
- 11. The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels, op.cit. (p.63).
- Unglowing accounts of the Corkonians in Waterford can be found in "The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels", (p.64-65) and the Illustrated History of Dungarvan ", by E. Keoghan. Waterford, 1924, (mainly p.61).

(SOURCES - contd.)

- 13. Ireland's Civil War, (p.377-8).
- 14. "An t-Oglach," July 14th, 1923.
- 15. IRA in the Fight for Freedom, (P.18). Further biographical details given by Thomas Brennan (loc.cit.) and in article by Jack O'Neill, "The Four Sieges of Waterford" in Munster Express, 23/3/'84.
- 16. "Ireland's Civil War"; (p.38).
- 17. Munster Express, July 29th, 1922.
- 18. "Ireland's Civil War, (p. 382).
- 19. Munster Express, July 29th 1922.
- 20. ibid. Location of H.Q. given by Jack O'Neill, loc.cit., apparently based on oral sources.
- 21. ibid. 22. ibid. 23. ibid. 24.ibid. 25. ibid.
- 26. According to O'Neill, loc.cit., the gunner was Commander Paul and his mother's house was in Newgate Street.
- 27. Munster Express, July 29th 1922.
- Letter 26th July,1922. (Private communication from E.Penrose, Wyse's Estate Agent,Waterford. A. Wyse, Ministry of Education, Belfast.
- 29. Munster Express, July 29, 1922.
- 30. ibid. 31. ibid. 32. ibid. 33. ibid.
- 34. "Ireland's Civil War", and "The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels". (P.63).
- 35. "The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels", (p.62).
- 36. Munster Express, July 29th 1922. 37. Ibid.
- 40. "Ireland's Civil War", (P.383).
- 41. 'The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels, (p.63).
- 42. Munster Express, July 29th 1922.
- 43. "Ireland's Civil War". (P.383).
- 44. Munster Express, July 29th 1922. 45. Ibid. 46. Ibid.
- 47. "The Comeraghs, Refuge of Rebels", (P.63).
- 48. Inscription on Ballinattin Ambush Memorial, Pickardstown, Tramore.
- 49. Munster Express, July 29, 1922. 50. ibid. 51. ibid.
- 52. <u>"Ireland's Civil War"</u>, (P.389).
- 53. "Illustrated History of Dungarvan", (P.61).
- 54. Munster Express, July 29th, 1922.
- 55. Freeman's Journal, July 29.
- 56. Munster Express, July 29. 57. ibid. 58. ibid. 59. ibid.
- NOTE: The Munster Express Edition of July 29th 1922, was the first since before the Battle, due to the occupation of its offices by Anti-Treaty forces. It carries a full and unbiased account of the events of 18 - 21 st July.



Chamber 1, looking towards present point of entry.



chamber walling

Chamber 2, looking from creephole.

#### A SOUTERRAIN AT RHINECREW, CO. WATERFORD.

By C.Power, B.O'Donnabhain, and M.G. O'Donnell.

The souterrain<sup>1</sup> was discovered by the landowner,Mr. Joseph Fitzgerald, Rhinecrew,three months prior to surveying (May 1983). A roofing slab had collapsed for no apparent reason and a hole 65cm. in diameter appeared in the field. The discovery was reported by Mr. Anthony Fitzgerald,Inch, Killeagh, to the Department of Archaeology,U.C.C., and was subsequently surveyed by the authors. There are no visible field monuments or records of marked field monuments in the immediate vicinity on any of the editions of the O.S. maps. The souterrain is situated on a south facing slope at an altitude of 240' above O.D. It is stone built with large roofing slabs. It consists of two chambers set at right angles to each other and joined by a lintelled creephole.

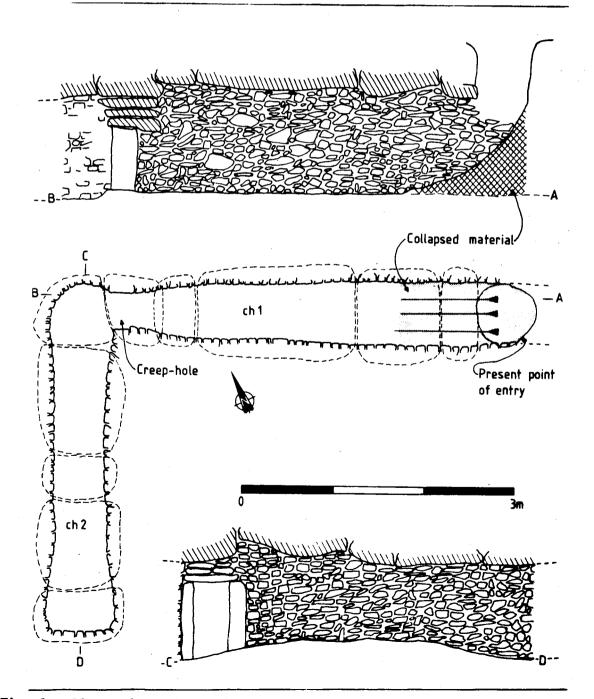


Fig. 1. Plan and Sections of Souterrain of Ballyknock ,Co. Waterford, (near Youghal).

Chamber 1: (Plates I and II)

This chamber is wedge shaped and measures 5.5m.long and narrows from 75cm. wide at the present point of entry to 38cm.wide at the creephole where it joins chamber 2 (Section A-B,Fig.1). The floor and ceiling are level. The height of the chamber, inside the area now covered by collapsed material, is lllcm. The height of the creephole is 67cm.

Chamber 2 (Plate III)

This lies at right angles to Chamber 1, on a north-south axis. This chamber is 3.70m.long and narrows from 50cm. in width at the beginning of the chamber to 45cm. in the centre. The height at the north end of the chamber is 108cm. and at the centre where the surface of the floor rises slightly to a height of 82cm. (Section C-D,Fig.1). The chamber then widens slightly at the end and the floor is lower at this point.

Discussion

A possible third chamber may lie at a right angle to chamber 1 and in a north-easterly direction for an unknown distance. Excavation would be required to determine this. J.P.McCarthy<sup>2</sup> places this type of souterrain in his A2 group. This group consists of souterrains with two chambers or galleries aligned at right angles and are'L' or 'T' shaped in plan. An example of A3 type (which consists of three or more chambers aligned at right angles to each other) is found nearby at Rath<sup>3</sup>, in Co. Cork.

#### NOTES

- 1. Exact location: O.S. 6" scale sheet No.37,Co.Waterford. 25cm.from west margin, 3.6cm. from south margin. By: Coshmore and Coshbride; Ph: Templemichael; Td. Ballyknock.
- Ph: Templemichael; Td. Ballyknock.
  2. J.P.McCarthy, 1983, "Summary of a study of County Cork Souterrains", J.C.H.A.S., Vol.LXXXVIII, pp.100-106.
- 3. Td.Rath; Ph.Ardagh; By: Imokilly; in J.P.McCarthy, op.cit.

#### Acknowledgements

The Department of Archaeology wishes to thank the landowner,Mr.Joseph Fitzgerald,for allowing us to investigate the site; Mr.Anthony Fitzgerald for his assistance; and the Planning Department of Waterford County Council for supplying O.S. maps of the area.

#### A SPANISH POETESS OF CO. WATERFORD ORIGINS:

# MARÍA GERTRUDIS HORE(1742-1801).

by Julian C. Walton.

It will come as a surprise to many to learn that Co. Waterford produced a talented Spanish poetess in the 18th century; yet such is the case.

María Gertrudis Hore, born in Cádiz in 1742, was the only child of Miguel Hore and María Ana Ley. Her father was a native of Dungarvan, where he was born about the year 1700. His parents were Michael Hore and Margaret Mansfield. Both families were well known locally. The senior branch of the Hores belonged to the very few Catholic landed families who had kept their estates through the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations, but Michael almost certainly belonged to a junior branch who had long been merchants in Dungarvan; there are records of them from the early 16th century, they had connections with Spain, and they frequently used the name Michael. The Mansfields were also a Catholic landed family, their seat being at Ballinamultina.

During the late 17th century, Irish trade with Spain centred on Bilbao in the Basque country, and the name Hore occurs among those of Irish merchants who settled there. In the following generation, however, it was Cadiz in the very south of Spain that attracted emigrant Irish merchants. This city, built on what was virtually an island at the head of a large bay, was in the midst of dramatic changes. Up till now, the headquarters of the trade between Spain and her American colonies had been the ancient city of Seville, but Seville does not lie on the coast, and the river Guadalquivir, up which the ships had to pass was proving too small to accommodate all the traffic. In 1717 a monopoly of all the American trade was granted to Cadiz; as a result, it became a boom town, the population rising from about 10,000 to over 70,000 in half a century. Many of the merchants who made their fortunes there were foreigners, principally French, Flemings and Italians, and among them was a small but vigorous group of Irishmen. When Miguel Hore arrived in Cádiz, he would have found himself among Geraldines and Goughs from Waterford, Langtons and Leys from Kilkenny, Geynans from New Ross, and so on.

Miguel had a brother Ignacio, who was also briefly in Cádiz, where he made a will in 1748; however, I have found no other records of him there, and he may have gone on to settle in one of the American colonies. Miguel's first business partner was called Browne: possibly Eduardo Browne of Waterford, husband of Margarita Hore, who may have been a relation. On 12 February 1737, Miguel married María Ana, daughter of Lorenzo Ley. Both the witnesses were Waterford men: Tomas Pober (Power) and Juan Blanco (White). Lorenzo belonged to one of the ancient "tribes" of Kilkenny; he had done well in Cádiz, as may be seen from the fact that he erected a side-altar and had a family vault in the beautiful chapel of the Hospital de Mujeres in 1749. He and his cousins the Langtons were probably the most successful Irish merchants in Cádiz, and it was a great boost to Miguel's fortunes to secure the hand of his daughter. Soon after this, he set up in business with Juan Van Halen, a native of Weerdt in Flanders who had married another daughter of Lorenzo's. The firm of Hore, Van Halen & Co. prospered.

The Hore family lived in a street known as El Boguete ("the gap"), the present Calle Uruguay. Here María Gertrudis was born on 5 December 1742. She was baptized two days later by Francisco Warnes, a Flemish Franciscan who was related to the Leys. In accordance with Spanish practice, there was no miserliness in the awarding of christian names, her full complement being: María Gertrudis Catalina Margarita Josefa Sabad. Her grandfather Lorenzo Ley was the godfather, and the witnesses were Nicolas Langton and Nicolas Jennett.

As the only child of prosperous parents in a thriving city, María would have had an active and fulfilling childhood and adolescence. Cadiz is a city of tall houses and narrow streets, practically surrounded by water; within the walls, life was ( and is) lived intensely. Commerce may have been the life's blood of the city, but we must not imagine that things were duller for this; indeed, the city had a reputation for libertinism. We obtain a vivid picture of Cadiz from an account written by Christian August Fischer of Dresden in 1799. "There can be no place," he remarks, " where sensuality and the sweets of life are more provided for than in Cadiz."

Fischer was so dazzled by the hotbloodedness of the womenfolk that he could only attribute it to the climate. "In Cadiz," he continues, "the beauty of the Andalusian women, their vivacity, their ecstatic high spirits, their inflammable temperament, surpass anything I have previously experienced. More demanding than yielding, more difficult to satisfy than to stimulate, they appear to have dedicated their beauty to pleasure and their lives to sensual delights. Nowhere can the bond between man and woman be more ardently sought after without let or hindrance: nowhere can sensual love be considered so essential a requirement of living; nowhere could the influence of the climate so speedily disarm even the strictest man of morals." The only way of cooling such passions was apparently by a bathe in the sea. Fischer tells us that the ladies bathed on a special part of the beach, the approach to which was strongly guarded by cavalry (!). However, it was not uncommon for daring young men to drape themselves in ladies' veils and skirts and thus elude the watchful eyes of the guards; "so as that intended to extinguish the carnal appetites only succeeds in inflaming them all the more passionately."

Such was the society in which María Gertrudis Hore grew up. Furthermore, her leading place in that society was assured by her remarkable physical beauty and her first-class intellect. She was extremely well educated, being especially proficient in Latin. Her flair for literature, above all poetry, was soon apparent, and we are told that when sewing she would abruptly drop her needle because of some sudden literary inspiration. Soon she was the centre of a whole circle of talented and vivacious young people, among whom she was known as "La Hija del Sol" ( the Daughter of the Sun) because of the way she outshone her contemporaries.

Fate, however, had other things in store for La Hija del Sol. As the sole heir to her father's business, she was obviously a matrimonial prize, and in 1762, when she was just a few months short of her twentieth birthday, she was married off to a merchant of Puerco de Santa Maria named Esteban Fleming. Puerto de Santa María, or Port St.Mary, is on the mainland side of Cádiz Bay. It is a great deal smaller than Cádiz, more spacious and with lower houses. It had then a thriving merchant community, among whom were several Irishmen, including the wine merchants Terry and Oneale. Esteban Fleming was considerably older than Maria. His father, Juan Fleming ( a native of Clonmel) and his mother Elena Margarita Geynan ( whose father had come from New Ross) had been married in 1720. The impression one gets of Esteban is of a kindly, humourless man absorbed in his work. He was hardly an ideal soul-mate for a vivacious young poetess; nor did life in Puerto de Santa Maria compare with life in Cadiz.

However, Maria's existence seems to have continued without major upheaval for some years. Her husband was frequently absent on business trips; they had no children. In 1764 her father died and she inherited his fortune; in the following year her mother remarried and went to live elsewhere. Then in 1779, apparently quite out of the blue, she announced that she wished to become a nun ! Her husband raised no objection, and she entered as a novice the convent of Santa María de Cádiz.

What caused her to take this amazing step ? Why should she have abruptly abandoned her life of comfort and popularity ? One pious writer asserts that she had become vain, and had gone in for ostentatious piety in order to attract attention to herself. She would kneel before a statue, smite herself on the breast, sigh deeply, and turn her ravishing eyes on those around her. Suddenly she underwent a genuine conversion. Her husband found her one day kneeling before a crucifix, in floods of tears. She begged him to let her become a nun, and he sadly assented, giving her a "casto beso en la frente" (chaste kiss on the brow).

This unsatisfactory explanation is probably as near the truth as we are likely to get. However, the local historian Fernan Caballero reported a tradition current in his day, which offered a more romantic answer to the question.

About the year 1764, he says María was living with her mother in the Real Isla de León ( now San Fernando), where some Cadiz families had country houses. Her husband was away on a journey to Havana. The male element in her life was supplied instead by Don Carlos de las Navas, commandant of the naval cadets. His nocturnal visits to her were arranged with the help of María's negro servant Francisca. One night, La Hija del Sol was waiting for her lover in the garden. However, on opening the gate, she saw to her horror that he was being followed by two men. Before she could intervene, they attacked him, stabbed him repeatedly with their daggers, and fled. Mistress and maid managed to recover their senses sufficiently to hide the body and clean the blood off the ground, so that no one should suspect what had happened. Next day they heard the cheerful music of the sailors returning from Jerez. There at the head of the band Maria saw .... Don Carlos de las Navas, her dead lover ! At this she lost her head completely, crying out to Heaven for mercy and confessing what had happened to those around her, who thought she had gone mad. A nervous breakdown followed, and when she had recovered from this she wrote to her husband, confessed her guilt, and asked his permission to enter a convent.

Whatever about the supernatural element of this story, the chronological facts do not really fit in. It is quite possible that she was living with her mother in the Isla de León in 1764, between her father's death and her mother's remarriage. However, it was not until fifteen years later that she entered the convent. Furthermore, a few days after becoming a num María wrote a poem ("Anacreóntica: a Gerarda") to one of her former companions, urging her likewise to renounce her worldly pleasures and take the veil; the tone of the poem is lighthearted and chiding, which would hardly have been the case had María been in a state of emotional shock.

Maria took her final vows in 1780, and spent the rest of her life in the convent. She was an exemplary num. One thing she could not do, however, was stop writing poetry. Most of her verse in this period was devotional in theme and included translations of Latin works. However, we may guess that she continued to write on other topics as well, for we are told that some of her poems she burned, and some she handed over to her confessor. She died on 9 August 1801.

We conclude our account of this remarkable woman with a sonnet written in her honour when she had just entered the convent by a Cádiz poet, the Marques de Meritos. Incidentally, the fact that it does not hint at any melodramatic motive for her action further discounts the popular tradition of a breakdown following the murder of her lover.

> Ya en sacro velo esconde la hermosure, en sayal tosco el garbo y gentileza, La Hija del Sol,a quien por su belleza asi llamo del mundo la locura. Entra humilde y alegre en la clausura huella la mundanal falaz grandeza triunfadora de si sube a la altura de la Santa Sion mansion segura. Nada puede con ella el triste encanto del siglo, la ilusion y la malicia; antes lo mira con horror y espanto.

> Recibe el parabien, feliz Novicia, y recibe tambien el nombre santo de Hija amada del que es Sol de Justicia.

('Now beauty hides in sacred veil, elegance and grace in coarse cloth. Daughter of the Sun the mad world called her on account of her beauty. She enters the cloister humbly and cheerfully. She treads underfoot the world's deceitful grandeur. Triumphantly she climbs the heights to the safe mansion of holy Sion.

"The sad charms of the age, illusion and malice, can do nothing with her; nay, she regards them with horror and dread. Receive congratulation, happy novices, and receive also the holy name of beloved Daughter of him who is the Sun of Justice").

SOURCES:

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Personal research in Cadiz parish registers and notarial archives. I should like to express my profound gratitude to Don Fernando Toscano de Puelles of Cadiz for his help and advice.

#### LISTING OF MONASTIC POSSESSIONS IN WATERFORD, c.1540.

#### by Tom Nolan.

In the listing that follows I have tried to bring together from published sources the land held in Waterford city and county by various religious houses at the time of the general suppression of the monasteries 1536 - 1540. Sixteen religious houses in all had property or rights in Waterford - 6 Augustinian ( male and female ), 3 Cistercian, 2 Franciscan and one each Benedictine, Dominican and Hospitaller plus some holdings of the English abbeys of Bath and Keynsham. The listing does not include land or rights held by other religious institutions such as the bishop, dean and chapter of the cathedral at Waterford or Lismore (see Archives IV, this issue, re the former).

When these orders were introduced into Ireland in the 12th century they were endowed with large tracts of land and urban property, and over the following centuries many received further donations. Parishes or rectories were often placed under their control and these provided income in three ways tithes (usually one tenth of the crops of the parish), altarages (fees for using the altar for baptisms, marriages,etc.) and advowsons (the right to nominate clergy). In some cases the parish or rectory was wholly owned by the order so that they had the three sources of income from it: in other cases only tithes or part thereof (usually two thirds) went to the order.

Nearly all the religious houses with possessions in Waterford were suppressed in 1540 and their possessions sold or leased by the crown to a variety of people. The Benedictine Priory of St. John had been suppressed four years earlier, possibly because that was when its mother house in Bath was suppressed. It may be significant, however, that St.John's had more holdings in Waterford than all the other monasteries put together. Next most richly endowed here were the Hospitallers who in 1320 had acquired the Templar possessions Crook and Kilbarry following the suppression of the Preceptories there.<sup>1</sup> The Cistercians and Augustinians, who tended to be big landowners in other areas, were not well represented in County Waterford and it would seem that their houses here were relatively poor. Likewise, the Franciscans and Dominicans, in keeping with the mendicant nature of their calling, had little property, mostly urban. Bath and Keynsham do not feature in the list below, as each is recorded as simply owning "a farm", the former in Kinsale parish, the latter unspecified.

There are some inadequacies, however, in the evidence of these monastic possessions. It is not clear if the words "rectory" or "vill" are interchangeable words for parish. Also, just as there was such a thing as a "Waterford Measure" for corn,<sup>2</sup> there may well have been local variations in estimates of what constituted an acre. If, for instance, the "vill of Kilbarry" is the equivalent of the modern civil parish , then the Hospitaller property there of 120 " acres" is equivalent to 456 statute acres. Urban properties pose even greater difficulties when they are defined simply as a "garden"; and what are we to make of the suggestion that St. Catherine's and St. John's between them owned not only 116 urban gardens or messuages but a total of 38 acres of meadow, pasture, etc. " in Waterford city" as well ? Are we to conclude that the Franciscans had become slum landlords when we find their income listed as " six upper rooms" let to six different tenants ? And how did the Augustinians

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R = Rectory L = Land

T = Tithes B = Buildings

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of Dungarvan come to own " one room " in rural Ballinroad ? etc., etc. . There are also a few townland names which seem to have no modern equivalent.

What follows, therefore, can only be a rough guide to the power and wealth of the various religious orders prior to their suppression. The two wealthiest communities, it seems, were the Benedictines and Hospitallers, but their houses in Waterford may have only been collecting agencies for mother houses in England. However, until similar studies are done for other counties, what follows can not be put into perspective.

POSSES	SIONS OF KNIGHTS H	OSPITALLERS, K	ILBARRY, 1541.
Location of Property/Right	Modern Name	Civil Parish	Description of Property/ Right
Kilbarry	Kilbarry	Kilbarry	120 acres
Ballenemoney	Ballinamona	Kilbarry	120 acres
Ballynleash	Ballynaneasagh ?	Kilbarry	60 acres
Ballyowe	Ballyhoo	Kilbarry	60 acres
Targanerd	Carriganard	Kilbarry	60 acres
Crooke	Crook	Crook	Vill of 120 acres & 2
			ferries
Dromynagh	Dromina	Crook	Vill of 373 acres.
Drumkannon	Drumcannon	Drumcannon	Rectory,
Farrenlogh	Ballylough?	Kilmacleague	Vill of 616 acres,
Illanekene	Islandkane	Islandkane	Rectory.
Kyllure	Killure	Killure	Vill of 120 acres & 6
			cottages.
Kylseyntlaurence	Kill St.Laurence	ibid.	Rectory.
Loghdowan <i>y</i>	Loughdeheen	Lisnakil	Vill of 120 acres,
Whalyng	Faithlegg	Faithlegg	Rectory.
	in Waterford City		"Colpeks Mylle" ( a
			watermill);3 acres of
			marsh in Kilbarry;
<i>i</i>			3 messuages and a ferry.

### DOMINICAN POSSESSIONS 1541 4 (All in Waterford City)

2 gardens  $(\frac{1}{2} \text{ acre})$ ; 3 tenements (held by Ed.Surlock & R. Gibbs); a messuage (John Butler); a chamber (W.Wise); 2 chambers with 2 upper rooms (T.White); a watercourse running through Priors land held by Wm.Lincoln and chapter of Christ Church; 15 acres "called Kingsmeadow near Lysdugen", 7

#### FRANCISCAN POSSESSIONS 1541

(All in Waterford City)

"Certain lands' (held by Nicholas Gnarth); "certain tenements" (held by David Bali); " a tenement" (held by Walter Wadding);"6 upper rooms"(held by R. Walsh, J. Walsh, J. Walsh, J. Woodloke, J. Sloyer, Ed. Browne); "a garden" (John Iei).

Augustinian House	Location of Property/ right	Modern Name		Description of Property or right.
Dungarvan 5	"Vill of Dungarvan"	Dungarvan	Dungarvan	38 tenements and gardens(held by John FitzWilliam
			•	etc.) 3 parks or closes
				(6 <sup>2</sup> acres)with 2 acres adjacent.
				$2\frac{1}{2}$ acres near Allphanons with 3 gardens adjacent.
	"Ballynrodie"	Ballinroad	Dungarvan	Vill (30 acres) 4 Messuages and a room.
Inistioge <sup>0</sup> (Co.Kilkenny	"Ballykelly" y)	Ballinhalla	Tullaghor- ton	The rectory
Killculli <sup>7</sup> heen	Stradeballey "Dunhyll"	Stradbally Dunhill	Stradbally Dunhill	The rectory } tithes
(nunnery)	Newcastle "Kylky"	Newcastle Guilcagh	Newcastle Guilcagh	Tithes.
Molana <sup>8</sup>	"Mullyhanny" or" <b>B</b> arrnish" "Rincro"	Molana Rincrew	Temple- michael Temple- michael	3 salmon weirs & "Channon's Mill" 50 acres;"the quarters"(150
				<pre>acres);2 islands "near vill of Combye rectory".</pre>
	"Templemyghell"		Temple- michael	The rectory with tithes from 6 wiers & 2 mills plus "some land".
	"Tullaghe" "Kilnicannagh" "Downemowne"	Tallow Dunmoon	Tallow Kilcockan Kilwater-	Rectory. Rectory and some land 50 acres
	Kilwatermoy	ibid	moy ibid	Rectory
9	"Deskerty" "Gleawne	Dysert ?	Ardmore ?	Rectory and some land Rectory .
Mothel <sup>®</sup>	"Ballylaghlin"	Ballylaneen	een	Rectory.
	"Illanyvryke"	Danes Island	Ballylan- een	Rectory.
	"Kylvenagh"	?	?	Vill (3 acres of) and chapel.
	"Molargy" "Mothell"	Munsbor- Mothel	Mothel Mothel	Rectory. Precincts(1½acres): desmesne lands (120 acres);vill (100 acres) and rectory.
	"Rathcomyke"	Rathgormack	Rathgorm	
	"Tampuleny"	Templetney	Templetne	y Rectory.

AUGUSTINIAN POSSESSIONS 1541.

(AUGUSTINIAN	POSSESSIONS	1541) contd.		
Augustinian House	Location o property/ right	Name	Civil Parish	Description of property or right
10 St.Catherine'	"Clownemha Kylloghane "Kyllon"	m" Clonega Killowe Killone	en Cloneg	am Rectory. 1 Rectory.
	in Waterfo City	-		37 gardens,a grove of underwood and 3 meadows(total 6 acres).
	Grange of Catherine	9 C •		60 acres,3 messuages, tithes of 4 acres.
	Parish of Michael (S Parish of	Suburb)		A tenement with a close plus 2 other tenements 2 tenements.
	Patrick (S Parish of Nicholas	uburb)		Rectory(value £j).
11	"le Newtow	n"		A parcel of land and 4 acres meadow.
11 St.Thomas' (Dublin)		in Wate	erford City	A tenement held by Philip Bryan. Divers tenements held by Sir William Wise.
				.John,Waterford City)
Location of property/ rig		lodern Name	Civil Parish	Description of property or right
"Arkredan"		redan	Killea	240 acres
"Annyellestow Ballycohyn/Ba necourty1"		Ballinkina?	Kilmacom	80 Acres
"Ballydavy"	F	Ballydavid	Crook	60 acres
"Balleherkan" (alias"Ballyv	' E	Ballymabin	Killea	240 acres
"Ballydavybeg		Ballydavid	Crook	50 acres
"Balligarron"		Ballygarron	Kilmac- leage	Tithes of vill
"Ballychoyn" (Lordship of)	i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	Ballinkina	Kilmac-	240 acres
"Ballylurkanb "Ballytruckel		Ballymabin Ballytruckle		60 acres s Tithes of vill of Kilcopp
"Kilcopp"	к	Cilcop	Without Kilcop	Tithes of vill
"Kilhee"		Killea	Killea	Rectory
"Lecarron"		icoran	Licoran	30 acres
"Le Leccam"		icawn	Killea	120 acres & 16 messuages
(alias "Kilke "Lysdugyn &"L	ystore" I	isduggan &	Trinity	240 acres
Lombard's Lan		bismore combard's Moodow		s Tithes of vill
"Lysviltie"	L	Meadow iscelty	Without Rathmoy- lan	120 acres and rabbit burrow.

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(BENEDICTINE POSSESSION			1
Location of Property/Right	Modern Name	Civil Parish	Description of property or right
"Rathemelan"	Rathmoylan	Rathmoy- Ian	
	in Waterford C		"Priory, cemetery and chapel of the Virgin Mary of the Castle with all its tithes". "The court barron within the parish of St.John & all things appertaining to said court". Watkyn's Mill,St.John's mill & 2 docks. 20 acres arable land,12 pasture & 10 meadow. 40 messuages & "reversion of" 39 messuages "Several possession in liberties & Suburbs".

## CISTERCIAN POSSESSIONS 1541

Cistercian House	Location of Property/ Right	Modern Name	Civil Parish	Description of Property or right
13 Inishlounagh (Clonmel)	"Glanwydan"	Ballyvaden	Monks- Iand	Vill (260 acres) rectory and watermill.
	"Kylmack"	Kilmacomma	Inishlo- unaght	Manor (68 acres)
(,	in Waterford C			3 Messuages held by J. Devereux,N.Madanys & by Holy Trinity Parish, 2 Messuages held by William Wise,
Tintern (Co.Wexford)	In Waterford C	ity		4 tenements(held by J.Gough,W.Wise, the Arch- deacon and ?),

SOURCES:

1. Knights Templars "Decies" 14, 1980.

2. White, Newport B., Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, <u>1540 - '41</u>. pp.186,188,190,344,354,360. ("Waterford Measure" gives only 16 gallons to the peck. This measure was in use in St. Catherine's Priory (Waterford) also in Tintern, Dunbrody, Kells and Inistioge.)

- 3. ibid. pp.99,100.
- 4. ibid. p.351.
- 5. ibid. p.347.
- 6. ibid. pp.187 191.
- 7. ibid. p.205.
- 8. ibid. p.148.
- 9. ibid. pp. 348 9
- 10. ibid. pp.341- 3.
- 11. ibid. pp.44 48.
- 12. Archdall, Mervyn, <u>Monastican Hibernicum</u>. Dublin,1786. PP.700 - 703.
- White, Newport B., Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540 - '41. pp.337-9.
- 14. ibid. p.356.
- 15. ibid. p.360.

#### by the Editor

This estate of 5800 statute acres extended from the southern boundaries of the townlands of Lismore, Skibereen, Lisduggan, Pastimeknock and Kingsmeadow southward to the Tramore Back Strand. It comprised either the whole or part of 19 townlands. Additionally, it included one lot of property in the city of Waterford. The latter included 7 houses and the Trinitarian Orphan House fronting to John St./Apple Market, both sides of John's Avenue ( not then developed as at present) and 4 houses and other buildings on the south side of Parnell St. (then Beresford St.) east of St.John's Church. This city property is described as Bingley Row, the name deriving from George Lord Bingley, who in 1763 gave a 99 year Lease of it to John Roberts. In an auctioneer's description of the estate drawn up in 1857 the tenant of Bingley Row is given as William Roberts, representative of John Roberts. Lane Fox's forebears had held the title of Baron Bingley.

The printed rental which accompanied the description shows that the gross rent came to \$5517 p.a. from which tithes to the value of \$188 were payable, leaving a net annual rent of \$5329 - probably more than half a million pounds in today's money.

The particulars of tenancies are accompanied by maps beautifully drawn by Arthur Ussher Roberts, C.E., on a scale of 6 inches to a mile. Copies of these documents may be seen in the Waterford Room at the Municipal Library (Ref.18/11) and must be of interest to those who still hold property in the former Lane Fox estate.

As the immediate effects of the famine declined, certain other important and lasting secondary effects emerged. Hand in hand with reduced population went an increase in the size of agricultural holdings and an improvement in agriculture generally. But tenants were more than ever embittered against their landlords. The ideas of the Young Irelanders had been absorbed and those who now preached support for tenant rights got a ready hearing.

The landlords had their own problems too. Something like 10% of them had been reduced to bankruptcy by declining rents and an unwillingness on their part to lower their standards of living. To help them dispose of their lands and to open up an opportunity for a more forward-looking type of landlord, there was enacted in 1849 the Encumbered Estates Act. It was in this social climate and under the provisions of this Act that Lane Fox decided to part with his Waterford estate. Commissioners appointed for the purpose put it up for sale in lots by auction on the 26th June 1857. We do not know who bought what lands or whether they were bought at all. Very little must have been sold to judge from a Parliamentary return of 1871 which gives his Co. Waterford estate as 5219 statute acres worth £4350 p.a. The original land grant under the Act of Settlement and Explanation (Charles II) was made to Sir George Lane but this consisted of 1649 plantation acres ( = 2671 statute acres). By the time the estate was sold its area had more than doubled.

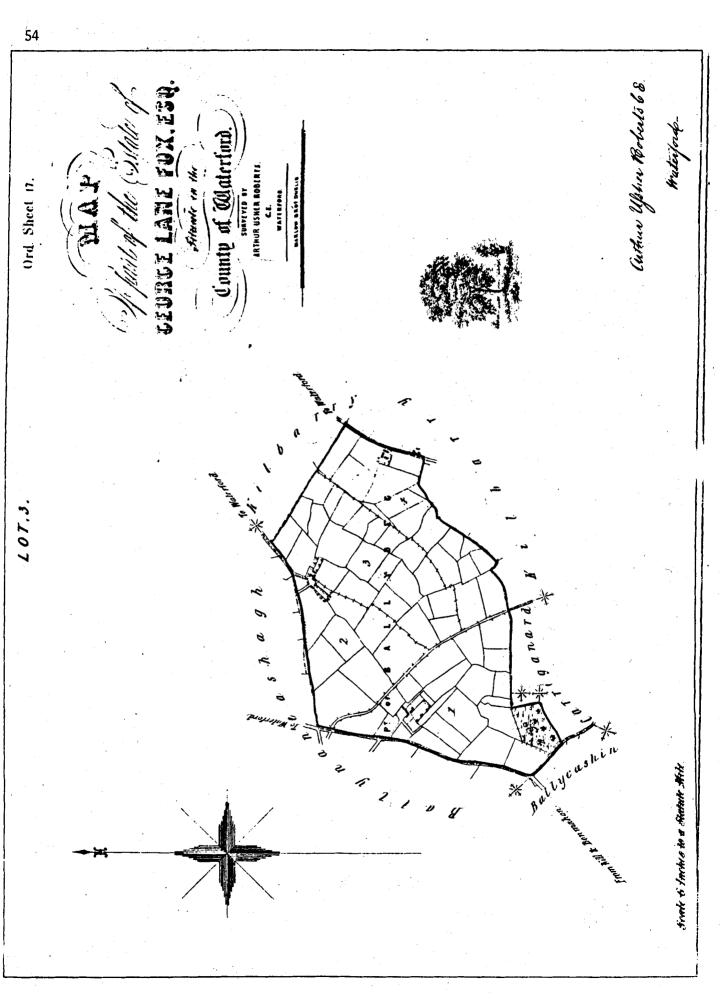
Apart from being an absentee, (he lived in Surrey), Lane Fox does not appear to have been a popular landlord. This is obvious from a record of an interruption that occurred during O'Connell's Repeal meeting at Ballybricken. Referring (rather unfairly) to Henry Villiers Stuart, someone in the crowd shouted that he was " as bad as Lane Fox", whereupon the Liberator corrected him. "No", he said, "Lane Fox is mad, not bad". That was in 1843 and the "madness" that O'Connell had in mind may well have been the scheme that Lane Fox advocated for the construction of an embanked canal from Tramore to Waterford - not for navigation, but to drain the Kilbarry marshes and, hopefully, to facilitate the reclamation of the whole of the back strand at Tramore, part of which had already been reclaimed by the redoubtable Mr. Rivers who had benefitted Tramore in so many other ways.

Giving evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, Thomas Wyse, whose estate adjoined that of Lane Fox, warmly commended this project but cited it as a typical case where there was need for legislation to ensure that desirable public works of this nature should not be frustrated by a minority of "reluctant proprietors". Wyse told the Committee that Lane Fox had obtained good engineering advice and had been told that the canal could be dug for about \$6000, giving extensive employment for at least three years, but that, owing to the apathy of certain proprietors, the difficulty of raising money and from lack of concurrence on the part of Grand Juries, the work had not been undertaken. It had long been in contemplation to have a canal and a road from Tramore to Waterford. The road was to come in the 1840's and the railway was to be undertaken in 1853 but the only effort at draining the marshes (sufficient to relieve the annual winter flooding of the road) had to await the closing of the railway in 1959 when its abandoned track could be made to accommodate a dragline.

Wyse also said he had been informed by Mr. Stewart, Mr.Lane Fox's agent, that, in the event of the drainage and reclamation project going ahead, it was the landlord's intention "not to expel from his estate any surplus of the population but to locate them on the acquired land in small holdings and to allow them successively, as they acquired skill and capital, to make the acquisition of additional lots commensurate to their intelligence and means of improvement."

What probably decided Lane Fox to sell was the completion of the railway, which ran almost entirely through his property and which, therefore, must have had a devastating effect on the farming of individual holdings and on the overall administration.

Townlands included, partly or wholely, in the estate were: Ballynaneashagh, Kilbarry, Ballybeg, Carrigroe, Lacken, Ballyhoo, Carrickanard, Duagh, Ballyknock, Tourgarr, Ballykinsella, Quilly, Castletown, Killoen, Drumcannon, Ballynattin, Garracrobally, Liselan and Ballycordrea.



#### LOT 3.

### Consisting of part of the Fee-simple Lands of Ballybeg, containing 266A. OR. 5P. Statute Measure, situate in the Parish of Kilbarry, Barony of Gaultier, and County of Waterford; together with the Tithes or Composition in lieu thereof payable and issuing thereout.

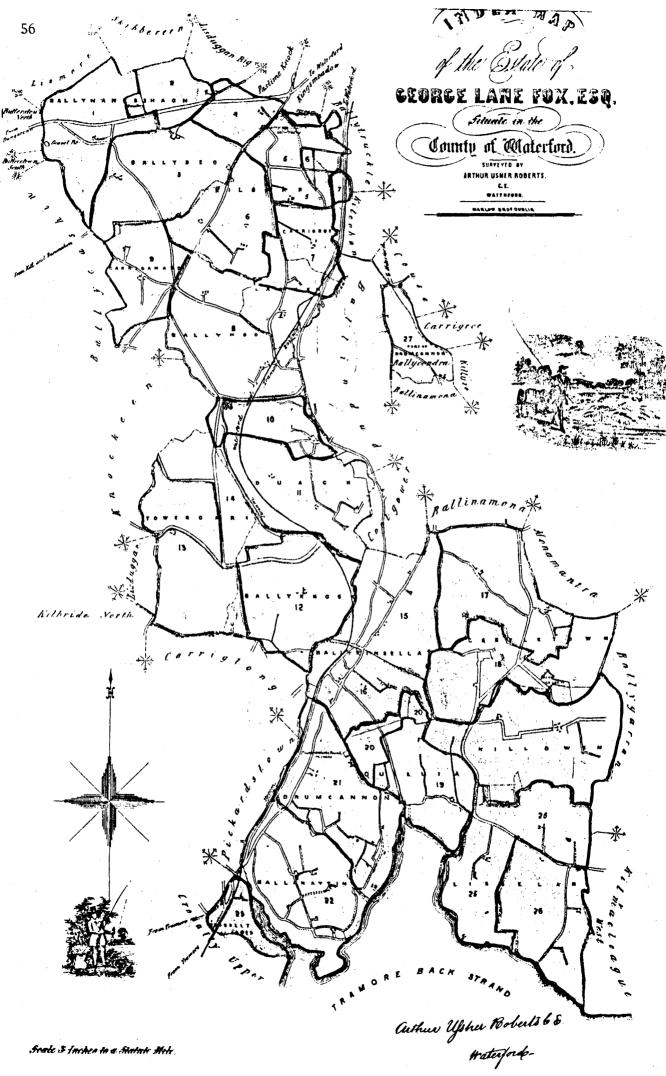
No. on Map.	Townland or Denomination.	Tenants' Names.		Quantity of Lund. Statute Measure, according to the Survey of A. U. Roberts, Esq. C.E.	Yearly Rents, as reserved.	Gale Days	Tepare.	Observations.
1	BALLYBEG, Part of	John Walsh,	A. B. P. 44 2 26	A. B. F. 73 0 13		25th March and 29th September,	Held by Lease bearing date 28th February, 1856, made by George Lane Fox to John Walsh, for 21 years, from 29th September, 1845	The Landlord's counterpart of this tenant's Lease will be handed to the Purchaser, and contains simi- lar special provisions to those stated in Lease of Tenant No. One,
2	•	Walter Hally,	32 3 20	53 1 0		25th March and 29th September,	Tenancy from year to year, determi- nable on the 25th March in each year.	in Lot No. 1.
3		Patrick Fitzpatrick.	46 0 36	75 0 16		25th March and 29th Septemer,	Held by Lease bearing date 28th February, 1856, made by George Lane Fox, Esq. to Patrick Fitz- patrick, for 21 years from 29th September, 1845.	The Landlord's counterpart of this tenant's lease will be banded to the l'urclasser, and contains simi- lar special provisions to those stated in lease of tenant No. One, Lot No. 1.
4	•	Margaret Hartry,	34 2 4	57 3 11		25th March and 29th September,	Held by Lease bearing date 28th February, 1856, made by George Lane Fox, Esq, to Margaret Hartry, for 21 years, from the 29th September, 1845.	The Landlord's counterpart of this tenant's lease will be handed to the Purchaser, and contains simi- tar spreial provisions to those stuted in lease of tenant No. One, Lot No. 1,
5		In hands of Owner,	4 0 29	635	600			Larch and Fir plantation of 22 years growth. Estimated annual value according to valuation of A. U. Roberts, Esq.
	•		162 1 35	266 0 5£	327 10 0			1

The quit rent in respect of this Lot will be redeemed out of the Purchase money and the Tithes of said lot conveyed to the purchaser by the same Deed of Conveyance as the lands.

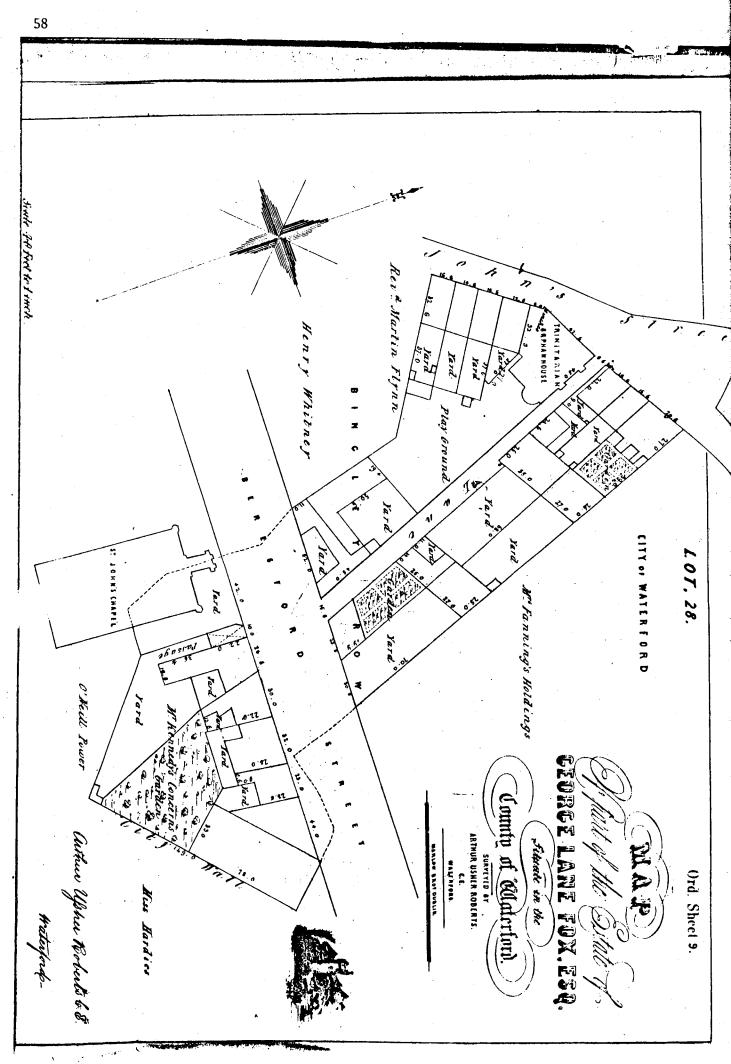
Descriptive Particulars of Lot No. 3.

This Lot adjoins Nos. 1 and 2. The land is of very prime description. The tenants are excellent and the farm houses and offices are in good order. There is a small plantation on this lot the timber is larch and fir of 22 years growth.

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1         Contry of Wateford Efstat. $A = T$ </th <th>No. of Lot.</th> <th>Denominations</th> <th>Quantity of Land S Plantation Measure, according to the lettings</th> <th>Quantity of Laud, Statute Measure, accord- ing to the survey of Arthur U. Boberta, Eeq. C. E.</th> <th>Grou Annual Rents.</th> <th>Tithe Rent Charge.</th> <th>Net Annual Renta.</th>	No. of Lot.	Denominations	Quantity of Land S Plantation Measure, according to the lettings	Quantity of Laud, Statute Measure, accord- ing to the survey of Arthur U. Boberta, Eeq. C. E.	Grou Annual Rents.	Tithe Rent Charge.	Net Annual Renta.
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#### LOT 28.

Consisting of House Property and Building Ground, formerly called Bingley Row, now forming a portion of, and situate in Beresford-street, John-street, and Orphan House Lane, in the Parish of Saint John's Within, and City of Waterford.

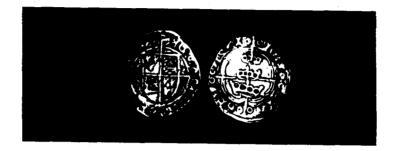
No. Da Map.	Townland or Denomination.	Tenanis' Names.	Irish Plantation Measure, according to the	Quantity of Land Statute Measure, according to the survey of A. U. Roberts, Esq. C. E.	Yearly Rents as reserved.	Gale Days.	Tenure.	Observations.
1	BINGLEY ROW,	Willium Roberts, Representative of John Roberts,	4. E. P. 0 3 34	▲ ₽. ₽. 0 3 34	£ n. d. 27 13 11	25th March and 29th September.	Held by lease dated 10th August, 1763, for 99 years, to be com- puted from the 25th March, 1763, from the Right Honorable George Lord Bingley to John Roberts.	The landlord's counterpart of this tenant's lease will be handed to the purchaser. Griffith's Valuation of Lot No. 28, is £174 5s.
			0 3 34	0 8 34	27 13 11			

The Quit Rent payable out of this Lot will be redeemed from the purchase moncy.

Descriptive Particulars of Lot No. 28.

On the expiration of the lease of this Lot on the 25th day of March, 1862, by reference to Mr. Griffith's certified Government Valuation, stated in observations, it will be seen what an increase in the Rental must then take place. This Lot is additionally well circumstanced and situate within 100 yards of the Terminus of the Waterford and Tramore Railway.

by Gerard Rice.



Such documentary evidence as there is seems to back up Waterford's claim to be the only city of Anglo-Norman Ireland which resisted the blandishments of the Kildare Geraldines and their allies in the 1480's. For there had been produced a young boy pretending to be the son of the Duke of Clarence and nephew, therefore, of Edward IV and Richard III, as well as first cousin of Edward V (the elder of the two "Princes in the Tower" who had reigned for a few months). Those who adhered to the cause of the House of York supported the pretender against Henry VII, the champion of the House of Lancaster. Henry VII, victor at Bosworth Field over Richard III of York, had been king for two years. Apart from certain Bishops, his only Irish champions were the Butlers of Kilkenny and the City of Waterford. Thus, it is remembered with some pride by the citizens of Waterford that they alone of the Irish cities opposed the young claimant, ( who was, in fact, a boy called Lambert Simnel, of no royal lineage), despite the powerful support of so great a figure as Garret, Earl of Kildare.

Against this, the traditional account of Waterford's stand, however, the survival of certain coins casts a serious doubt on the unswerving allegiance of the city to the English Crown at this period.

Since Richard III's time, and continued by Henry VII, a new type of Irish coinage had been struck at Dublin and at Waterford. It had the royal arms, and often name, on one side and three crowns on the other. To distinguish the production of the two cities, two ornaments or motifs on the coinage were different. One had on each of the arms and legs of the cross, on both sides of the coin, a triangle of solid spheres; the other had triangles of hollow spheres or annulets. We know that the first identified the coins of Dublin and the second those of Waterford, as some coins of the issue bear the legend CIVITAS DUBLINIE and others CIVITAS WATERFORD. On the 2nd of May 1487 Simnel was carried up the Cathedral of St. Patrick in Dublin and crowned as Edward VI, King of Ireland and England, with a crown taken from the statue of the Blessed Virgin. A few now very rare coins were struck in Dublin with the title EDWARDUS REX AN. on one side and REX HYBERNIE on the other. But a few other coins are known, all with the annulets of Waterford and the title EDWARDUS on one side and on the other CIVITAS WATERFORD. Others have Waterford devices with, on the reverse, an E struck over a H (for Henry VII). Coins, unlike documents, could not all be destroyed and these survive to deny the proud reputation of Waterford for unbroken loyalty. They were struck, presumably, in the months May to July, 1487.

This is not all. In the months August to October 1487 a fairly common series of three-crown groats, with a few half-groats, were struck in Waterford which have on the obverse, on either side of the royal coat of arms on the bottom half of the coin, two tiny coats of arms, both with the saltire on them, the family arms of the Geraldine Kildares. In other words, these coins, too, prove in an objective way that, at least briefly, Garret Mor, Earl of Kildare, controlled the Waterford mint and literally put his stamp upon it; it implies, of course, that he controlled the city, too, making its claim to constant loyalty to Henry Tudor at least an exaggeration.

Soon, of course, Garret made his peace with Henry VII and the legend of Waterford's loyalty grew, with no one interested enough to deny it. Only the coins survive to tell another story, the full details of which we will never know.

SOURCES:

Dolley: <u>Medieval Anglo-Irish Coins</u>. London,1972,pp.32 & 33. Seaby : <u>The Coins of Scotland, Ireland and the Islands</u>.London, 1984, p.128.

Old Waterford Society

SUMMER / AUTUMN PROGRAMME 1984

1984

- July, 22nd : Outing: To Lady's Island, conducted by Mr. Nicholas Furlong. Depart City Hall at 2.00 p.m. to arrive at Lady's Island at 3.15 p.m.
- August, 12th : Outing: To Kilmeaden, conducted by Mr. Julian Walton, Member. Depart City Hall at 2.30 p.m.

August, 26th : Outing: To Villierstown District, conducted by Messrs. Des Cowman, Ciaran Tracey, and William Fraher. Depart from City Hall at 2.30 p.m.

#### LECTURES

All lectures will be held at the Art Centre, O'Connell Street, Waterford.

September, 28th: "Mid 17th Century Tipperary, with reference to Kilkenny & Waterford." Prof. Wm. Smith, U.C.C.

October, 19th : "Medieval Shelbourne"

Mr. Billy Colfer, N.T.

November, 9th : "5,000 Years of Irish Art and Architecture".

Dr. Peter Harbison, Archaelogical Officer, Bord Failte Eireann.

December, 9th : Annual Luncheon of O.W.S.

DECIES is published thrice yearly by the Old Waterford Society and is distributed free to members.

The public are invited to the lectures listed above and to join the Society. Alternatively, intending members may send their £5 subscription for 1984 membership to the Hon. Treasurer of the Old Waterford Society:

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