Old Waterford Society

DECIES

XXXI

Spring 1986

Old Waterford Society

DECIES

XXXI

SPRING 1986

Contents

Front Cover: Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford, by Fergus Dillon.

This early 13th century Cistercian abbey was founded by William the Marshall. At the time of the dissolution it was converted into a residence by the Colclough family and remained as such until recent times. It has been the subject of archaeological investigation and conservation by the Office of Public Works under the direction of Dr. Anne Lynch who is due to deliver a lecture on the subject in April.

The Old Waterford Society is very grateful to Waterford Crystal , Ltd. for their generous financial help towards the production of this issue of Decies.

Decies is published thrice yearly by the Old Waterford Society and is issued free to Members.

The Society wishes to express its appreciation of the facilities afforded to it by the Regional Technical College in the production of this issue.

Editorial

Giving evidence before a Royal Commission early in the last century the Town Clerk of Waterford confirmed that in 1813, when the City Council were leaving their former meeting place at the Exchange on the Quay, the Mayor gave a direction that five cartloads of old manuscripts accumulated there should be destroyed as being "useless lumber". How much richer might the city archives now be if these documents had been allowed to survive.

Happily, we live in more enlightened times when the value of archive material is appreciated by public authorities. This is singularly evident from the fact that the Corporations of Dublin, Cork and Limerick now include archivists on their staffs and that Waterford Corporation has retained the services of a professional archivist on a temporary basis since last April, her brief being to compile a descriptive list of the archives in the Corporation and design a suitable classification scheme to facilitate access and retrieval. She will also be advising on the preservation of the City's Royal Charters which are at present on display in Reginald's Tower. We congratulate the City Manager and Council on making such an appointment.

It is safe to prophesy that when this official's report is made publi (as we hope it will) it will come as a great surprise to many citizens to realise the extent of the muniments and other documents of local historica value housed within the Corporation's premises. It should also encourage those who are in a position to do so to add to the city collection by donating original documents or archival value such as letters from the las century bearing on local matters, freedom certificates, old maps etc.

.....

Our warmest congratulations to Dr. John de Courcy Ireland on having been made a member of the Academie de Marine. He is the first Irishman to be given such an honour.

Dr. Ireland is honorary Research Officer of the Maritime Institute of Ireland and has written extensively over many years on every aspect of maritime history as affecting Ireland. It will be recalled that he contributed an article in Decies XXX on Sir Thomas Stucley.

.....

J.S.C.

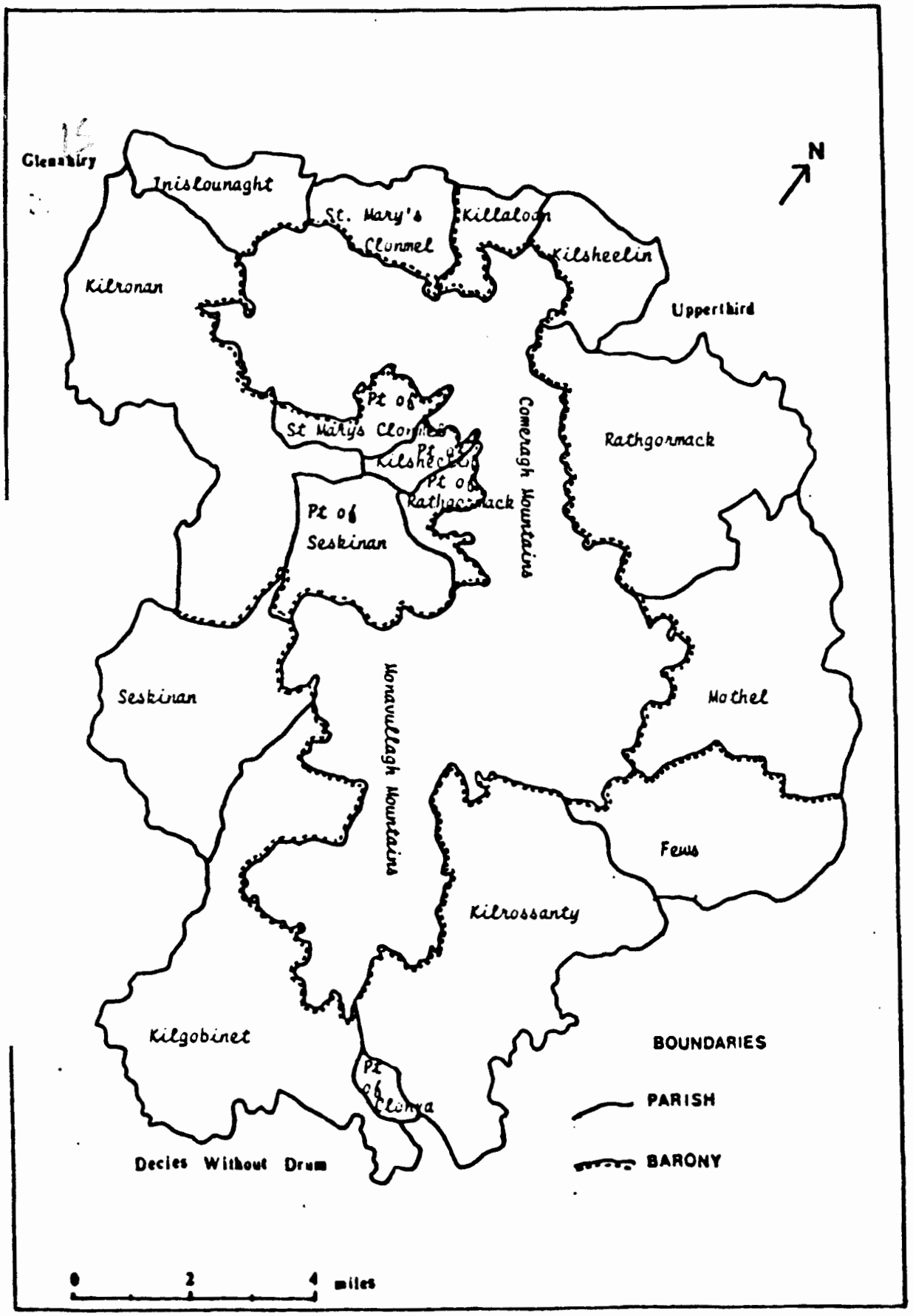


Fig. 1 The Study Area.

Settlement and Colonisation in the Marginal Areas of the Comeragh Mountains

Catherine Ketch.

Introduction.

In this sequence of papers the aim is to reconstruct some aspects of the economic,social and cultural history of the area which surrounds the Comeragh mountains. The study area includes parts of three baronies and all or part of twelve civil parishes (see figure 1.) The themes of (i) land values and landuse, (ii) socio-economic structure and (iii) population and settlement are examined by a comparison of the mid seventeenth and mid nineteenth century situations. An attempt is made to establish and account for the changes which occurred in the intervening two hundred years, with regard to the valuation, use, ownership and holding of land along with population and settlement patterns.

The mid seventeenth and mid nineteenth century are pivots in Irish history. The former represents the advent of the New English colonisation and the latter the peak of the system of landlordism which emerged under its influence and which coincided with a peaking of population.

The margins we expect to be different. The higher slopes form a watershed devoid of settlement and difficult of communication. The margins therefore are the edge - the fringe in an economic, social and cultural sense.

Part One - The Land.

The aim in this the first of three papers, is to describe the extent to which the land in this area was developed for use by man by both the mid seventeenth and mid nineteenth centuries. The documentary sources for the mid seventeenth century compare unfavourably with those of the mid nineteenth century with regard to the degree to which they allow us to reconstruct the intensity of landuse. Sources for both periods are not as complete as we could wish for. However, there are indications of the relative intensity of landuse over the study area for both periods.

Three basic indicators are used here to measure changes in land utilisation, i.e., the expansion of the townland network, the changing valuation of land along with changing forms and methods of landuse. The factors responsible for the patterns which emerge and the changes which become evident over the intervening two centuries are seen to be a complex meshing of environmental and cultural factors.

The Townland Network.

Figure 2 shows only those townlands mentioned in the official sources for the mid seventeenth century. [1] The areas which were not officially recognised as

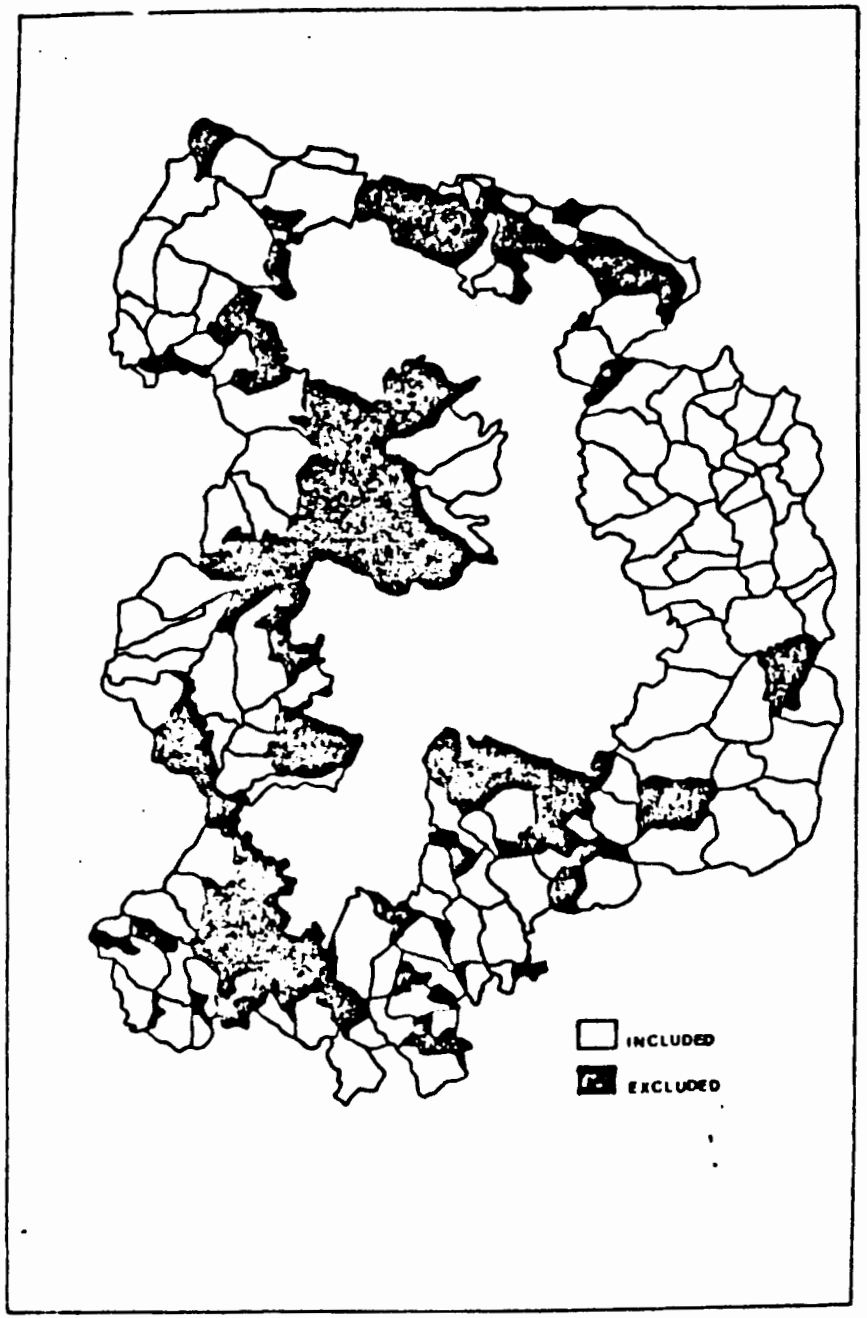


Fig. 2 Townlands excluded from 17th Century Sources.

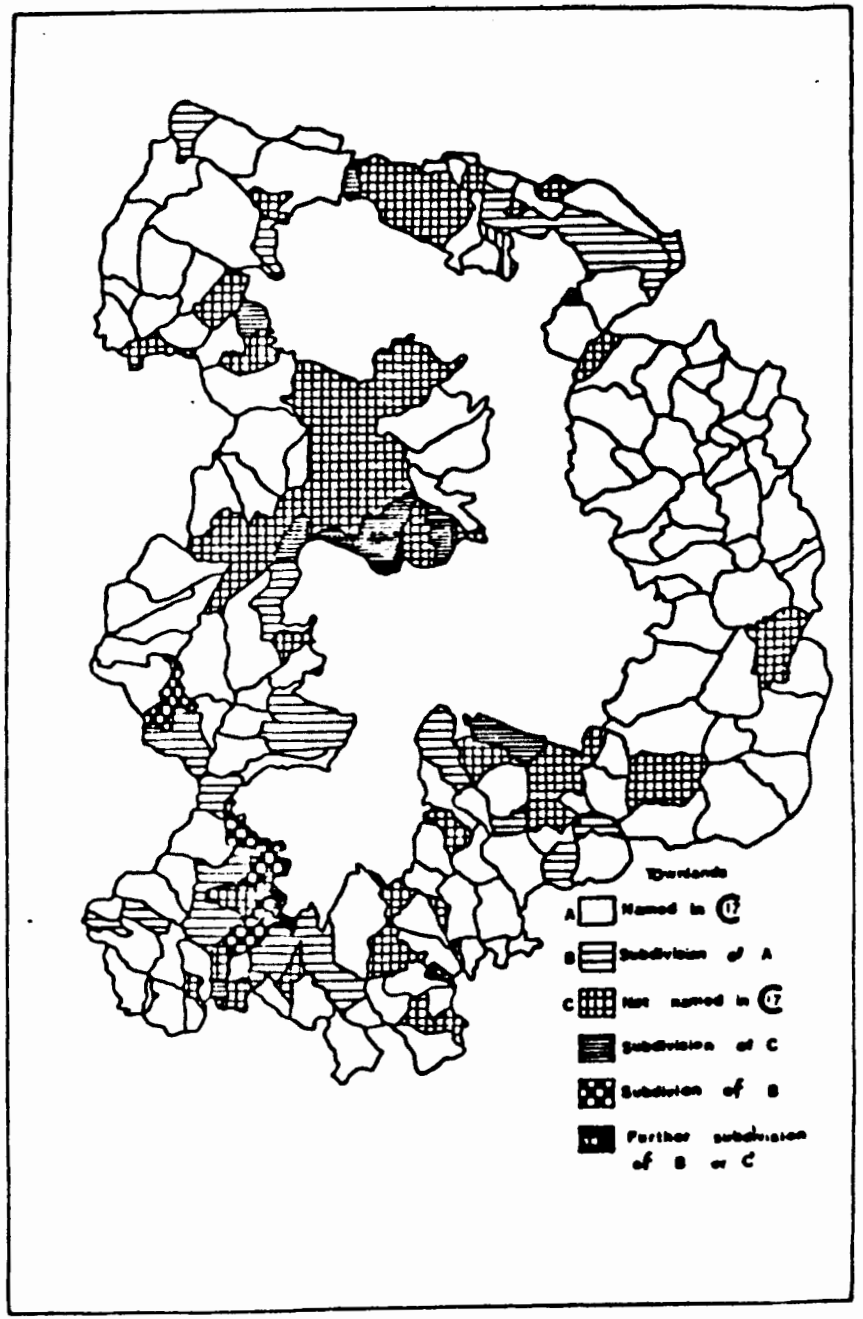


Fig. 3 Townland denominations in the 19th Century.

townlands until a later stage were more than likely in the mid seventeenth century either unused or used extensively and were either sparsely settled or else completely uninhabited. The importance of the local topography is apparent in that the naming of townlands was almost complete on the more accessible and fertile lowlands while the greatest subsequent subdivision took place in the most marginal lands. (see figure 3.)

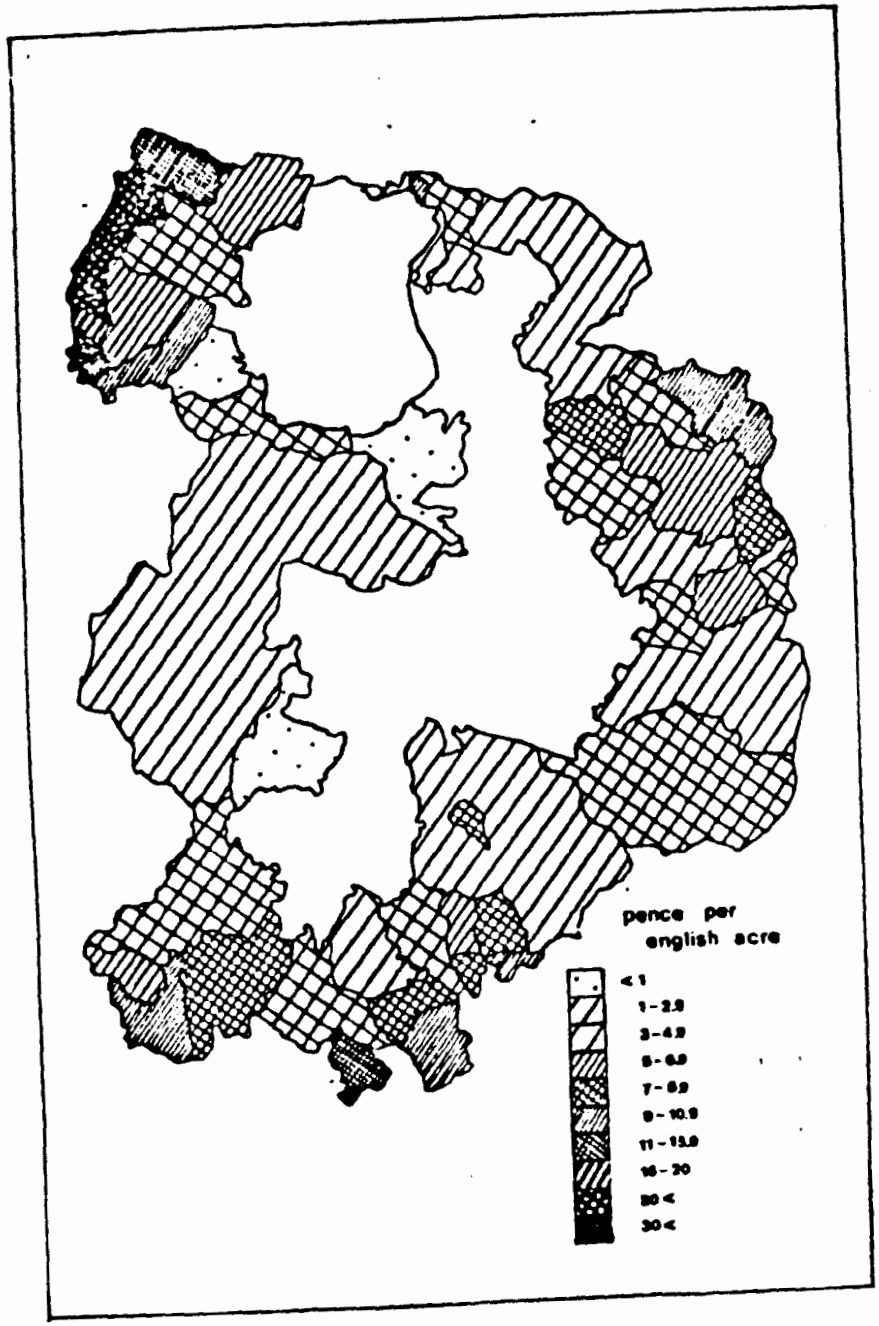
Few townlands were later created in the parishes of Mothel and Rathgormack where a steep scarp sharply divides upland from lowland,leaving little room for further expansion. In the remaining areas the townlands later named are concentrated in the poorer margins. They occur only infrequently in the lowlands, indicating the later development of intensive landuse and the more recent extension of settlement into the margins of these parishes.

The southern side of the Nire valley which was comprised of fourteen separate townlandsin the mid nineteenth century was in the mid seventeenth century incorporated under the single denomination of "Nyre". According to the Down Survey map the greater part of the parish of St. Marys Clonmel was included under the title "Commons of Clonmel", did not form separate townland units and appears to have been uninhabited. In the interim this area was also subdivided into townlands along with similarly marginal areas in the remaining parishes, particularly Kilgobinet and Kilrossanty.

The later incorporation of less attractive or less fertile lands into the townland network is apparent in both upland and lowland. Many new townlands in the lowlands consist of poorer quality land e.g. Paulsacres and Carigmoorna (parish of Kilrossanty) which are composed mostly of bog and hilly land respectively. The nature of the environment is also reflected in the new townland names. From thirty-four new townland names, eighteen are toponyms while thirteen of these refer to what may be considered marginal topography. These include bog, e.g., Monminane (parish of Mothel) and Curraheenavoher (parish of Kilronan), glen, e.g., Glendalough (parish of St. Marys) and Glenabbey (parish of Inishlounaght), hill, e.g., Knockalisheen (parish of Kilronan) and Knockavannia (parish of Seskinan) and rock, e.g., Carigmoorna (parish of Kilrossanty). References to poorer soils also feature among the new toponyms, e.g., Crough meaning the "stiff soiled townland" and Briska meaning "brittle land" both in the parish of Kilrossanty.

A number of both previously existing and new townlands were subdivided and given the suffix "mountain" indicating the extension of settlement into previously uncultivated territory. The most extreme case of subdivision occurs in northern Kilgobinet where Barracree mountain townland was divided into separate units with the prefixes "Upper" and "Lower".

Again, of those townland denominations recorded for the first time in the nineteenth century, eight refer to forms of landuse which for the most part are associated with marginal areas. References to landuse in the names of these newly recognised townlands are predominantly pastoral. The placename elements "buaile" or milking place and "tuar" or cattle night field both occur indicating the use of these new townlands for the practice of booleying, e.g., Boola (parish of Kilsheelin), Toorala (parish of Kilronan) and Ballintoor (parish of Kilgobinet). There are other references to milking, e.g., Knockavannia "hill of the milk" and perhaps buttermaking, e.g., Poulnagunoge "hole of the churns". There is one reference to a "ban", i.e. Bawnard (parish of Killaloan) and one reference to a particularly marginal form of enclosure known as a "reidh", as in Reanadanpaun, which refers to an extensive



Land Values in 1640 (Civil Survey).

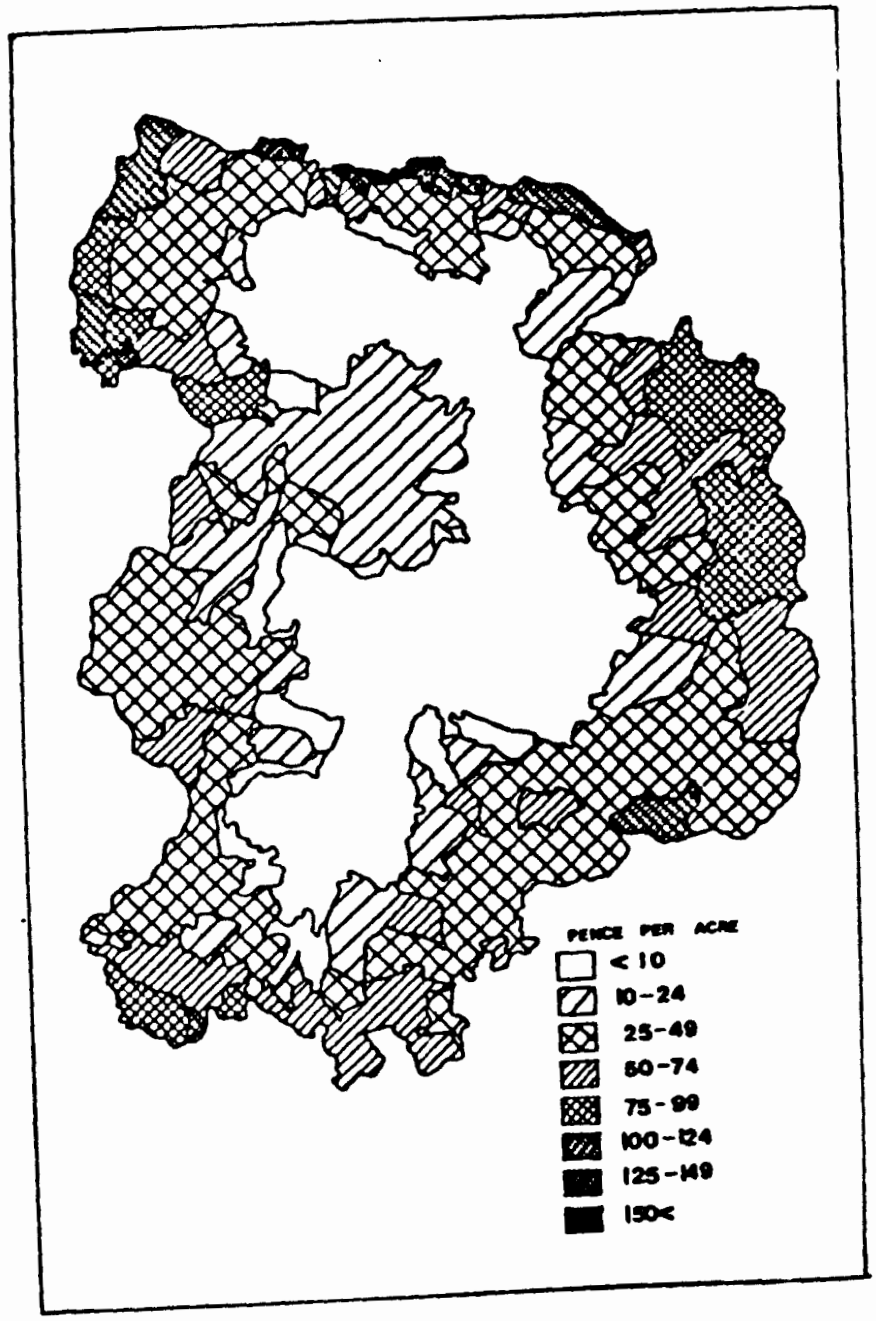


Fig. 5 Land Values in 1851 (Griffiths Valuation

enclosed area of flat mountain land bordering on the open mountain proper. Poulaboy (parish of St. Marys), meaning "the yellow hole" is taken by Power[2] as a reference to the growing of flax in this area.

Cultural elements also feature strongly in the new townland names, some referring to pioneer settlement in the margins . Two "Ballys" occur, both in the extreme margins, Ballintoor (parish of Kilgobinet) meaning the "cattle field homestead" and Ballintlea (parish of Kilrossanty) meaning the "mountain homestead". While ten of the new townland names refer to settlement features, four of these are of specifically New English origin, all of them occurring in the lowlands, e.g., Castlequarter (parish of Kilrossanty). The only incidence of the placename element "town" also occurs in this parish, i.e., Englishtown. The townland name Comeragh House is a further indication of the influence of the New English settlers and most of this townland formed the demesne of the house itself in the nineteenth century.

Land Values

Perhaps the best indication of the condition of the land is its estimated monetary value given in the Civil Survey for 1640 and Griffiths Valuation for 1851. Conditions in the mid seventeenth century are far from clear, however, since the estimation of acreage given in the Civil Survey varies in its accuracy, with underestimates reaching ninety-four per cent in the extreme marginal lands to overestimates of fifty-five per cent on the richest lands when compared to the later O.S. measurements.

Figure 4 shows land valuation in 1640 using adjusted English acreage. The result is still far from accurate, however as all the boundaries described in the Civil Survey cannot be positively identified. Where boundaries are evident the area incorporated under one unit for the purpose of valuation is often too large and of too diverse a quality to allow for detailed description at local level, e.g., the parishes of Seskinan and Fews which each form a unit in themselves. Broad variations can be identified in the overall pattern which emerges.

The most highly valued lands appear in the Suir lowlands to the north-west of the study area where lime rich soils and level land provide ideal conditions for intensive cultivation. A tradition of intensive cultivation in this area was likely, given that the area was long settled, was close to the important inland port and market town of Clonmel and had access to the port of Waterford via the navigable river Suir. Higher values for the remaining Suir lowlands were likely concealed due to the relatively small proportion of arable to pasture lands, a consequence of steeper slopes and a narrower valley floor. Greenan (parish of Inishlounaght) described by the surveyors as rich arable land was the only townland in this area to merit such a distinction and contained arable land valued as highly as sixty-nine pence per acre.

There was a general decline in land values between lowland and upland in the remaining parishes, with values rarely rising above fifteen pence per acre. The parishes of Mothel and Rathgormack, despite widespread settlement in the mid seventeenth century had relatively low valuation. The lands were described by the Civil Surveyors as "coarse and cold","unsuitable for grain" with the exception of "rye and smale oats" and these only with the application of dung as manure. The explanation for the surprisingly low values, therefore, evidently lies in the nature of the soil which in all the lowland areas other than the Suir valley are acidic in nature with low nutrient status. Andrews explains that non-calcareous soils in the south-east, while climatically fit for grain, became exhausted rapidly in the

seventeenth century.[3] In the absence of burnt limestone, areas naturally lacking in lime would have been relatively infertile, explaining the disparity in land-values between the Suir lowlands, where the underlying limestone gives rise to lime-rich soils, and the remaining lowlying areas. We must only assume, in the absence of any commentary either in favour or to the contrary, that land was in a similar condition in the other parishes, since they contain similar soils and were similarly evaluated.

The most extensive areas of land of lower valuation were in the extreme marginal areas of the Nire valley and northern Kilgobinet. These areas were invariably recorded as having little or no arable land. Lower values in the remaining marginal areas were, no doubt, concealed due to the lack of detailed description. Comments by the surveyors tend to bear this out, e.g., Barravakeen (parish of Killaloan) was described by the surveyors as "good only for the rearing of cattle" while Ballymacarbry (parish of Kilronan) was regarded as being for the most part "waste".[4]

The overall pattern of land values was similar in the mid nineteenth century, with some slight variation and change (see figure 5). When absolute values for both periods are compared, for each individual area, the most dramatic increases in valuation by 1851 appear to have occurred in the Suir lowlands of the north-east. This change can be accounted for by the fact that valuation figures in 1851 are provided on a townland basis and higher values are evident where extremely small townlands of uniform quality are composed entirely of rich arable land. Noticeable changes in valuation are also evident in the parish of Seskinan where both greater detail in information given along with actual improvements in the quality of the land were, no doubt, factors. In the remaining areas where large increases in valuation occurred without any major difference in the quality of the information provided, the explanation for the changes would appear to lie in improvements carried out to the land, e.g., in the lower lands of Seskinan, Kilrossanty and most of that part of the barony of Upperthird included in the study area.

The areas where values increased least in the interim are concentrated to the north-west and the south including most of southern Kilgobinet and Kilrossanty parishes along with the margins of the parishes of Seskinan northern Kilgobinet, Mothel and Rathgormack. The north-west was already highly valued in the seventeenth century and the lack of any dramatic increase in the remaining areas seems to indicate the lack of any major improvements being carried out. Surprisingly perhaps, the areas where the greatest subdivision of townland denominations occurred in the margins display no great increase in valuation, while the opposite was true in the lowlands. Neither was there any great increase in land valuation where pioneer settlement occurred on the edge, e.g., in Ballintlea (parish of Kilrossanty) and in the southern and western margins which in some measure emphasises the very poor conditions in these areas.

The highest values persisted, therefore, throughout the Suir Valley while the value of much of the land in the remaining lowlands had risen to equal status. Improvements were carried out in many areas by landlord and tenant alike. The widespread distribution of limekilns throughout the area in the mid nineteenth century (O.S. maps) and evidence of the policies of various landlords from the Devon Commission indicate a high usage of lime. Lime was supplied to tenants in northern Kilgobinet, Seskinan and in parts of Mothel and Rathgormack. Allowances were made in rent in lieu of improvements carried out and these varied from ten years in the west for the reclamation of mountain land to two years in the east for carrying out drainage. Witnesses giving evidence to the Devon Commission in 1844 claimed that no

such allowance had yet been made for improvements in the parish of Kilronan but that steps were likely to be taken following a change in landownership . It was also claimed that high rents and insufficient length of tenure acted as a disincentive to improvement. The reclamation of mountain land was seen by the landlord as a means of curbing subdivision on existing holdings and as a means of increasing the viability of smaller farm holdings in the lowlands by the addition of upland plots to these units. The latter was probably the case in northern Kilgobinet and on the southern slopes of the Nire valley where individual "lots" of marginal land remain part of the lowland farm units to the present day. Witnesses to the Devon Commission also stated that tenants in western areas received aid with the building of houses when settling in newly reclaimed areas while to the east, if such was the case, it went unrecorded. Disincentives to improvement, e.g., the raising of rents subsequent to any improvement were among the causes of agrarian outrages in the nineteenth century.

As in the mid seventeenth century the lowest values appear in the extreme marginal areas and had become confined to the extremely poor higher margins. Values again progressively increased downslope. Overall, land values to the west were lower, the product of higher altitudes and poorer soils described by the Ordnance surveyors as "craggy, poor and unproductive".[5]

Landuse

Figure 6 shows the distribution of woodland and bogland in the mid seventeenth century. Woodland survived almost exclusively in marginal townlands while evidence of deafforestation in the form of scrub was widespread. Bogland was extensive in both upland and lowland although Kilrossanty was the only parish which had sufficient acreage of bogland to merit inclusion on the Down Survey maps.

This pattern in some measure helps to explain the spatial variation in land values. The existence of extensive woodland, scrubland or bog precluded any intensive cultivation and made for lower overall values, with the exception of commercial woodland. Scrubland indicating the process of deafforestation in the north probably contributed to lower valuation in the seventeenth century - its subsequent removal along with partial re-afforestation partially explaining the dramatic rise in land values in this area by the nineteenth century. The removal of woodland in the southern part of the parish of Kilronan along with some of the marginal areas of the parish of Rathgormack and Mothel probably contributed to a rise in land values also.

By the mid nineteenth century, therefore, woodland had been stripped from most of its former locations and was reduced to a fraction of its former extent in the Nire valley.[6] Some of the lands of Gurteen to the north-east remained wooded since the seventeenth century.

Apparently the only area capable of supporting intensive arable farming in the mid seventeenth century was the Suir lowlands. Cornmills, however, located at Kilrossanty, Rathgormack, Kilronan and Kilgobinet indicate the existence, if only to a limited extent, of arable farming in the remaining areas. There was little evidence of enclosure except close to mansions and tower houses, while Park (parish of Rathgormack) was the only townland name to indicate modern hedged residence.

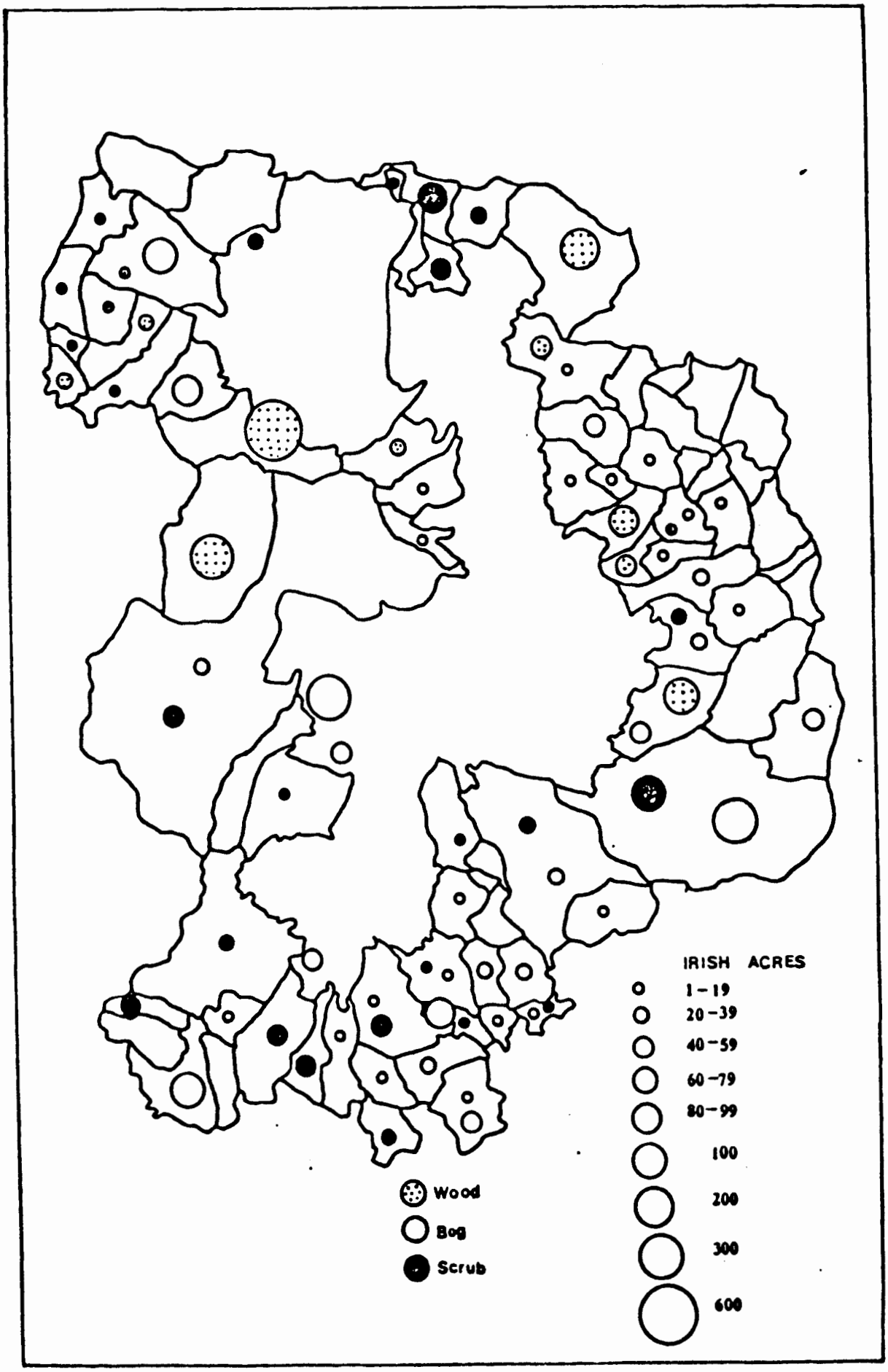


Fig.6 Distribution of bogland and woodland in 1640 (Civil Survey)

Settlement and Colonisation in the Marginal Areas of the Comeragh Mountains.

The marginal lands appear to have been used relatively more extensively for pasture. Evidence of Booleying abounds among townland names, in existence in the mid seventeenth century, in most parishes, e.g., Boolacloghagh (parish of Rathgormack), Boolattin (parish of Kilrossanty) and Boolavonteen (parish of Seskinan). The higher lands were mainly described as commonage.[7]

By the mid nineteenth century areas of seasonal grazing had been pushed further upslope, as seen already in the evidence provided by the names of newly recognised townlands, and were confined to the most marginal townlands. Most of the former "booleys" were enclosed. Higher ground, along with bogland, was used for rearing young stock. Evidence of goat-rearing in association with cattle remains on hillsides in the form of stone enclosures known as "bothrach" or "fothrach" Sheep were more than likely confined to the higher slopes. The growing popularity of haymaking in the latter half of the nineteenth century saw a further decline in the practice of booleying. This transition may have resulted from the declining availability of cowherds.

Enclosure had become extensive by the mid nineteenth century. Dry stone walls were used where soils were poorer forming the distinctive landscapes found in northern Kilgobinet and in the extreme margins of most townlands. Intensity of landuse in the margins increased enormously with the enclosure of and cultivation of former mountain land used only for extensive pasture. Potatoes, turnips and corn were grown as both fodder and subsistence crops. Evidence of tillage from the nineteenth century remains outside the main area of enclosure, with marks of ridges or reidh where rye was certainly grown but possibly potatoes also.[8]

Pressure on land in the margins in the nineteenth century is expressed in the methods adopted to utilise the full potential of poorer soils. "Black oats", which afforded quality straw but poorer grain, were grown on soils incapable of supporting richer crops. Furze grown on waste patches of ground supplied fodder for horses on every farm. A method of manuring known as "fraech milleoge" was used locally to enhance croplands. This method involved removing the surface layer of turf known as "scra" using it initially as animal litter then spreading it as manure on potatoes and other crops. The practice of removing the grassy surface of "ban"fields, leaving it to dry, burning it, and returning it to the land known as "beateail" was also carried out here.

Agriculture experienced increasing commercialisation from the mid nineteenth century onwards and this is indicated by a decline in root crops, the potato, and subsistence crops generally. Flax, which was grown within the area on the better lands, suffered a sharp decline in acreage also from the 1851 onwards.[9] These changes were probably caused by the decline in population subsequent to the famine of 1845-'46 resulting in less demand and a fall in the available manpower.

The overall intensification of landuse in the margins is illustrated by three basic indicators used here. The extension of administration further into the margins in the form of the expansion of the townland network was necessitated by the growing colonisation of these areas in the two centuries between the mid seventeenth and mid nineteenth centuries. The valuation of the land increased due to improvements including deafforestation,reclamation, drainage, improved fertilizing techniques and better farming methods allowing for more intensive cultivation, deemed necessary by the growing masses surviving by means of subsistence farming.

Settlement and Colonisation in the Marginal Areas of the Comeragh Mountains.

These changes towards more intense landuse came as a result of demographic, social and cultural factors, i.e., growing population, the pushing upslope of population from the better lands and a tendency for settlers to cluster in pioneer settlements in the margins. For many at the lower end of the socio-economic scale, without the resources to retain holdings on the better lowlands, the margins were a last resort - a safety valve for both the population in general and society in particular.

REFERENCES

1. Civil Survey, Down Survey, 1659 Census and Subsidy Roll for Co. Waterford 1662.
2. Power, P. Placenames of the Decies.
3. Andrews, J.H. "Land and People c. 1685" ch.xviii in the New History of Ireland.
4. "Waste" in this context tends to suggest land which is of no profitable use since lands used for pasture were described as such.
5. Ordnance Survey letters for Co. Waterford. O'Donovan.
6. O.S. Maps 1st ed.
7. Books of Survey and Distribution.
8. Much of this detail on land-use in the nineteenth century comes from information provided by my father and other local people.
9. Agricultural statistics 1847 onwards.

.....

Early Customs Officers

Francis Murphy.

Anyone who has had occasion to delve amongst records of three centuries ago may have wondered what exactly Tyde Wayters and Tyde Surveyors and Riding Officers and Land Wayters were, as we find them cropping up not infrequently around the Waterford area.

I formed a hazy idea as to what they might be but was pleased to find amongst the Miles Collection MSS 4761 in the British Library an interesting item dated 1687 entitled "The State of Revenue of Ireland - An Essay towards the Methodical Collection of His Majesty's Revenue in Ireland arising from the Importation and Exportation of Goods to Collect Several Revenues Payable."

It gives an account as to how they set about organising the foundation of what in later years came to be all too well known as the Customs and Excise Service. The Taxes instituted included Prisage or Butlerage which was called after the rights granted to His Grace the Duke of Ormonde (a Butler) and his heirs for ever. Then there was Tunnage which was levied on wine and "oyle", and Poundage which was levied on all other goods at six pence a pound on goods from the Plantations - which, oddly enough, at that time included the Isle of Man. Aliens and Strangers were to pay double the Poundage that natives paid and French Tunnage had an additional five shillings a tun on French ships.

To encourage the growth of shipping there was double Customs on all goods imported by Englishmen in foreign ships except Scotch ships importing fish and corn.

Some idea of the complexity of the organisation set up to enforce these dues can be gained from the many grades of staff carrying out their own special tasks. The list shows the following categories: Rideing Officer, Tyde Surveyor, Tyde Wayter, Watermen, Land Surveyor, Land Wayters, Porters, Store Keepers, Terquers, Customes Controllers, a Surveyor General, Searchers and Patent Officers.

In Waterford and Ross were to be found all these grades except those of Storekeeper and Terquer where the Storekeeper's duty was carried out by the Land Wayter and the Land Surveyor, and the Terquer's by the Land Surveyor. The Essay then goes on to outline what their respective tasks were.

The Riding Officers took patrol of the coastline and were Officers of Prevention. They were instructed to keep a horse and were to be on the shore side either on horseback or on foot so that they could see any vessels or boats that might come ashore. "And if they see any come ashore they are to immediately repair to the place and examine them and, if they find any goods, to seize same and send or bring them with all convenient speed to His Majesty's store."

They were to pass on sightings to neighbouring Rideing Officers, to keep watch on adjoining stretches of coast, with a special watch on fishing boats and, finally, they were to give notice of incoming ships to the Tyde Surveyor.

Early Customs Officers.

The Tyde Surveyor at Passage was told to keep a special watch on ships that lay at anchor waiting to go up river to Waterford and Ross. Being dependent entirely on wind conditions, ships often lay there for several days during which there were obvious opportunities for smuggling. The Tyde Surveyor had to keep a Note Book in which he recorded eight items for each vessel: The time of the ship's arrival; the ship's name and burthen; the Master's name; the Place from Whence she came; Her Loading; Place of Anchor; Officer on Board; and,finally, When discharged.

To assist him he had at his disposal Watermen who were to do his bidding. Watermen were told to watch if there was any danger of goods being slipped ashore and they were instructed to sleep, each four hours, on deck except in extremity of weather so that there was always a watch on duty. They were "On no pretence to leave the ship without the Surveyor's leave".

They were to keep notebooks for their duties and each sheet was to be numbered "and in his hand and seal the time put aboard" and they carried a Warrant not to land any goods. When finally goods were discharged they were to enter same "as the several parcels are put over the side of the ship. And when any lighter is loaded an Officer is to go with it to the Customs Office Quay, bringing a note of what goods the lighter contains which he has to hand over to the Land Surveyor so that he may see that no goods have been embezzled on the way."

A full Account was taken of all the cargo and then the ship was searched for any concealed goods which, if found, would be seized and the Surveyor informed when he came "to Rummage Ship" and discharge them.

The Land Surveyor had a Land Wayter to support him and Porters to load and unload stores. The Land Wayter's duty was to keep watch on the Custom House day and night, to check the security of and record all stores entering and leaving stores, recording all weights and measures. The Porters worked under the Land Wayter and Surveyor and helped in opening cases for examination as well as portering. "The business of the Terquer",says the Essay, "is when the Land Officer is delivered him ye Warrant of any ship to compare them with the Master's entry and to account for everything before clearance".

It quotes an example for the guidance of staff in which it shows the vessel "May" of Waterford, Master Edward Jones, taking 1,000 salt hydes to Dublin and showing how accounts are made for this cargo.

Despite all this organisation, one imagines smuggling was a widespread practice because in 1698 seizures for the whole of Ireland in that year only amounted to £405 worth of goods. The accounts for Waterford in 1695 show Imported Excise £2,208 Additional Duty £284. Seizures £142. Plantation Duty £27 with a total Port account of £8,022.

One is left wondering if, despite all their efforts, it amounted to enough to pay the wages of the army of Preventive staff involved.

.....

A Century of Change

1764 - 1871

J. S. Carroll.

The observations that follow illustrate the changing picture that emerges from a study of four maps of Waterford that were published between the years 1764 and 1871 - a span of 107 years. The sources are :

Richards & Scalés' map of 1764.
Leahy's map of 1833,
The Ordnance Survey map of 1841,
and The Ordnance Survey map of 1871.

Looking first at the 1764 map it will be seen that,whereas maps of about 1700 show nothing but marsh and a large millpond between the east wall of the city and John's Pill, this area is now shown as fully reclaimed and partly built upon. Development has extended westward to Ballybricken and the line of Thomas Street. To the south there is no development beyond Castle Street.

Within the walls the pattern of the principal streets differed little from that of today except that Parnell St. had yet to come. Many of the streets were narrower for the whole or part of their length and many of them have different names. Going along the Quay from Reginald's Tower (described, of course, as the Ring Tower) we find that Bailey's New St. is Factory Lane and Greyfriars is Holy Ghost Lane. The name Factory Lane is a bit puzzling since we know that David Baly had been given a grant of part of the Franciscan land in the mid 16th century and that Smith had described the street as "David Baly's New Street" in 1746 - a name that has stuck to it ever since. Brick Lane ran eastward from Holy Ghost Lane between the present Artwear premises and the Methodist Church. The present Coffee House Lane is shown, though not named. The lane running southward from it was Wallace's Lane. The Wallaces were prominent people in trade and shipping at the time. Then we come to Goose Gate Lane, later to become Henrietta St., with Goose Gate, called after one John Goose, about halfway up. If the location shown is correct it would have stood about 150 feet back from the line of the city wall along the Quay which, of course, had gone by then. This anomaly is hard to explain. The present Keyser St. was Kempson's Lane. The upper portion of Exchange St. was a continuation of Cooke Lane. The lower portion was very much wider and was linked to the foot of Kempson's Lane by another passageway or lane running at the back of the Exchange and the Custom House - the two most prominent buildings on the Quay, as is evident from the Van der Hagen painting of 1736. Halfway across this passage another one ran southward to High St. Conduit Lane was much the same as at present but about midway between it and Exchange St. two narrow lanes about 40 feet apart ran southward for a distance of about 180 feet. One of these is described as Coffee House Lane. The 1950 O.S. map shows both lanes as being still existent with tunnel entrances from the Quay. The one beside the Howard's site was Coffee House Lane. The present Cathedral Lane was then Baly's Lane and somewhat to the south of it was Chapel Lane which ran in from Conduit Lane.

A Century of Change, 1764 - 1871.

Barronstrand St. was quite wide up to a point about 60 feet short of Coad's corner where it suddenly became very narrow and continued so up to the line of Little Patrick St., where Broad St. began.

Gladstone St. was King St. and O'Connell St. was George's St. Thomas St. was the New Road and Bridge St. was Love Lane.

Manor St. was Bowling Green Lane and Castle St. was The Ramparts. Vulcan St., called after a local foundry, stood on or near the line of the present Parliament St. The Apple Market area was then fully built-up as far as the head of John's Avenue. Kisby's Lane ran along the east boundary of this built-up area as far as St. Martin's Castle but it did not link up with Spring Garden Alley which was a cul-de-sac, terminating about 80 feet short of the Castle.

The present Catherine St. was part of Colebeck St. and connected up with Grubb's Quay, now the Waterside, via Grubb's Lane. As yet there is no sign of Hardy's Bridge. The present Jenkin's Lane was Norrington's Lane and from it a lane called Chapel Lane ran northward to George's St. This, however, was not the present lane of that name but a much narrower one to the west of it, the lower portion of which is still there beside Quinlan's the butchers. Nearly opposite this another lane called Rogers' Lane, and later to become Long's Lane, ran northward as far as the city wall which was then still standing to the west of Barronstrand St. The wall ran parallel with the Quay and approximately 90 feet back from it for a distance of about 230 feet before striking southward in a straight line to the Beach Tower.

Across John's Pill there were two bridges - a stone arch bridge at Johnstown and a timber bridge on the line of the present Lombard St. William St. is shown as the Scots Marsh. The present Morgan St. is simply Road to Grace Dieu, and Lower Yellow Road is Road to Three Mile Bridge, an old name for Killotteran. That portion of Barrack St. from Newgate St. to Butchers' Lane was at least twice its present width. Its name is given as Fahastoogeen, which suggests that it had been a public open space of some sort and was in the transition stage of becoming a street. In fact, the mid-17th century Down Survey map shows this area, combined with what is now Mayor's Walk, as the Common Green. The Faha part of the name is obviously Faithche but I cannot guess at the derivation of the stoogeen part. Between it and Hennessy's Road (then Hennessy's Lane) and close to Butchers' Lane there was a horse mill, the track being about 70 feet diameter.

Of the public buildings the largest is the old Christ Church which is shown as being T-shaped with an overall length of 180 feet, not counting an annexe chapel at the east end, and a maximum width of 100 feet at the west end. The present cathedral is 180 feet long but only 80 feet wide at the west end.

Two Catholic churches are shown, namely, the Great Chapel on the site of the present cathedral and the New Chapel now known to us as St. Patrick's. It is interesting to note that, contrary to the normal practice, the axis of the Great Chapel ran north to south and also that St. Patrick's is shown as incorporating the Carew-Langton almshouse, the entrance being at the northern extremity of the almshouse via a short branch off Chapel Lane. The almshouse was founded in 1754 and the church dates from about the same period.

The Widows' Apartments were as at present and the street on to which they abutted was Apartment Lane. There was a Latin School on the other side of the street where the Friary now stands.

The Quaker Meeting House was to the rear of the site occupied by the Manor St. Christian Brothers school. Some slight remnant of it still stands. There was a Baptist Meeting House in the centre of what is now the forecourt of the De la Salle school in Stephen St., opposite the De la Salle Hall. Not far away was the Poor House- later the Sailors' Poor House - still standing in Bachelors Walk,though no longer occupied.

St. Patrick's Church was just as it is now and near it was the Barracks which had been built in 1626 as a feature of St. Patricks Fort (or The Citadel) now taken up by the Garda Station and the Department of Social Welfare.

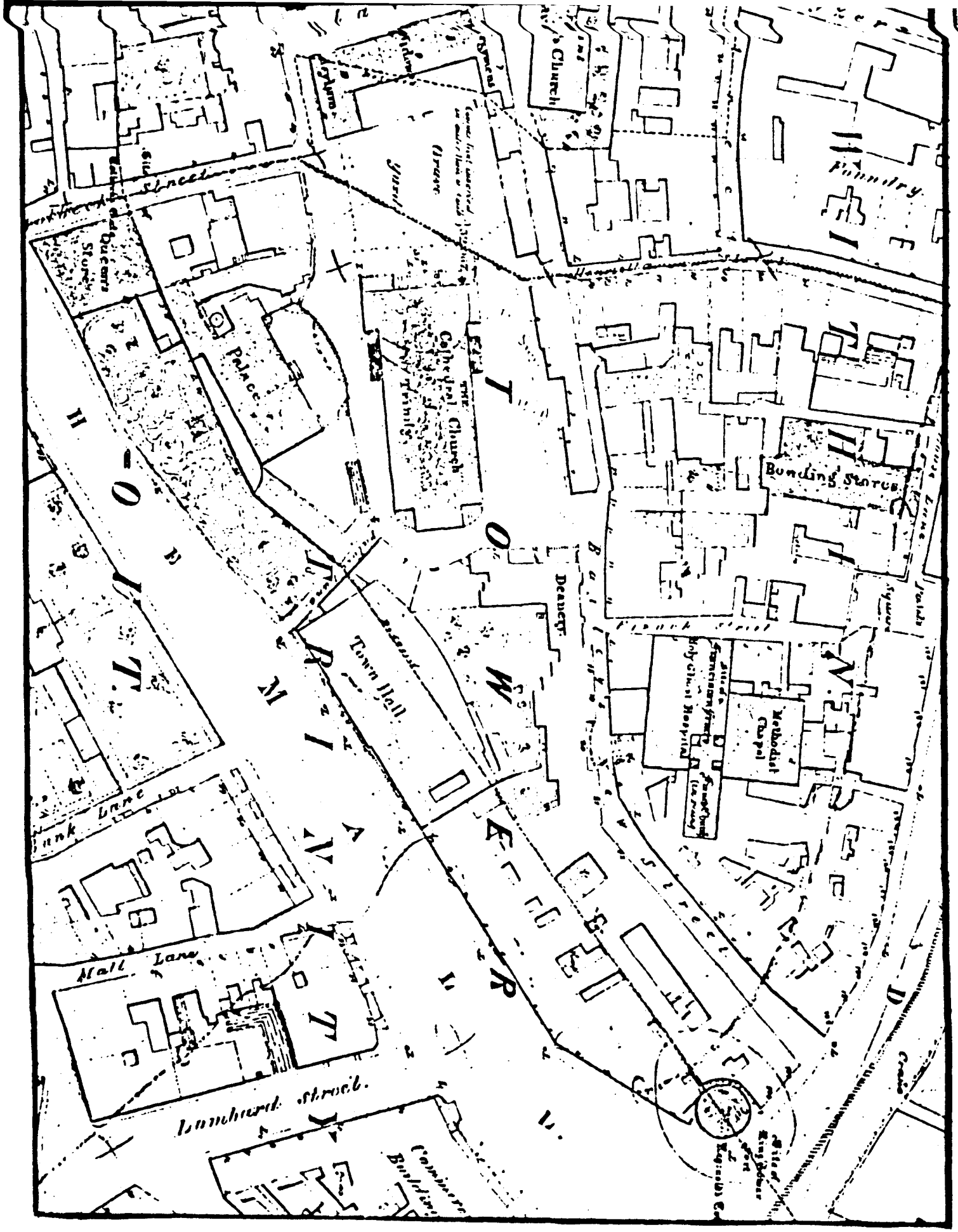
The city basins or reservoirs at Stephen St. and Thomas's Hill are clearly shown, as also are the conduits at the Custom House and the Fish House on the Quay, at Arundel Square and at Michael St. opposite Alexander Lane. These basins were fed by springs, and wooden pipes conveyed water from them to the public conduits or fountains.

Thomas's Hill had not yet been laid out. The site of this street and of Francis St., Wellington St., Jail St., Barker St., Kings Terrace and Meetinghouse Lane, together with the adjoining properties, is shown laid out as a deer park and ornamental gardens with fountains and other water features. All this belonged to Alderman Samuel Barker who lived in the building that is now the Garter Lane Arts Centre.

The main portion of the Dominican foundation of Blackfriars is shown as the County Court House. It was from Blackfriars that certain Inquisitions or certificates of land grants were issued under Elizabeth and Charles I. Another of the Dominican buildings had become a playhouse.

The Bishop's Palace was already in being as also was the Deanery and, of course, the Holy Ghost Hospital. The Guildhall at the corner of Peter St. and Broad St. is shown as a T-shaped building, the head of the T being the Market House, having a width of about 60 feet to Broad St. and the stem the City Court House running back about 60 feet parallel to Peter St.

The Mall had been laid out though not as at present. It consisted of a linear park well planted with trees, having a width of from 50 to 70 feet. This was surrounded by a fence, except for gates at each end. It extended from opposite Lombard St. to near the line of Colbeck St. There was a carriageway about 20 feet wide along the west side. Between this and the city wall were gardens except at the Colbeck St. end and for a length extending between points 80 and 230 feet from Reginald's Tower. Within this stretch are shown what evidently are two public buildings close together and with a combined frontage of 150 feet and a depth of 50 feet. This would correspond to the stretch from the north side of the City Hall to the angle at what used to be Merry's. It is not known what these buildings were.



The map sections above and opposite are from the O.S. town map of 1841 and that of 1871 respectively. Both are to the scale of 5 feet to a mile or 88 feet to an inch. In the former the boundary lines of buildings were indicated by fine lines on the north and west sides with heavy lines on the south and east (following the convention of assuming light as coming from the top left-hand corner). Conversely, voids such as lighting shafts were indicated by heavy (shadow) lines on the north and west walls.

In the 1871 map buildings are shown by hatching, voids being left blank. This sensible convention has persisted.

These random sections illustrate the remarkable accuracy and extent of detail to which the maps were surveyed, drawn and engraved.

A Century of Change, 1764 - 1871.

There is a map of the neighbourhood of Waterford that also appeared in 1764 and from the same firm of cartographers. From this we see the corn mill the remains of which were standing up to about 25 years ago on the left hand side at the entrance to the Tramore Road in the field known as the Castle Field, presumably from the appearance of the ruin of the mill tower. We also see the Glass House paper mill, then a going concern.

There are two grim reminders of the past, namely the City Gallows and the County Gallows. The City and the County had their separate court houses and their separate jails so it is not surprising that they even had their separate places of execution. The city gallows was on the rocky waste ground at the summit of Gracedieu Road while the county gallows was on the south side of Dunmore Road just beyond the entrance to Ardkeen. Both were close to the roadside.

From 1764 we have to skip forward to Leahys map of 1833, which was an excellent production and is drawn to a scale of 4 chains to an inch, which is 264 feet to an inch or 20 inches to one mile.

Leahy was a Civil Engineer who lived in Clonmel and who carried out a lot of work at a later date in connection with the early Irish railways.

Here we see the river bridged for the first time,Lemuel Cox's structure being then already 39 years old. A shipbuilding yard is to be seen on the Ferrybank side with a launching slip and small dock. This, no doubt, was Pope and Co's. yard where several fine schooners and brigantines were built in the eighteen twenties and thirties. Popes were prominent merchants and shipowners before they turned their hand to ship-building. It was they who erected the look-out towers that bear their name.

On the south side development is seen to have extended to Manor Hill, College St., and Bath St. - none of which appears on the earlier map. But among the new streets to appear the most prominent is Beresford St., now Parnell St.

Development has spread westward along Gallows Road, now Gracedieu Road, and eastward it has reached Canada St.

The Artillery Barracks on the site of St. Carthage's Avenue has given its name to Artillery St. - the present Morrisson's Road - and , presumably, to Military Road and Cannon St. also. The present Barracks in Barrack St. was for the Infantry section of the garrison. Both these barracks were in replacement for the old one on the site opposite Mayor's Walk. Here we now find a group of buildings dedicated to the preservation of law and order. They are described as County Court House and City Court House (side by side facing Mayor's Walk), the City Jail (adjoining the Court House on the east side), two buildings marked Criminals' Prison, a Debtors' Prison, a Females' Prison, a Hospital, a Chapel and a Governor's House.

These twin court houses were designed by no less a person than James Gandon of Dublin Custom House fame. They were built in 1784 but for some reason they seem to have had an unexpectedly short life, and there does not appear to be any surviving record of what they looked like externally, though Marc Girouard reproduced a contemporary view of the interior to illustrate an excellent series of articles on

Waterford that he wrote for "Country Life" in 1966. They fell into disuse about the middle of the 19th century when the present Court House was built and the whole complex was later cleared to make way for the jail which stood there up to 1948.

A new feature on the Quay is the Market House which evidently replaced the Fish House. The latter was a large building that stood opposite Barronstrand St. where the Clock Tower now stands. The Market House measured 110'x40' and stood on the quayside midway between Gladstone St. and Hanover St. where now there is a Filling Station.

Allied to the heavy emphasis on the penal system we find the House of Industry, with its treadmill. This later gave way to the Fanning Institution which, in its turn, is now gone. Again, we find on Hennessy's Road the Penitentiary - a rather unusual building of octagonal design that was taken down in the nineteen fifties to make way for Roanmore Park.

On the industrial side the most striking addition is the Gas Works in one of the buildings that is still standing. On the health side we find the Leper Hospital transferred from Stephen St. to John's Hill and the Fever Hospital behind it.

An R.C. Chapel is shown on the site of the Manor St. school and an R.C. College on the south side of College St. near Manor Road. The Quaker Meeting House has been built and Meeting House Lane laid out.

Hardy's Bridge has been built and Grubb's Quay,called John's Quay, has been extended to form what we now call the Waterside.

Wyse's Bridge has also been built and an odd feature is an unnamed road running from the nearby former entrance to John Hearne & Sons' yard in a straight line to Mendicity Lane by the side of which the river wall collapsed a few years ago. This may have been only a proposal that never got further.

The Town Hall building has appeared but is described, of course, as the Exchange. The present Coffee House Lane is called Warehouse Lane.

There are two more city basins to add to the water supply, namely, those at Philip St. and Dyehouse Lane (now Summer Hill Terrace).

From this map we learn something of the names of those who occupied the big houses in the vicinity of the city. Thus, we see the site of the present St. John's College as "Kingville" the residence of Capt. English. "Newtown Park" is occupied by Capt. Knight, R.N. His successor in tenancy was to be Lord Roberts. Major John Snow lived at "Abbey House", Ferrybank, then called"Abbey View", while a Capt. Snow lived nearby at "Rocklands".

From Lewis's Topographical Dictionary published just four years later we get a further insight into the names of those who at the time occupied what Lewis calls

the principal seats. In New Park we find Sir John Newport M.P.,in Belmont House Sir Henry Winston Barron, in Mullinabro we have J. Hawtrey Jones, Esq., in May Park, G. Meara, Esq., in Belmont (as distinct from Belmont House) J. Roberts, Esq., in Mount Pleasant S. King, Esq., in Ballinamona T. Carew, Esq., in Killaspy Alexander Sherlock, Esq., in Bellevue P.Power, Esq., in Bishop's Hall S. Blackmore,Esq., in Faithlegg House N. Power, Esq., in Woodstown Lord Carew and also in Woodstown the Earl of Huntingdon, in Summerfield Lord Ebrington, in Harbour View Capt. Morris, in Dromona T. Coghlan, Esq., in Grantstown the Rev. Francis Reynett, in Blenheim Lodge Pierce Sweetman, Esq., in Ballycanvan J. Stephens, Esq., and also in Ballycanvan M. Dobbyn, Esq.

The disappearance of the Liberties is indicated for the first time in a small scale map prepared in 1839 by Thomas Larcom of the Royal Engineers to illustrate the new city boundary that was to come into force the following year under the Municipal Corporations Act. Larcom was then only a Lieutenant but was to become Lt.-Colonel and Director of the Ordnance Survey. The new boundary ran along Military Road and Morrisson's Road, Manor Hill, College St., Bath St., Poleberry and Passage Road. On the north side it ran in a straight line from the Catholic Church to Mr. Charles Gatson's cottage at Mount Misery. This house later became "Mount Misery Lodge" and then " Knockane Villa". commonly called Fleming's Castle.

We now come to the era of the Ordnance Survey. The first of their magnificent maps of the Waterford city area appeared in 1841 . As to be expected, there is little change from Leahy's map of 1833. There are a few name changes and a few new names. The present O'Connell St. is now King St. east of Thomas St. and Queen St. west of it.

From the top of Bridge St. to the top of Wellington St. was called Pound St. The pound itself measured 80'x45' and was attached to the police station. Together they stood isolated in the middle of the triangular open space now called the Glen. Wellington St. and Francis St. have now appeared. Thomas's Hill from the Quay to Barker St. is shown as Henry St.

The present open space opposite Coad's is still built up but intersected by two lanes which are now named - Royal Oak Lane which ran along by Coad's towards George's St. and Garter Lane which ran from Coad's corner to Blackfriars in a diagonal direction. A third lane called Little George's St. continued the western line of Barronstrand St. to Little Patrick St.

Arundel Square was, in fact, square with a drinking fountain in the centre. The square was roughly mid-way between Peter St. and High St. Peter St. was linked to it by Milk Lane and Trinity Lane with houses between them. Blackfriars St. was linked to the square by a single lane. This was known as Arundel Lane, formerly Carrion Row, the present Arundel Lane being then Arundel Row.

The Shambles or public slaughter house was a glass-roofed building 100'80' extending down Exchange St., then called Quay Lane. The Shambles site was so described on the 1764 map. Quay Lane was only 8' wide opposite the Shambles. Graham's Iron Foundry extended for the full length of Keyser St. on the east side.

The Diocesan Academy is now in Stephen St. beside the Baptist Meeting House, and the Trinitarian Orphan House is in John st. occupying the building at the corner of John's Avenue that was the Radium Polish Factory, then IMCO and is now an amusement centre. Close by was another iron foundry occupying Spencer's Yard at the corner of the Waterside.

Between Lombard St. and Bank Lane is shown as Hanover Square. The name Bolton St. does not appear on the map although the name plate of this street bears the date 1817.

Finally, we come to the Ordnance Survey Town Map of 1871 - undoubtedly the finest ever published. The street pattern is much the same as before but more lanes and courts are identifiable in the congested city centre. These were terraces of tiny cottages flanking one or both sides of a passageway, generally about 10 feet wide, that branched off a street under the upper portion of one of the houses in same. Thus, we had four such entrances off the west side of John St. between the Car Stand and New St. Between them they accounted for 40 cottages. Similarly we had Usher's Arch and Walsh's Lane off the south side of Patrick St., Barron's Court off Little Michael St., and Stephen's Court off Stephen St. These were the slums of Waterford in days when the very idea of legislation for the housing of the poor by local authorities had not been given a thought. But bad as they must have been, they were probably better than the tenement dwellings of contemporary Dublin.

Lanes of a wider type with interconnections and open entrances covered the whole of the Ballybricken area as they still do, between Ballybricken Green and Barrack Street and between Mayor's Walk and Newport's Lane. The almost total lack of imaginative planning in the development of this area does little credit to those responsible - even in the middle of the 19th century.

By way of contrast with the dwellings of the poor we note the appearance on this map of the present fine courthouse and on the Patrick St./Jail St. site the replacement of Gandon's courthouse by the County & City Gaol. The many buildings on this 15 acre site as seen on the 1841 map have been cleared to make way for a massive gaol building featuring a central block with two wings, the hospital, and the debtors' prison being housed in isolated buildings. The best feature was the gate lodge located at the junction of the two streets.

There is not much evidence of industry apart from the major one of bacon curing. Denny's former establishment is shown as well as Bacon Stores on the Regal Cinema site and on one between Grace's Lane and Philip St. but in this immediate area, i.e. between Morgan St. and Yellow Road, there is a flour mill, a cooperage and a salt works. Other industries are the brewery in Stephen St., the tanyard which has now become a car park, another tannery at the Waterside and a salt and lime works at Gashouse Lane. There was also, of course, the Neptune Ironworks and the fine ship-building yard at Newtown belonging to Malcomson Brothers.

A name still occasionally heard is that of Paul's Square. This was a rectangular area 60' deep from the Quay frontage and about 40' wide measured from the west side of the Artwear premises. The street now called Greyfriars, and then called French St., was a cul-de-sac terminating at the rear of Paul's Square and slightly to the east of it

Just to show that names, like everything else, have a habit of repeating themselves it is worth noting that a group of 5 tiny cottages off Francis St. rejoiced in the name of George's Court.

St Brigit and the Breac-folk

Hubert Butler.

St. Brigit of Kildare has for a very long time been regarded by many as a fabulous character. This is not only because of the three Brigits, daughters of the Dagda, who were patronesses of various arts and sciences, or because there are thirteen other saints Brigit of Ireland and Scotland, whose lives are not easier to authenticate than hers. It is because she has been loosely but confidently associated with the Brigantes, the large tribe, which inhabited Yorkshire in Roman times and which has been traced in the Southeast of Ireland. Camden in his history of Yorkshire supposed that they had given their name to Breconshire and to Brigus or Birgus, the river Barrow in Leinster. Others have traced them at Brechin in Scotland, at Bargy in Wexford, in Bregia or the plain of Meath. She has been identified rather insecurely with Brigantia, the goddess to whom dedications have been discovered in the north of England and who is supposed to have given her name to at least two rivers Brigantia or Brent, one a tributary of the Thames, the other at Glastonbury, where Brigit is culted.

None of this is very satisfactory; the Brigantes also had a male god,Brigans or Bergans, who must be compared to a giant called Brigio or Bergion, who fought with Hercules in southern Gaul. The ancestor or ancestress of the Brigantes was probably a genealogical fiction, who acquired supernatural powers only by degrees. If he or she had great divine importance, would not the worshippers have been certain of his or her sex? It is best to consider that rivers, plains, mountains were in the first place called after tribes and that it was the poets, who later discovered fabulous beings, like the ox Breg, or Bregu, the son of Breoghan,(rival eponyms for Bregia in Meath) or Braccan, son of Braca, the Irish-Scoto-Welsh hero, who left his name in Breconshire and Brechin.

But who were those Brig-Breg-Brac people? The Brigantes have laid their trail thickly across Europe to Ireland from Thrace, where Ridgeway discovered them.[1] On their western course we can trace Bregenz in Austria, Lake Brigantia, (now Constance) Brigantium, (Briancon), in the Alps, Brigantium in north west Spain, Brigantomagus near Toulon and so on. Henri Hubert introduces the Burgundiones to this catalogue of names.[2]

Would it not be more satisfactory to consider that the Brigantes were a hybrid people and that their wanderings were begun by the Briges, an undoubtedly Thracian tribe, whose eastward incursions have been described by Strabo?[3] He says that they crossed into Asia, changing from Briges to Phryges, and became the ancestors not only of the Phrygians but of many tribes upon the Black Sea. As Thracians themselves they can hardly have been unrelated to the Brigantes of Thrace and as they moved westward they would account for the many Brig-tribes of Europe, the Segobriges and Nitiobriges of Gaul, the Lato-brigi of Switzerland and the Brigolati of Bessarabia, the Brigiani of the Alps, and, near Brigantium, the Brigiosi of north west Spain. Among the rivers there was the Brigulus, (the Saone) and the Bargus of Thrace, to set beside Brigus, the Barrow. And in Ireland we find scores of heroes and saints, both male and female, called Brig, Briga, Mo-Brig, Da-Brig and so on.

St. Brigit and the Breac - folk.

An examination of these people and places and their alternative names quickly shows that Brig-Berg-Brec are only the beginnings of a name corruption that must have extended untraceably far. Celtic scholarship, tied to the belief that almost all the names of early tribes of Gaul and the British Isles are Celtic, has to translate the word 'Brig', wherever it occurs in a proper name, as 'strength' or 'height'; thus the Brigantes lived 'on high places', the Nitiobriges were, according to Holder, Pugna Validi (strong in battle)[4] The fact that th Brigantes, like the Briges, were themselves of Thracian origin is ignored or dismissed. Yet surely the Brigolati, who are not known to be Celtic, must bear to the Lato-Brigi the same obscure but probable kinship that the Wallace-Smiths do to the Smith-Wallaces. Surely each half of these names is a proper name and neither an adjective.

If we associate the word breac with the Briges rather than with its Irish meaning 'speckled', Irish early history is straight away illuminated. It becomes clear why Simeon Breac, the leader of the Fir Bolgs, came from Thrace, as did Partholon, an earlier invader of Ireland, who had a son Brecan and a son-in-law, Brec. Has this question been seriously discussed since nearly a century ago Skene[5] discovering that Scottish kings were called breac as well as Scottish churches, fields and rivers, suggested that the word must have some unknown 'Pictish' meaning ? He did not refer to the hundreds of Irish heroes, heroines and saints nicknamed breac. (There were, for example, no less than three saints called St. Caeman Breac, two ancestors called Eber Breac, two called Bressal Breac. Surely they did not all seven have freckles?).

THE BRIG-FOLK IN SCOTLAND:

Nor did Skene discern the connection of breac with Brigit, though it is obvious. King Nechtan Breac was a great admirer of Brigit, whom he had known in Ireland; he founded a church in her honour at Abernethy, which was built by his predecessor, the Pictish king Bruide or Bruigde, and she is supposed to have died there. There were holy ladies from Cornwall, Meath and Kildare, who were called Breac or Breaca and were disciples of Brigit. The parents of the Irish Brigit, (there were of course several Scotch Brigits), were said to have ruled over the Orkneys and lived in Caithness, so that the Hebrides were known as 'Brigit's Islands'. And in Caithness and elsewhere in the north we find many 'speckled' places, fields and rivers and mountains: Kirkmabrick in Wigtownshire is thought to mean the Church of St. Aed mac Breac, who founded Tech mic Bricc, the house of the son of Breac, in Westmeath. It is curious that both in Wigtown and Westmeath, it is not he but Brigit, who is culted in the church.[6]

All this can be rescued from the domain of folklore and fabulous hagiography, if we assume the tribe of the Briges from Thrace, merging with other tribes on its long journey and shaping and reshaping its name and its ancestor to changed conditions.

The Irish genealogies confirm that breac was a tribal word and did not in the first place mean 'speckled'. Bresal Breac, was ancestor of the Ossorians, among whom were the Breacraige tribe and several speckled (breac) lochs, heights and meadows, as well as churches dedicated to Brigit. And we find an abundance of 'speckled' place-names, ancestors and saints (St. Caeman Breac and St. Aed, son of Breac), among or near the Breacraige of Westmeath.

St. Brigit and the Breac - folk.

THE BREAC-FOLK IN DECIES:

Canon Power in THE PLACE NAMES OF DECIES has studied very closely the territory of the Ui Brigte in Waterford, so that it is possible to make a map to illustrate my contention that St. Brigit was associated with a very ancient Brig-people, whose heroes and whose habitations survive in legend and topography as being breac or speckled.

It will be seen from my map that the river Brigid, now the Bride, and the river Brickey both flow through the Ui Brigte territory. Canon Power sees no significance in this, but believes that the first river is called after a Celtic goddess, Brigit, (he compares the Yorkshire Brigantes in whose name he finds the root 'bri' meaning strength), and the second river he believes to have been speckled ,'breac'. The fact that on the banks of these rivers there had lived a large tribe, who traced their descent to Brigit, a mortal with a large family, and to two men, who were 'speckled', Breacdolb and Eogan Breac, does not seem to him relevant. As is shown on my map there was, according to Canon Power, a third river to the north, the Breacban, or speckled Field.

It will be noted that on my map there are four churches and four holy wells of St. Brigit. There are also three speckled churches, (Cill Breac), two speckled towns, (Baile Breac), four speckled rocks,, (Clocha Breaca), two speckled crags, (Carraig Breac), two speckled mountains, (Cnoc Breac), three speckled forts, (Lios and Cathair Breac), a speckled bog, (Moin Breac), a speckled field (Gort Breac), and the well of a speckled gate, (Tobar a Geata Bric) and a speckled half-hollow, (Leath comh Breac). Well maybe the gate was speckled and the rocks, mountains and bogs, but the churches, the forts, the towns, and all the men ?

I think the Ui Bric accounted for many of them. Even now their name remains on several sites on the map, a church, a well, an island, a bog and two crags. One of these crags, Carraig Ui Bric, now Carrigabrack on the Blackwater is already in danger of a speckled association for a local legend relates that a magical cow with speckles used to graze there.

North of the river Bride is Kilbree, Cell Brighe, and for its patroness Canon Power suggests a Welsh saint from St. David's, St. Brighe or Brigit, culted on November 12. But would it not be strange if she had come so far and then established herself by a river of her own name, Brigit? Her two sisters, St. Duthracht and St. Tigern, do not sound Welsh but recall the names of local ancestors, Durthecht and Tigernach[7].

I have marked on the map some places called after badgers, Broc, because the tribe name Ui Broc is a variant of Ui Bric.

Many odd problems arise out of all this. I believe that they will only be solved if we recognize that this region intensively and the whole of Ireland sporadically were once inhabited by the Briges of Thrace. They were also the Phrygians.

Among the more celebrated Brigit saints, we must not omit St. Brigit of the Ui Ercain, who rescued Patrick from a vile conspiracy against him in Wicklow-Carlow. She was a cousin of Brigit of Kildare, to whom many of her miracles were transferred.

St. Brigit and the Breac - folk.

Dr. MacNamee, in his valuable work on Ardagh, is so wedded to orthodoxy that he accepts MacNeill's theory that the Breacraige were a fishing tribe, (Breac means trout). Yet there is no such thing as an early tribe with a professional or occupational name. They were none of them nameless parvenus, ready to describe themselves after some local and accidental craft. They all had immense pedigrees reaching back to the beginning of history.

MacNeill, of course, is justified in so far as the delusion that the Breac-folk were linked with trout or speckles is a very ancient one. The many hills called Knockbrack were often thought to be speckled, (Boswell and Johnson, meeting such names in the Hebrides, thought they referred to fields speckled with buttercups and daisies), and sometimes, as in Mayo, Knockbrack has been rechristened Trout Hill.

If we study O'Brien's CORPUS GENEALOGIARUM HIBERNIAE,(1962), only in so far as it touches on the problem of St. Brigit, the complex relationship of saints, tribes and genealogies becomes apparent.

There were, for example, two Brigits, who were daughters of Dubhtach; one, Brigit of Leinster, was the saint of Kildare, the other, Brigit of Ulster, was ancestress of the Ui Brigte of Waterford. These Ui Brigte, later the O'Brics, were the ruling tribe in South Waterford and several Tipperary and Cork baronies. They had three separate founders (1) Eogan Breac (2) Brigit who was sister to many local ancestors, including Sem, ancestor of the Semne tribe (3) Breacdoilbh or Speckled Doilbh. His name was plainly composite for his brother, Doilbh, was ancestor of the Ui Doilbh or Doyles.

Not only she but most of these Brig-Breac figures, belonged, like Brigit of Kildare, to the Clann Artcorp, a not very prominent Wicklow tribe. Artcorb had a son called Conlead, the name of a very curious bishop, who succeeded Brigit at Kildare, and I am sure that the characters in her legend as well as in her pedigree had only symbolic truth, (of great value, for the symbols recorded the meeting and blending of tribes), so no attempt has been made to synchronise them; thus in the same pedigree Brigit of the Ui Ercain, who rescued St. Patrick, is four or five generations later than Brigit of Kildare , who herself was later than Patrick.

How are we to decipher these ancient symbols? I will describe a very recent attempt of mine in relation to Brigit. In the Martyrology of Donegal I read a poem about her in which she is described as a lover of 'early rising', moch eirge. This straight - away struck me as a very prim every day virtue to ascribe to so tremendous and ubiquitous a miracle worker. It must, I thought, be a tribal pun. But were there any tribes with the improbable name "Early Rising"? It was some weeks before I discovered them in the Book of Fenagh.[8] The Ui Mael Mocheirge or "Servants of Early Rising" are descended from Mael Mocheirge, one of thirteen brothers, each of them ancestors of a Co. Leitrim tribe.[9] One of Mael Mocheirge's brothers was Braici, ancestor of the Ui Braici and he had a cousin called Brug or Brugaid. Brigit herself had been very active in the district. She was veiled at Ardagh by St. Mael and had gone with him to St. Aed Mac Bric, November 10th, to be cured of an illness.[10]

Obviously Maelmocheirge did not mean 'Servant of Early Rising', but was a tribal figure, since Mael, Moch and Eirg are the names of ancestors. Moch, for example, was ancestor of the O'Moghans of Sligo and he got up 'moch' early, we are told, to find a site for a church for St. Attracta on Loch Gara.

Maelmocheirge, of course, and all his relations never existed. I doubt whether those, who manipulated these venerable figures in their pedigrees, believed in them as much as, say, Professor Bury, the rationalist, who wrote a life of St. Patrick, believed in them. It would be a very disruptive belief. They had to be as bodiless as algebraic or geometrical symbols, because the equations, which they solved the history, which they demonstrated, would all collapse if a single creature of flesh and blood was intruded among them. He would be as damaging to the exposition of early history as a thick line or a bulky point would be to geometry.

NOTES:

1. Ridgeway: "Early Age of Greece", p.253.
2. Henri Hubert: "Greatness & Decline of the Celts", p.93.
3. Strabo: (Loeb Classics 3.349).
4. Holder: "Alt-Keltischer Sprachschortz", II. 750.
5. Skene: "Celtic Scotland", II.36.
6. O'Hanlon: "Lives of the Irish Saints", p.214.
7. O'Brien: "Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae", p.401.
8. Book of Fenagh, p.389.
9. The family still survives at Mohill and Drumshanbo as Earley and Early.

.....

MAP OF DECIES

TO ILLUSTRATE THE TEXT

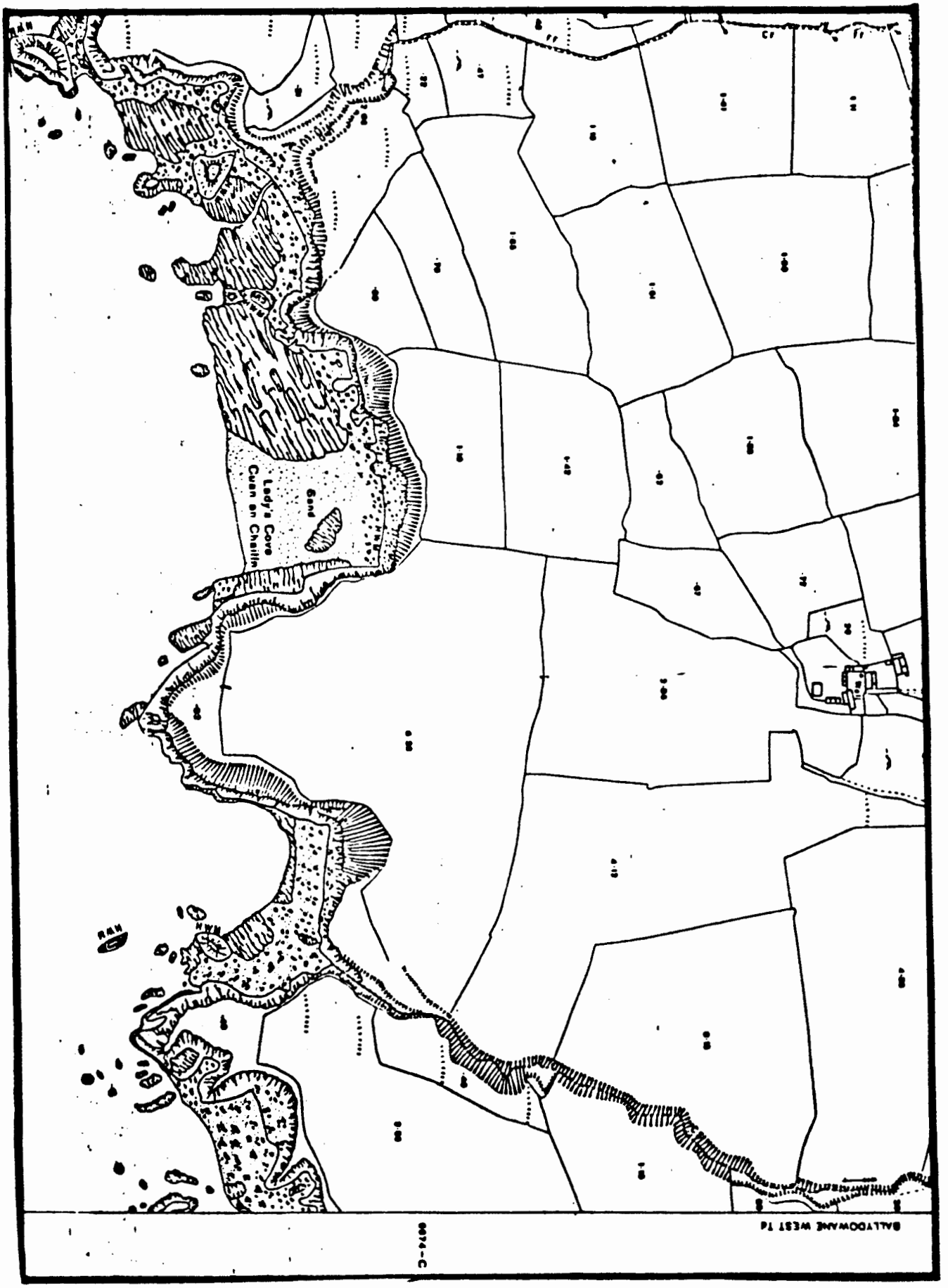
Heroic Rescue near Stradbally, 1875

The following account is taken verbatim from a book called "Tales of the Sea" and is a slightly abridged version of that which appeared in "The Shipwrecked Mariner" (the organ of the Shipwrecked Mariners' Society) vol.XXII, 1875. The material has been supplied by Mrs. Pauline Daniels who came across it while carrying out a personal research into her Ronayne ancestors.

The cove where the rescue took place is located adjacent to the land of Mr. Tom Hearne whose farm is on the south side of the Waterford - Dungarvan coast road about a mile east of Stradbally in the townland of Killelton. Nearly opposite the boreen leading to the Hearne farm is the cottage occupied by Edward Davins and his wife,Mary, (nee Ronayne) a descendant of the hero of the incident described below. The ruinous remains of John Ronayne's cottage may be seen on the seaward side of the road a short distance further west.

Some twelve miles westward from Tramore - a favourite watering-place and summer resort for the citizens of Waterford, and nearly half a mile from the coast - a farm is situated which has been long occupied by John Ronayne, a hardy and typical Irish farmer. The farm-house has few of the necessaries and none of the luxuries of civilised life, it is a true type of the poor class of farm-houses in many parts of Ireland, consisting of but two rooms - one the sleeping apartment, where Ronayne's family of twelve children have been born, and the other the living-room, where it is to be suspected sundry four-footed friends occasionally find their way, and bask or grunt before the fire. Rather less than half a mile from the farm is the rugged shore, approached by a rough "boreen", or narrow lane, emerging on the cliff near the course of a stream, which is a roaring foaming torrent in winter and spring-time. On winter days and nights, brown and turbulent, this stream rushes foaming into the ocean over crags and rocks and pebbly shore; but before it joins its fresh water with the salt sea foam, it plunges into a crevice, narrow and deep and deadly. Every coastman along the rock-bound shore knows this deep, treacherous hole, and warns the traveller to beware of it - for, once in it, there is no return. But this source of peril is little enough to that which is beyond.

A hundred yards or so from the cove into which this impetuous torrent pours frown two massive ridges of rock, offering to any venturesome ships attempting to run between their threatening sides destruction on either hand, while only some dozen yards of foaming breakers separate the one from the other. Skilful must be the steersman, and bold the skipper, who would dare the narrow channel, even though the only one by which they might hope to beach their sinking ship. And yet, on one fearful night in January, 1875, a large vessel, the Gwenissa, bound from Falmouth to Glasgow, and new but a



The Coast at Killelton where the Gwenissa struck.

Reproduced from Ordnance under Permit no. 4487.

few weeks before, successfully accomplished the dangerous passage. Not that any skill was shown, for none on the doomed ship knew of their proximity to rocks or shore, but, driving blindly on before the full fury of the gale, by chance were brought safely through. But in another instant the ship struck the rocky shore, and in a moment was shattered to pieces, timbers and tackle, cargo and living freight, being thrown, scattered and helpless, into the angry surf. Escaping, as by a miracle, the rocky dangers of Charybdis, the good ship Gwenissa had been hurled upon Scylla, and her doom was sealed.

The family at Killeton Farm little suspected, as they went to their humble beds, the tragedy which was being enacted on the shore; and even when some of the boys thought they heard cries of distress, little wonder - when the wind was blowing in great fitful gusts, sweeping round the homely cottage, shaking windows and doors, and moaning down the chimneys - that, after listening a while and hearing nothing further, they thought no more of the cries, and went to bed. Ronayne had, however, not been long in bed when a loud knocking awoke him, and he jumped up, and on opening the door was accosted by three men in sailor's garb.

The first surprise over, the instincts of hospitality asserted themselves, and he heaped up the turf fire, and, as they warmed themselves,learned that they alone of the crew of the Gwenissa, nine in number, were certainly saved. But there was a possibility that one or two might yet survive; and though the wintry blast roared loud without, Ronayne lingered not a moment. Hurrying on his clothes,and taking a large sod of flaming turf by way of lantern, he rushed down the "boreen", and soon reached the cove. Cautiously he made his way, and approached the edge of the stream, whence he now heard the shouts of several men. He followed up the cries of distress, and soon came upon a man in a most dangerous position.

Ronayne blew the turf until it glowed brightly, and holding it down, saw a man waist-deep in the water, but so jammed between the crags that it was impossible for him to move, far less climb the overhanging rocks. He was bruised, stunned and nearly insensible. Ronayne saw at a glance that the only way to help him was himself to go down, extricate his bruised legs from the rocks and wreck that held him like a vice, and then assist him to climb from his perilous position. This, by means of much pulling and hauling, he at length accomplished, and ultimately had the satisfaction of leading the poor fellow to a place of safety, where, for a time,he left him, sorely bruised, faint, and well-nigh frozen, for the others, who had never ceased calling for assistance from the moment of his arrival. They were four in number, and, as far as could be judged through the increasing darkness, lay in the very gorge down which rushed the swollen stream; and so it proved, for one was hanging to a spar which had become fixed in the rocks, while another was grasping a projecting crag, by which he contrived to keep afloat. The others, more fortunate, had been thrown on a ledge, which left them in comparative safety, though they were waist-deep in water. But though secure upon this ledge, they were quite as helpless as their companions, for the beetling face of the rocks defied their utmost efforts to scale them unaided. Here Ronayne's knowledge stood him in good stead, and after much active

The Diocesan Academy is now in Stephen St. beside the Baptist Meeting House, and the Trinitarian Orphan House is in John st. occupying the building at the corner of John's Avenue that was the Radium Polish Factory, then IMCO and is now an amusement centre. Close by was another iron foundry occupying Spencer's Yard at the corner of the Waterside.

Between Lombard St. and Bank Lane is shown as Hanover Square. The name Bolton St. does not appear on the map although the name plate of this street bears the date 1817.

Finally, we come to the Ordnance Survey Town Map of 1871 - undoubtedly the finest ever published. The street pattern is much the same as before but more lanes and courts are identifiable in the congested city centre. These were terraces of tiny cottages flanking one or both sides of a passageway, generally about 10 feet wide, that branched off a street under the upper portion of one of the houses in same. Thus, we had four such entrances off the west side of John St. between the Car Stand and New St. Between them they accounted for 40 cottages. Similarly we had Usher's Arch and Walsh's Lane off the south side of Patrick St., Barron's Court off Little Michael St., and Stephen's Court off Stephen St. These were the slums of Waterford in days when the very idea of legislation for the housing of the poor by local authorities had not been given a thought. But bad as they must have been, they were probably better than the tenement dwellings of contemporary Dublin.

Lanes of a wider type with interconnections and open entrances covered the whole of the Ballybricken area as they still do, between Ballybricken Green and Barrack Street and between Mayor's Walk and Newport's Lane. The almost total lack of imaginative planning in the development of this area does little credit to those responsible - even in the middle of the 19th century.

By way of contrast with the dwellings of the poor we note the appearance on this map of the present fine courthouse and on the Patrick St./Jail St. site the replacement of Gandon's courthouse by the County & City Gaol. The many buildings on this 15 acre site as seen on the 1841 map have been cleared to make way for a massive gaol building featuring a central block with two wings, the hospital, and the debtors' prison being housed in isolated buildings. The best feature was the gate lodge located at the junction of the two streets.

There is not much evidence of industry apart from the major one of bacon curing. Denny's former establishment is shown as well as Bacon Stores on the Regal Cinema site and on one between Grace's Lane and Philip St. but in this immediate area, i.e. between Morgan St. and Yellow Road, there is a flour mill, a cooperage and a salt works. Other industries are the brewery in Stephen St., the tanyard which has now become a car park, another tannery at the Waterside and a salt and lime works at Gashouse Lane. There was also, of course, the Neptune Ironworks and the fine ship-building yard at Newtown belonging to Malcomson Brothers.

A name still occasionally heard is that of Paul's Square. This was a rectangular area 60' deep from the Quay frontage and about 40' wide measured from the west side of the Artwear premises. The street now called Greyfriars, and then called French St., was a cul-de-sac terminating at the rear of Paul's Square and slightly to the east of it

Just to show that names, like everything else, have a habit of repeating themselves it is worth noting that a group of 5 tiny cottages off Francis St. rejoiced in the name of George's Court.

assistance in the shape of climbing, swimming, pulling, and scrambling, he succeeded in rescuing one after the other, each assisting afterwards to make the task easier. Five men stood beside him, cold and hurt, but saved by his perseverance and bravery from a watery grave.

"But," says the narrator - and here especially he should tell his own tale - "not without great labour had this been effected, for one of the men had his leg broken, and all were more or less bruised, and perishing of cold and exposure. Three men were at his house and five here; but where was the other ? - for nine men were on board the luckless vessel, and here were but eight. Leaving the rescued men in the lane, Ronayne ran again to the cove, and the dim spark expiring in the turn showed him where he had left it. He scraped off the ash, and, the wind fanning it, again it burned up brightly - too brightly, for now it burned down to his frozen fingers; but he only grasped it the tighter, for did it not light on his errand of mercy? and if another life might be saved at the expense of a few burns, would it not be a great gain? So on sped he along the shore, searching into every cranny and cleft and crevice lighted by the turf, and burning and shouting between his labours , at length was rewarded by a faint cry as of a man in distress - more a moan than a cry, and at a distance. Rapidly but carefully he had scanned the beach and partially searched every gully and cleft, and now and again receiving to his cries a faint response, but always from far away. No doubt the man was out on the rocks, to which he had been carried by a receding wave after the ship struck, and Ronayne knew that some further help must be procured before he could be reached. So he hastened back to the five men he had left in the lane. They then all proceeded to the farm-house - a melancholy cortege - carrying as best they could the helpless between them. He then started off, wet and weary as he was, to the coastguard station at Bonmahon, where he gave information of the wreck, and demanded assistance for the poor fellow out on the rocks" The coastguard men lost no time in turning out with the rocket apparatus - but just as they were fixing it into position Ronayne who had been hunting about, came upon the very last and ninth man of the crew, lying, half in the water and half out, upon the beach among a quantity of wreck. His supposition had been correct in regard to his position on the rocks, but while assistance was being procured he had been washed ashore, with shattered limbs - bruised, helpless, unconscious, but alive ! . The poor fellow, who remained unconscious, was carried to the farm, where some old whisky-jars were filled with hot water and placed to his feet. The little whiskey in the house was divided among the benumbed men, and more solid provision set before them.

And now Ronayne's house contained over twenty inmates, most of them standing round the turf fire wringing the water from their clothes and warming their frozen limbs; the few beds, too, had their occupants. For Ronayne the work had but barely commenced. Saddling his young mare, he started to lay information of the wreck before Lloyd's Deputy Receiver at Tramore, some twelve miles distant, for eight shillings were to be earned, and for this trifling reward he was prepared to ride some twenty-four miles on a cold winter night.

On his road he passed the doctor's house, and sent him to attend the injured men, arriving at Tramore a few minutes before the telegram from the coastguard station. Two of the sailors were afterwards removed to the hospital, and recovered, and they and the remainder cared for by the Shipwrecked Mariners' Society's agents. Ronayne was indemnified for any expense he had incurred by the same Society, and the Life-Boat Institution shortly after rewarded him.

19th Century Society in

County Waterford

Part II

Jack Burtchaell.

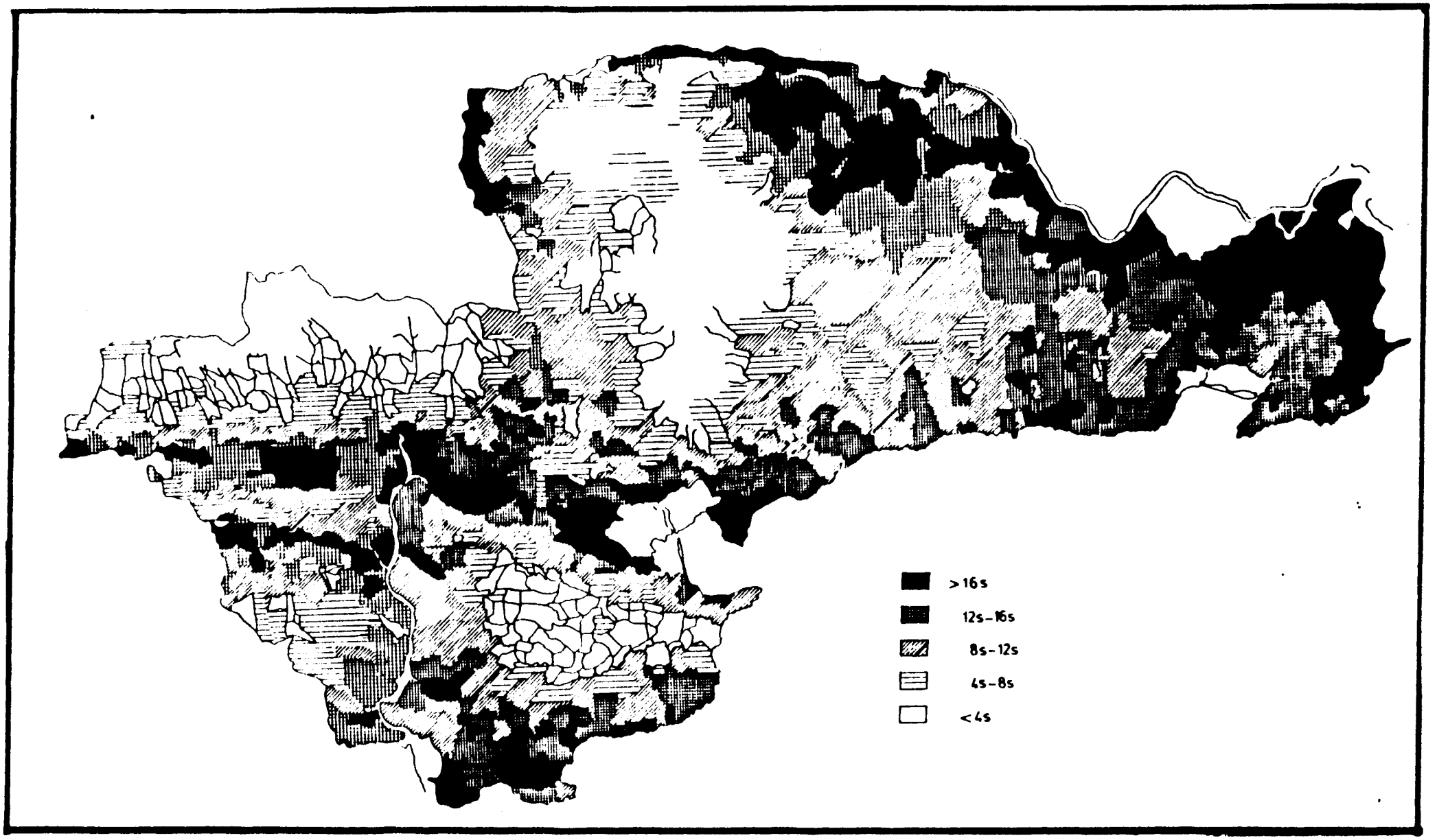
REGIONAL ANALYSIS.

West Waterford:

When the estates of West Waterford were laid out in the late 16th century, as part of the Munster Plantation much of the land was still covered in dense forest. The land was cleared under the aegis of the estate system as part of an exploitative mercantilist economy and later farmed by the tenants. This parallels the experience of north Wexford where the Duffry was cleared a half century later. The north-facing and gentler slope was cleared for agriculture while the south-facing slope, which was steeper, was let remain as forest. So, surprisingly, the south-facing slopes were under forest in the 19th century while the less favourable (climatically) north-facing slope was farmed. The Devonshire home farm worked the prime land in the valley, and along the fringes on the southern side are clustered some strong farmers of the lesser group. These are located on the poorer land valued at between eight and twelve shillings, which was probably only settled permanently in the mid 18th century.

The Bride valley was also relatively sparsely populated with strong farmers but this is due to another factor - that of the middleman system. The Bride Valley was the centre of some smaller estates, including that of Mrs. Catherine Smith of Headborough and the Greaves estate at Snugborough. The small group of strong farmers just west of Tallow were on land under the direct control of the Duke of Devonshire who encouraged this group on his estate. The rest of the Bride valley was in the hands of middlemen; they not only did not stop subdivision they often encouraged it. The parish of Kilcockan owned by John Keily had a few strong farmers, the largest of them, significantly, also a Keily . The less favourable parish of Templemichael and much of the parish of Tallow are almost devoid of strong farmers. This area is generally valued at less than eight shillings per acre and some stretches , such as the townlands of Kilcalf mountain and Lyrencarriga, are valued at less than four shillings and are virtually worthless for farming purposes. This area would seem to have been settled relatively late and can be seen as a safety valve for population build-up in the Bride and Blackwater valleys. Small scale farming evolved late here in this frontier region. The slopes of the Knockmealdowns are completely devoid of strong farmers. Strong farmers are fairly broadly scattered across the parishes of Grange, Kinsalebeg and Clashmore. The farmers are concentrated in two groups along a belt of prime land between the townlands of Dloughtane and Crushea. This area is valued usually at greater than sixteen shillings. There is a second group of these farms along the reclaimed coastline in the townlands of Newtown and Prospecthall, Pilltown and Shanecoole. These boggy townlands, judging by their valuation at about eleven shillings and by their English names, were probably reclaimed and settled with comfortable tenants by the Earl of Cork or one of his successors. It is noticeable that the largest holdings here were in the hands of people, who judging by the surname evidence, were of intrusive ethnic origins.[2]

There is a belt of strong farmers just inland from the coast that runs through the parishes of Ardmore and Ballymacart, as far as Ballycurreen. Aligned parallel to this belt on both sides of it are the lesser group of strong farmers. These middling farmers are on the poorer soils in this area except in the parish of Ardmore. Here, in townlands such as Ballynamona, the middling farmer seemed to be able to compete with the strong farmer. Perhaps it is due to the fact that the townland is in the hands of a middleman, Robert Graves M.D. This townland is unusual as it holds a community of strong and middling farmers but no labourers, these "social inferiors" being shunted aside from the homes and families of the rural middle classes.



Land Valuation per acre. (Source: Griffiths Valuation).

The case is very similar in the adjoining townlands, Ballynamona Upper and Ballynamona Lower. This area is one of the oldest settled areas in the country, and this pattern may have evolved and stabilised there before the interfering hands of colonialism arrived. The larger farms peter out against the Drum Hills at the height of about 350 feet. They do not follow the Lickey valley back into the hills. The one strong farmer in the heart of the Drum Hills is in Garrynagree where 197 acres are valued at £50. This is one of the few grazier holdings in Co. Waterford in 1850. Ring is almost devoid of strong farmers, as is general along the coastal fringe in 19th century Ireland. Small holdings evolved which were economically due to the combination of farming and fishing enterprises. These coastal communities are especially concentrated in the immediate vicinity of fishing villages like Ballinagoul, Ballymacaw and Cheekpoint.

The dry valley of the river Blackwater between Cappoquin and Dungarvan contains one of the major clusters of strong farmers in Waterford. Again, they are almost confined to the best land of greater value than sixteen shillings per acre. The middling farmer is not of any consequence here except in the neighbourhood of Dungarvan. However, there is a broad belt of "middling farmers" stretching up from the valley through the parishes of Modeligo, Lickoran into Seskinane and Newcastle, strongly focused on the Finisk valley. In this area the general pattern in the county of the "strong farmers" being on the prime land and "middling farmers" acting as a girdle on either side on the inferior soils is broken. Here in the Colligan area in the townlands of Ballynagleragh, Laugauoran and Ballynaguilkee Lower the "middling farmers" replace the strong farmers on the best land. Perhaps significantly, the best land here is owned by the Chearnley Estate while the inferior townlands are in the hands of middlemen.

At the watershed between the Finisk and the Nier there is a break in the social pattern in the townlands of Knockacolla, knockatetrellane, Deerpark Mountain and Curtis Wood. In this area small holdings of 20 to 30 acres occur to the exclusion of the larger holdings. The "clachan" is here, the dominant settlement feature creeping up the slopes of the mountains, the last resort for a mushrooming population in the years before the famine. It is only in these areas of Waterford well above the heartland of strong farmers and small farmers that the limits of settlement and endurance are reached in the years that preceeded the great famine of 1845-50. It is here in the bleak lands valued at between four and eight shillings that 2% was added to Ireland's cultivated area in the decade of 1831-1841. "Clachans" such as Barranashingaun, Ballyrohan and Castlereigh can hardly represent Ireland's oldest settlement feature as once thought, at 600 feet on some of the poorest soils in the County, they are more likely to be the last despairing hope in the years before the famine of a population locked into an agricultural economy but without access to adequate land.

In the descent into the Nier the belt of "middling farmers" again predominates on the upper slopes. The townlands of Graiguenagower, Curraghnagree, Shanballyanne and Kilgreany have a scattering of middling farmers of both Gaelic and Norman surnames. It is probable that they were pushed into these inhospitable lands by the New English who pushed up the Suir and almost into the Nier. Significantly also, the townland of Curraghnagree is farmed by the Tobin family who held the land in common. On these lower slopes, one can see the foetus of the clachan system of landholding. These townlands of the Nier were in the hands of middlemen who also themselves were absentees, symptomatic of the lack of control which by default gave birth to the "clachan". This cluster of small farmers living together and often working the land in common or within kingroups is a feature of marginal land throughout much of Ireland.

19th Century Society in County Waterford.

The Nier river runs East-West and the South-facing slopes of its valley, the townlands of Glendalough, Knockalisheen and Ballymacarbry hold the only "strong farmers" in the Nier Valley. Possibly these south-facing slopes attracted settlement first, but the fact that the two sides of the valley are in different estates may also be a causal factor. This is the estate of the Earl of Stradbroke and although he was an absentee he seemed to exercise a greater control over his estate than William Chearnley Esq. the other proprietor in the area. Most of the best townlands along the Suir in this part of Glenahiry are in the hands of Mulcahy middlemen and strong farmers , while further up the Nier the Mulcahys act as middlemen only and do not reside in the townlands they lease. The townlands along the Suir are valued at £1.00 per acre but are owned by small property owners such as the Fitzpatricks, Nuttal-Greene and John Phillips. This is the preserve of the "strong farmers", who are of mixed ethnic origin, if we judge by the surname evidence. This concentration of "strong farmers" like that in St. Mary's Parish illustrates the strong market orientation of this type of farming. The navigable rivers were the fingers of commercialism in the pre-railway era and these farms would be oriented on the Waterford market and the associated urban centres of Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir. The Comeraghs are devoid of strong farmers or, indeed, any farmers on their Northern edge. These slopes are densely wooded, the hunting playground of the De La Poer family. The urge to settle these North-facing slopes would not have occured until the 18th century, by which time the gentry had become attuned to the need for habitat preservation for their hunting activities. The narrow Southern valley floor of the river Suir is farmed by the Gurteen Le Poer Estate and the steep slopes of the Comeraghs preserved as a "wilderness". Above this level, small farmers settled in townlands such as Barravakeen, Lyranearla and Glendan on land valued at four shillings per acre.

UPPERTHIRD:

The Barony of Upperthird has the greatest concentration of strong farmers, who completely dominate the rural settlement pattern. Only 9% of these people, the backbone of rural society, are of English extraction if we judge by the surname evidence. The remainder are equally divided between Gaelic and Norman surnames, tentative evidence for the fusion of people and extension of settlement in the Norman period. The richness of the soil and the affluence of lifestyle here allowed these people to integrate with the Norman infusion.

The general pattern for the County in relation to land quality finds its characteristic expression here. This is the largest single area in the County of prime land valued at between sixteen shillings and a pound per acre. The "middling farmer" is exclusively peripheral. They are restricted to the townlands of Ballymacurra parish Mothel, Shanakill and Kilbrack parish Rathgormuck, Sheskin parish Dysert. In these townlands there are no strong farmers and they are all valued at less than sixteen shillings per acre. The only conspicuous break in the pattern is the large void just west of Portlaw village. This is the extensive Curraghmore demesne cover of approximately 3,000 acres in extent. There is another clear break in the pattern just south of the Clodagh river. This boundary line follows the line of hills from Ashtown, Croughaun Hill, Kilmoree and Glenhouse, cutting off Upperthird from the rest of the county and also significantly demarcating the area under the direct control of the Curraghmore Estate. The line also picks out a boundary in the soil type. The area is enclosed by these hills to the south, the Comeraghs to the West and the river Suir to the North and East. It was an area of continuity during the 17th century when the Powers returned to their land by marrying into the Beresfords. This flexible approach by the top layer in Gaelic society who changed religion shielded the

lower layers from the disaster of dispossession and plantation that was experienced in the rest of East Waterford. The map of English settlers in 1659 shows they are sparse in Upperthird except in the immediate vicinity of Carrick-on-Suir and near Portlaw the estate core where they came in as estate administrators with the new proprietors. That is the probable explanation for the survival of these Gaelic and Norman elements in prosperous positions in society. But it should be remembered that these areas of the richest agriculture also contained the greatest concentration of rural poverty. The townland of Feddans parish Mothel is typical; it had seven strong farmers including the Rev. John Condon P.P. of Clonea. However, it also contained seventeen labourers living in houses valued at between five and eighteen shillings. Some labourers' holdings were vacant, victims of the famine in this land of plenty. This wealth was not always conspicuous: the "strong farmer" here lived in quite small dwellings also, usually being valued at between three and five pounds. The only exception in Feddans was the parish priest who dwelt in a house of eleven pounds valuation.

DECIES WITHOUT DRUM:

The Eastern half of the Barony of Decies without Drum is an area where the strong farmer, while of importance, does not have the all-pervasive influence he enjoys in Upperthird. This is an area which does not have top quality soils, with the exception of Ballinacourty in general. They are lime deficient and are valued at between eight and sixteen shillings per acre. There are no large estates centres in the area and while much of the land is owned by large estates, such as the Devonshire and the Beresford, it is in the hands of middlemen. The Ballinacourty area immediately to the East of Dungarvan town is top quality land: like the neighbouring"Burgery" it was Normanised. The townland network is chaotic and small traces of open field cultivation remain. Cloncoskoran parish Dungarvan was the demesne of Sir Nugent Humble holder of 6,435 acres[3]but most of it was out of his direct control. There is a minor concentration of strong farmers around Cloncoskoran, significantly paying rent directly to him. Before the 17th Century plantations, this land was in the hands of Sir Nicholas Walsh of Ballykeroge. He was dispossessed and the landholding pattern under him in all likelihood shattered. The administrative site moved to Cloncoskoran and noteworthy is the fact that no Walshes hold extensive tracts of land in the immediate vicinity. They do , however, again come in to prominence towards the slopes of the Monavullaghs in the townlands of Curracheen and Bellahea parish Kilrossanty. There is a noticeable belt of "strong farmers" and"middling farmers" at the 600 feet contour. These are extensive sheep farmers with huge areas of mountain. The scarp slope of the eastern face of the Comeraghs and Monavullaghs did not allow the creeping upslope of small farmers, cottiers and clachan settlement. These sheep farmers would have been established in the era of extensive agriculture of the 17th Century and early 18th Century and were able to resist the subdivision and reduction of farm size associated with the increasing population and the intensification of agriculture in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The pattern throughout the rest of the Barony in the parishes of Stradbally, Ballylaneen and Fews displays the stronger elements in society having access to the best available land along the valleys of the Dalligan, Tay and Mahon. However, it must be borne in mind that this is an area where small farming predominates. In the parish of Stradbally the best townlands such as Ballyvooney, Newtown, Carriglennahaha, Scartnecrooke and Park valued at around fourteen shillings hold what strong farmers there are. The watersheds between the river valleys have poorer soils generally between five and ten shillings and here the

strong farmers are absent and even the "middling farmer" is only of minor importance. This is an area that in the 19th Century was firmly in the hands of middlemen and as they allowed freer access to land the predominance of the small holder is to be expected. This zone was already densely settled in the early modern period and there was little waste land available for colonisation so subdivision was widespread here as seen by several farmers of the same surname holding identical sized farms in the Valuation books. The lack of effective landlord control in the area removed the restrictive influences on the middlemen, and allowed them to subdivide among people desperate for land.

THE POWER COUNTRY:

In the parishes Rossmire, Monksland, Newcastle and Dunhill (Power Country) there is a greater density of the strong farmers than the Stradbally area further west. Yet this area was also in the hands of middlemen. The strong farmers here occur on a much more varied spectrum of soil qualities, though they tend as usual to favour the best soils. The decisive factor in this case is the fact that the middlemen in "Power Country " were of Gaelic stock unlike the area immediately to the West where the middlemen were of planter extraction and were often absentees. This was an area notorious for "Tories" and the fact that it was part of the old Power lordship provides the clue as to why the landholding structure was not interfered with in this part of Waterford. It was part of the Barony of Upperthird until the early 19th century. While the Powers in this area were dispossessed they were too strong to be removed especially when one considers their familial connections with the County's most powerful landowners, the Beresford-Powers of Upperthird. Undoubtedly there were some intrusive elements but they did not gain access to the land. It was here that sectarian bitterness reached a peak in 19th century Waterford. Annestown village on the coastal fringe of the area was the only expression of intrusive influence in this Gaelic heartland. It remained a nervous and peripheral settlement, an alien cell within a potentially hostile environment. There were only three Catholic families in the estate village of Annestown in 1900.[4] In the village of Stradbally, just west of the "Power Country", there were distinct Catholic and Protestant streets illustrating a "schizophrenia" in village life,[5] but in the Power Country there developed two distinct urban patterns differenciated by religious affiliation. The Gaelic middlemen were the previous owners and they continued to patronise the poets and bards as they had done previously. The poets lingered here under this umbrella of patrons long after they had vanished elsewhere. Two of the most famous, Tadgh Gaelach O'Suilleabhan and Donnacha Ruadh Mac Conmara are buried in the area. This survival of Gaelic culture among the affluent fostered the survival of language here until the last decades of the 19th century.

MIDDLETHIRD:

On the poorer lands in the parishes of Islandikane, Kilbride and Reiske, the strong farmer again fades into a position of only minor significance in the landholding structure. The "middling farmer" assumes a position of prominence and both strong and middling farmers are almost exclusively of Gaelic and Norman stock. Land is valued at between eight and twelve shillings and there are many rock outcrops. The area was of importance in prehistoric times if we judge from the survival of monuments such as portal tombs and passage graves.[7] It was passed to Viscount Doneraile, an absentee, in the 17th Century. He farmed it out to middlemen , both intrusive and local, who still maintained their grip on it in 1850. There may have been competition between these Gaelic and New English

middlemen such as William Sullivan and Maurice Roynane, and in the urge to maximise returns the strong farmer may have been pushed aside or reduced in size, in an area where he had not a firm grip of resources or as entrenched a position.

THE ENVIRONS OF WATERFORD CITY:

Around the city of Waterford there is a dense belt of strong farmers distributed in an area from Woodstown parish Killotteran in the West to Ballymaclode, parish Ballygunner in the East. Land values here are very much inflated by the proximity to the market centre of Waterford. Land is generally valued at around £1 per acre. But the strong farmer niche on the economic scale is strongly market orientated. It was decided that, due to the strong presence in this area, holdings with building valuations greater than £15 would be excluded from the map. A typical example is Roger Sweetman Esq. who held 52 acres in Ballymaclode, parish Ballygunner. His land was valued at £61.1.00 but the value of his buildings was £35.5.00. This man was a member of one of the leading merchant families operating out of Waterford whose wealth was built on the Newfoundland provisions trade. A whole series of substantial Georgian houses lined the rivers in the vicinity of Waterford, the landscape expression of the vibrant merchant community in the city. This aureole of mansions represents the attempt by successful merchants to leave the bustle and noise of the quay-side,and to assimilate themselves to gentry-style living. But the strong farmer is of importance here also especially when one gets outside of the four mile suburban zone. In the townland of Killure parish Killure two farms had more than 100 acres, whose houses were valued at £4 and £8 respectively. The farmer with the intrusive surname lived in the £8 property and a Thomas Maher lived in the less sumptuous farmstead. Small farming is, however, in the ascendancy, possibly because land may have been a saleably commodity, a situation which did not exist throughout the rest of the county. Opportunities existed for people in the city and the pressure on land may have led to fragmentation. Ownership in this area was certainly highly fragmented.

The parish of Faithlegg is a break with the urban pattern around the city. The land owned by Nicholas M. Power who owned an estate of 6,357 acres, 4,699 of them in Waterford. The immediate periphery of his demesne at Faithlegg was a zone of strong farmers with their attendant labourers. These townlands such as Ballynabola, Carriglea, Kilcullen Upper and Kilcullen Lower, conform to the general pattern of the County with the middling farmers holding the inferior land The townlands of Cheekpoint and Coolbunnia portray a drastically different picture, one of miniscule plots of land the only purpose of which was to provide a buffer from starvation for the fishermen of the village of Cheekpoint. The townlands of Cross, Barristown, Drumerisk, Ballydavid, Kill St. Nicholas, Ballyvoreen, Kilcop Upper and Kilcop Lower portray a pattern which is very curious. The land is good, valued at between sixteen shillings and a pound per acre, but there are very few big farmers or even middling farmers. Ownership is fragmented and there is extensive middleman influence but this is common throughout Gaultier and Middlethird. There is nothing unusual in the surname data which is very similar to that of any other area in the immediate hinterland of Waterford city.

GAULTIER:

The rest of Gaultier is a classic example of many of the processes which have been already elucidated. The strong farmers are concentrated on the best soils immediately inland from the coast while the "middling farmers" are dominant

in areas of intense pressure on land as around the fishing village of Dunmore East and on the inferior soils in the hilly interior. These areas were only partially settled in the medieval period as instanced by the townland names Leperstown and Commons in the parish of Killea. This hilly interior is covered by a far looser civil parish network, the hill parishes of Kilmacomb and Kilmacleague being far larger than the coastal parishes of Rathmoylan, Corbally, Rossduff, Kilcop and Crooke.

A cursory glance at the distribution map of strong farmers reveals a seemingly very simple pattern. The pattern becomes far more intriguing when the land valuation, the ownership pattern and the middleman system are taken into account. There are very complex processes involved in creating the superficial pattern involving such variables as soil type, date of permanent settlement and forest clearance, the impact of influential regional magnates, such as Richard Boyle, farming type, incorporation into the market economy, the family and inheritance system, cultural processes, etc.

The pattern evolves within a spectrum of continuity and change. The isolated Gael in his "Lios" was probably the equivalent of the strong farmer in pre-Norman times. The Normans were incorporated and blended into this system. The embryo of the strong farmer system is very old but it greatly expanded with the spread of the influence of the market economy and the estate system.

.....

Recent Aquisitions to the Waterford Room Collection at the City Library

During the past few months the Waterford Room has been the recipient of many valuable donations for which the City Librarian wishes to express her sincere thanks. These, together with other recent acquisitions, are listed below: -

Donated by Mr. J. C. Walton.

The following from the Library of Christ Church Cathedral (by kind permission of the Very Rev. J.R.W. Neill, former Dean of Waterford).

Depositions relating to the 1641 Rebellion within the Diocese of Waterford & Lismore, 1641 - 1660.
The Annals of St. Olaf's Church.
Brief articles on the Bells and Spire of the Cathedral.
The "New" Organ, 1702.
Lawsuit Papers - The Dean & Chapter v. the "Waterford Mail", 1865.
Inscribed title page from the Huff/Burchall Bible.
Book Plates (Bell, Bolton and Clements).
First page of a book printed by Samuel Morrisson, Waterford, 1825.
Miscellaneous tracts.

Also the following :-
An inventory of Presbyterian Records of Waterford and District kept at St. Patrick's Church, Patrick Street.
Abstracts from the Baptismal Register of St. Patrick's Church, 1752-1770.
Congreve Manuscripts (deeds,wills,etc.) . Transcripts by the late Col. Gallwey.
Extracts from the Jacobite Minute Book 1688-89. (Canon Bourke Mss. recently discovered by Mr. Walton in Curraghmore House.)
James A. North & Co.'s prospectus for the sale of the Doneraile Estate, Tramore,1908 - maps and descriptions of 101 lots.
Waterford Material in the Carte Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Waterford Material in the State Papers 1510-1600 from the Public Record Office,London.
Waterford Material in the Calendar of State Papers, Ireland 1586-1600.
Poor Rate Collection Record for Faithlegg, 1883.
Corporation Treasurer's Account Book, 1842-3.
City Voters' List, 1852.
Valuation of lands at Ballygarron, etc. belonging to Roland Alston, 1838.
Catalogue of deeds and wills among the mss. of the Holy Faith Convent, Glasnevin.
Leahy's Map of the City of Waterford 1834.

Donated by Dr. John Mannion, St. John's Newfoundland.

Biographies of Thomas Meagher (grandfather of T. J. Meagher), Henry Shea, John O'Brien and Archibald Nevins - all associated with the migration to Newfoundland,(for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

Donated by Sister Marianna O'Gallagher, Quebec.

Index of Irish Marriages in St. Patrick's Parish, Quebec,1856-1973,(in two volumes).
Index of Irish Marriages in St. Roch's Parish, Quebec, 1829-1900.

Donated by Dr. Cyril Byrne.

Gentlemen - Bishops and Faction Fighters.

Donated by Mr. Des Cowman.
Edward Aylmer or Memoirs of a Papist (in 3 vols.).

Donated by the Sisters of the Holy Faith, Glasnevin.

Margaret Gibbons: The Life of Margaret Aylward.

Donated by Mr. Noel Cassidy.

Burke's Guide to Country Houses.

Donated by Mr. Terrance Keeney, Sudbury, Mass., U.S.A.

The McGrath & Cleary families in Newfoundland.

Donated by Mr. M. J. Wigham.

Miscellaneous Papers of Edward Jacob, 1843-1924. These original papers are in 11 group and include documents relating to such diverse subjects as letters concerning the Tramore lifeboat, ship's papers from a vessel wrecked in Tramore Bay in 1894,newspaper cuttings 1892-3 re reform of the Harbour Board, etc., papers connected with Waterford Bridge, photographs connected with the Tramore Railway, Waterford shipping and other local subjects and miscellaneous items of Waterford interest.

Donated by Mr. Michael O'Mara.

The Wild Birds of Decies.

Other recent donations and acquisitions.

"John Redmond", being Chapter III of "King Edward VII and some other Figures " by Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr.
Centenary Celebrations at the Church of St. John the Baptist, Kilcash and the Church of St. Patrick, Faugheen, 1985.
Patrick Warner: A Visitor's Guide to the Comeragh Mountains.
S. Pender: Waterford Merchants Abroad. (O'Donnell Lecture).
Denis Gwynn: Thomas Francis Meagher (O'Donnell Lecture).
William Fraher: Dungarvan - An Architectural Inventory.
Patrick Mackey: Talk of the Town.
Autobiographical material and music of the late Fintan O'Carroll.
D. Power, B.A. (Mod.): Manuscript Sources for Waterford Material in the Trinity College Library, Dublin.
Mark Girouard (in "Country Life" 7/9/67): Whitfield Court, Co. Waterford.
Patrick O'Flanagan, Dept. of Geography. U.C.C.: Rural Change - The Lismore Estate, 1716 - 1851.
William Friel (in Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland:1931) Improvements at Waterford Harbour.
J.P. Murray (In the Irish Medical Journal, July 1985). Brother Potamian O'Reilly: Irish Scientist and X-Ray Pioneer.

A List of Manuscripts in the British Museum relating to Waterford.

An Act for the better Regulating the Police of the City of Waterford 1783-4.

Villiers-Stuart Papers.

31 Rolls of microfilm dealing with fishery rights, rentals, maps, surveys, the 1826 election, etc.

Corporation Minutes.

16 Rolls of microfilm dealing with Meetings from c.1656 to 1959.

Editor.

O.W.S. MEMBERSHIP.

A

Agnes Sr., Convent of Mercy, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
Arrigan Mr. M., 4 Carrigeen Park, Waterford.
* Aylward Rev. Fr. J.,P.P. Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Aylward Mrs. N., Rocklands, Ferrybank, Waterford.

B.

* Barron Mr. H.C.N., 3 Ravenscourt Square, London W6, England.
Belfast Education and Library Board, 40 Academy Street, Belfast.
Belfast Library Society for Promoting Knowledge, 17 Donegal Street, Belfast.
Bennis Miss E., Church Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Bonaparte-Wyse Mr. W., "Ash House", 39 High St., Chard, Somerset, England.
Bradley Mr. J., Urban Archaeology Survey, Room 23, Newman House, 86 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2.
* Brazil Mr. D., "Killard", John's Hill, Waterford.
Brennan-Smith Miss M.A., "Clifton", Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Breathnach Mrs. M., Rinn O gCuanagh, Co. Phortlairge.
* Brophy Mrs. A., "Bushe Lodge", Catherine Street, Waterford.
* Browne Miss J., 35 Bayview, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Brown Mr. & Mrs. T., Post Office, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
Burns Mrs. G.W., 97 Park Road, Loughborough, Leics., England.
Butler Miss A., Holy Family School, Military Road, Waterford.
* Butler Mr. H.M., Maiden Hall, Bennettsbridge, Co. Kilkenny.
Byrne Mr. N., 29 South Parade, Waterford.
Byrne Mrs. R., Ballyscanlon, Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
* Buckley Mrs. A., Ballyguiry, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Burchaell Mr. J., 27 Kimmage Grove, Dublin 6.
* Brennan Mr. J., Main Street,Mooncoin, via Waterford.

C.

* Carberry Mr. M., Carrigdustra , Kilmeaden, Co. Waterford.
Carroll Mr. P., "Greenmount", Crooke, Passage East, Co. Waterford.
Carroll Mr. & Mrs. S., "Ardaun", Newtown, Waterford.
* Cassidy Mr. N., "Lisacul" , Marian Park, Waterford.
Casey Mrs. M., Main Street, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Carslaw Mr. G., 3 Island Road, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Coady Mr. M., 29 Clairin, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
Coady Very Rev. Archdeacon R., S.S. Peter & Paul's Clonmel.
Colclough Mr. B., 9 Pearse Park, Waterford.
Collender Mrs. E., Ballinvougha, Leamybrien, Co. Waterford.
Clarke Mrs. L., Merlin's Field, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Claridge Miss M., "Grogan Villa", Slieverue, via Waterford.
* Cooney Mr. T., 145 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Connolly Mr. E., Aughnabroon, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
Connors Mrs. G., "River View House", Adramore, Kilmacthomas,Co. Waterford.
Corcoran Mr. T., Bohadoon, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
* Corcoran Mr. & Mrs.W., New Aglish, Carrigeen, Waterford.
Cotter Mr. D., "Padua", Springmount, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Cowman Mr. D., Knockane, Annestown, Co. Waterford.
County Library, Lismore, Co. Waterford.
* Cranley Mrs. J., 6 Parnell Street, Waterford.
Croke Mrs. J., 208 Viewmount Park, Waterford.

Crosbie Mr. & Mrs. T., "Seaville House", Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Crowley Miss N., Prospect Lodge, Kilcohan, Waterford.
• Cunningham Rev. S., Dominican Priory, Ballybeg, Waterford.
• Condon Mr. W., 31 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.

D.

• Dalton Mr. P., 92 Calderwood Road, Dublin 9.
Daly Rev. Fr. P., St. Augustine's,Taylor's Lane, Ballyboden, Dublin 14.
• De Breffny, Baron Brian O'Rourke, Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.
De La Poer Mr. N., Brentwood Preparatory School, Middleton Hall, Brentwood, Essex, England.
Denyer Mrs. M., 195 Markham Street, Armidale, N.S.W., Australia.
Devine Mrs. A., Colligan More, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Dillon Mr. F., "Trespan", The Folly, Waterford.
• Dobbyn Mr. J.M., 18 Rossall Drive,Cadley, Folwood, Preston, Lancs., England.
Dowling Mr. D., Glenmore via Waterford.
Dowling Mr. T., 148 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Doyle Mr. A., Ballymontymore, Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford.
Dower Mrs. N., 1 Mayor's Walk, Waterford.
Dromey Miss M., St. Ursula's N.S., Ballytruckle, Waterford.
Dunne Mrs. B., Faithlegge, Co. Waterford.
Dunphy Mrs. M., Ballycashin, Waterford.

E.

Eachtnigheirn Mr. L., Dun-an-Oir, Newrath, Waterford.
• Ellis Mr. J., "Loftus View", Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Enright Canon J.N., 8 Seafield Drive, Newtown Hill, Tramore.

F.

Fanning Miss P., 1 Railway Square, Waterford.
Fanning Mr. & Mrs. E., 13 O'Connell Street, Waterford.
• Fanning Mr. M., 64 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
• Fanning Mrs. N., 74 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Fanning Mr. N., 74 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Farrell Mr. I., "Lime Hill", Newtown, Waterford.
• Fewer Mrs. M., "Hill Crest", Passage Road, Waterford.
• Fewer Mr. N., "Hill Crest", Passage Road, Waterford.
Finnegan Miss A., 17B Beau Street, Waterford.
Fitzgerald M/S B., 25 Pinewood Avenue, Hillview, Waterford.
Fitzgerald Mr. L., c/o Motherneeds, Georges Court, Waterford.
Fitzgerald Mr. M., 48 Tir Connell Avenue, Waterford.
Flood Mr. P., 58 Terenure Road West, Dublin 6.
• Flynn Mrs. M., 6 Bellevue Terrace, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Fraher Mr. W., 10 Childer's Estate, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Foley Mr. P., Knockmahon, Bunmahon, Co. Waterford.

G.

• Galgey Mrs.M., Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
Gallagher Mrs.L., 12 Parnell Street, Waterford.
Gallagher Mr. L., 40 Dunluce Road, Clontarf, Dublin 5.
Glynn Mr. L., "Malainn", Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Griffith Mrs. W., 84 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Gough, Mr. M., Planning Department, Dublin Corporation.
Grogan Mrs. M., 10 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.

Grogan Mr. P., c/o 12 Parnell Street, Waterford.
* Grubb Miss C., 55 Roselawn, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Guinness Hon. Desmond, Leixlip Castle, Co. Kildare.
• Gilligan Mr. E., Unit 26, Elderslee,Bias Avenue, Bateau Bay, 2261 N.S.W., Australia.

H.

Harney Miss C., 56 Pembroke Road, Dublin 4.
* Hayden Mr. R., "Inchigeela", Rockshire Road, Ferrybank.
Hayes Mr. & Mrs. M., Carriglea , Half-way-House, Co. Waterford.
Hearne Mrs. E., "Mossleigh", Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Hearne Miss M., 2 Francis Court, Lisduggan, Waterford.
Hearne Mr. T., 59 Marian Terrace, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Healy Mrs. M., Scrother, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
* Helmholt-Kneisel Mr. J., "Rocksprings", Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Hennessy Mr. C., 84 St. John's Park, Waterford.
Hewison Mr. M.,"Vectis" Newtown Rise, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
• Heylin Mr. F., Duagh, Tramore Road, Waterford.
* Hillgaar Mr. O. D., Hystadveien 36, 3200 Sandefjord, Norway.
• Hodge Mr. E., "Rosecroft" , Ursuline Road, Waterford.
• Hodge Mr. J., "Avonlea", Ursuline Road, Waterford.
Holland Mr. D., 8 Western Park, Irishtown, Clonmel,Co. Tipperary.
Holman Mr. D., Ballygunnermore, Waterford.
Holt Dr. E., 14 Byngmorris Close, Sketty, Swansea, Wales.
Horgan Mrs. E., 32 Cathal Brugha Street, Waterford.
• Hurley Miss R., 32 St. Mary's Terrace, Waterford.
Hynes Miss N., "Knockeaton", Tramore, Co. Waterford.

J.

Jacob Mr. C.S., "Ardmore", Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Jacob Mr. & Mrs. C.H., "The Limes", John's Hill, Waterford.

K.

Kavanagh Mrs. A., 5 King's Terrace, Waterford.
Kavanagh Mr. & Mrs. G., "Rosedale",Ballinaneeshagh,Waterford.
Kelly Mr. A., "Railway View", Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.
* Kelly Mr. E., 48 Roanmore Park, Waterford.
Kelly Miss F.J., "Cuilin", Upper Albert Road, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
Kelly Miss K., "Bella Vista", Priest's Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Kelly Miss M., "Bella Vista", Priest's Road, Tramore,Co. Waterford.
Keegan Miss A., 20 Oak Road, Viewmount Park, Waterford.
* Kenealy Mrs. M., 25 Patrick Street, Kilkenny.
Kennedy Mr. J., Monarch, Callan, Co. Kilkenny.
Kennedy Mr. & Mrs. P., "Tristeenagh", Clonea, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Kenneally Mr. P., 16 Cork Road, Waterford.
Kenaelly Mr. S.P., "Flowering Fields", Bird's Road, Ferry Creek, Victoria, Australia.
Ketch Miss C., Department of Geography, University College Cork.
Kiely Mr. E., 3 Poleberry Terrace, Waterford.
Killeen Mr. A.K., 2 Endsleigh Villas, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Kinch Mr. J., 4 Percy Terrace, Waterford.
Kilkenny County Library, 6 John's Quay, Kilkenny.
* Kirwan Miss E.M., Drumlohan, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
* Kiersey Mrs. M.T., Ballyhussa, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.

L.

* Lahert Mr. R., 51 College Park, Terenure, Dublin 6.
Lannigan Mrs. K., Hartlands, Dublin Road, Kilkenny.
Lincoln Mrs. S., Ardmore, Co. Waterford.
Lumley Mr. I., "Formby", Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
Lumley Mrs. R., "Formby", Daisy Terrace, Waterford.
Lynch Mrs. A., 121 Thomson St., Hyde Park, Mass., U.S.A.
Lynch Miss M., c/o Ursuline Convent, Waterford.
Lyons Dr. M.C., 11 Copeland Grove, Clontarf, Dublin 3.
Lyons Mrs. W., Rocklands, Ferrybank, Waterford.

M.

Mackin Rev. Fr. F.C., S.J., St. Ignatius Church, 28 Commonwealth Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Mass., U.S.A.
Madden Mrs. B., 80 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
* Maher Miss H., 120 Sweetbriar Lawn, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
* Maher Mr. J., Kiltrassy, Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.
Maher Mrs. M., "Carrig Eden", Newrath, Waterford.
Maher Miss L., 13 Greystone Gardens, Kenton, Harrow, Middlesex, England.
* Malachy Bro., Belmont Park Hospital, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Mayes Dean C., The Deanery, Lismore, Co. Waterford.
* Mc Carthy Rev. Fr. D.W., 2 Raheen Park, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
Mc Carthy Mr. D., 27 Morley Terrace, Waterford.
Mc Carthy Miss P., 16 Cathedral Square, Waterford.
Mc Carthy Miss S., 27 Morley Terrace, Waterford.
Mc Neill Mrs. B., 4 Birch Terrace, Lisduggan, Waterford.
Medleycott Mr. J., Mount Temple Comprehensive School, Malahide Road, Dublin 3.
Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada.
Mannion Dr. J., University of Newfoundland, St.John's, Newfoundland, Canada.
Merricks Mrs. A., 110 Mackie Avenue, Brighton, Sussex, England.
Mac Sheoin Mr. P., 95 Claremont Crescent, Glasnevin, Dublin 11.
Mhic Mhurchu Mrs. D., An Linn Bhui, An Rinn, Dungarbhain, Co. Phortlairge.
Minihan Mr. A., "Kylebeg", New Ross, Co. Wexford.
Minihane Mrs. B., 210 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Mockler Mr. D.K., P.O. Box 2, Roslyn Heights, New York, U.S.A.
Moloney Miss T., 56 Viewmount Park, Waterford.
Moore Mr. M., Priory Street, New Ross, Co. Wexford.
Morris Dr. H.F., 57 Churchgate Street, Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk,England.
Morrissey Miss G., Ballinaskela, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
• Morrissey Mr. G.E., 2856 Murrieta Road, Sun City, California, U.S.A.
Merry Miss E., Fiddown, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny.
Mulhearn Mr. J.P., Leckaun, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
* Mulholland Mr. J., Ballynasissala, Bonmahon, Co. Waterford.
Mullane Sr. Virginia, Sacred Heart Convent, P.O.Box 291, Monze, Zambia.
Murphy Miss C., 2 Whitemill Road, Wexford.
Murphy Mr. D., Tyone, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
Murphy Mr. J.A., "Ivy Cottage", Patrick Street, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

N.

National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin 2.
• Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.
Neylin Mrs. M., Crowbally , Old Parish, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Neylin Mrs. Mary, Stepaside, Ballyneety, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Nicholson Mr. J., 2 Ashford Close, Powerscourt Lawns, Dunmore Road, Waterford.
Nolan, Farrell & Goff, Newtown, Waterford.
Nolan Mr. T., "Greenville", Fenor, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

* Norton Dr. E., Westgate End House, Wakefield , West Yorkshire, England.
Nugent Mr. J., 28 South Parade, Waterford.

O.

* O'Brien Mr. D.N., "Hillcrest", Ardmore, Co. Waterford.
O'Brien Mr. & Mrs. J., 15 Thomond Green, Lismore Lawn, Waterford.
O'Caoimh Mr. D., "Dun Ard". Grange Lawn, Waterford.
O' Cionnfhaolaidh Mr. D., "Cuan Muire", Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
O' Connor Mr. G., "The Maples" , Bishopsgrove, Ferrybank, Waterford.
* O'Doherty Rev. Fr. S., St. Luke's Hospital, Kilkenny.
* O'Donnell Mrs. C., Ballindud, Waterford.
O'Donnell Mr. M., "Hill Cottage", Owning, Carrick-on-Suir, via Waterford.
O'Donoghue Mr. A., 4 Ballinakill Close, Waterford.
O'Dubhthaigh Dr. B., Dept. of Education, Hawkins House 11, Dublin 2.
O'Duibhir Mr. L.P., 40 Shamrock Hill, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.
O'Dwyer Mr.,College Gardens, Callan Road, Kilkenny.
O'Driscoll Mrs. K., "Carbery", Killea, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
O'Flaherty Mr. N., W.R.T.C., Cork Road, Waterford.
O'Griofain N. Uasal, Radharc na Farraige, An Rinn, Dungarbhan.
O'Hara Mr. P., Tully West, Kildare, Co. Kildare.
O'Keeffe Miss M., Grantstown, Co. Waterford.
O'Mahony Mrs. B., 16 Morrisson's Avenue, Waterford.
* O'Mathuna Mr. S., 8 Fawcett House, Stockwell Garden's West, Stockwell Road, London, England.
* O'Meara Mr.J. , 35 Rockenham, Ferrybank, Waterford.
* O'Neill Mr. F., 38 Johnstown, Waterford.
O'Neill Mr. J., 47 Cork Road, Waterford.
O'Neill Mr. L., 63 John Street Square, Waterford.
O'Neill Mrs. M., 11 Olaf Street, Waterford.
O'Neill Mr. M.J., "Coolbunnia Cottage", Cheekpoint, Co. Waterford.
O'Neill Miss S., 14 William Street, Waterford.
O'Regan Mr. E., 3 The Grove, Ferrybank, Waterford.
O'Regan Mr. P., 3 The Grove, Ferrybank, Waterford.
O'Reilly Miss E., 5 Railway Square, Waterford.
Ormond Mr. G., Gainstown, Navan, Co. Meath.
O'Shea Mr. B., 61 Sweetbriar Lawn, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
* O'Sullivan Mr. K., "Dunboy", 50 Lorcan Road, Santry, Dublin 9.
O'Sullivan Miss S., 19 The Mall, Waterford.
* O'Sullivan Mr. W., "Harbourne", Torquay Road, Foxrock Road, Dublin 18.

P.

Phelan Mr. D. & Dr. P., Grantstown, Waterford.
* Phelan Mrs. M., 10 College Road, Kilkenny.
Phelan Mrs. J., 74 Marian Park, Waterford.
Phelan, Mr. T., "Rocklands", Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Pickard Mr. & Mrs. G., 23 Patrick Street, Waterford.
• Plumtree Mrs. , Burchall Home, Parnell Street, Waterford.
• Powers Mr. A.J. Jnr., 9 Cherrywood Road, Locust Valley, New York, U.S.A.
Power Mrs. B., Ballinvoher, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Power Mr. J., Abbeylands, Ferrybank, Waterford.
• Power Mr. J.F., 61A Bensham Manor Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey, England.
Power Mrs. M., Kilbride House, Tramore,Co. Waterford.
• Power Mrs. M., Abbeylands, Ferrybank, Waterford.
• Power Mr. R., Ballygunnermore, Waterford.
Power Mr. T., 50 Hollybrook Road, Clontarf, Dublin 3.
Proudfoot Ms. L., Dept. of Geography, Queen's University, Belfast.
Purcell Mr. P., Newtown Hill, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

Q.

Queens University Library, Belfast, Co. Antrim.
Quinlan Lt. Col. T., McKee Barracks, Blackhorse Avenue, Dublin 7.

R.

Royal Irish Academy , 19 Dawson Street, Dublin 2.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.
Ryan Mr. H., 29 New Street, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.

S.

Scanlon Mr. M., 40 Sallypark, Waterford.
Sheridan Mr. M., 3 Tramore Heights, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
* Sheridan Mrs. T., "Quarrymount", Upper Grange, Waterford.
Simpson Mrs. T., Kilmacleague, Dunmore East, Co. Waterford.
* Sinclair Mrs. I., "Penrhy", South Park, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Smyth Prof. W., Dept. of Geography, University College, Cork.
* Stanislaus Sr. Ursuline Convent, Waterford.
Stephens Miss S., c/o Planning Dept., Waterford Corporation.
Stevens Mr. & Mrs. R.W., "Green Gates", Ballycarney ,Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Stewart Mr. J., "Tivoli", Marian Park, Waterford.
Stopford, Master J., 3 The Green, Evenley, Brackley, Northants, England.
Strain Mr. F., 16 Sexton Street, Abbeyside, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Sullivan Mr. M., Georgestown, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.

T.

Taylor Mr. A., 36 Marian Terrace, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
Terry Mr. W., The Friary ,Aglish, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford.
* Tarbert Miss M., 34 Elm Park, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
* Timoney Mrs. M., Keash, Co. Sligo.
* Thornton Mr. A., 3 The Mews, Grange Park, Waterford.
Traynor Mrs. M., "Cherry Cottage", Rockshire Road, Ferrybank, Waterford.
Troughton Miss E., 54 Albert Avenue, Prestwick, Manchester, England.
Turner Miss M.C., "Cooleen", Church Lane, Thames Ditton,Surrey, England.

U.

Ui Dhonnchadha Mrs. E., Cill an Fhuarthain, An Rinn, Dungarbhain, Co. Phortlairge.
Ui Ghrainne M. Bean, Aras Sith, Rinn O gCuanach, Co. Phortlairge.
Upton Mr. & Mrs. S., 99 Mount Sion Avenue, Waterford.

W.

Walsh Miss A., 7 Bernard Place, Waterford.
* Walsh Mr. F.J., 74 Hawthorndene Drive, Hawthorndene, South Australia.
* Walsh Mr. J.J., "Cliff Grange", Church Road, Tramore, Co. Waterford.
* Walsh Mrs. I., 4 Marian Park, Waterford.
Walsh Mrs. M., 82 Marymount, Ferrybank, Waterford.
* Walsh Mr. W., 20 Poleberry, Waterford.
Walshe Mr. D. J., "St. Annes", 45 Lismore Park, Waterford.
* Walton Mr. J. Sutton Park School, Dublin 13.
Warner Moss Mrs. G., P.O. Box 596 Forest Ms. U.S.A.

Waterford Penny Bank Ltd., Gladstone Street, Waterford.
Ware Mrs. J., 6 St. Laurence Terrace, Waterford.
Walsh, Mr. & Mrs. R., 47 Summerville Avenue, Waterford.
Warren, Rev. D.B.M., The Rectory, Stradbally, Co. Waterford.
Weir Mr. & Mrs. E., 15 Rockfield Park, Waterford.
Webster Mrs. E., "Morven", Grange Park Road, Waterford.
• Whelan Mr. A.P., 23 Weston Grove, Bromley , Kent, England.
Whittle Miss B., Clonea, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
Wigham Mr. & Mrs. M., "Green Bank", Portnahully, Carrigeen, Waterford.
Williams Miss N., Miltown, Kilmacow, Waterford.
Wyse Mr. T.F., Little Dean, Dean Street, East Farleigh, Maidstone, Kent,England.
White Miss E., 7 Summerhill, Waterford.

.....

(• denotes Members who have paid 1986 Subscription.)